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–ż/że particle as the head of Intensifier Phrase in Polish – theoretical assumptions and empirical facts from the nominal domain of an articleless language

This talk addresses a relatively narrow range of syntactic phenomena occurring in the nominal projection and concerns the way in which –ż/że particle (Bańko 2010), analysed here as the head of a DP-internal (left-peripheral) functional projection, interacts predominantly with extraction / movement of other elements in the DP (1) & (2).

- (1) **Tenże** / któryż album został sprzedany podczas wyprzedaży garażowej./? (Polish)
this.ŻE / which.ŻE album was sold during sale garage
'This / which (particular) album was sold at a garage sale.'
- (2) **tenże** album / album **tenże** ...
this.ŻE album / album this.ŻE

This type of –ż/że should not be confused with either the emphatic (3) or auxiliary –ż/że (4), both available elsewhere, i.e., in the *clausal* periphery (see also Szczegieliński 1996).

- (3) **Kogóż** wołasz? (Polish)
who.ŻE (you) call
'Who are you calling?'
- (4) **Kiedy-śmy** / **Kiedy że-śmy** dotarli, rodzice już pojechali.
when.1st.PL / when ŻE.1st.PL arrived, parents already left.
'When we arrived, parents had already left.'

It should be observed that the spectrum of elements the 'nominal' –ż/że merges with / incorporates into is fairly limited, consider the ungrammaticality of (5).

- (5) a. ***Niebieskiż** album został sprzedany podczas wyprzedaży garażowej. (Polish)
blue.ŻE album was sold during sale garage
'This (particular) album was sold at a garage sale.'
- b. ***Albumże** ten został sprzedany podczas wyprzedaży garażowej.
album.ŻE this was sold during sale garage
'This (particular) album was sold at a garage sale.'

The aim of the presentation is to suggest a potential account of the mechanics of the interaction of the 'nominal' –ż/że with other DP-internal nominal elements (wh-, demonstratives). The account is part of a more comprehensive picture of the nominal left periphery that includes other projections triggering numerous syntactic operations (e.g., discourse-marked DP-internal fronting, see Cetnarowska 2013) (6). The alternative word orders will be derived from the underlying structure along the lines presented in (7), with –ż/że represented as the head of Int(ensifier)P (7).

- (6) a. * a Basi **tenże** obecny mąż (to PIJAK) (Polish)
and Basia.GEN this.ŻE current husband to.TOP drunkard.FOC
- b. a **tenże** Basi obecny mąż (to PIJAK)

and this.ŽE Basi.GEN current husband to.TOP drunkard.FOC
 ‘And as for Basia, her current husband is a drunkard!’

(7) [DP D [InIP Int [TopP Top [FocP Foc [AgrP DemP [AgrP Agr]]]]]]

The mechanism of particle merger / incorporation shown in (6) in some ways resembles Matushansky’s (2006) analysis of m-merger. The highly selective incorporation pattern of –*ż/ze* (see (1) vs. (5)) will be argued to stem primarily from the specific organisation of (Anti)locality relations in the spirit of Grohmann’s Prolific Domains (2000/2003, 2011) (8), (cf. Bošković 2014, 2015) (9).

(8) Grohmann (2000/2003, paraphrased)

a. [Ω (roughly: CP) [Φ (roughly: TP) [Θ (roughly: vP)]]]

i. Θ-Domain: part of the derivation where thematic relations are created

ii. Φ-Domain: part of the derivation where agreement properties are licensed

iii. Ω-Domain: part of the derivation where discourse information is established

(9) Bošković (2014, 2015, paraphrased)

Movement of A targeting B must meet the following criteria:

a. cross a projection distinct from B (where unlabeled projections are not distinct from labelled projections),

b. result in the merger of A with a labelled projection

While an elaborate structure like the one in (7) is postulated specifically to deal with the intricate facts attested in Polish, in a more general sense it adheres to the view that there are parallels between nominal and clausal structures, the cornerstone of Abney’s (1987) DP-Hypothesis. In this sense, the peculiar nature of the –*ż/ze* particle may be taken (at least circumstantially) as an argument for the presence of the DP in (languages like) Polish and, to the extent this reasoning is pushed further, for the universal nature of the latter, possibly part of UG. Given that, (7) may serve as a potential point of reference for comparative analyses of similar data from other languages, in particular those featuring (discourse-sensitive) flexibility in both the nominal and the clausal domain.

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