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The Empty Category Principle (ECP) Revisited

Analiza zasady pustej kategorii

Анализ принципа пустой категории

1. Recent studies on anaphoric relations pursued within the general framework of the Revised Extended Standard Theory (REST) [1] indicate that the Empty Category Principle (ECP) constitutes and important explanatory constraint over a wide range of phenomena. The theoretical appeal of the principle does not merely reside in its ability to make interesting predictions with respect to English data but, more importantly, in its capacity for providing a viable account for a wide body of facts cross-linguisticaliy. Numerous studies undertaken on such disparate languges as English [2], Spanish [3], French [4], Romanian [5], Hebrew [6], Dutch [7], to mention just a few, indeed, tend to suggest that the ECP qualifies as a universal principle.

The present article sets itself several interrelated tasks. In the first part of the paper the properties of the ECP are discussed and theoreti-

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[1] Cf. N. Chomsky: *Reflections on Language*, Pantheon Books: New York, 1975; Chomsky; *On Wh-movement* [in:] P. Culicover, T. Wasow and A. Akmajian (eds.): *Formal Syntax*, Academic Press, New York, 1977; Chomsky: *Lectures on Government and Binding*, Foris Publications: Dordrecht, Holland, 1981; Chomsky: *Some Concepts and Consequences of the Theory of Government and Binding*. Lugistic Inquiry Monographs, MIT Press: Cambridge, Mass, 1982.

[2] See, for example, Chomsky: *Lectures...*; R. Kayne: *ECP extensions*, „Liguistic Inquiry" 12, 1981.

[3] O. Jaeggli: *Topics in Romance syntax*, Foris Publications: Dordrecht, Holland, 1982.

[4] Kayne: *op. cit.*

[5] D. Steriade: *Clitic doubling in the Romanian Wh-constructions and the analysis of topicalization*, MIT paper, 1980.

[6] H. Borer: *Parametric Variation in Clitic Construction*, Ph. D. Dissertation, MIT, 1981.

[7] H. Riemsdijk: *A Case Study in Syntatic Markedness. The Binding Nature of Prepositional Phrases*, Foris Publications: Dordrecht, Holland, 1978.

cal implications for the grammar of English following from the ECP analysis are investigated. The second part is devoted to Polish material. It examines the role of the ECP in accounting for extraction processes from Polish complement clauses with reference to the pro-drop parameter. The thesis advocated here is that Polish does not appear to exhibit the "ECP effects" and hence the explanatory value of this principle for this language is rather minimal. We shall contend that, in contradistinction to English, extraction from complement clauses in Polish should be accounted for in terms of the subjacency principle rather than the ECP.

2. The Empty Category Principle can be formulated as follows[8].

(1) *The ECP*
[e] must be properly governed

where the notion of "proper government" is defined as in (2):

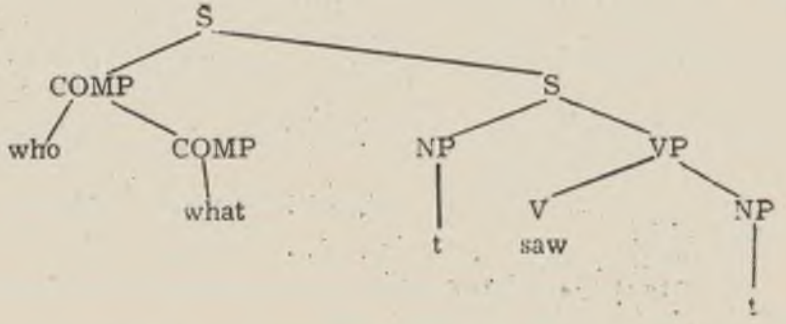
(2) *Proper Government*
α properly governs β if α governs β, and
(i) α is [$\pm$ V, $\pm$ N]; or
(ii) α is co-indexed with β

The following set of statements can be helpful in understanding (1) and (2) properly:

(3) a. α governs β if α minimally c-commands β
b. α is co-indexed with β if α c-commands β
c. α c-commands β if the first branching node dominating α dominates β and α does not dominate β, nor $\beta\alpha$.

Thus in (4), the wh-word *who*, but crucially not *what*, c-commands its trace because the node that immediately dominates *who*, i.e. S also dominates the trace t_i and neither *who* nor the trace dominates the other.

(4)



Configurations of proper government, then, are the following[9]:

[8] Cf. Chomsky: *Lectures...*
[9] Cf. Jaeggli: op. cit.

V[e]
N[e]
A[e]
P[e]
$NP_i[e_i]$

Note that (1) gives correct results in regard to the following sentences:

(6) $\bar{S}[_{COMP}$ Who $_s$[did you say $\bar{S}[_{COMP}$ t that $_s$[Mary saw t]]]]

* (7) $\bar{S}[_{COMP}$ Who $_s$[did you say $\bar{S}[_{COMP}$ t that $_s$[t saw Mary]]]]

(8) $\bar{S}[_{COMP}$ Who $_s$[did you say $\bar{S}[_{COMP}$ t $_s$[t saw Mary]]]]

In (6) the trace in post-verbal position (encircled) is properly governed by its governor, i.e. the verb *see*, hence the sentence is grammatical. The situation is different in (7); the trace in subject position here is not properly governed, since it is neither governed by the verb nor is it co-indexed with the trace in COMP because the latter, due to the intervening complementizer *that*, does not govern the former. The trace in subject position, then, does not meet the ECP and the sentence is ruled out as desired [10].

Finally (8); although similar to the previous example, this sentence differs, however, from (7) in one important respect, namely — it lacks a complementizer. The trace in COMP here governs the trace in subject position, and the sentence is grammatical as predicted by the ECP.

Consider now the following examples:

(9) How many girls did he smile at t

*(10) How many reasons did he smile for t

These sentences illustrate the well known phenomenon of preposition stranding, i.e. a process in which only a part of PP, namely, the wh-word itself, without the preposition, is fronted [11]. Notice that the

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[10] (6) and (7) illustrate a curious asymmetry between extraction from the subject and the object positions respectively. Whereas it is generally possible to move an element from object position, extraction from subject position falls under much heavier constraints. It has been proposed in Chomsky and Lasnik: *Filters and control*. Linguistic Inquiry, 8, 3, 1977., that (7) should be ruled out by the that-trace filter, which, speaking informally, filters out any sentence in which a trace in subject position is preceded by a complementizer. The that-trace filter has subsequently been reformulated in terms of the Nominative Island Constraint (NIC) by Pesetsky, cf. D. Pesetsky: *Complementizer-trace phenomena and the* nominative island condition, mimeographed MIT, 1978 and the ECP by Kayne: *op. cit.*: Chomsky: *Lectures...* and Jaeggli, *op. cit.*

[11] See a discussion of preposition stranding in A. Akmajian, F. Heny: *An Introduction to the Principles of Transformational Syntax*, the MIT Press: Cambridge, Mass, 1975.

stranded prepositions *at* and *for* in (9) and (10) respectively, properly govern their traces — thus satisfying the ECP, but, surprisingly, only (9) is good. Apparently, the ECP in its present formulation is too weak a constraint and some way of "tightening it up" must be looked for.

One plausible solution to the problem advanced in the current literature is based on the assumption that prepositions are not proper governors and the difference between (9) and (10) should be captured in terms of reanalysis [12]. In particular, it has been suggested that the sequence V+P should, under certain conditions, be re-analysed as a verbal complex of the form $_{V}$[V−P] and as such be included into the set of proper governors. Suppose this is true. If so, then the difference between these two sentences can be given a straightforward account. For, note that in (9) but crucially not in (10), reanalysis has applied, converting the sequence *smile* and *at* into the complex verbal form $_{V}$[smile at], which now properly governs the trace. In contrast, no reanalysis is triggered in (10), hence the trace here is not properly governed because P is not a proper governor.

Although this analysis is not devoid of its theoretical appeal, it is beset with difficulties of its own. For one thing, exclusion of P from the list of proper governors yields incorrect results with respect to examples such as (11):

(11) I hope $_{S}$[$_{COMP}$ for $_{S}$[John to win]]

The grammaticality of this sentence stems from the fact that the NP *John,* being governed by the preposition *for,* receives oblique case [13]. If, however this preposition is dropped, as shown in (12), the resulting sentence is not well formed:

*(12) I hope $_{S}$[$_{COMP}$ ϕ $_{S}$[John to go]]

We conclude then that P IS a proper governor and its exclusion from the list of governors is unwarranted.

Suppose instead that the mechanism which is responsible for preposition stranding is a procedure of index assignment by the principle of percolation projection [14]:

(13) *The Percolation Projection Principle*
A is a percolation projection of B if A is a projection of B, or A is a projection of C, where C bears the same superscript as B and governs a projection of B, or a percolation projection of B.

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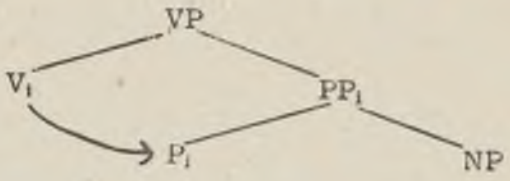
[12] See, for example, Chomsky: *On wh-movement;* Kayne; *op. cit.,* Riemsdijk; *op. cit.*

[13] For a discussion of Case assignment see below.

[14] Kayne; *op. cit.*

According to this definition, the process of passing superscripts would look something like:

(14)



In (14) the head of the VP, i.e. V, passes its superscript onto the preposition, the head of PP. Now, it is claimed that this process can take place in the case of *smile at* but not in the case of *smile for*, which, as we shall see in a moment, is instrumental in ruling out (10).

Before we proceed, let us note that the ECP as formulated in (1) and (2) consists of two distinct parts: one part states that *e* must be governed by a lexical category while the other, making no reference to a lexical category, defines government in terms of the anaphor — antecedent relation [15]. In the Extended ECP, as presented in (15), this dichotomy disappears [16]:

(15) *The Extended ECP*

An empty category must have an antecedent such that
(i) α governs β, or
(ii) α c-commands β and there exists a lexical category X such that X governs β and α is contained in some percolation projection of X.

We are in a position now to tackle the asymmetry of (9)—(10). (9) meets the ECP because β — the empty NP is governed by P and at the same time its antecedent, *how many* girls, is contained in S — a percolation projection of *at* (i.e. X in (15) since S is a projection of the verb *smile*, co-superscripted with *at*. In contrast, (15) is not satisfied in (10) because, as mentioned above, no superscripting is possible between *smile* and *for*, hence *how many girls* is not in the percolation projection of the preposition *for*.

It is worth mentioning that in this formulation, the ECP makes interesting claims cross-linguistically. Specifically, given (15), one may inquire why some languages allow preposition stranding while others do not. The answer is straightforward: languages such as English and Dutch [17] admit preposition stranding because, in contrast to, say, French

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[15] Cf. Jaeggli; *op. cit.*
[16] Kayne; *op. cit.*
[17] See, for example, Riemsdijk; *op. cit.*

and Polish, they do not violate the ECP. Thus, whereas English and Dutch allow co-superscripting ..V^i...P^i.., Polish and French do not.

We turn now to extraction phenomena involving complex clauses in English. In what follows we shall first give an outline of Chomsky's approach to wh-movement phenomena and then recast it in terms of the ECP analysis.

Chomsky has proposed a general condition on NP movement — the subjacency principle, which coupled with the strict cyclicity condition accounts for a wide range of facts, wh-island phenomena included [18]. We give these conditions in (16) and (17):

(16) *The Subjacency Principle* [19]
A cyclic rule cannot move a phrase from position Y to position X (or conversely) in
... X ... [α ... [β... Y ...] ...] ... X ...
where α and β are bounding nodes, and are stipulated to be NP and S in English

(17) *The Strict Cyclicity Condition* [20]
No morphological material can be introduced into a configuration dominated by S once the cycle of transformational rules has already completed its application to this configuration

These principles correctly account for the examples given below (details omitted):

(18) Who did you say $\bar{S}[_{COMP}$ t that $_S$[Marianne met t]]

* (19) Who did you believe $_{NP}$[the claim]$\bar{S}[_{COMP}$ t that $_S$[John saw t]]]

* (20) Who did you say $S[_{COMP}$ t what $_S$[t saw t]]

In (18), *who*, originating in the post-verbal position of *see* is moved to the COMP of the matrix sentence crossing each time only one bounding node, i.e. S. No violation of subjacency results and the sentence is grammatical. The situation is different in the case of (19): *who* is first moved to the COMP of the embedded clause, causing no violation of

[18] These are processes involving extraction of wh-words from clauses introduced by wh-phrases such as who, what, which, where, etc. First discussed in the transformational framework by Ross, cf. R. Ross; *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, Ph. D. Dissertation, MIT: Cambridge, Mass, 1967, they have been studied extensively in the context of the Extended Standard Theory (EST) See, for example, Chomsky: *On Wh-movement* and J. Bresnan: *Variables in the theory of transformations* [in:] Culicover, Wasow and Akmajian: *op. cit.*

[19] See Chomsky: *On Wh-movement.*

[20] Chomsky: *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, MIT Press: Cambridge, Mass, 1965.

subjacency. However, on its way to the COMP of the matrix clause *who* crosses two bounding nodes — NP and S, violating the subjacency principle.

(20), which illustrates the wh-island constraint, can be accounted for as follows. First note that *who* has to be moved to the COMP of the embedded clause; however, its placement there makes it impossible for *what* to move to this COMP in accordance with the assumption that COMP's may contain one wh-word each [21]. This means that *who* has to leave this COMP before *what* can occupy this position. Suppose that *who* has indeed been moved to the COMP of the matrix sentence. Now *what* can move to the COMP of the embedded clause but in so doing it violates the strict cyclicity principle because the cycle extending over this COMP has already been passed (i.e. movement of *who* to the matrix clause has taken place already in the second cycle).

With this in mind, consider (6) through (8) again. Although the subjacency principle correctly predicts that (6) and (8) are grammatical, it falsely predicts that, (7) is good too. That is, in none of these sentences is subjacency violated, yet only (6) and (8) are well formed. Recall that it is precisely the asymmetry as evidenced in (6) and (7) that has led to the postulation of the ECP.

A perfectly legitimate question to be asked now is whether it is possible to extend the application of the ECP itself over all those cases which so far have been dealt with by the subjacency principle. If the answer is the affirmative, then the possibility opens itself up of eliminating subjacency entirely from the grammar of English. In fact, this supposition is not at all unwarranted. Recall that the ECP in its extended version makes crucial use of percolation projection — the principle, which, as we have already seen, is involved in the process of preposition stranding. Suppose, following Kayne again, that superscripting can take place not only between V and P but also between V and V, as shown in (21):

(21) ... V^i ... $\bar{S}^i$[... V^i ... ...]

That is, given two verbs appearing in two different clauses, the upper verb first assigns its superscript to S, which in turn percolates down to the head of S, namely the lower V. With this in mind, we can now recast (18) through (20) in terms of the ECP. Observe that in (18) the ECP is satisfied, since the verb *meet* governs the trace (i.e. β) and its antecedent, i.e. α, is contained in a percolation projection of *meet* because superscripting is possible here, between *meet* and *say*. Turning

[21] Chomsky: *Lectures...*

to (19), notice that the empty category is governed by the lower verb, thus fulfilling condition (15i). The question which arises now is whether any percolation projection of the trace contains the antecedent *who*, or, put differently, is the matrix S a percolation projection of the verb *see*. Note that the upper verb *believe* does not govern the matrix S, hence it cannot pass its superscript onto this S directly. It could only do this via assigning a superscript to the noun *claim*. This would not help, however, because even if co-superscripting between V and N could take place, no superscripting would be possible between N and S because N's never assign their superscripts by percolation. The result is clear: the lower verb *see* in (19) cannot be assigned a superscript and remains without a link with the upper verb. This being the case, *who* is not contained in a percolation projection of *see*, which violates the ECP.

Finally (2). Note that the trace in subject position is not governed by a lexical category nor is it governed by the trace in COMP. Due to the presence of the wh-word *what* in this COMP, then, the ECP is not met and the sentence is ruled out as desired.

Consider now the following examples:

(22) Which book does Mary think $\bar{S}$[that you should take with t]

* (23) Which book does Mary think $\bar{S}$[that with you should take t]

In (22) co-superscripting can take place between the higher, the lower verb, and the preposition *with*. If so, then the trace is governed by X=P, a percolation projection of which, namely, the matrix S, contains the antecedent *which book*. The ECP is satisfied and the sentence is grammatical. In contrast, the preposition *with* in (23) is not governed by any verb so that P has only PP as its percolation projection. Since PP does not contain the antecedent *which book*, (23) is filtered out.

In view of the above we are led to the conclusion that the ECP can successfully account for extraction phenomena in English and as such it is a viable alternative to the subjacency principle.

3. This part examines the applicability of the ECP to Polish data. In what follows we shall contend that the range of application of this principle in Polish is practically null, or marginal at best. We will concentrate on two problems which constitute a testing ground for the ECP, namely, wh-movement and, closely related to it in pro-drop languages like Polish — the pro-drop parameter.

As a point of departure consider the following examples

* (24) Kto powiedział $\bar{S}$[że t przyszedł]
Who did he say that t came?

* (25) Komu powiedziałeś $\bar{S}$[że Jan to dał t]
Who did you say that Ian gave this to t?

(26) Kogo chcieli złodzieje $\bar{S}$[PRO okraść t]
Who did the thieves want to rob t?

(27) Kto chciałbyś $\bar{S}$[t żeby t przyszedł]
Who did you want that t came?

(28) Kogo chciałbyś $\bar{S}$[żeby Marysia zaprosiła t]
Who did you want that Mary invited t?

What strikes the eye here is that, in contrast to English, Polish does not display the subject — object asymmetry; that is, no extraction, either from subject position (cf. (24)) or object position (cf. (25)) is possible in Polish finite clauses. On might in principle claim that (24), just like an equivalent English sentence involving subject extraction, viz. (7), could be filtered out by the ECP, but what of (25)? The trace here is in the percolation projection of the verb *dać* "give" because co-superscripting is possible between the upper and the lower verb and the antecedent of the trace, namely, *komu* is in the percolation projection of this trace.

In contradistinction to Polish tensed clauses, which clearly do not admit extraction of wh-words, infinitive clauses such as (26) do allow such extraction. In the example at hand, co-superscripting can take place between the upper and the lower verb, and the antecedent *kogo* is in the percolation projection of its trace. Thus (26) is grammatical as predicted by the ECP.

Finally (27) and (28). These examples show that Polish allows extraction — both from subject and object position — out of subjunctive clauses introduced by the complementizer *żeby*. Note that in accordance with the ECP, (27) should be ruled out as ungrammatical because, owing to the intervening complementizer *żeby*, the trace in COMP of the embedded clause does not govern the trace in subject position of this clause. This is not so, however: both (27) and (28) are perfectly grammatical sentences. How are we to explain the unexpected grammaticality of (27) then? The key to this puzzle lies with the pro-drop parameter, to which we turn directly.

The behaviour of subjunctive clauses with respect to extraction subject, but not from object position in Polish, can be given the following explanation. It has been claimed that pro-drop languages, i.e. languages that freely drop pronominal subjects, Polish included, have the ability to co-index, by virtue of governing it — the empty subject po-

sition with the feature AGR (eement) on the verb [22]. The procedure of co-indexing in Polish, for instance, would look something like:

(29) Kto chciałbyś $S[_{COMP}$ t żeby $_s[t_i$ przyszedł — $AGR_i]]$ Notice that t_i is governed by the AGR now, the ECP is met and (29), representing the so-called "enriched" surface structure of (27), is grammatical. It is worth mentioning here that the ECP, in conjunction with the pro-drop parameter, makes important predictions cross-linguistically. It predicts that extraction from subject, but crucially not object position, will be possible only in pro-drop languages. Thus French and English would differ, say, from Polish and Spanish in that the latter, but not the former languages, allow co-indexing between empty subjects and the AGR, thereby ensuring that the ECP is met.

The disturbing question that arises now is why extraction from subject position out of tensed że-clauses is not permitted in Polish. More straightforwardly: why should (24) be bad? Before we try to provide an answer to this question, let us briefly review the results of our discussion.

(30) (a) extraction from tensed clauses in Polish is impossible
(a) extraction from infinitive and subjunctive clauses is allowed
(c) the ECP, in conjunction with the pro-drop parameter gives good results with respect to subjunctive clauses
(d) the ECP does not apply to tensed clauses.

We are faced then with the following situation: on the one hand the ECP seems to give correct results in the case of subjunctive clauses, while on the other — it fails to account for extraction, both from subject and object position, out of tensed *że* clauses.

It seems to us that a uniform treatment of extraction phenomena from ALL types of clauses in Polish can be provided in terms of the subjacency principle rather than the ECP. In what follows below we shall examine this contention in detail.

Before we present the actual analysis of extraction processes in Polish in terms of the subjacency, we have to make the following claims concerning the structure of Polish sentences and the subjacency principle itself.

(31) (a) Polish complements display two types of structures
(i) $_{NP}[S[_{COMP}$ $_s[$ $]]]$
(ii) $\bar{S}[_{COMP}$ $_s[$ $]]$

[22] Cf. Jaeggli; *op. cit.*; Chomsky: *Lectures...*, and Chomsky: *Some Concepts...*

(31) (b) the bounding nodes for Polish are subject to parametric variation, and are NP and $\bar{S}$ [23].

Consider (31a) first. (31ai) is the postulated structure for tensed clauses in Polish introduced by the complementizer *że*, while (31aii) represents the structure of infinitival and subjunctive clauses, the latter introduced by the complementizer *żeby* [24]. Viewed from this perspective, (31ai) is the postulated structure for (24) and (25), while (31aii) represents (26) through (28).

In regard to 31b) we have to consider the following sentence

(32) $\bar{S}_{[COMP}$ Jaką $_{s}$[(ty) widziałeś $_{NP}$t książkę]]]

lit. Which did you see book?

Which book did you see?

Suppose first that the bounding nodes for Polish, just like English, are NP and S. If so, then (32) should be ruled out by the subjacency principle on the account of crossing by *jaką* "which", two bounding nodes, namely, NP and S. However, if we assume that the bounding nodes for Polish are NP and S, *jaką* will cross only one bounding node, i.e. NP, preventing in this way the subjacency principle from applying. We conclude, then, that the bounding nodes for Polish are indeed NP and $\bar{S}$.

With this in mind, consider (23) through (28) again. The internal structures of these sentences are represented here by (33) — (37) respectively.

* (33) $\bar{S}_{[COMP}$ Kto $_{s}$[on powiedział $_{NP}[_{COMP}$ t że $_{s}$[t przyszedł]]]]

* (34) $\bar{S}_{[COMP}$ Komu $_{s}$[powiedziałeś $_{NP}[\bar{S}_{[COMP}$ t że $_{s}$[Jan to dał t]]]]]

(35) $\bar{S}_{[COMP}$ Kogo $_{s}$[chcieli $\bar{S}_{[COMP}$ $_{s}$[PRO okraść t]]]]

(36) $\bar{S}_{[COMP}$ Kto $_{s}$[chciałbyś $\bar{S}_{[COMP}$ t żeby $_{s}$[t przyszedł]]]]

(37) $\bar{S}_{[COMP}$ Kogo $_{s}$[chciałbyś $\bar{S}_{[COMP}$ żeby $_{s}$[Maria zaprosiła t]]]]

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[23] Parametric variations on grammatical categories such as bounding nodes are defined for each language by the so-called theory of markedness (cf. Chomsky: *Lectures...;* also J. Koster: *Locality Principles in Syntax*, Foris Publications: Dordrecht, Holland, 1981). In contrast to the core grammar, which is a universal theory, the theory of markedness captures language specific rules and constraints differing in the degree of markedness. In the case at hand, the theory of markedness has to fix NP and $\bar{S}$ as the bounding nodes for Polish.

[24] For an insightful analysis of the structure of Polish complements, see A. Giejgo: *Movement Rules in Polish Syntax*, Ph. D. Dissertation, University College London, 1981.

In (33), *kto* is first moved to the COMP of the embedded clause and from there to the COMP of the matrix sentence. However, on its way to the matrix clause *kto* crosses two bounding nodes: $\bar{S}$ and NP thus violating subjacency. Exactly the same situation arises in the case of (34); while moving from the COMP of the embedded clause to the COMP of the matrix sentence, *komu* crosses two bounding nodes, again, $\bar{S}$ and NP. Subjacency is violated and the sentence is ruled out as desired. In contrast, *kogo* in (35), on its way to the COMP of the matrix clause, crosses only one bounding node, namely, S, and, as predicted by the subjacency principle, the sentence is grammatical. Finally, in (36) and (37) no violation of the subjacency principle ensues because the respective wh-words cross one bounding node each, and predictably, the sentences are good.

Consider now the following sentences involving wh-phenomena:

* (38) $\bar{S}[_{COMP}$ Kogo $_{s}$[pytałeś $_{NP}$[$\bar{S}[_{COMP}$ kto $_{s}$[t widział t]]]]]
Whom did you ask who saw?

(39) $\bar{S}[_{COMP}$ Kto $_{s}$[chciałby $\bar{S}[_{COMP}$ kogo $_{s}$[PRO spotkać t]]]]
Who would like to meet whom?

* (40) $\bar{S}[_{COMP}$ Kogo $_{s}$[chciałbyś $\bar{S}[_{COMP}$ żebym komu $_{s}$[przedstawił t t]]]]
Who would you like that I introduce to whom?
Who would you like me to introduce to whom?

Notice that *kogo* in (38), on its way to the COMP of the matrix clause crosses two bounding nodes, i.e. $\bar{S}$ and NP, violating subjacency. In contrast, *kto* in (39) is moved to the matrix clause crossing only one bounding node, namely, S. Similarly to (35) then, this sentence is grammatical as predicted. Against this background, (40) comes as a surprise to us; for note that subjacency is not violated here, yet this sentence is clearly ungrammatical. How are we to account then for its ungrammaticality? The answer to the problem lies with the Case Theory incorporating the case filter [25].

(41) *The Case Filter*

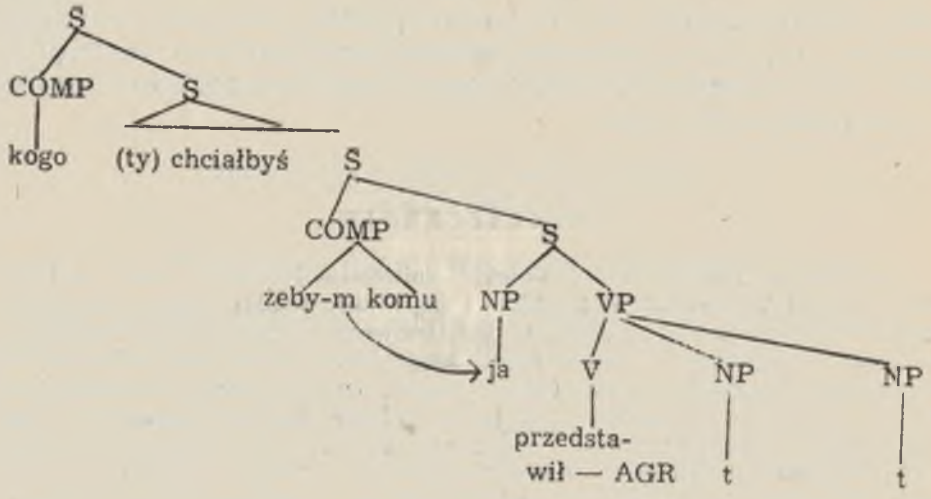
* N is lexical but receives no Case

(42) *Case Assignment*
(a) NP is assigned nominative case if governed by AGR
(b) NP is objective if governed by a transitive verb
(c) NP is oblique if governed by P
(d) NP is genitive in — NP

[25] Cf. Chomsky: *Lectures...*

It must be stressed that Case is assigned to ALL lexicalised NP's; if this requirement is not met, i.e. if some NP lacks Case, the Case filter applies and rules out any structure containing such an NP. Now, given (41) and (42), the ungrammaticality of (40) can be accounted for as follows. For the sake of clarity we provide a tree diagram below.

(43)



The argument is based on the observation that the NP *ja* found in the embedded clause cannot be assigned Case either by AGR on the verb *przedstawił* "introduce-preterite" or by the governor-clitic *-m* attached to the complementizer *żeby*. It cannot receive Case from AGR because co-indexing is not possible between *ja* — a first ps. sg. form and AGR representing the third ps. sg. Nor can *ja* be assigned Case by the governor *-m*, in the way indicated by the arrow, because crucially the wh--word *komu* intervenes between *-m* and *ja*. The NP *ja*, then, receives no Case and the sentence is filtered out as desired.

4. Let us take stock now. The discussion of the ECP presented here points to the ability of this principle to account for a wide body of data in English on the one hand and to its rather marginal range of application in Polish on the other. We have demonstrated that, given the ECP, a number of diverse processes associated with wh-movement in English can receive a uniform treatment. These include: subject — object asymmetries, that-trace phenomena, wh-island phenomena and preposition stranding. An alternative analysis exploiting the subjacency principle has been shown to be inferior in this respect: in particular, it leaves

that-trace phenomena unaccounted for and has nothing to say about preposition stranding. In contrast, it is the subjacency principle which gives better results in regard to Polish data. In fact, the range of application of the ECP is heavily restricted, and the results are confusing and insecure. Although the ECP might in principle account for extraction out of subjunctive clauses in Polish, it definitely makes false predictions with respect to tensed że-clauses in this language. This should not be taken lightly: the ECP has been designed primarily with the purpose of accounting for extraction phenomena from tensed embedded clauses. More importantly still: the ECP, in conjunction with the pro-drop parameter, purports to express significant generalisations cross-linguistically. The analysis of the Polish data provided in this article appears to cast doubt on this claim.

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł poświęcony jest omówieniu uniwersalnej zasady pustej kategorii (ECP) i jej funkcjonowaniu w j. polskim i angielskim. Analiza materiałowa obydwu języków wskazuje na to, że zasada ta jest stosowana w różnym stopniu w każdym z omawianych języków. O ile w języku angielskim ECP wyjaśnia wiele zjawisk związanych z tworzeniem pytań, (*wh-movement*), o tyle jej zastosowanie w języku polskim jest bardzo ograniczone. W języku polskim zjawiska towarzyszące tworzeniu pytań dają się poprawnie opisać przy pomocy zasady nieprzekraczalności dwóch węzłów kategorialnych (*subjacency principle*). Analiza tych zjawisk w języku polskim nie wydaje się więc potwierdzać tezy o własnościach uniwersalnych ECP.

РЕЗЮМЕ

Статья посвящена изложению универсального принципа (ECP) и его функционирования в польском и английском языках. Анализ материала обоих языков указывает на то, что этот принцип применяется в различной степени в каждом из обсуждаемых языков. В то время как в английском языке ECP объясняет много явлений связанных с образованием вопросов (vh-movement), в польском языке ее применение очень ограничено. В польском языке явления сопутствующие образованию вопросов могут быть правильно описаны с помощью принципа непересечения пределов двух категориальных узлов (subjacency principle). Таким образом анализ этих явлений в польском языке скорее не подтверждает тезиса об универсальных свойствах ECP.