

On the distribution and D-like properties of the Polish pronominal adjective *sam*

The Polish pronominal adjective *sam* exhibits an interesting property, which has, to the best of my knowledge, escaped any attention. In particular, I am going to show on the basis of its distribution and syntactic behaviour that it has a D-feature, and thus must find itself in the DP domain during the syntactic derivation. I will propose that it is base-generated lower than DP, but above NP (possibly NumP), and must move to the D-domain to check its D-feature. Following Giusti (1993), Cardinaletti (1994), Loebel (1994) and Willim (2000), I will also assume the existence of a K(ase)P and propose it is the highest projection in the nominal domain in Polish. I will show, however, that KP turns into a DP-like projection (i.e. closes off the nominal projection for extraction from within just like a DP does in languages that project a DP) when a D-feature is checked in its domain. This is what I propose happens in (1c) and (1d) below. That is not to say that Polish has a DP in the sense of universal DP Hypothesis (as argued for article-less languages by Progovac (1998), Rutkowski (2002), and Pereltsvaig (2007)). I will also account for Case-checking and concord in terms of Chomsky's (1999) phase system which has some interesting predictions beyond the Polish noun phrase.

- (1) a. *Maria jest sama w domu.* (predicative, copular construction)
Mary_{NOM} is alone_{NOM} at home
- b. *Królowa sama odwiedziła moją babcię.* (predicative, following a noun)
The queen_{NOM} alone_{NOM} visited my grandmother.
'The queen visited my grandmother on her own (alone)'
- c. *Sama królowa odwiedziła moją babcię.* (attributive)
herself the queen visited my grandmother
'The queen herself visited my grandmother'
- d. *Sama królowa uważa, że to jest głupi pomysł.* (attributive)
herself the queen thinks that it is stupid idea
'Even Mary thinks it's a stupid idea'
- e. *Ta sama królowa odwiedziła moją babcię.* (attributive, preceded by a demonstrative)
this same queen visited my grandmother
'The same queen visited my grandmother'

Sam is synonymous with the Italian adjective *solo*, similarly, it inflects for gender and number, and exhibits comparable distribution with respect to both nouns and pronouns (Longobardi 1994: 625-6, 635, Alexiadou et al. 2007: 209-10, Zribi-Hertz 1995: 357 (on *lui-même*, *on sam* 'he himself')). Depending on its relation to the modified noun (attributive or predicative), its meaning varies as shown in (1). I am going to refer to the meaning of the attributive *sam* in (1c) and (1d) as 'exclusive/demonstrative' (it means: in one's own person, oneself, unique, only). Although *sam* inflects and to a great extent acts like an adjective, it also exhibits properties that are not in keeping with adjectival nature: (i) it cannot be modified by intensifiers, (ii) it cannot be preceded by a demonstrative and still keep its 'exclusive/demonstrative' meaning (1e), (iii) it has no comparative or superlative forms, (iv) if in a stack, it has to precede other As, and cannot even be preceded by a superlative adjective (which precede other descriptive adjectives (Abney 1987) (2), (v) it cannot be used as a modifier of a predicative noun (3b) (which indicates the presence of D, if we assume that D is responsible for referentiality and for turning a predicate into an argument (Horrocks & Stavrou 1987, Stowell 1991, Longobardi 1994), the impossibility of using *sam* in such contexts immediately follows), (vi) unlike other attributive adjectives (and even indefinite pronouns), *sam* makes the (otherwise freely available in Polish) adjectival Left Branch Extraction (LBE) (4b) and adjunct extraction (5b) impossible from within the noun phrase it occupies (LBE is possible, according to Bošković (2005), only in article-less languages not projecting a DP; see also Willim (2000) for similar data and conclusions), finally, (vii) when modifying a pronoun it allows for pro-drop (6b).

- (2) a. *sam gruby/najgrubszy król* b. **gruby/najgrubszy sam król*
fat/the fattest even king even fat/the fattest king
- (3) a. *Sama królowa jest fanką Prince'a.*
herself the queen_{NOM} is a fan_{INSTR} Prince_{GEN}
'Even the queen/The queen herself is a fan of Prince.'
b. **Królowa jest sama/samą fanką Prince'a.*
the queen_{NOM} is herself_{NOM/INSTR} a fan Prince_{GEN}
'The queen is herself a fan of Prince.'
- (4) a. *Piotr widział wysokie/same kobiety na spotkaniu.*
Peter saw tall/only women at meeting
b. *Jakie/Które widział Piotr kobiety na spotkaniu?* *Wysokie/*Same/Jakieś.*
what kind/which saw peter women at meeting tall/only/some
What kind of women did Peter see at the meeting? Tall/*Only/Some
- (5) a. *Piotr spotkał same/piękne/jakieś dziewczyny z Nowego Jorku.*
Peter met only/beautiful girls from New York
b. *Z jakiego miasta spotkał Piotr piękne/*same/jakieś dziewczyny?*
from which city met Peter beautiful/only/some girls
- (6) a. *Ja/Ty/On(a) sam(a) wiem/wiesz/wie najlepiej co jest dobre.*
I/you/he/she self_{M/F} know_{1SG.M/F/2.SG.M/F/3.SG.M/F} what is good
'I/you/he/she know(s) my-/your-/him-/herself what is good.'
b. *pro Sam(a) wiem/wiesz/wie najlepiej co jest dobre.*
pro self_{M/F} know_{1SG.M/F/2.SG.M/F/3.SG.M/F} what is good
'I/you/he/she know(s) my-/your-/him-/herself what is good.'

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