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

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1   The goals of this investigation were ...

➢ ... to show that *sam* in one particular meaning ('exclusive') is pronominal (rather than adjectival; contra Progovac 1998, Rutkowski 2002); in particular, that it has a [person] feature, which it checks in KP/DP;

➢ ...to show that once [person] is checked in KP/DP, this domain closes off for extraction, i.e. it disallows adjectival Left Branch Extraction (Bošković 2005; Willim 2000), hence the unavailability of LBE in constructions with the 'exclusive' *sam*;

➢ ... to show that this instance of *sam* heads NumP/QP, which points to its quantifying properties.

2   *Sam*'s various guises

2.1   The 'exclusive' *sam* (meaning: in one's own person, oneself, unique, only, even) is pronominal rather than adjectival

2.1.1 In the meaning intended here, it cannot be modified by intensifiers (it is not gradable); the only adverbs that can precede *sam* are the so-called focusing adverbs *nawet* 'even'/*tylko* 'only':

(1) a. *bardzo głupi król*   b. **bardzo sam król*
         very stupid king   very himself king

(2) a. *Tylko/Nawet sam Jan o tym wie.*
         only/even himself John about it knows
         'Only/Even John himself knows about it.'

     b. *Tylko/Nawet on sam o tym wie.*
         only/even he himself about it knows
         'Only/Even he himself knows about it.'

2.1.2 A property of *sam* closely related to the one above is that it has no comparative or superlative forms (the only instance of *sam* that may marginally allow grading is the predicative one, meaning 'alone/lonely'):

(3) a. **bardziej sam chłopiec*   b. **najbardziej sam chłopiec*
         more himself boy   the most himself boy

(4) a. *bardzo głupi chłopiec*   b. *bardziej głupi chłopiec*
         very stupid boy   more stupid boy

     c. *głupszy chłopiec*   d. *najgłupszy chłopiec*
         more-stupid boy   the-most-stupid boy

2.1.3 It cannot be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun and still keep its 'exclusive' meaning

(5) *Ta sama królowa odwiedziła moją babcię.*
this same queen visited my grandmother
'The same queen visited my grandmother'

2.1.4 If in a stack, it has to precede other adjectives, and cannot even be preceded by a superlative adjective (which usually precede other descriptive adjectives (Abney 1987: 340)):

(6) a. *duży szybki samochód*   b. *szybki duży samochód*
         big fast car   fast big car
     c. **duży najszybszy samochód* d. *najszybszy duży samochód*
         big the fastest car   the fastest big car

(7) a. *sam gruby król*   b. **gruby sam król*
         himself fat king   fat himself king
     c. *sam najgrubszy król*   d. **najgrubszy sam król*
         himself the fattest king   the fattest himself king

2.1.5 It cannot be used as a modifier of a predicative noun (8b) (which I propose indicates the presence of D; if we assume that D is responsible for referentiality and for turning a predicative noun into an argument (Horrocks & Stavrou 1987: 100, Stowell 1991: 44, Longobardi 1994: 613), the impossibility of using *sam* in such contexts immediately follows):

(8) 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.'

2.1.6 Unlike attributive adjectives, *sam* makes the (otherwise freely available to adjectives in Polish) adjectival Left Branch Extraction (LBE, Ross 1967/1986) (9b) and (9c) and adjunct extraction (10b) impossible from within the noun phrase it occupies:

(9) 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*
         what kind/which saw peter women at meeting   tall/only
         What kind of women did Peter see at the meeting?   Tall./*Only.
     c. *Wysokie/*Same Piotr widział kobiety na spotkaniu.*
         Tall/*Only Peter Saw women at meeting

(10) a. *Piotr spotkał same/piękne/jakieś dziewczyny z Nowego Jorku.*
         Peter met only/beautiful/some girls from New York
     b. *Z jakiego miasta spotkał Piotr piękne/*same dziewczyny?*

from which city met Peter beautiful/only girls

2.1.7 When used with a pronoun it allows for pro-drop within the noun phrase (paralleling pro-drop in clauses):

(11) 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.'

　　 c. **pro Piękna$_F$/Piękny$_M$ wiem/wiesz/wie najlepiej co jest dobre.*
　　　 pro beautiful$_{M/F}$ know$_{1SG.M/F/2.SG.M/F/3.SG.M/F}$ best what is good
　　　 'Beautiful know(s) my-/your-/him-/herself best what is good.'

　　 d. *Mądry (człowiek) wie najlepiej co jest dobre.*
　　　 wise knows best what is good
　　　 'A wise person knows best what is good.'

2.1.8 In imperative constructions only a personal pronoun and *sam* can be present (no adjectives are allowed)

(12) a. *Zamknij się!*　　b. *Ty się zamknij!*　c. *Sam się zamknij!*
　　　 shut self　　　　　　 you self shut　　　　 you-yourself self shut
　　　 'Shut up!'　　　　　　 'You shut up!'　　　　 'You shut up!'

2.1.9 There is diachronic evidence for the connection between *sam*, [person] and numerals (Slavic collective numerals, e.g. *samъ tretъ* (sam (jeden) na trzech) 'alone (one) out of three'. In Polish: *samotrzeć* 'alone out of three', *samopiąt* 'alone out of five', *samoszesnast* 'alone out of sixteen') (Siuciak 2008:19).

2.2 *Sam* as a primary/secondary predicate

(13) a. *Maria jest sama w domu.*
　　　 Mary$_{NOM.SG.F}$ is alone$_{NOM.SG.F}$ at home
　　　 'Mary is home alone.'

　　 b. *Maria jest mądra.*
　　　 Mary$_{NOM.SG.F}$ is wise$_{NOM.SG.FEM}$
　　　 'Mary is wise.'

(14) a. *Widziałem Marię samą.*
　　　 I-saw$_M$ Mary$_{ACC}$ alone$_{ACC}$
　　　 'I saw Mary alone.'

　　 b. *Widziałem Marię pijaną.*
　　　 I-saw$_M$ Mary$_{ACC}$ drunk$_{ACC}$
　　　 'I saw Mary drunk.'

　　 c. *Widziałem Marię samemu.*
　　　 I-saw$_M$ Mary alone$_{DAT}$
　　　 'I saw Mary on my own.'

d. *Widziałem Marię pijany.*
I-saw Mary drunk_{NOM}
'I saw Mary (when I was) drunk.'

2.3 Sam as a floating/stranded quantifier (Rutkowski 2007: 118)

(15) a. ***Sami** chłopcy będą jeść banany.*
themselves boys will eat bananas
'Only boys will eat bananas.'

the 'exclusive' *sam*
'only'

b. *Chłopcy **sami** będą jeść banany.*
boys alone will eat bananas
'Boys will eat bananas alone.'

c. *Chłopcy będą **sami** jeść banany.*
boys will alone eat bananas
'Boys will eat bananas alone.'

the same meaning
'alone'

d. *Chłopcy będą jeść banany **sami**.*   (my example)
boys will eat bananas alone
'Boys will eat bananas alone.'

→ Rutkowski's judgement: (15a)=(15b)=(15c)

→ My judgement: (15a)≠(15b)=(15c)=(15d)

Problems with the floating stranded quantifier analysis of the 'exclusive' *sam*:

(16) ***Sami** chłopcy będą jeść banany **sami**.*
themselves boys will eat bananas alone
'Only boys will eat bananas alone.'

→ (15a) + (15d) = (16)
two different instances of *sam*

(17) a. *Widziałem samą królową.*
I-saw herself the queen
'I saw the queen herself.'

→ *sam* within the object

b. *Piotr dał to samej Basi.*   (Kardela 1986: 382)
Peter gave it to herself Basia
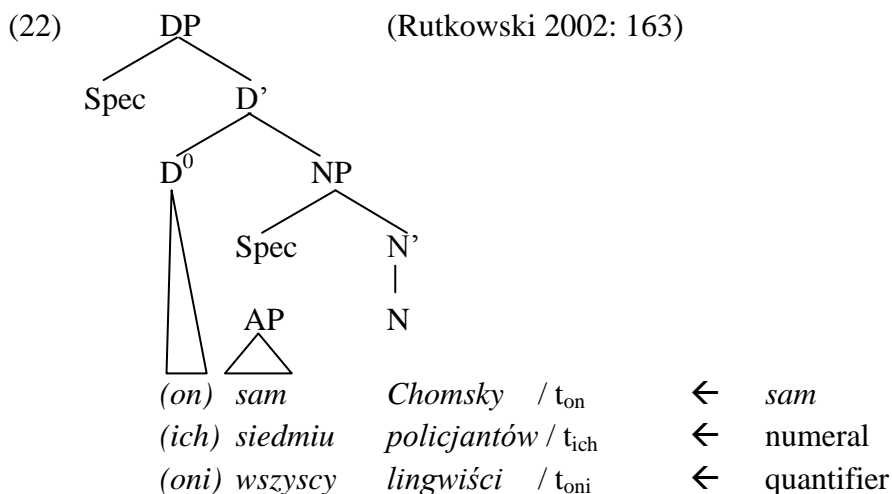"Peter gave it to Basia herself.'

3 The DP Hypothesis

3.1 The 'exclusive' *sam* treated as an adjective

(18) Progovac (1998: 167)
a. *I samu Mariju to nervira*
and alone Mary that irritates
'That irritates even Mary.'

→ *sam* noun

b. *?*I Mariju samu to nervira.*
→ ?*noun *sam*

c. *?*I samu nju/mene to nervira.*
and alone her/me that irritates
'That irritates even her/me.'

→ ?*pronoun *sam*

d. *Inju/mene samu to nervira.*
→ pronoun *sam*

(19) Rutkowski (2002: 160)

    a.   *Sam Chomsky czytał mój artykuł*   → *sam* noun
         alone Chomsky read my article
         'even Chomsky read my article'

    b.   *On sam czytał mój artykuł*   → pronoun *sam*
         he alone read my article
         'even he read my article'

    c.   **Sam on czytał mój artykuł*   → **sam* pronoun
         alone he read my article

3.2 A common analysis of *sam*, numerals and quantifiers (Rutkowski 2002)

(20)   a.   *Wszyscy lingwiści czytali mój artykuł.* → quantifier noun
         all linguists read my article
         'all linguists read my article'

    b.   *Wy wszyscy czytaliście mój artykuł.*   → pronoun quantifier
         you all read my article
         'all of you read my article'

    c.   **Wszyscy wy czytaliście mój artykuł.*   → *quantifier pronoun
         all you read my article

(21)   a.   *Siedmiu policjantów czytało ten artykuł.* → numeral noun
         seven policemen$_{GEN}$ read this article
         'seven policemen read this article'

    b.   *Ich siedmiu czytało ten artykuł.*   → pronoun numeral
         they$_{GEN}$ seven read this article
         'seven of them read this article'

    c.   **Siedmiu ich czytało ten artykuł.*   → *numeral pronoun
         seven they$_{GEN}$ read this article

(22)   DP   (Rutkowski 2002: 163)

     (on)   *sam*   *Chomsky* / t$_{on}$ ←   *sam*
     (ich)   *siedmiu*   *policjantów* / t$_{ich}$ ←   numeral
     (oni)   *wszyscy*   *lingwiści*   / t$_{oni}$ ←   quantifier

3.2.1   Support for this analysis
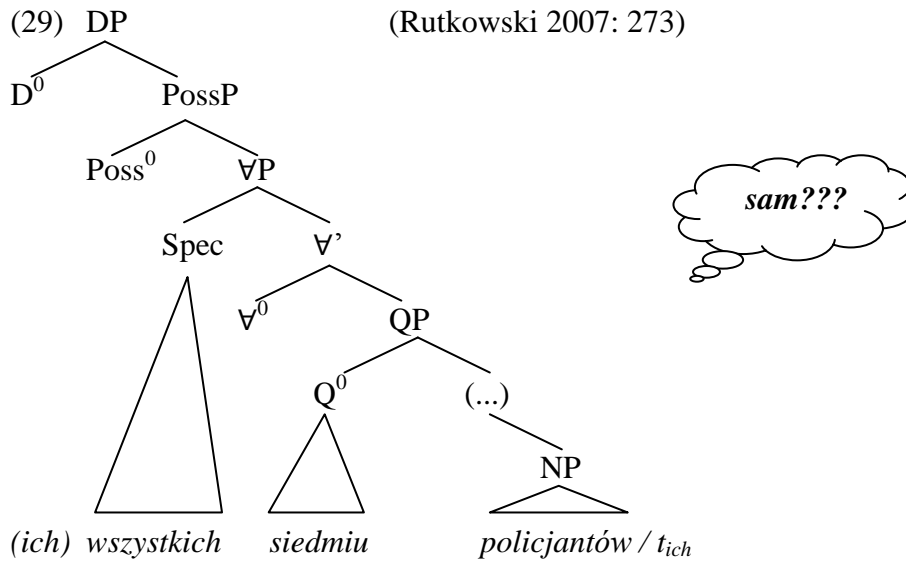
(i)   *sam* cannot cooccur with a quantifier such as *wszyscy* 'all'

     (23)   a.   *wszyscy wielcy uczeni*

           all   great   scholars

      b.   *sami wielcy uczeni*
          only great scholars

      c.   **wszyscy sami wielcy uczeni*
           all   only   great scholars

      d.   **sami wszyscy wielcy uczeni*
           only all   great scholars

(ii)   *sam* cannot cooccur with numerals (except *jeden* 'one')

    (24) a.   *sami policjanci*
             only policemen
             'policemen themselves'

          b.   **samych siedmiu policjantów/*siedmiu samych policjantów*
             only seven policemen/seven only policemen
             'seven policemen themselves'

          c.   *sam król/sami królowie*
             only king/only kings
             'the king himself/the kings themselves'

          d.   *sam jeden król/*sami dwaj królowie/*samych dwóch króli*
             only one king/only two kings/[only two kings]GEN
             'only the king himself/only the two kings themselves'

3.2.2   **Problems with this analysis**

(i)   *Wszyscy* may co-occur with numerals (as opposed to *sam*)

    (25) *Spotkałem wszystkich siedmiu policjantów.*
          I-met all seven policemen
          'I met all seven policemen.'

(ii)   Both *wszyscy* and numerals may be either preceded or followed by possessive pronouns, but *sam* may only precede them

    (26) a.   *moje trzy ksiażki*   b.   *trzy moje ksiażki*
             my three books   three my books
             'my three books'   'three of my books'

    (27) a.   wszystkie moje ksiażki   b.   moje wszystkie ksiażki
             all my books   my all books

    (28) a.   *Same moje ksiażki ważą tonę*   *(*Moje same ksiażki…)*
             only my books weigh a ton
             'Just my books weigh a ton.'

          b.   *Sam jeden król wie co się dzieje.*   *(*Jeden sam król…)*
             himself one king knows what self happen
             'Only the king himself knows what is going on.'

(29) DP   (Rutkowski 2007: 273)

(iii)   As opposed to *wszyscy* and numerals, *sam* disallows adjectival LBE and adjunct extraction
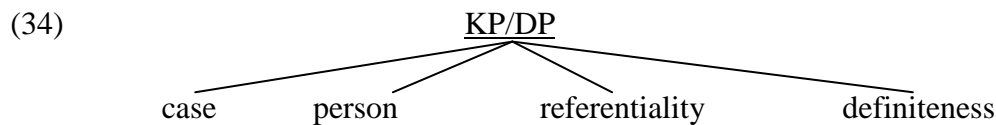
(30)   a.   *Wszystkich$_i$ widziałem t$_i$ lingwistów.*   → LBE quantifier...noun
            all$_{GEN}$ I-saw linguists$_{GEN}$
            'I saw all the linguists.'

       b.   *Siedmiu$_i$ widziałem t$_i$ policjantów.*   → LBE numeral...noun
            seven$_{GEN}$ I-saw policemen$_{GEN}$
            'I saw seven policemen.'

       c.   **Samych$_i$ widziałem t$_i$ lingwistów.*   → *LBE *sam*...noun
            only I-saw linguists.
            'I saw only linguists.'

(31)   a.   *Czytam same/stare/wszystkie listy od prezydenta.* → *sam*/A/Q...N...adjunct
            read$_{1SG}$ only/old letters from president
            'I'm reading only the (old) letters from the President.'

       b.   **[Od kogo]$_i$ czytasz same listy t$_i$?*   → *adjunct…*sam*...N
            from whom read$_{2SG}$ only letters
            '*Who are you reading only the letters from?

       c.   *[Od kogo]$_i$ czytasz stare/wszystkie listy t$_i$?*   → adjunct…A/Q…N
            from whom read$_{2SG}$ old letters
            'Who are you reading the old letters from?'

(32)   a.   *Nagrywam same/głupie/wszystkie rozmowy z Marią.*
                                            → *sam*/A/Q…N...adjunct
            record$_{1SG}$ only/silly conversations with Mary
            'I'm recording only/silly conversations with Mary.'

       b.   **[Z kim]$_i$ nagrywasz same rozmowy t$_i$?*   → *adjunct…*sam* noun
            with whom record$_{2SG}$ only conversations
            '*Who are you recording only conversations with?'

      c.   *[Z kim]$_i$ nagrywasz głupie/wszystkie rozmowy t$_i$?* → adjunct…A/Q…N
            with whom record$_{2SG}$ silly conversations
            'Who are you recording silly conversations with?'

(33) a.   *Piszę same/piękne/wszystkie książki o miłości.* →   *sam*/A/Q…N...adjunct
            write$_{1SG}$ only/beautiful books about love
            'I write (beautiful) books (only) about love.'

      b.   **[O czym]$_i$ piszesz same książki t$_i$?*   → *adjunct…*sam* noun
            about what write$_{2SG}$ only books
            '*What are you writing only books about?'

      c.   *[O czym]$_i$ piszesz piękne/wszystkie książki t$_i$?*   → adjunct…A/Q…N
            about what write$_{2SG}$ beautiful books
            'What are you writing beautiful books about?'

4   The KP/DP domain

(34)   KP/DP

             case   person   referentiality   definiteness

> the Visibility Condition: **case** & **referentiality** (Chomsky 1981; Öztürk 2005)
> **case** & **definiteness** → article (Löbel 1994, Giusti 1998)
> DP = PersonP: **person** & **definiteness** (Lyons 1999)
> **person** & **definiteness** → pronoun (Giusti 1998)
> deictic **person** (pronouns) vs. non-deictic (3rd) **person** (nouns) (Panagiotidis 2002);

	GERMAN/ENGLISH	POLISH
ARTICLE	**case** + definiteness	----------------------------
NOUN	**person** + referentiality	**case** + **person** + definiteness + referentiality
PRONOUN	case + person + definiteness + referentiality	

K/D has two types of uninterpretable features:

(i)   uPerson − checked from within, resulting in person in K/D (thus accessible to outside probing), required for referentiality;

(ii)   uT − checked from the outside, targeting the ϕ-features in K/D resulting in case (iPerson within that ϕ-set is required for referentiality, thus argumenthood of KP/DP), (Pesetsky & Torrego 2004).

4.1 Checking uPerson on K/D

(i)   In both Polish and English, uPerson is checked against iPerson of nouns under Agree (English K/D is occupied by an article, Polish remains empty).

(ii)   In Polish, definite elements bearing iPerson (pronouns) check uPerson on K/D via movement to KP/DP.

      (35) a.   *Wy wszyscy czytaliście mój artykuł.*   → pronoun quantifier
                you all read my article
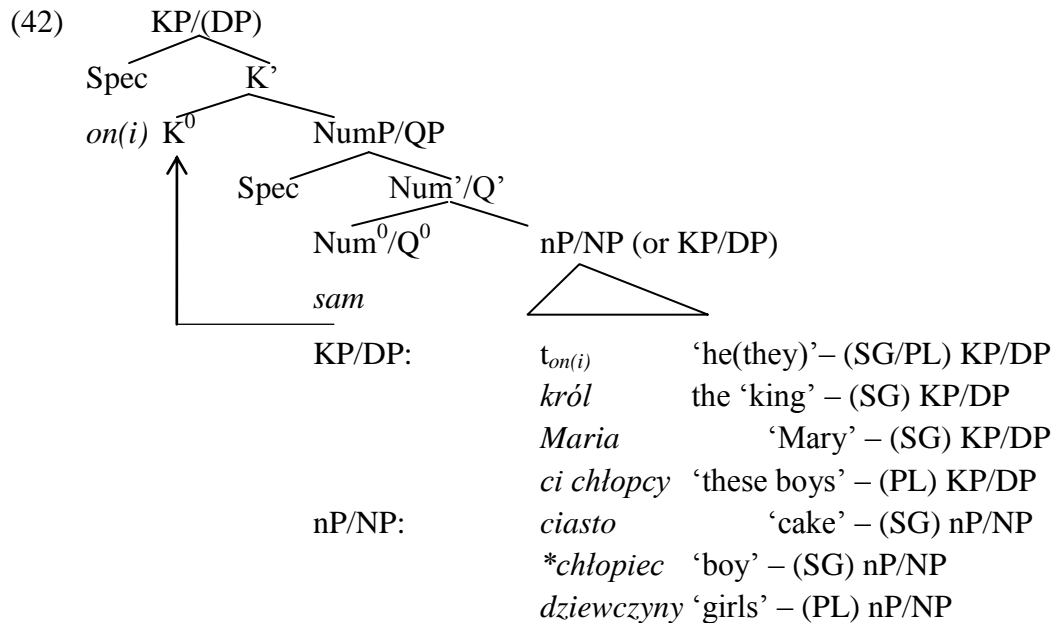   'all of you read my article'

    b.   *Ich siedmiu czytało ten artykuł.*   → pronoun numeral
          they$_{GEN}$ seven read this article
          'seven of them read this article'

    c.   *On sam czytał mój artykuł*   → pronoun *sam*
          he alone read my article
          'even he read my article'

English KP/DP does not allow extraction from within; in Polish extraction is possible, unless uPerson is checked via movement. All iPerson bearing elements (*sam* and pronouns) when moved to KP/DP to check uPerson on K/D make the contents of KP/DP unavailable to extraction:

(36) a.   *Zaprosiłam jego przyjaciół.*
          I-invited$_F$ his$_{ACC}$ friends$_{ACC}$
          'I invited his friends.'
      b.   **Jego zaprosiłam przyjaciół.*

(37) a.   *Zaprosiłam tamtych przyjaciół.*
          I-invited$_F$ those$_{ACC}$ friends$_{ACC}$
          'I invited those friends.'
      b.   **Tamtych zaprosiłam przyjaciół.*

(38) a.   *Zaprosiłam samych przyjaciół.*
          I-invited$_F$ only$_{ACC}$ friends$_{ACC}$
          'I invited only friends.'
      b.   **Samych zaprosiłam przyjaciół.*

(39) a.   *Zaprosiłam jakieś dziewczyny.*
          I-invited$_F$ some$_{ACC}$ girls$_{ACC}$
          'I invited some girls.'
      b.   **Jakieś zaprosiłam dziewczyny.*

4.2 *Sam* heads NumP/QP: *sam* as a [-count] denumerator

(40) a.   *I brought a/one cake.*   a.'   *I invited a boy.*
      b.   *I brought some cake.*   b.'   *I invited some boy.*
      c.   *I brought cake.*   c.'   **I invited boy.*
      d.   *I brought (some) cakes.*   d.'   *I invited (some) boys.*

(41) a.   *Przyniosłam (jedno) ciasto.* a.'   *Przyprowadziłam chłopca.*
          'I brought (one) cake.'   'I brought a/some boy.'
      b.   *Przyniosłam ciasta.*   b.'   *Przyprowadziłam chłopców.*
          'I brought cakes.'   'I brought boys.'
      c.   *Przyniosłam samo ciasto.* c.'   **Przyprowadziłam samego chłopca.*
          'I brought only cake.'   '*I brought only boy.'
      d.   *Przyniosłam same ciasta.* d.   *Przyprowadziłam samych chłopców.*
          'I brought only cakes.'   'I brought only boys.'

(42)   KP/(DP)

Spec   K'

on(i) K⁰   NumP/QP

          Spec   Num'/Q'

          Num⁰/Q⁰   nP/NP (or KP/DP)

          sam

KP/DP:	$t_{on(i)}$	'he(they)'– (SG/PL) KP/DP
	król	the 'king' – (SG) KP/DP
	Maria	'Mary' – (SG) KP/DP
	ci chłopcy	'these boys' – (PL) KP/DP
nP/NP:	*ciasto*	'cake' – (SG) nP/NP
	*chłopiec	'boy' – (SG) nP/NP
	dziewczyny	'girls' – (PL) nP/NP

4.3 Checking uTense on K/D

4.3.1. Chomsky's (1999) analysis of participial (adjectival) agreement and case checking and Pesetsky & Torrego's (2004) analysis of case as a reflection of tense

➢ Chomsky (1999): the participle (adjective) directly agrees with the object in ϕ-features; case is marked on the participle (adjective) and the object individually (each goal is probed by v/T separately);

➢ Pesetsky & Torrego (2004): case is a reflection of tense (nouns have uTense, adjectives have no tense, but they both have a ϕ-set);

➢ assuming the PIC only the edge (the specifier and the head) of a phase is accessible to outside probes;

➢ English KP/DP = phase (Svenonius 2004, Chomsky 2005), Polish KP/DP ≠ phase

4.3.2. Bošković's (2005) analysis of case checking/assignment

(43) a. *The real him/*he will never surface.*   (Bošković 2005: 22)

b. *Pravi on/*njega se nikad neće pojaviti.*
real he_NOM/*him_ACC refl never neg+will show-up
'The real him will never show up.'

(44) **The I/you/he, which will never surface cannot be trusted.*

(45) a. *'Killing the me in me'*   (song title by Embodyment)

b. *'The me I want to be'*   (book title by John Ortberg)

c. *He himself is a genius.*

d. *He bought it for himself/him himself.*

(46) *Vistinskiot toj nikogas ne ke se pojavi./ Go vidov vistinskiot toj/*nego.*
the-real he never neg will refl. show-up cl. saw the-real he/him
'The real him will never show up.'/'We saw the real him.'

(Bošković 2008a: 7-8; 2008b: 9; 2009: 189)

(47) *Go vidov nego_i vistinskiot t_i.*
       cl. saw him   the-real

5   Summary and conclusions

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