KATARZYNA MIECHOWICZ-MATHIASEN

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

ABSTRACT

The goal of this paper is to define the notion of subjecthood in syntactic terms. We base our assumptions on Ura's (2000) feature checking theory and his idea of defining Grammatical Relations on that basis. We reanalyse his ideas in terms of Chomskyan (2001) most recent Probe/Goal system. Following Ura (2000), we assume that such standard subject properties as binding a reflexive, controlling a missing subject in a subordinate clause and raising, result from a feature checking relation established with the T head/Probe while checking off the following features of T in the course of the derivation: [EPP], [Φ] and/or [CASE]. We present an analysis of both Nominative and Non-Nominative Subject Constructions in Polish and English (Old and Middle English) and propose parameter settings with respect to subjecthood for both languages. We also propose an analysis of scrambling based on feature checking (as in (Witkoś 2005)) and show that the possibility of scrambling in a given language depends on the availability of an additional [OCC] feature on the functional heads involved, i.e. T, v or Agr. We show how Polish differs from English in this respect. Finally, we propose a definition of subject based exclusively on feature checking.

1. Ura (2000): Feature Checking and Grammatical Function Split

According to Ura (2000) subjecthood results from checking a particular set of features of T: [EPP], [Φ] and [NOM]. The [EPP] and [Φ] features both when checked off allow establishing a [+Construable], i.e. [+Interpretable], feature checking relation with the element performing the checking; not [NOM] though, which being a Case feature is always [-Construable], moreover, the relation established through checking it off is [-Construable]. The checking of all the above features results in a fully-fledged Nominative subject. And thus, checking of the [EPP] allows an NP/DP to bind a subject-oriented reflexive, but also invert and raise; checking of the [Φ] features allows for control and agreement with the finite verb; checking the Case [NOM] feature, naturally, results in Nominative Case.

Nevertheless, there are situations in which NPs/DPs share checking of the aforementioned features and so give rise to the so-called Grammatical Function Split (hence,

GF-Split), i.e. a situation in which particular subject properties are shared by two different nominal expressions. GF-Split also leaves us with a problem of deciding which of the NPs/DPs should be referred to as subject.

2. Chomsky (2001): the Probe/Goal system

2.1. Minimalist operations

In this system we work with the following operations: Merge, Agree, Move, Transfer and Spell-Out. In a nutshell, Merge is responsible for building the structure, Agree for feature checking, Move satisfies the [EPP], Transfer sends the derivations over to Φ and Σ; the mapping of D to Φ (the phonological component) is called Spell-Out.

Merge, just like in the previous minimalist frameworks, is cost-free. We distinguish two different applications of Merge: (1) external Merge (thus e-Merge), which takes two separate already formed objects and produces a new one, in that way it satisfies the Extension Condition and uses up the numeration – due to that it is also associated with argument structure; (2) internal Merge (i.e. i-Merge) – it combines two elements such that one is part of the other's domain before the operation takes place – this Merge is analogous to Move, however now it is also costless and 'freely available'; i-Merge due to the requirements of the Extension Condition will create a new specifier.

2.2. Probe, Goal, Agree and uninterpretable features

Derivations are driven by the mechanisms that lead to the checking off of uninterpretable features of lexical items taking part in the derivation. The well-known displacement mechanism, i.e. movement, is one such device. Chomsky (2001) introduces another operation that is responsible for feature checking, namely Agree. The uninterpretable features must be eliminated for the derivation to converge, however, for the uninterpretable features to be checked off there must be created an appropriate checking configuration (relation), i.e. c--command must be observed. Thus, we have an element – a head – bearing an uninterpretable feature that needs to be checked off: the Probe. The Probe works as a seeker, that is, it seeks an appropriate element within its c-command domain that will bear an interpretable feature - a counterpart of the Probe's uninterpretable one (and also some uninterpretable features of its own): the Goal. The features need to match:

(1)   Match (Chomsky 1998: 37)

      Matching is feature identity (a relation that holds between a probe P and a goal G).

If the Probe finds an appropriate Goal, c-command is observed and the features match, the Probe and the Goal will establish a relation Agree due to which the uninterpretable features of the Probe and the Goal will get checked, valued and deleted (whenever possible also erased). Chomsky (2000: 14) enumerates three types of features of the "Case-agreement" system, these include: (1) φ-features on the Probe (T, v); (2) structural Case on the Goal (N or D); (3) [EPP] ([OCC]) feature on the Probe. There is a new [OCC] feature ("I must be an occurrence of some β") that a probing head may bear; this feature is similar to the [EPP] in that it will force the presence of some element in the specifier of the head bearing it, however, it is different form the [EPP] in that it can only be satisfied via i-Merge (i.e. movement), while the [EPP] can be satisfied by both i-Merge and e-Merge.

      The Probe must be φ-complete, i.e. it must have a full set of φ-features.

(2)   Maximize (Chomsky 1999: 12)

      Maximize matching effects.

Moreover, both the Probe and the Goal must be active for Agree to take place, i.e. they must both have some uninterpretable feature. Agree must also respect the Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995: 311):

(3)   K attracts α only if there is no β, β closer to K than α , such that K attracts β.

In terms of the system under discussion the Minimal Link Condition takes on the following form:

(4)   Minimal Link Condition

      a.   The Probe P undergoes Agree with the Goal G when there is no closer Goal G'.
      b.   G' is a closer Goal than G if G is c-commanded by G'.

      To sum up, the Probe and the Goal bear some uninterpretable features which must be checked, valued and deleted under Agree for the derivation to converge. The φ-complete

Probe seeks the closest matching active Goal in its domain (i.e. its c-command domain), only then does Agree take place. Features checked off under Agree do not force displacement. Movement is triggered only if the Probe head bears also the [EPP] (or [OCC]) feature.

2.3. Transfer and Spell-Out

Transfer is an operation that sends the derivation off to the interface levels Φ and Σ. The mapping to Φ is referred to as Spell-Out – this is the moment in which all the phonological features are sent off to PHON. Transfer applies at phase level, hence i-Merge may take place both before and after it takes place. I-Merge before transfer will result in overt movement , whereas if it happens after Transfer it will result in covert movement.

3. Ura's feature checking reanalysed

We proceed with the reanalysis of Ura's assumptions in terms of Chomsky's (2000) Probe/Goal system.

In our analysis we are dealing with one element – T – that needs to have three different features checked off; these are: [EPP], [Φ] and [NOM]. In Chomsky's (2000) system T is a Probe and once it bears all the above features it is claimed to be φ-complete. Being a Probe enables T to search its domain for an active Goal which will be able to check off T's features. Checking off [Φ] and [NOM] can happen without movement under Agree. We are going to show how this works in structures with both Nominative and Non-Nominative subjects.

3.1. Nominative Subject Constructions

Let us take the following examples and see how the analysis works with the data.

(5)   a.   John$_i$/He$_i$ hurt himself$_i$ without PRO$_i$ blinking an eye.

      b.   John$_i$ /He$_i$ seems t$_i$ to have hurt himself$_i$.

(6)   Jan   wyszedł   do pracy nie PRO jedząc śniadania.
      John.NOM left.SG.M to work not PRO eating breakfast
      'John left for work without having breakfast.'

In (5) and (6) above we have an element T which bears uninterpretable [Φ] features. These features make it a φ-complete active Probe. The Probe T can scan its domain for an active Goal – an element with which it would be able to enter Agree, thus value and delete its [Φ] features. The Probe comes across such an element in the base-generation position of subject which is also closest to it (Agree must observe MLC). In that position we have a DP *John/He/Jan* bearing interpretable [Φ] features, a [D] feature and an uninterpretable Case feature which remains to be valued in the course of the derivation. The sets of [Φ] features of both T and the DP can now be matched and enter Agree: the Probe and the Goal united and mutually satisfied via the operation, now agreeing in [Φ] features. Also, the unvalued uninterpretable Case feature of the DP may be valued now against T: it results in Nominative since T's Case feature is [NOM]. All this happens without movement. Our Probe T, however, bears one more feature – the [EPP] feature which requires an element bearing a [D] feature occupying its specifier. Since the numeration is used up and there is no expletive available, this will have to be done via i-Merge, i.e. movement. In that way our Nominative DP ends up in the sentence-initial position and agreeing with the finite material situated in T (it entered Agree with it earlier in the derivation).

We can see that in this system exactly the same features are checked off and we shall continue claiming that the same are responsible for particular subjecthood properties. The only thing that has changed is the feature checking procedure, i.e. now we have Agree. Agree is responsible for establishing a feature checking relation, if impossible to establish – no feature checking can take place.

Let us consider, however, another example in which we are also dealing with a Nominative subject. The construction we have in mind is the English existential construction with the *there* expletive of the following kind:

(7) a. There is a book on the table.
     b. There are books on the table.

We can see that the initial numeration for the derivations above must have included an expletive. This means that we are going to be faced with a Merge-over-Move situation at the point in the derivation when the [EPP] is to be checked off. Thus, the derivations in (7) proceed in very much the same fashion to those in (5) and (6): T is an active Probe with uninterpretable [Φ] features, scans its domain for an active Goal and finds it in the form of an NP *a book/books* (it is important to note that it is an indefinite NP, not a DP, hence lacking a

[D] feature). There is, naturally, Agree taking place and the Case feature valuing which is all visible in (7): the Nominative NP inducing agreement on the verb, however, this time the NP stays in situ. Since the NP lacks a [D] feature the Probe T does not attract it to check off its [EPP], instead it merges an expletive – a pure [D]. Chomsky (1995) proposed that the expletive itself has a [-Interpretable] [N] feature which it must check off against its associate. With the present means this could be done under Agree without any displacement. Nevertheless, we want to show that it is the associate of the expletive, and not the expletive itself, that bears subjecthood.

Lasnik (1999) gives evidence that the associate of the expletive does not move. It does check off T's [Φ] features. which is unproblematic now in the Probe/Goal system : the T Probe seeks a φ-complete Goal and comes across one inside the VP – our associate. This is done without displacement. Checking off these features gives the associate the possibility to control, nevertheless, in Ura's approach, it is the [EPP] feature checking relation that is required for binding – this the associate does not do, certainly, as we can see how the expletive successfully raises and inverts.

(8)   There seems to be a book on the table.

(9)   Is there a book on the table?

We propose, however, an escape hatch as in Ura (2000), i.e. that subjecthood functions/properties move on to the element which establishes a [+Construable] feature checking relation with T, so even if there is another candidate for subjecthood, the one establishing the required [+Construable] relation wins. For these purposes, we assume that the [EPP] feature checking relation with T – normally assumed [+Construable] – is indeed [+Construable] only when checked via i-Merge, i.e. movement, where T is the Probe and the moved element the Goal. Since the expletive checks T's [EPP] via pure Merge (e-Merge) and, moreover, it is the expletive itself that functions as the Probe and T as the Goal, we propose that this reversed situation does not create a [+Construable] relation with T, rather checking the [EPP] is a by-product of the operation. Thus, the only nominal that enters a [+Construable] feature checking relation with T is the associate, hence both control and binding move onto the element that functions as the associate. The following example illustrates the binding capacity of the associate (Lasnik 1999: 188 (example originally from Uriagereka (1988))):

(10) There arrived two knights on each other's horses.

3.2. Non-Nominative Subject Constructions

Here, the structures in question are Dative Subject Constructions and Numeral Phrase Subject Constructions in Polish, as well as Dative (or Accusative) Experiencer Subject Constructions in Old and Middle English. We present the relevant examples underneath.

(11) Polish Dative Subject Construction

a. Janowi$_i$ było/jest żal   siebie$_i$ i   swojej$_i$ rodziny
Jan.DAT was/is   sorry self   and self's   family
'John feels sorry for himself and his family.'

b. Janowi   podoba się Maria.
John.DAT like.3SG.F Mary.NOM.SG.F
'John likes Mary.'

c. Janowi   podobają się wysokie dziewczyny.
John.DAT like.3PL.F   tall-girls.NOM.PL.F
'John likes tall girls.'

(12) Polish Numeral Phrase Subject Construction

Dwóch chłopców   bawiło   się na boisku.
two boy.GEN.PL.M played.3SG.N refl on playground
'Two boys were playing in the playground.'

(13) Old English Dative Subject Construction (Denison 1993: 74)

Þam cynge   licondon   peran
the king.DAT.SG pleased.PL pears.PL
'The king liked pears.'

(14) Middle English Dative Subject Construction (Allen 1995: 263)

how that hem   oughten   have greet repentaunce
how that them.DAT.PL ought.PL have great repentance
'How they should have great repentance.'

We propose, following Ura, that the Dative (or Accusative) Experiencers are base-generated in the specifier of a light verb which takes a VP with Theme as its complement, i.e. the Experiencer is always higher in the structure than Theme, hence it is closer to T and more eligible for movement if such is to take place. Our Probe T bears the regular set of features: the uninterpretable [Φ] features, the [EPP] feature, and its [NOM] Case feature. These all need to be checked off for the derivation to converge. We can see that in all cases the non-

Nominative subject occupies the surface subject position. Since it finds its way there via overt movement it must check off T's [EPP] feature.

3.1.1. Defective Intervention Constraint

In some situations in the non-Nominative Subject Constructions we have a Nominative object present, we can see that for example in (11 b & c). How is it possible for the Probe T to establish Agree with the deeper embedded Theme? The Experiencer generated in the specifier of the light verb cannot establish such a relation with T for the simple reason that its [Φ] features are not visible to it – it is inactive in that respect, nevertheless, it is enough to block agreement with the suitable and active Theme if it continues to stay within the vP. The situation we are dealing with here is referred to as the Defective Intervention.

(15) Defective Intervention Constraint (DIC) (Chomsky 1998: 38-39)

"We have the possibility of a defective intervention constraint in a structure:

$\alpha > \beta > \gamma$, where > is c-command, β and γ match the probe α, but β is inactive

so that the effects of matching are blocked."

However, once the Experiencer moves out to check T's [EPP] – being the closest and bearing a [D] feature – the situation clearly ameliorates. It has been proved that while a full NP can cause Defective Intervention, a trace left after NP-movement does not do so, hence Agree is possible to be established between the Probe T and the active Goal NP/DP Theme; consider an Icelandic example (Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003: 997-998):

(16) The intervening NP blocking Agree

Það virðist/*virðast einhverjum manni [hestarnir vera seinir].
there seems/*seem some man.DAT the horses.NOM be slow
'It seems to some man that the horses are slow.'

(17) The intervening NP-trace does not block Agree

Mér virðast t_{NP} hestarnir vera seinir.
me.DAT seem.PL the horses.NOM be slow
'It seems to me that the horses are slow.'

So, once the Experiencer is moved to [Spec, TP] everything falls into place: the Experiencer checks off T's [EPP], thanks to that it gains the ability to raise, invert and bind. The Nominative Theme enters a [Φ] feature checking relation with T, induces agreement on the

finite verb (also values its own Case feature, thus Nominative). We can see it in the following Polish example:

(18) Janowi podoba się dziewczyna_i siedząca po drugiej stronie sali.
John.DAT like.3SG girl.NOM.SG.F sitting.3SG.F on the other side of the room
'John likes the girl sitting on the other side of the room.'

What happens if there is no Theme to take the Nominative of T? We have been faced with such examples, too, consider:

(19) Marysi_i spodobało się siedzenie samej w domu.
Mary_i.DAT liked.SG.N sitting alone.DAT.SG.F in home
'Mary got to like sitting alone at home.'

(20) Janowi_i trudno opanować swój_i strach.
John.DAT difficult overcome his[+refl] fear.ACC
'John finds it difficult to overcome his fear'.

(21) Sześć kobiet było smutnych.
six.NOM women.GEN.PL.F was.3SG.N sad.PL.GEN
'Six women were sad.'

(22) Pięć kobiet chciało PRO pojechać na Florydę.
five.NOM women.GEN.PL.F wanted.3.SG.N PRO go.INF to Florida
'Five women wanted to go to Florida.'

We can see in (22) that the non-Nominative subject successfully controls PRO – a result of a [Φ] feature checking relation with T. We propose that the Non-Nominative subject enters some sort of default [Φ] feature checking relation with T if there is no other element to check it. This, however, leaves us with T's [NOM] feature – we could assume it left unchecked, but this wouldn't be an elegant explanation. Also, as suggested by Chomsky (1995) T's [Φ] and [NOM] features should be checked off simultaneously for economy reasons. The possible solution appears in the form of the so-called Case-stacking.

3.2.2. Sigurðsson (to appear): Case-stacking

Sigurðsson (to appear) presents an idea of Yoon (1996, 2001) where the author shows that Korean applies double morphological Case-marking on DPs allowing the following forms:

(23) Swunhi-eykey-ka
Swunhi.DAT.NOM

The process just presented exemplifies Case-stacking. Sigurðsson also mentions that Dative-
-Accusative constructions in Faroese in analyses by Barnes (1986) and Petersen (2002) were
diagnosed as involving invisible Nominative marked on the Dative subject. Sigurðsson
suggests further that the same could be claimed for Tamil. Now, this is only one step from our
proposal, i.e. we shall assume that what happens in Polish Dative and Numeral Phrase Subject
Constructions and the Old English Experiencer Subject Constructions (not Middle English
though, since Agree took place undisturbed there) is exactly the same thing that takes place in
Faroese. We propose that all the aforementioned non-Nominative subjects have the GFs
connected to [Φ] feature checking because they actually do enter that relation with T if there
is no other accessible nominal present to perform the checking (as in the Dative-Nominative
constructions). Thus, we assume that they do check off T's Case feature, the resulting
agreement however is the default 3SG.N because the [Φ] features of the non-Nominatives are
not visible to T.

3.2.3. Scrambling and feature checking

In this section we discuss the examples with the verb *podobać się (like/appeal to)* in Polish.
We have proposed that in the constructions with *podobać się* such as the following:

(24) Janowi   podoba się   nasz nowy samochód.
     John.DAT likes   refl [our new car].NOM
     'John likes our new car.'

It is the sentence-initial Dative element that bears subjecthood, while the Nominative element
functions as the object. We furthermore give additional evidence for this state of the matters
based on raising (a subject property) if combined with a raising verb such as *wydawać/zdawać
się (seem)*:

(25) Janowi   zdaje się   podobać   nasz nowy samochód.
     John.DAT seems refl to like   [our new car].NOM
     'John seems to like our new car.'

The problem with this proposal, however, can be put forward in the form of the following two
structures:

(26) a.   Nasz nowy samochód podoba   się Janowi.
           [our new car].NOM   appeals to refl John.DAT
           'John likes our new car/Our new car appeals to John.'

      b.   Nasz nowy samochód zdaje się   podobać   Janowi.
           [our new car].NOM   seems refl to appeal to John.DAT
           'It seems that John likes our new car/It seems that our new car
           appeals to John.'

The fact that the Nominative element in (24) and (25) induces agreement did not matter too much, since we assumed that it is the DP occupying the sentence-initial position, checking off T's [EPP] feature, that counted as subject. Now, however, we can see, that exactly the same is possible for the Nominative element – it clearly does check off T's [EPP] judging by its ability to raise. Our only motivation for the claim that the Dative element bears subjecthood boils down to the Thematic Hierarchy and the position of the Dative nominal within the VP, which must be higher than that of the Nominative Theme. If so, why is this the case that the Nominative Theme has the opportunity to reach [Spec, TP] at all if, logically, only the Dative element seems attractable to that position being the closest? To give an answer to this question we resort to the analysis conducted in Witkoś (2005) based on scrambling to the VP external position and clause initial position.

3.2.3.1. Witkoś's analysis of clause internal and clause external scrambling in Polish

According to Witkoś (2005), scrambling to the vP edge position constitutes an example of A--movement, whereas scrambling to the clause-initial position may be either an instance of A (27a) or A-bar (27b) movement:
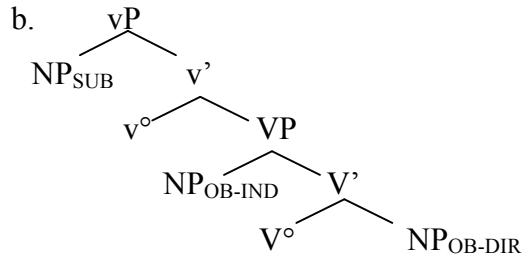
(27) a.   [$_{IP}$ NP$_{OB}$ V NP$_{SUB}$…]
      b.   [$_{IP}$ NP$_{OB}$ NP$_{SUB}$ V …]

Witkoś presents extensive evidence based on binding, Reconstruction and WCO proving that the movements in question are indeed of the A-type, i.e. the A-type movement should create new binding configurations, should invalidate WCO and should not reconstruct.

The analysis presented in Witkoś is essentially based on idioms with multiple objects, i.e. idiomatic double object constructions, and his main interest is the word order involved.

Witkoś attempts to show that there is a fixed word order within the vP in Polish double object constructions and that this order takes the following form (Dziemianko & Witkoś (to appear:):

(28) a.   [$_{vP}$ NP$_{SUB}$ v [NP$_{OB-IND}$ [$_{VPcore}$ V - NP$_{OB-DIR}$]]]

b.

```
                    vP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
         NP_SUB            v'
                      ┌─────┴─────┐
                     v°           VP
                            ┌──────┴──────┐
                       NP_OB-IND          V'
                                    ┌──────┴──────┐
                                   V°          NP_OB-DIR
```

He arrives at the conclusion that the word order is fixed on the basis of the idiomatic examples in which the idiomatic reading is available only if the original ordering is kept, any deviation from this ordering leaves us with the loss of the idiomatic reading and the only possible literal meaning:
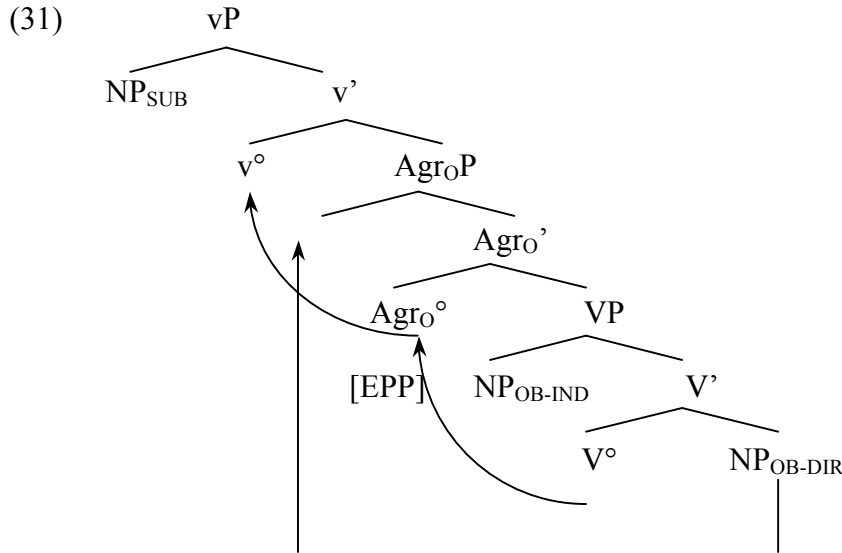
(29) a.   *Jan dał im   radę.*
           John gave them advice
           'IDM: John coped/dealt with them.'
           ('John gave them a piece of advice.'(non-idiomatic))

     b.   #*Jan dał radę im.*
           John gave advice them
           'John gave them a piece of advice.' (non-idiomatic)

     c.   #*Jan im   radę dał.*
           John them advice gave
           'John gave them a piece of advice.' (non-idiomatic)

We thus have a reason to believe that a similar ordering holds in non-idiomatic double object constructions.

(30) a.   Jan dał mamie   kwiaty.
           John gave mum.DAT flowers.ACC
           'John gave his mum flowers.'

     b.   Jan dał kwiaty   mamie.
           John gave flowers.ACC mum.DAT
           'John gave his mum flowers.'

Thus, the constructions under (30b) would have to result from scrambling of the direct object *kwiaty* ('flowers') to a position higher that the base position of the indirect object. Later, thanks to the verb movement (V°-to-Agr°-to-v°) object direct is rendered equidistant with the

subject in [Spec, vP] and available for [EPP] checking of the matrix T. This scrambling process is forced, Witkoś claims, by an additional optional [EPP] feature on the Agr head. Witkoś proposes the following derivation for this kind of structure:

(31)

```
                vP
          ┌─────┴─────┐
        NP_SUB        v'
                 ┌─────┴─────┐
                v°          Agr_OP
                        ┌─────┴─────┐
                               Agr_O'
                          ┌──────┴──────┐
                        Agr_O°           VP
                                    ┌─────┴─────┐
                       [EPP]     NP_OB-IND      V'
                                          ┌─────┴─────┐
                                         V°         NP_OB-DIR
```

He concludes, then, that Polish is not the only language allowing such an option and making use of additional optional [EPP] features on Agr and v heads, languages such as Hindi or German do so, too.

In the forthcoming section we attempt to employ Witkoś's conclusions to our analysis of constructions under (24), (25) and (26) above.

3.2.4. Non-Nominative Subject Constructions and scrambling

Now, we present an analysis of the examples under (24), (25) and (26), repeated here as (32), (33) and (34), in the light of the proposals made in Witkoś (to appear) and presented above.

(32) Janowi   podoba się   nasz nowy samochód.
     John.DAT likes   refl [our new car].NOM
     'John likes our new car.'

(33) Janowi   zdaje się   podobać   nasz nowy samochód.
     John.DAT seems refl to like   [our new car].NOM
     'John seems to like our new car.'

(34) a.   Nasz nowy samochód podoba   się Janowi.
           [our new car].NOM   appeals to refl John.DAT
           'John likes our new car/Our new car appeals to John.'

     b.   Nasz nowy samochód zdaje się   podobać   Janowi.

[our new car].NOM   seems refl to appeal to John.DAT
'It seems that John likes our new car/It seems that our new car appeals to John.'

We propose that examples under (34), similarly to the examples discussed by Witkoś, result from scrambling of the object to the periphery of the vP where it becomes visible to the Probe T and eligible for further movement. Following Witkoś, we propose that this scrambling process is forced by an additional optional feature on the v head, however, we suggest that this feature be [OCC] rather than [EPP] to make sure that it is satisfied by Move (i-Merge) rather than pure Merge (e-Merge). The derivation in question most probably proceeds as follows:

(35)
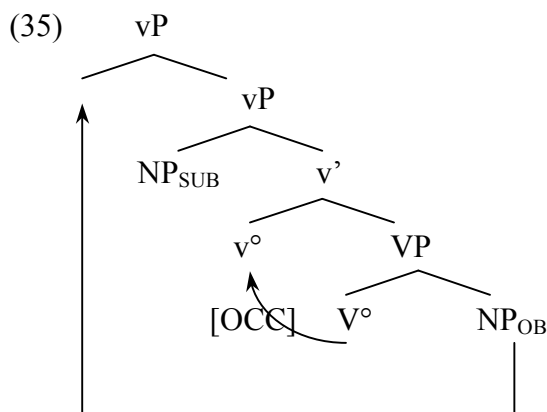
The NP_{OB}, the Theme argument, subsequently moved to the Spec of TP will check off T's [EPP] feature, its [Φ] features and it will also value its own Case feature against that of T resulting in Nominative. The situation in which no such additional feature is available on v results in T's attraction of the closer Dative Experiencer which checks off T's [EPP] feature much in the same manner as any other DP, the remaining [Φ] and Case features are checked off under Agree (T = Probe, OB/Theme = Goal) without displacement. This is what happens in sentences (32) and (33).

(36)

AGREE: [Φ], [CASE]
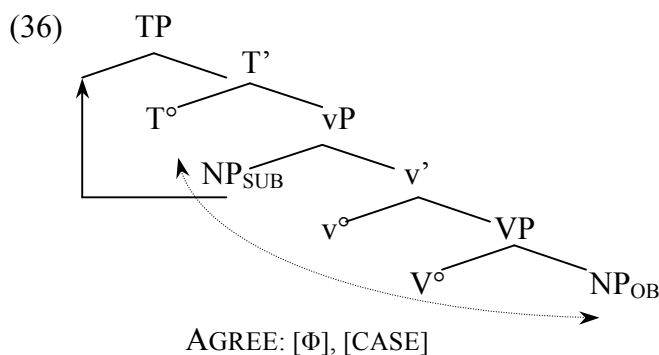
For the constructions in which there is only one nominal expression present – a non-Nominative NP/DP bearing inherent Case – we propose another additional Case feature on the nominal which will allow it to value T's Case feature later on in the derivation and the Nominative Case value will then be stacked onto the already (inherently) Case-marked nominal. Due to this, the agreement features checked off in a default process by the very same nominal will result in 3SG.N.

(37) a.   Janowi   jest wesoło.
           John.DAT is   merry
           'John feels happy.'

     b.   Janowi   podoba się u nas w domu.
           John.DAT likes   refl at our at home
           'John likes our home.'

This additional Case feature to be valued on the nominal through T may be assigned to it already in the initial numeration, where it is already clear that it is the only nominal in the derivation, or at the point when the vP is fully constructed (a phase) and it is also clear there that there is no other nominal to value T's Case feature. In that way, the system makes it possible to value the Case feature of T – the result being Case-stacking, which we have already hinted at before.

Finally, similarly to Witkoś, we have reasons to believe that this scrambling process is an instance of A-movement. The movement takes place to the position in which Case is valued, which is an old way of defining an A-position. Moreover, an element moved there does not reconstruct, if it did, we would expect (37b) to be grammatical, while it is not:

(38) a.   Janowi$_i$ podoba się kupiony przez siebie$_i$ samochód.
           John.DAT likes   refl bought by   himself car.NOM
           'John likes the car he bought himself.'

     b.   *Kupiony przez siebie$_i$ samochód podoba się Janowi$_i$.
           bought   by   himself car.NOM likes   refl John.DAT
           'John likes the car he bought himself.'

In the light of the above discussion we can propose that the availability of an optional word order in the discussed examples is a result of scrambling induced by an optional [OCC] feature on the head v. We can also propose a generalisation concerning the difference between scrambling and non-scrambling languages, i.e. the process of scrambling can be reduced to a parametrised option of having or not having the possibility of assigning an additional [OCC]

on v or Agr or T. Hence, Polish has this option and is a scrambling language, whereas English does not have this option, and thus, does not scramble.

4. Parameter settings and the definition of subject

4.1. Polish parameter setting

After all that we have said in this chapter, the parameter setting for Polish calls for changes. This is what we propose in view of the presented modifications:

(39) a.   T's [EPP] feature is strong;
      b.   T's [CASE] and [Φ] features are both weak (their checking must be executed together for economy reasons;
      c.   Experiencer is base-generated in the [Spec, v] (light verb) which subcategorises for a VP with Theme in its complement; v may have an optional [OCC] feature and allow for scrambling of the Theme to the vP peripheral position.
      d.   The light verb assigns inherent Dative to the Experiencer; it assigns inherent Accusative to the Numeral Phrase subject. The [Φ] features of the inherently Case-marked nominals are not visible to T.
      e.   T's Case feature may be checked and valued in a default manner by an inherently Case-marked NP/DP bearing an additional Case feature. The resulting Nominative Case is then 'stacked' onto it.
      f.   T's [Φ] features are checked off by the same nominal that values T's Case feature (if the nominal is already inherently Case-marked, the resulting agreement is 3SG.N or secondary adjectival agreement).

4.2. English parameter setting

The parameter setting for Old English is almost parallel to the one we have just proposed for Polish above. In Middle English the only differences boil down to the strength of the [Φ] features on T and their visibility on the inherently Case-marked nominals, i.e. the [Φ] features on T were strong in Middle English, hence checked off before Spell-Out, moreover the [Φ] features of the inherently Case-marked NP/DP were visible to the Probe T. The situation in the present-day English is as follows:

(40) a.   T's [EPP] feature is strong;

   b.   T's [Φ] and [NOM] features are both weak (their checking must be executed together for economy reasons);

   c.   The light verb cannot assign inherent Case to its Spec.

For the cases of Experiencer-verb constructions in present-day English, such as the following:

(41) John   fears mice.
      NOM.Experiencer

(42) It/This conversation pleases John/him.
      NOM.Theme   DAT.Experiencer

We assume that in (1y inherent Case. In (42), on the other hand, the Experiencer must have been base-generated lower than the Cause/Theme argument.

5. The definition of subject

In view of the discussed facts we propose the following definition of subject:

(43) Subject: An NP/DP counts as subject if it

   (i)   checks off T's [EPP] feature via i-Merge; or

   (ii)   is the only one to establish a [+Construable] feature checking relation with T.

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