A corpus-based analysis of the peculiar behaviour of the Polish verb podobać się

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1. Introduction

Our paper sums up a corpus-based microstudy of the Polish verb *podobać się* and its peculiar syntactic behaviour. *Podobać się* (please/like) is a psych-verb whose syntactic behaviour resembles that of the PIACERE-class psych-verbs (as proposed by Belletti & Rizzi in their seminal 1988 article (hence B&R 1988)).

It is generally accepted in generative frameworks that syntactic configurations and semantic (thematic) information are interrelated, i.e. the syntactic representations (at least in their initial stages) reflect the thematic representations (Chomsky's Projection Principle, Baker's (1988) Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis[1]). It has been noted, however, that in view of the above the Experiencer verbs (i.e. Subject Experiencer and Object Experiencer verbs) present us with the so-called 'linking problem'. Some more recent analyses, such as Pesetsky's (1995) finer-grained semantics or Arad's (1996, 1998) event/aspectual structure analysis, show that the phenomenon may be accommodated and the linking problem resolved. It seems, however, that the PIACERE group of psych-verbs, to which our verb *podobać się* (please/like) seems to belong, strongly resists such reanalyses and makes the problems very much alive. *Podobać się*, just like the Italian verb *piacere* allows the following two patterns:

(1) a. Janowi (DAT) podoba się mój dom (NOM).
'John likes my house'
b. Mój dom (NOM) podoba się Janowi (DAT).
'John likes my house'
(2) a. A Gianni piace questa casa.
'John likes this house'
b. Questa casa piace a Gianni.
'John likes this house'

The constructions under (1) and (2) cannot be said to involve different thematic roles or event/aspectual structure. Moreover, both versions are natural un-

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1 *UTAH* (Baker 1988:46)
Identical thematic relationships between arguments are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of deep structure.

marked word orderings, and whichever nominal surfaces in the sentence-initial position, constitutes the sentential subject[2].

In view of these facts, we decided that the following questions need answering: (1) what kind of verb is *podobać się* – SubExpV or ObExpV, (2) what is the positioning of the two arguments – Experiencer and Theme – within the verbal projection and what this projection looks like, and finally (3) how is it possible that the system allows for two different unmarked surface word orders. In our presentation we will try to answer the posed questions and propose an analysis of the aforementioned problematic issues, as well as support our proposal with corpus data.

2.   Psych-verbs and the 'linking problem'

The linking problem is connected to the positioning of the arguments of the predicate at the level of Deep Structure (hence DS) and their respective interpretation (theta-role assignment). (Baker's UTAH). However, with DS long gone (Chomsky 1993, 1995), the central research issue concerns the relationships between the arguments (their positioning and ordering) within the verbal projection. It is these relationships that are the residue of the operations previously associated with DS such as theta-role assignment and inherent Case-marking. Once we have established what the positioning of the Experiencer and Theme arguments is inside the verbal projection, we should be able to address the linking problem and tell whether the verb is SubExp or ObExp.

It would seem at first glance that as far as the issue of linking is concerned, alternating verbs such as Polish *podobać się* ('please/like'), Italian *piacere* ('please/like'), and Icelandic *henta* ('please/like'), are at least just as problematic, or even more so, as the other two classes of psych-verbs. For these verbs Arad (1996, 1998) proposed two different event/aspectual structures basing her assumptions on Tenny's (1994) Aspectual Interface Hypothesis[3] and discarding

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2   Consider the raising constructions:
  (i) Janowi (DAT) zdaje się podobać mój dom (NOM).
    'John seems to like my house'
  (ii) Mój dom (NOM) zdaje się podobać Janowi (DAT).
    'John seems to like my house'
  (iii) A Gianni sembra piacere questa casa.
    'John seems to like this house'
  (iv) Questa casa sembra piacere a Gianni.
    'John seems to like this house'

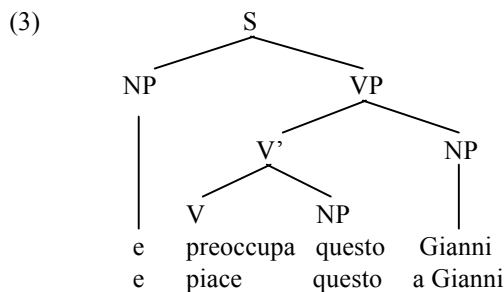3   *Aspectual Interface Hypothesis (AIH)* (Tenny 1994: 115-116):
 The universal principles of mapping between thematic structure and syntactic argument structure are governed by aspectual properties related to measuring out. Only the aspectual part of the thematic structure is visible to the universal linking principles.

Baker's UTAH. Pesetsky (1995), on the other hand, proposed an approach that would be in keeping with the UTAH, claiming that the argument generally assumed to be the Theme in the constructions with TEMERE/FEAR-class verbs and PREOCCUPARE/FRIGHTEN-class verbs is actually realized by two different theta-roles: a Causer for the ObExp PREOCCUPARE/FRIGHTEN-class of verbs, and a Target/Subject Matter (of Emotion) for the SubExpVs of the TEMERE/FEAR-class. Nevertheless, for the class of alternating verbs Pesetsky quite readily accepts B&R's (1988) analysis, i.e. the unaccusative analysis, which we discuss in some detail in the forthcoming section.

In our opinion, neither of these proposals would be fully appropriate for the alternating verbs of the PIACERE-class. We are going to propose a yet different analysis drawing on B&R's (1988) unaccusative proposal to a great extent, i.e. we consider alternating verbs unaccusative in the sense that these verbs do not have an external argument. However, we do not agree with B&R in that both arguments of these verbs follow the verb.

3.   The unaccusative analysis of psych-verbs

B&R (1988: 293) propose the following Deep Structure representation for both *preoccupare* and *piacere*.

(3)

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                        S
              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
             NP                  VP
              │          ┌────────┴────────┐
              │         V'                 NP
              │      ┌───┴───┐              │
              │      V      NP              │
              e   preoccupa questo       Gianni
              e   piace     questo       a Gianni
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Even though the two verbs are assumed to share the underlying structure, they do not exhibit the same surface orderings, in particular *preoccupare* is not an alternating verb and allows only one surface order, i.e. NOM Theme subject and ACC Experiencer object.

(4)   a.   Questo preoccupa Gianni.
           'This worries John'

Arad (1996: 26) draws on Tenny's hypothesis and proposes that the different ordering of the Experiencer argument with respect to Theme that we witness in the two classes of psych-verbs, coincides with their different event/aspectual structure. She does not explicitly analyse the alternating verbs.

    b.   *Gianni preoccupa questo.
          'This worries John'
(5) a   Questo piace a Gianni.
          'This appeals to John'
    b.   A Gianni piace questo.
          'John likes this'

B&R's unaccusative proposal is based on the data concerning the following phenomena: si-cliticisation, arbitrary pro, passive, Case, and the Italian unaccusativity tests (auxiliary selection and ne-cliticisation). We discuss them briefly below.

(a) *Si*-cliticisation

Si-cliticisation is allowed by deep-subjects only, hence no unaccusatives should exhibit the possibility of cliticizing *si*. This is borne out by *preoccupare*, nevertheless it is possible to have *piacere* with *si*:

(6)   *Gianni si preoccupa.
       'John worries (himself)/John is worried'
(7)   Nicole si piace bruna.
       'Nicole is liked as a brunette'

(b) Arbitrary *pro* interpretation

B&R (1988: 299-300) claim that such an interpretation is allowed for deep subject *pros* only, and thus, unaccusative predicates should never allow it[4].

(8)   pro hanno telefonato a casa mia.   (unergative)
       'Somebody telephoned my place'
(9)   *pro sono arrivati a casa mia.   (unaccusative)
       'Somebody arrived at my place'

(c) Passive

B&R (1988: 308-311) propose that the PREOCCUPARE-class of verbs does not allow verbal passivisation and that the apparent counterexamples to this claim are instances of the adjectival and not verbal passive (B&R 1988: 309)[5]. As Pesetsky

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4   Pesetsky (1995: 38-41) argues that such an interpretation, i.e. the arbitrary (or corporate) reading of pro, points rather to the presence of an Agent argument than unaccusativity, which would naturally have to follow.

5   Consider their examples with *preoccupare*:
      (i)   Gianni è disgustato dalla corruzione di questo paese.
          'John is disgusted by the corruption of this country'
      (ii) Gianni è affascinato da questa prospettiva.
          'John is fascinated by this prospect'
    They further support their view by pointing out that it is possible to further grade the adjectives, e.g. add the superlative affix –*issimo*, and hence derive:

(1995: 51) shows, *piacere* does not allow any kind of passive, neither verbal, nor adjectival, and thus does not pattern with any of the aforementioned classes in that respect.

(d)   The inherent Case of the Experiencer

The interesting assumption B&R make about the PREOCCUPARE-class of unaccusatives is that these verbs assign inherent ACC Case to their Experiencer [6], the PIACERE-class verbs, on the other hand, assign DAT to their Experiencer. According to them, the fact that the Case of the Experiencer is DAT only lends further support to its being inherent in both classes[7].

(e)   Italian unaccusativity tests: auxiliary selection and *ne*-cliticisation

There are two generally accepted unaccusativity tests in the literature on Italian: *ne*-cliticisation and the auxiliary *essere* (be) selection. The PIACERE-class verbs do indeed behave like unnaccusatives with respect to both tests, while the verbs from the PREOCCUPARE-class do not; consider the following examples depicting the auxiliary selection and ne-cliticisation of *piacere*:

(10) a.   A Gianni (DAT) è sempre piaciuta la musica
          'John has always liked music'
     b.   La musica è sempre piaciuta a Gianni (DAT).
          'Music has always appealed to John'
(11)   ?Ne sono piaciuti a Maria [solo due __].
          'Mary was pleased by only two of them'   (Pesetsky 1995: 51)

(iii) Gianni è affascinatissimo / preoccupatissimo da…
       John is the most fascinated/ the most worried by

They also show that the choice of the passive auxiliary, i.e. between the most common *essere* (be), which allows both adjectival and verbal passives, and *venire* (come) compatible only with the verbal ones, shows a contrast between the TEMERE and PREOCCUPARE classes, i.e. the PREOCCUPARE-class never forms passive auxiliated by *venire*.

6   This is visible in the following example (B&R 1988: 331):
(i)   *Questo lo* (ACC) *preoccupa.*
      'It worries him'

They furthermore modify Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1986) for their purposes so as to allow ACC Case assignment by an unaccusative verb (B&R 1988: 332): V is a structural Case assigner iff it has an external argument.

7   The Experiencer argument of *preoccupare* bears inherent ACC assigned directly by the verb, whereas the Dative Experiencer of *piacere*, bears Case which, though assigned by the verb, is marked by a preposition. On the basis of this, B&R conclude that the DAT Experiencer of *piacere* will always be free to move, because it moves together with its Case-marker, whereas the ACC Experiencer of *preoccupare* must stay put where its Case is assigned, hence the two surface orderings of *piacere* (NOM-DAT/DAT-NOM) and a fixed (NOM-ACC) order of *preoccupare*.

4.   The internal structure of the verbal projection

It seems that an unaccusative analysis of the PIACERE-class verbs is to a great extent on the right track. There is no external argument involved in these constructions, however, we have seen that in the phrase marker proposed under (6) both arguments follow the verb, i.e. they are both internal arguments. It appears, however, that only one of the arguments behaves like an internal argument with respect to *ne*-cliticisation, i.e. the NOM Theme, and never the DAT Experiencer, that allows it. Moreover, the Experiencer is able to bind into the Theme argument, and never vice versa. The binding facts are, naturally, unproblematic if one takes a look at the proposed structure (see examples below), however the *ne*-citicisation facts remain obscure[8]. Below, we try to show some similarities between alternating verbs and double-object verbs which will shed some light on the situation.

4.1. Some parallels between DOCs and PIACERE-unaccusatives

If we were to assume the kind of analysis proposed by B&R (1988) for the PIACERE-class of verbs, where both arguments of the verb are considered its objects, we would be apparently assuming something closely resembling a double object construction, the difference being the lack of the external (agentive) argument. Thus we propose that these verbs are basically double object unnaccusatives[9]. If we, furthermore, take a look at the possibilities of passivisation in DOCs (a situation in which their external argument is demoted/suppressed/ absorbed), we find that both object arguments are equally eligible for movement to the surface subject position - a situation strongly reminiscent of the one we encounter with the alternating verbs of PIACERE-type.

(12) a.   We were given a book.
     b.   A book was given us.   (British English)
     c.   *A book was given us.   (Am. Eng., McGinnis 1998:4)
(13) a.   Jon ble gitt boken.
           'John was given the book'
     b.   Boken ble gitt Jon.   (Norwegian, Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 215)
           'The book was given to John'

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8   B&R (1988: 342, footnote 35) are open to the idea that the Experiencer could be base-generated in the Spec, VP. It would explain just as well why the Experiencer is able to bind into the Theme and perhaps shed some light on the distinct behaviour of the two arguments with respect to the *ne*-cliticisation (*ne* cannot be extracted from the spec, but only from the complement position). They refer to a structure proposed by Den Besten (1982) for the German counterparts of the PIACERE and PREOCCUPARE classes, i.e. *gefallen* and *interessieren*.

9   For a similar proposal see Belletti and Shlonsky (1995).

(14) a. Ólafi (DAT) var gefin bókin (NOM).
'Olaf was given the book'
    b. Bókin (NOM) var gefin Ólafi (DAT).
'The book was given to Olaf'   (Icelandic, Falk 1990)

It has been argued by Ura (1996, 2000) and McGinnis (1998) that in such constructions the two objects are equidistant, hence the possibility of two different passives. Ura (2000: 249) proposes the structure under (15) for such DOCs, and under (16) we give an almost identical structure proposed by Woolford (2006: 116).
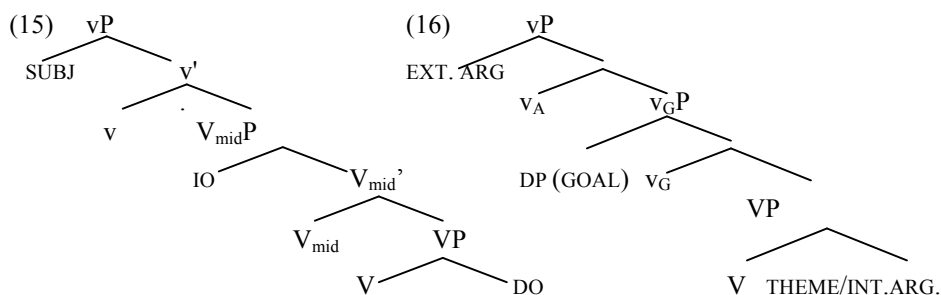

In Ura's approach for the two objects to be eligible for further movement, i.e. promotion to the surface subject position, they must find themselves equidistant from the target at some stage in the derivation[10]. In both of the above constructions every single argument of the verb is introduced by a separate, distinct head. What we see here is one argument per head/ projection. For some time now, it has been argued in the literature that the external argument is not and cannot be introduced into the derivation in the projection of the head introducing the internal argument (Chomsky 1993, 1995; Hale & Keyser 1993; Kratzer 1993; Tateishi 1994; Harley 1995; Bowers 2002). It seems that we are faced with a similar situation here, i.e. the relationship between the two objects in DOCs resembles that of the subject and object arguments in the regular monotransitive verb constructions. Thus, if we assume distinct heads introducing every single argument in DOCs, we think that there is reason to believe that the same situation arises in all other constructions, hence also in constructions with the PIACERE-class verbs.

We have agreed that these verbs have no external argument, and in that way they may boast some clearly unaccusative properties, we assume that they also

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10   This, Ura claims, is possible if the direct object is moved to Spec, V_{mid} or if both objects move to form multiple specs of the highest verbal head, the light verb v: "IO can always be passivised in a language L if L has the active/passive alternation, but DO cannot be passivised unless DO is allowed to enter the same minimal domain where IO is located before Spell-Out in L". (Ura 2000: 249)

lack the highest light verb projection[11]. Drawing on both Ura's and Woolford's analyses, we propose the following structure to accommodate the two arguments .

(17)

$$v_GP$$

Experiencer v_G'

v_G VP

V^{12} Theme
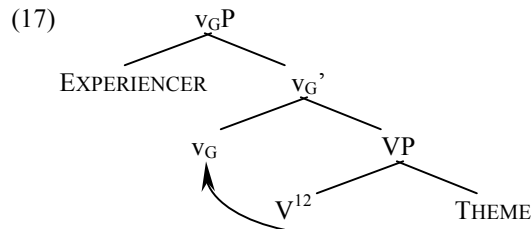
4.2. The domains of inherent and structural Case

Woolford (2006: 113-118) provides further support for the presence of two distinct heads in the constructions discussed above. Her arguments are based on the contexts of structural and non-structural Case-assignment. She proposes that what we have always believed to be one kind of Case - inherent Case – is actually two different types: lexical and inherent, which according to her are in complementary distribution[13]. In her analysis, just like in the mainstream minimalist approach, the external argument is introduced by a light verb. Bearing that in mind, Woolford goes on to show that DP Goals behave more like external than internal arguments and hence they must also be introduced by a light v head (distinct from the one introducing Agents). The Cases of such elements are usually predictable inherent Cases (Ergative for Agents, Dative for Goals), and not idiosyncratic Cases like in

11   The presence of the light verb projection is also associated with the presence of ACC Case (a modernized version of Burzio's Generalization) – the lack of it should explain why we do not encounter ACC Case in constructions with alternating verbs.

12   We assume that in the course of the derivation V should raise to v_G rendering both arguments equidistant and hence equally eligible for further movement. In view of that, it is not at all surprising why alternating have alternating word orderings: Experiencer-Theme and Theme-Experiencer.

13   *Two types of non-structural Case* (Woolford 2006 :112)
     a.   Lexical Case: Idiosyncratic, lexically selected Case
     b.   Inherent Case: Case inherently associated with a certain theta-role
     Complementary distribution of lexical and inherent Case
     a.   Lexical Case may occur on themes/internal arguments, but not on external arguments or on (shifted) DP Goal arguments.
     b.   Inherent Case may occur on external arguments and on (shifted) DP Goal arguments, but not on themes/internal arguments.
     Lexical and inherent Case licensing
     a.   lexical heads (e.g., V, P) license idiosyncratic lexical Case
     b.   little/light v heads license inherent Case

the case of Theme arguments. Whether a language has light v heads which have the capacity to license inherent Case is subject to parametric variation. She concludes that due to the complementary distribution of the inherent and lexical cases, it is impossible to have one head licensing both. Since Themes never receive inherent Case (in Woolford's approach they receive lexical Case), it follows straightforwardly that the head which inherently Case-marks a Dative Experiencer, for instance, cannot be the same as the one that introduces the Theme argument.

Coming back to the PIACERE-class verbs, we have seen above that these verbs assign inherent DAT to their Experiencer argument, while their Theme argument is forced to value its Case against INFL/T and thus surfaces as NOM. If our Experiencer argument were to be base-generated in Woolford's [Spec, v_G] (see (16) & (17)), it would be assigned inherent DAT there. The V head in our construction has no structural Case to assign (it is after all an unaccusative verb), nor does it have any lexical Case to assign, and hence the VP internal Theme argument is forced to seek Case elsewhere. Thus, it will either value its Case feature against the probing T under Agree once the DAT Experiencer has moved to [Spec, TP] to check off T's EPP feature (as in Chomsky 2001) and the resulting word order of such a derivation would be Experiencer.DAT-Theme.NOM; or it would move over the Dative Experiencer (assuming the arguments are equidistant) to check T's EPP itself and at the same time value its Case feature once there.

5.   How does *podobać się* fit into the picture: a corpus-based analysis

5.1. *Podobać się* as an unaccusative verb

The term unaccusativity goes back to Perlmutter (1978) and his Unaccusative Hypothesis, according to which intransitive verbs are split into two types: unaccusatives (subcategorising for an internal argument only), and unergatives (subcategorising for an external argument only). After B&R (1988), we are proposing a third type: a double object unaccusative subcategorising for two internal arguments and no external argument. We propose that Polish *podobać się,* like Italian *piacere*, belongs to this type and we attempt to prove it.

The evidence B&R propose for the unaccusativity of *piacere* may seem somewhat circumstantial at times, however, they give two unquestionable unaccusativity tests that *piacere* passes, namely auxiliary selection (*essere* for unaccusatives) and *ne*-cliticization. It is impossible to devise an auxiliary selection test for the Polish *podobać się* because Polish does not make use of auxiliaries in the

past tense[14]. It has also been noted in the literature that the *ne*-cliticization test is unavailable in Polish (Cetnarowska 2002). We believe that it is possible to construct a similar test.

Ne-cliticization only affects internal arguments in Italian, in the case of *piacere* the NOM Theme - the OB$_{DIR}$ (see (11) above from Pesetsky (1995)). Let us have a look at the following examples of unaccusatives from Polish and Italian.

(18) a.   Przyszło(3.SG.N) tylko **pięć dziewczyn**.   Polish unaccusative
     b.   **Dziewczyn** przyszło(3.SG.N) tylko **pięć t** .
           'There came only five girls.'
(19) a.   Sono arrivate solo **cinque ragazze**.   Italian unaccusative
           'There arrived only five girls.'
     b.   **Ne** sono arrivate solo **cinque.**
           'Of them (the girls) arrived only five'

Let us now see how *piacere* and *podobać się* behave in similar environment. Apart from the aforementioned example (11) with *piacere*, we have also found the following Italian example:

(20) Ci sono alcune canzoni che mi piacciono[…] tornando alle canzoni belle del
     momento, a me **ne** piace **una**, peró non so il titolo…
     'There are a few songs which I like…coming back to the beautiful songs of today,
     of them I like one, but I don't know the title…'   [freeforumzone.leonardo.it]

It appears to us that Polish *podobać się* behaves in a parallel fashion with respect to extraction of its OB$_{DIR}$ (NOM Theme):

(21) a.   Janowi(DAT) podoba się tylko **jedna z tych dziewczyn**.
           'John likes only one of these girls.'
     b.   **Z tych dziewczyn/Z nich** Janowi(DAT) podoba się tylko **jedna t** .
           'Of these girls John likes only one.'
(22) a.   Janowi(DAT) nie podoba się **żadna z tych dziewczyn**.
           'John does not like any of these girls.'
     b.   **Z tych dziewczyn/Z nich** Janowi(DAT) nie podoba się **żadna t** .
           'Of these girls John does not like any.'

Just like in the case of *piacere*, only the NOM Theme is affected by the extraction[15], which shows us that it is a true internal argument. This is only half of

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14   However, see Lavine (in press) for an auxiliary hypothesis of *-no/-to* and its role as an unac-
     cusative diagnostic.
15   The following sentence in which the DAT Experiencer would be affected by such extraction
     is not felicitous:
     (i)   Jan nie podoba się żadnej z tych dziewczyn.
            'John does not appeal to any of these girls.'

the truth we are seeking, nonetheless, it is an important fact that we have now established: the NOM Theme is generated in the underlying object position. As for the Experiencer, we know it is not an external argument and is not base-generated in the vP in which Agents are introduced. If it were, we would expect the presence of ACC and possibility of passivization, none of which occur with *podobać się*; it would also be difficult to account for the verb's two orderings[16].

The literature on unaccusativity in Polish is rather sparse, nevertheless, we managed to gather some facts about unaccusativity diagnostics and we present some of our findings at the same time showing how *podobać się* fits in with them.

Biały (1998: 64) claims that, as opposed to other languages, Polish allows impersonal constructions with both unergatives and unaccusatives. Unaccusatives are barred only from impersonals with purpose clauses[17]. The same is true of *podobać się*.

(23) a.   Na dyskotekach się tańczy.   (unergative)
        'One dances at discos.'

     b.   W szpitalach się umiera.   (unaccusative)
        'People die in hospitals.'

(23)   W parku się wszystkim podoba.   (double object unaccusative)
        'The park appeals to everyone.'

(24) a.   Na dyskotekach się tańczy żeby się lepiej bawić.
        'One dances at discos to have more fun.'

     b.   *W szpitalach się umiera żeby zwolnić miejsce.
        'People die in hospitals to make their beds accessible to others.'

     c.   *W parku się wszystkim podoba żeby zadowolić burmistrza.
        'The park appeals to everyone to make the mayor happy.'

Another unaccusativity test proposed by Biały (1998: 66-67) is based on the resultative construction. Postulated by Simpson (1983), the resultative construction is shown to exhibit an OB$_{DIR}$ restriction, i.e. the resultative phrase can only be predicated of OB$_{DIR}$. Biały argues that this makes it an unaccusative diagnostic.

(ii)   *Z tych dziewczyn Jan nie podoba się żadnej.
      'Of these girls John does not appeal to any.'

16 To derive the Theme-Experiencer ordering we would have a hard time extracting the Theme over the Experiencer. It is the Experiencer which is at the edge of the phase, while the Theme is in its complement domain (inaccessible to movement taking PIC into account; unless moved to the edge first).

17 There is a problem we see with this test and it is similar to what Pesetsky (1995) has pointed out about B&R's *arbitrary pro* interpretation, namely, that it is quite likely that the possibility or impossibility of a purpose clause is connected to Agenthood, or, to be more precise, is licensed by the presence of an Agent (that would be *się* in the example with the unergative, but not in other cases). However, it does provide us with yet another fact, i.e. there definitely is no agentive/external argument vP in the constructions with *podobać się*.

He also proposes that "Polish resultative constructions are realized by means of verb prefixation"[18]. The following are resultative constructions with unaccusatives:

(25) a.   Rzeka zamarzła.
           'The river froze solid.'
     b.   Lód odtajał.
           'The ice thawed.'

Unergatives do not allow resultative constructions unless supported by a "fake object". According to Biały (1998: 67) they may be represented by *się* or an unsubcategorized NP (in square brackets we give the non-resultative version for comparison).

(26) Ewa dodzwoniła *(się) do matki. (result.)   / [Ewa dzwoniła do matki]
     'Eve got through on the phone to her mother.'   ['Eve telephoned her mother']
(27) Ewa wypłakała *(sobie oczy)*(za Tomkiem).(result.)/[Ewa płakała (za Tomkiem)]
     'Eve cried (her eyes out) (for Tom).'   ['Eve cried (for Tom)']

Podobać się patterns with single object unaccusatives.

(28) a.   Maria podobała się Janowi. / Janowi podobała się Maria.
           'Mary used to appeal to John.' / 'John used to like Mary.'
     b.   Maria spodobała się Janowi. / Janowi spodobała się Maria.   (resultative)
           'Mary appealed to John.' / 'John liked Mary.'

There are no unsabcategorized arguments here, and *się* cannot count as a "fake object" because it is an integral part of the verb *podobać się,* hence its use is not parallel to the use of *się* with unergatives above.

As a final note, it is worth adding that *podobać się,* just like its Italian counterpart *piacere,* does not allow any kind of passivization (neither verbal, nor adjectival), which again points to its unaccusative nature. In the next section we concentrate on the verb's word order patterns.

5.2. Variation in word order

As we said in section 2 *podobać się* is an alternating verb: it allows either of its nominal arguments to appear in the sentence initial position. To examine empirically the surface arrangements in which it occurs we turned to a corpus of modern

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18   He claims that prefixes in Polish do not function as perfective markers only, as a majority of perfective verbs also have imperfective counterparts: *wytrzeć* (*wipe clean*, perfective)/ *wycierać* (*wipe clean*, imperfective) (Biały (1998: 67)).

Polish.[19] The combinations we searched for and the frequencies of each pattern are given in Table 1 below:

WORD ORDER	NUMBER OF INSTANCES
1. DAT V NOM	103
2. NOM V DAT	56
3. DAT NOM V	42
4. NOM DAT V	119
5. V DAT NOM	144
6. V NOM DAT	6

TABLE 1.   Word order variation allowed by *podobać się* and the number of instances of each ordering in the IPI PAN CORPUS

Let us now present typical example sentences and some general characteristics associated with each arrangement. The cliticle *się* is movable and for this reason in the search we needed to split each pattern in table 1 into two or more sub-patterns. In the analysis below we discuss each sub-pattern separately.

PATTERN 1A: DAT – V się – NOM[20]

This sub-pattern consisted of 63 sentences in our corpus. Two features need to be mentioned. First, over half of the sentences [34] were negative. Second, there were 15 which we would like to label as emphatic. We take an emphatic sentence to be one in which the meaning of the verb is strengthened by adverbial expressions like *bardzo* (*very much*), *zawsze* (*always*) or *ogromnie* (*enormously*), e.g.:

(29) Prezydentowi(DAT) nie podobają się szczególnie przepisy (NOM)...
 'The president especially does not like the regulations...'
(30) Franciszkowi Rysiowi (DAT) zawsze podobała się praca (NOM) na kolei
 'Franciszk Ryś always liked working for the railway'

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19   The corpus we searched was the preliminary version of the IPI PAN Corpus, developed by the Linguistic Engineering Group at the Institute of Computer Science, Polish Academy of Sciences. The corpus contains over 70 million morphosyntactically annotated segments; the texts comprising it come from a variety of genres: contemporary prose: 10%, older prose: 10%, science: 10%, newspapers: 50%, parliamentary proceedings: 15%, law: 5%. The details concerning this version of the corpus and the software we used to search it can be found in Przepiórkowski (2004).

20   The elements in this pattern (and in all the others) need not be adjacent. As the examples demonstrate, there can be as many as three intervening items separating the key categories.

As for the distribution of old vs. new information in this pattern, the analysis of a larger context of the sentence in (29) reveals that the DAT nominal *prezydentowi* is thematic, i.e. (29) comes from a text which discusses the president's views on the regulations in question, and in which the noun president is mentioned repeatedly:

(31) Ale jednocześnie prezydent stwierdził, że nie należy tego zbytnio ograniczać. (...) ta dysproporcja w uzasadnieniu prezydenta jest naszym zdaniem wyjątkowo rażąca. Prezydentowi nie podobają się szczególnie przepisy...
'But the president also stated that this should not be restricted too much. (..) this disproportion in the president's justification is in our opinion particularly striking. The president especially does not like the regulations…'

PATTERN 1B: DAT – się V – NOM

In the case of pattern 1b out of the total of 40 sentences 21 were emphatic, and only 3 were marked as negative.

(32) Zawsze mi (DAT) się podobały kobiety (NOM), ich urok
'I always like women, their charm'
(33) Bardzo mi (DAT) się podoba stwierdzenie (NOM) mojego przedmówcy
'I very much like the statement made by the preceding speaker'

PATTERN 2A: NOM – V się – DAT

The sentences in pattern 2B reached a total of 46. Almost half were negative and only 5 were emphatic.

(34) Ten pomysł (NOM) nie podoba się Wiesławowi (DAT)
'Wiesław does not like this idea'
(35) Zajęcia (NOM) podobały się uczniom (DAT)
'The pupils like the classes'

PATTERN 2B: NOM – się V - DAT

There were only 10 sentences exemplifying this sub-pattern. 6 of them contained a modal verb or a modal expression.

(36) Pierwsza połowa (NOM) mogła się podobać kibicom (DAT)
'The fans probably enjoyed the first half'
(37) program (NOM), który tak się podoba Platformie Obywatelskiej (DAT)
'the program, which Platforma Obywatelska likes so much'

The NOM expressions introducing sentences in Pattern 2 can also be linked to given/old information. In example (34) above, the idea that *Wiesław* dislikes is introduced in the immediately preceding sentence:

(38) Chce wycofać się z interesu i poświęcić swojej życiowej pasji: filozofii. Ten po mysł...
'He wants to quit the business and devote himself to his life's passion: philosophy'

PATTERN 3A: DAT - się – NOM - V

In this category we found 28 sentences. Both nominals were often realized by pronouns: there were various DAT pronouns in 23 sentences, and the nominative pronoun *to* (*it*) in 12 examples. Emphatic constructions were also quite common, constituting about 30 per cent of the total.

(39) Bardzo mi (DAT) się to (NOM) podoba
'I like this very much'
(40) Niezbyt mi(DAT) się to (NOM) podobało
'I didn't reallt like this'

PATTERN 3B: DAT - NOM – się V

With the clitic closer to the verb the pattern becomes less popular (13 sentences) and pronominal NPs are less common: we found only 3 DAT pronouns and 3 instances of the nominative form *to*. Emphatics, however, still account for about 30 per cent of all the sentences.

(41) Sojuszowi Lewicy Demokratycznej (DAT) ten projekt (NOM) się podoba
'Sojusz Lewicy Demokretycznej really likes this project'
(42) Mojemu fryzjerowi (DAT) to (NOM) się nie podoba
'My hairdresser does not like this'

Pattern 3 consists of two nominal expressions followed by the verb. An examination of the context of example (41) reveals that the two nominals represent given information, whereas the verb is the information focus. The two given pieces of information represent the political party whose view is being expressed and the regulations under discussion. The new information is the judgement that is presented:

(43) Po przyjrzeniu się w szczegółach przedkładanemu przez rząd projektowi ordynacji wyborczej do Parlamentu Europejskiego musimy powiedzieć, iż Sojuszowi Le wicy Demokratycznej ten projekt się podoba
'After examining the details of the Government's proposal concerning the Euro pean elections statute we must say that Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej likes this proposal'

PATTERN 3C: DAT - NOM – V się

Being the least popular pattern in 3, this arrangement has only 1 exemplification in the corpus:

(44) Lecz Millerowi (DAT) rada (NOM) podobała się
      'But Miller liked this advice'

PATTERN 4A: NOM - DAT - się V

Pattern 4 differs from the previous one in that the NOM Theme is the initial element in the sequence. This difference brings about an increase in the number of examples that were attested in the corpus. The string encoded by 4A is by far the most numerous out of the three patterns in 4: it adds up to 110 sentences. In all of them the DAT NPs are represented by a pronoun.

(45) Ta praca (NOM) mi (DAT) się podoba
      'I like this work'
(46) natomiast kobiety (NOM) bardzo mi (DAT) się podobają
      'However, women I like very much'

As was the case with Pattern 3, the two NPs encode here given information. In sentence (45) they are arranged in the order of their relative communicative value: (45) is actually a quotation immediately preceded in the original text by a description of the speaker's occupation:

(47) Krystyna jest urzędniczką. Oprócz tego od kilku lat zajmuje się ubezpieczeniami
      na życie. - Ta praca mi się podoba.
      'Krystyna is an office worker. Apart from that for a few years she has been selling
      life insurance policies. 'I like this work.' '

PATTERN 4B: NOM – się - DAT - V

DAT pronouns are also common in 4B. This time we have only 8 sentences; the two DAT pronouns that occur are *komuś* and *nam*.

(48) Może to (NOM) się komuś (DAT) podobać lub nie.
      'One may like this or not'
(49) W demokracji zawsze jest tak, że ktoś (NOM) się komuś (DAT) podoba lub nie
      'In a democracy it's always the case that you may like someone or not'

PATTERN 4C: NOM – DAT – V się

The single example we found of pattern 4C is a sentence relative clause.

(50) Mieliśmy dużo swobody, co (NOM) niektórym (DAT) z nas nie podobało się
      'We had a lot of freedom, which some of us did not like'

PATTERN 5A: V się – DAT - NOM[21]

Patterns 5 and 6 are both introduced by the verb. The first of them is the most common arrangement out of the ones we examined. In 5A, which is exemplified by 14 sentences in the corpus, the characteristic feature is again the DAT Experiencer pronoun (present in 11 examples).

(51) Wczoraj bardzo podobała się im (DAT) wyprawa (NOM) w Pieniny
   'They very much liked the trip to the Pieniny Mountains yesterday'
(52) Podoba się im (DAT) bezpośredni kontakt (NOM) z tak wybitnymi artystami.
   'They like direct contact with such great artists'

In Pattern 5 it is the verb that introduces the sentence and that functions as Theme. For example, in the case of (52) the preceding context concerns the assessment of an arts course by its participants:

(53) A jak kurs oceniali uczestnicy? - Bardzo wysoko. Podoba się im bezpośredni kon takt z tak wybitnymi artystami.
   ' 'How did the participants evaluate the course? 'Very highly' 'They like direct contact with such great artists.' '

PATTERN 5B: V – DAT – się - NOM

The popularity of pattern 5 is due to the 130 sentences we found for the sequence in 5B. All of them contain a DAT pronoun realizing the Experiencer role.

(54) Podoba mi (DAT) się twoja spontaniczność (NOM)
   'I like your spontaneity'
(55) Nie podoba mi (DAT) się to (NOM)
   'I don't like this'

PATTERN 6A: V - NOM - DAT

Pattern 6 is the least common of all the patterns in the study. We found only one sentence instantiating 6A, with *się* preceding the verb, and five sentences instantiating 6B, with *się* following the verb.

(56) mimo że tak bardzo się podobały jego bokobrody (NOM) wyrafinowanym pary-żankom   (DAT)
   'Despite the fact that sophisticated Parisian women liked his sideburns so much'

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21   The are two sub-patterns in 5. We found no exemplars of sequences with the initial particle *się*, i.e. się V - DAT – NOM.

<div align="center">**PATTERN 6B: V się - NOM - DAT**</div>

As for 6B, in four sentences out of the five we found, the DAT nominal is followed by a relative clause.

(57) Podobała się ta szczerość (NOM) zakonnikowi (DAT).
     'The monk liked his / her sincerity'
(58) Nie bardzo podobało się to (NOM) działaczom klubowym (DAT), którzy...
     'This did not win favour with club officials, who...'

In (57) the placement of the verb in the initial position appears to be motivated stylistically. The information structure of the sentence in (58) is in line with the general pattern that has emerged in our presentation: the speaker moves from given to new information. The initial verb expresses the evaluation of the action referred to in the immediately preceding sentence:

(59) To była śmiała decyzja, bo jeszcze nie znano zwyczaju wojaży Polek koszykarek za ocean. Nie bardzo podobało się to działaczom klubowym, którzy...
     'It was a brave decision because until then no Polish female basketball player had ever gone to play in the states. This did not win favour with club officials, who...'

The results of the study clearly demonstrate that in terms of sentence word order *podobać się* is an alternating verb. However, despite the differences in word order the information structure of each of the major patterns is held constant and follows the given – new information sequence. Let us next see how corpus data can support the claim that both NP arguments of *podobać się* can function as subjects in raising constructions.

5.3. Raising

Raising is considered to be one of the tests for subjecthood: the process is said to move an NP from the subject position of a lower clause to the subject position of an upper clause. In section 1 we used invented examples to show that *podobać się* allows either of its nominals to occupy the position immediately preceding the raising verb *zdawać się* (*seem*). As for authentic examples, we failed to find any in our corpus. However, searching for this construction on the Internet produced a number of example sentences, which we give below. In general, they demonstrate that both the DAT NP and the NOM NP can occur pre-verbally:

(60) Pan Tytus niby przeczył, ale to ujęcie (NOM) sprawy zdawało mu(DAT) się podobać.
     'Mr Tytus appeared to deny it, but he seemed to like this treatment of the matter'
     From: Maria Dąbrowska, NOCE I DNIE, volume V Wiatr w oczy (101-102) web source: www.racjonalista.pl/kk.php/s,4356

(61) Kobietom (DAT) to (NOM) zdaje się podobać
      'Women seem to like this'   distantjourney.net

5.4. The passive, external argument and Case

As mentioned before, neither the Italian *piacere,* nor the Polish *podobać się,* allows any type of passive. In our analysis this follows from the properties of the structures involved: their structures lack the highest light verb projection associated with external arguments and ACC Case. Thus, if there is no external argument to be demoted and no ACC to be absorbed, no passive is possible.

5.5. The two arguments of *podobać się* and binding

The ability to bind an anaphor constitutes another test often used to determine the subject status of an element in Polish. We thus searched the IPI PAN corpus and the World Wide Web for examples of structures involving anaphoric dependencies. A selection of the relevant examples we found is given below. What they show is that both NPs can act as binders and fulfill the binding criterion for subjecthood; thus we have both DAT binders, as in (62), and NOM binders, as in (63) and (64).

(62) mi (DAT) się swój[22] głos (NOM) podoba
      'I like my voice'
      www.mp4.com.pl/index.php?str=linkif&teksty=12
      adas.jogger.pl/2005/10/12/ zaloguj-sie-aby-cos-wyszukac-na-forum-ubuntu/
(63) ja (NOM) się sobie (refl.DAT) też bardzo podobam
      'I like myself very much too'
      mydziewczyny.tenbit.pl/ 1,191,8,17790254,50007809,2039031,0,forum.html
(64) im bardziej (pro NOM) przypominam młodego hipopotamka, tym bardziej podo-
bam się swojemu mężowi (DAT)
      'The more I resemble a young hippo, the more my husband likes me'
      marchefkowo.blox.pl/html/ 1310721,262146,14,15.html?5,2005

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22 The pronoun *swój* (self's own) in this context alternates with *mój* (my/mine):
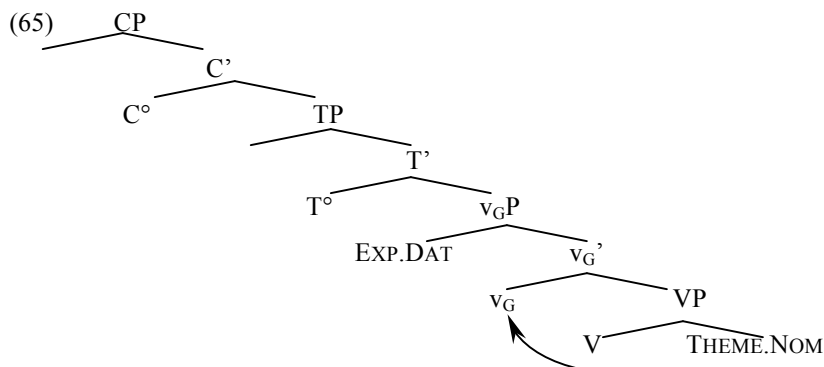   (i)   *Chociaż mi* (DAT) *się mój stajl* (NOM) *podoba bardziej niż ...*
    'Although I like my style more than...'
    (ii) *Oprócz tego podoba mi* (DAT) *się mój obecny stan* (NOM)
    'Apart from this I like my present state'

6.   Summary and conclusion

In section 4 we proposed what the ordering of the items is within the verbal pro-
jection, i.e. crucially we assume that the two different surface orderings result
from the same underlying order, we can say that these predicates pose no problem
for Baker's (1988) UTAH and they certainly do not call for any finer-grained se-
mantics analysis (as in Pesetsky 1995).

Moreover, we conclude that when it comes to the division of psych–verbs in-
to SubExpVs and ObExpVs, the PIACERE-class of verbs is neither here nor there,
i.e. it constitutes a class in its own right.

With respect to the DAT-NOM / NOM-DAT alternation, we propose a struc-
ture in which the two arguments are introduced into the derivation by distinct
verbal heads: the Theme argument by V and the Experiencer argument by the
light v_G verb. The Experiencer is higher in the structure, c-commanding the
Theme, which explains why it is able to bind into the Theme. The two alternating
surface orderings result from the vacuous raising of V to v_G, which renders the
two arguments equidistant and thus equally eligible for further movement.

(65)   CP
         / \
            C'
           / \
         C°   TP
              / \
                 T'
                / \
              T° v_GP
                   / \
              EXP.DAT v_G'
                       / \
                     v_G VP
                      ↑   / \
                          V   THEME.NOM

We leave the remaining variations of surface orderings for further research, nev-
ertheless we presume that they would result from the presence or absence of some
additional [EPP/OCC] features on the probing heads v_G and C-T (as in recent
Chomskyan analyses), i.e. apart from the two orderings (NOM - V - DAT and
DAT - V - NOM) we expect that the remaining order variations result from
scrambling .

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