Polish Focus Structure

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Contents

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
ARG	argument
CMPL	complementizer
DAT	dative
DIST	distributive
F	feminine
FOC	focus
FSP	Functional Sentence Perspective
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperfect aspect
INF	infinitive
INST	instrumental case
IF	illocutionary force
M	masculine
N	neuter
NOM	nominative case
NP	noun phrase
NUC	nucleus
PASS	passive
PP	prepositional phrase
PrCS	precore slot
PRED	predicate
PRES	present tense
PRO$_{REL}$	relative pronoun
PRF	perfective aspect
PST	past tense
Q	interrogative illocutionary force
REFL	reflexive
V	verb
VP	verb phrase

Chapter 1: Introduction

Polish is a Slavic language which has been noted to have great flexibility in the ordering of constituents within a sentence. For this reason, it has been classified as having "free word order," where SVO order has been posited to be basic but not mandatory. However, changes in order from the basic are not random, but rather occur for various reasons. Prague school linguists call the principles underlying the flexibility in word order the "functional sentence perspective (FSP)." To describe how information is distributed in a sentence, that is to give the information structure of sentences, Mathesius (1929: 127), an early Prague School linguist, divided the parts of an utterance into "theme" and "rheme." The theme is what "one is talking about, the topic," and the rheme is "what one says about it, the comment" (Daneš 1970: 134). These have also been explained as a distinction between new information, rheme, and given information, theme. Using the latter interpretation, Szwedek (1976: 51) stated that it is "not true that order of sentence elements in Polish is free or is a matter of style," but that it is "strictly determined" and "reflects the organization of the utterance according to the new/given information distribution which, of course, is dependent on the context and situation." Here and elsewhere under FSP, theme is posited to be stated first in an utterance, followed by rheme in unmarked sentences. Hockett (1963) declared the FSP to be universal. Szober (1967) explained that this order results from natural psychological tendencies where one identifies first and then differentiates.

However, this is not a stipulation that all sentences must be ordered theme and then rheme. For example, Krylova and Khavronina (1976) states that the FSP determined order is "objective," while it can be inverted to give a "emotive" or "colloquial nuance"

(136). She states that when two equivalent sentences differ only in their ordering of theme and rheme, then word order, intonation, and stylistics also differ while vocabulary and meaning remain the same (137).

When analyzing a corpus for adherence to FSP (as determined by Givon's measurement of referential distance), Siewerska (1993) found that this principle accounted for 62% of the phrases analyzed (251). She also looked for adherence to a principle based on processing ease of linearization, Hawkins' Early Immediate Constituent (EIC) recognition principle, which was found to be less accurate at predicting word order than FSP. The EIC entails that in Polish shorter (in length) constituents precede longer ones. Siewerska provided evidence that longer constituents avoid internal position, which was originally posited by Dryer (1980) with regard to sentential NP's. Jacennik and Dryer (1992) looked for correlations between word order and a number of factors. They found referential distance to distinguish between pre- and post-verbal subjects. However, length of a constituent is also seen to play a role, in that post-verbal subjects which are followed by adverbial or object phrases tend to be short. Non-subject nominals tended to occur on the opposite side of the verb from the subject. Verbal semantics, transitivity, and aspect were also found to be correlated with certain word orders. Thus, a number of factors, including but not limited to FSP, have been determined to contribute to word order in Polish.

In his theory of information structure, Lambrecht (1994) divides a proposition into pragmatic presupposition and pragmatic assertion. The pragmatic assertion is "the proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered" (52). The pragmatic presupposition is

"the set of propositions lexicogrammatically evoked in an utterance which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or believes or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered" (52). The focus of the assertion is "the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition" (213). Thus, focus is a part of the assertion. It is a semantico-pragmatic category which when added to the pragmatic presupposition creates the assertion. Focus structure conventionally associates focus meaning with sentence form (222). "The syntactic domain in a sentence which expresses the focus component of a pragmatically structured proposition" is the focus domain (214). This concept is further refined into actual and potential focus domain by Van Valin (1993), who incorporates information structure into the theory of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), using Lambrecht's theory of focus structure. While the potential focus domain refers to the syntactic domain where focus can possibly occur, the actual focus domain is where the focus is occurring in a given structure (Van Valin & La Polla 1997: 212).

This framework provides an alternative to FSP which still incorporates the discourse status of referents into syntactic structure. Pragmatic presupposition is similar to the FSP concept of theme. Rheme and focus are overlapping but not mutually inclusive concepts. FSP associates rheme with the end as the unmarked placement; in Lambrecht's theory, the unmarked placement for focused material is final. As with rhematic information in FSP, focus is not always the final element in the sentence, but rather can occur anywhere within the sentence. A given language may possess a specific place in the sentence where focal material of the length of a single constituent is normally placed. This is the unmarked narrow focus position (VV & LP 1994: 209, based on

Lambrecht 1994: ch. 5.6). In contrast, focal material of the length of a single constituent may also occur in other positions, in which case it is marked narrow focus. Thus, Lambrecht's theory as adopted by Van Valin allows for a focal position, does not require it to be final position, and allows focal material to occur outside of it in marked instances.

In order to determine focus, Lambrecht uses different devices including wh-questions (for example, see 1994: 115, 129, 135-7, 260). The new material given in the answer is considered the focus, "the semantic component … whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition" (Lambrecht 1994: 213). However, Lambrecht notes that the questions themselves are not wholly without presupposition concerning the answer. Such wh-questions presuppose that something exists which fulfills the conditions called for by the wh-question (283). Nonetheless, he does not further address this issue because, "one normally does not ask questions without assuming that one can get an answer (283)." However, Dryer (1996) notes that this presupposition can be canceled, and that its cancellation can have syntactic repercussions.

This paper further investigates information structure in Polish. Using RRG, the conventionalized markers of focus (intonation, word order) are examined for Polish in an effort to obtain a holistic view of how focus is grammaticized. In order to find focus in sentences, first basic Lambrechtian paradigms are utilized. These are a set of question-answer pairs and error corrections which allow one to examine the various types of focus that Lambrecht proposes. Next, these paradigms are expanded upon, and wh-questions are used as prompts for replies. Then, further modifications, adapted from Dryer (1996), are made which cancel the presupposition evoked by use of a wh-question. Other factors such as syntactic weight are also considered when examining focus. Next, the paper

explores focus placement in questions and multiple wh-questions to see how this differs

from and correlates with that of declaratives.   Complex sentences are also explored to

help complete the understanding of focus in Polish.

2 Introduction to Role and Reference Grammar

     The syntactic theory which will be used for analysis in this paper is RRG,

specifically the version put forth in Van Valin and La Polla's *Syntax: Structure, meaning*

and function (1997). In this theory, sentences have a layered structure. The layers are at

the level of: 1. the sentence, 2. the clause, 3. the core, 4. the nucleus and the arguments,

and, finally, 5. the syntactic categories which realize these units (31).

     The syntactic categories are elements such as NP's and V's. The nucleus is the

predicate, which is often, but not always, a verb. The nucleus and its arguments (as

determined by semantics of the verb) comprise the core. The core along with the

periphery, which is adjunct material (usually PP's and adverbs), make up the clause. The

clausal layer can also contain a pre-core slot (PrCS) and/or a post-core slot (PoCS).

These are positions within the clause but outside the core. An example of an element

occurring in a pre-core slot (PrCS) is a wh-NP in a wh-question in English such as, '**Who**

stole the kiszka?' The sentence level contains the clause level, as well as, potentially, a

left- or right-detached position (LDP, RDP). These are positions containing elements,

such as AdvP's or PP's set-off from the rest of the sentence by a pause or intonation

break (32-38). The following provides a diagram of the layered structure of the clause

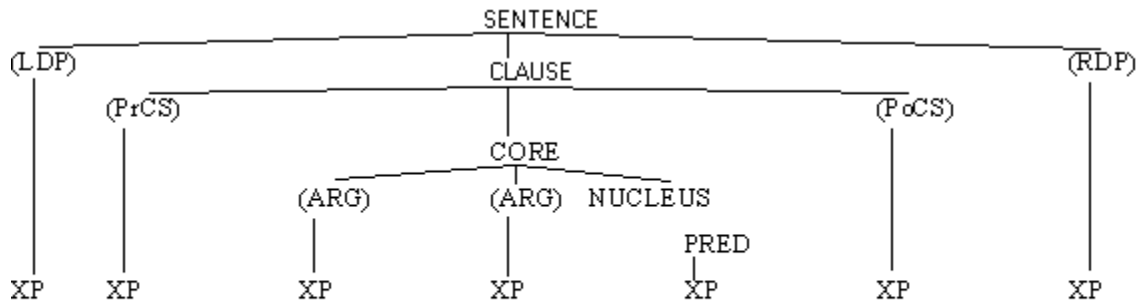(Figure 1)(taken from Van Valin & La Polla 38: Fig. 2.14).

Figure 1. Layered structure of the clause

Each of the layers of the clause has operators specific to it. Operators are grammatical categories, such as tense, aspect, and illocutionary force. They modify the clause and its parts (40). Below is given a partial reproduction of a table of the various layers of the clause along with the operators which function at a given level (from Van Valin and La Polla 1997: 47, Table 2.2)

Layer	Operator
Nucleus	aspect
	negation
	directionals
Core	directionals
	modality
	negation
Clause	status
	tense
	evidentials
	illocutionary force
Sentence	none

Figure 2. Layers of the clause and their operators

Sentence complexity is expressed in RRG through nexus and juncture. Juncture describes the level at which two or more elements are linked: nuclear, core, or clausal. Nexus describes the type of linkage: coordination, subordination, or cosubordination. Coordination links two elements of equal status. Subordination links a matrix unit with a dependent element where the dependent functions as an argument or modifier of the matrix unit. Cosubordination links two units where one is not modifying the other, but

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the two are dependent in that they share operators such as aspect, tense or illocutionary

force (454).

Focus in RRG, as stated before, is determined using Lambrechtian paradigms.

These determine three focus types: predicate, sentence, and narrow focus, which will be

discussed in the following section. RRG further provides for a focus domain, the

syntactic constituent in which the focus occurs (205). The **potential focus domain** is the

entire syntactic domain where focus may occur for a given language, while the **actual**

focus domain is the part of the sentence that is actually in focus for a given construction

(212). These can be equal or different. Furthermore, RRG allows for focus to be **in-situ**

or for constructions to have specific **focus positions**. Unmarked narrow focus, a type of

focus which limits the focus domain to a single constituent, falls upon the element in the

unmarked focus position for any given language. For some languages, the constituent

in such a construction is placed in a certain part of the sentence. For example, verb final

languages sometimes have the immediately pre-verbal position as the unmarked focus

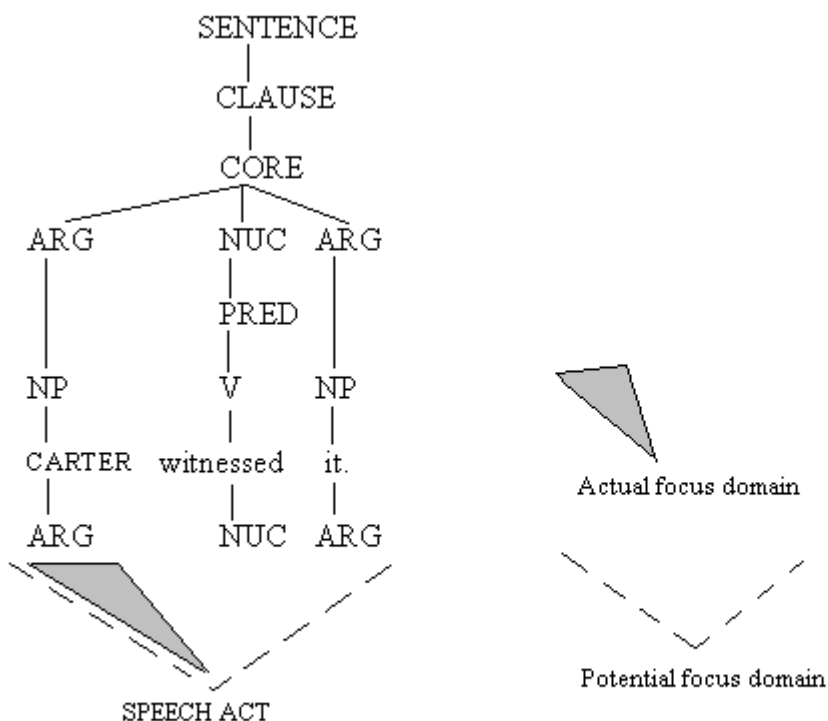position. English has a core-final unmarked focus position (209). A language can be

Figure 3. Focus domains in an English clause with marked narrow focus.

In this theory, syntactic knowledge is stored in the form of constructional templates. The templates give the morphosyntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties specific to a given type of construction. Specifically important to this paper, these templates provide a way for syntactic constructions to be linked with pragmatic effects as well as specific focus structure.

The framework offered by RRG which incorporates focus with syntactic structure will be used in this paper to examine various constructions in Polish. The analysis will strive not only to describe these in a principled manner, but also to explain their function.

3   Declarative sentences

3.0 Overview of the chapter

Section 3.1 explores focus in Polish through basic paradigms created by Lambrecht (1994). Three types of focus are explained and tested for in Polish, with some comparison to the reference languages used by Lambrecht. These types of focus are narrow, predicate and sentence. Polish exhibits variable word ordering for predicate and sentence focus, where the two treat different constituents distinctly prosodically. Predicate focus places intonational stress on the verb, while sentence focus stresses the subject. Narrow focus places stress on the constituent which is receiving the narrow focus and does not exhibit variable word ordering. It utilizes the unmarked SV(O) order.

Section 3.2 examines the possibility that narrow focus involves a special focus position. The effect of constituent length upon word order in narrow focus constructions is tested, proving that larger constituents do have more restricted order than shorter constituents. Then, transitivity is examined as a factor restricting word order; subjects of transitive verbs will be found to occur initially only when receiving narrow focus.

Finally, the type of constituent focused upon will be varied to determine whether one special focus position exists regardless of the type of argument or whether each argument type behaves differentially. Each argument type under narrow focus will be found to have variable word order.

3.3 will attempt to distinguish between the various possible word orders of sentences in narrow focus constructions by a consideration of presupposition based on Dryer, 1996. Through this analysis, it will be found that only when the speaker presupposes that a filler exists for a focal argument can the possibility of non-canonical word order arise. A table summarizing the word orders and stress of the sentences considered in this chapter will then be provided. Finally, avenues for further research are suggested.

3.1   Basic Lambrechtian Determinants of Focus

Lambrecht (1994) divides focus into three types: narrow, predicate, and sentence. Narrow focus occurs when a single constituent is focused upon. Predicate focus, the universally unmarked type of focus structure, is a topic-comment structure where the comment or predicate is what is focused upon. In sentence focus, the entire sentence is being focused upon. Lambrecht illustrates these focus types in English, Italian, French, and Japanese (223). His examples will be reiterated here in order to provide comparison with Polish. Predicate focus is obtained when the predicate comments upon the topic. For example, if someone knows something happened to someone else's car and asks the person about it, the reply by the second person must consider the car as presupposed and what has happened to it as of interest, new, focus. (1) gives Lambrecht's (1994: 223) example of predicate focus.

1. Q: What happened to your car?
    A: a. My car/It broke DOWN.   English
       b. (La mia macchina) si è ROTTA.   Italian
       c. (Ma voiture) elle est en PANNE.   French
       d. (Kuruma wa) KOSYOO-si-ta.   Japanese

Thus, in the above, the question concerns the addressee's car. This car forms the presupposition of the answer. The answer tells what happened to it, that 'it broke down.' This assertion encompasses the presupposition and adds what happened to it, forming a relation between the two. The focus is, hence, the material 'broke down' which the assertion adds and relates to the presupposition.

In the above, the focus can be seen to be marked only prosodically. Not part of the focus, the topic in English as well as in Italian is the subject of the sentence. In French, the topic is a left-detached NP, while in Japanese it is a *wa*-marked NP. Thus, marking of topic varied across the languages. With these examples forming a basis for examination and comparison, Polish can now be explored.

2. Q: Co się stało z panskim autem?   'What happened with your car?'
    A: a. ZEPSU-ł-O   mi   się.
          break-PST-3Nsg   1sg.DAT REFL
          '(The car) broke down.'
       b. ?ZEPSU-ł-O   mi   się auto.
          break-PST-3Nsg   1sg.DAT REFL car.NOM
          'The car broke down.'
       c. ??Auto   mi   się   ZEPSU-ł-O.
          car.NOM   1sgDAT REFL break-PST-3Nsg
          'The car broke down.'

In Polish, as in many languages, overt subjects are often not expressed when the referent is presupposed. Omitted subjects can often easily be deduced by a listener even when there are competing multiple referents due to the fact that the verbal morphology shows person, number, and gender agreement with the non-overt NP. Thus, the most natural way to express the answer to the question, *what happened to your car*, is to omit

car and simply give the verb as is shown in (2a). When asked to include the subject, my

consultant stated that it might be included after the verb (2b), but noted that it sounded

rather odd and forced as a reply. When further asked, he also said that it might occur pre-

verbally, but this sounded even more forced, (2c). Thus, (2a) seemed more natural than

(2b), and this seemed more natural than the sentence in (2c). This placement of the

subject, *car*, after the verb puts the presupposed topic in sentence final position while the

focused predicate is initial. This ordering is novel compared to the languages given in

(1), but the intonational prominence is again on the focus, as it was for the languages in

(1).

Next, in order to elicit sentence focus, a question is asked in which the reply has

no presupposition. For example, when asked, *what happened*?, by someone with no

knowledge of what has happened, a speaker cannot assume any pragmatic presupposition

when replying. The following provides Lambrecht's example in the four languages

(223).

3.   Q: What happened?
        A: a. My CAR broke down.   English
           b. Mi si è rotta la MACCHINA.   Italian
           c. J'ai ma VOITURE qui est en PANNE.   French
           d. KURUMA ga KOOSYOO-si-ta.   Japanese

No presupposition is involved in the above. The subject of the sentence is not a

presupposed topic which is commented on by the asserted predicate. Rather both are

asserted. The question presupposes no knowledge of the event on behalf of the one

asking. Thus, the reply is unpredictable to him, entirely new. It is completely focus and

wholly assertion.

Remembering that predicate focus is unmarked and sentence focus is a marked focus type, the replies in (3) can be compared with their counterparts in (1) as well as with each other. In English, stress on the subject, *car*, with the same word order as in the unmarked (1a), gives this effect. In Italian, the subject is placed sentence finally, in contrast to (1b), and is stressed. French also changes the word order while stressing not only the subject but also its predicate. Japanese stresses subject and predicate and marks the subject with *ga*. Note that in all these the subject is part of the focus, which it wasn't in (1), and as such it receives a differential marking than in (1), through means of intonation, word order, or morphological marker (*ga*).

Now, Polish can be examined to see what happens when the entire utterance is assertion and focus. The following gives an example of such a case with the felicitous responses.

4.   Q: Co się stało?   'What happened?'
        A: a. Wysiad-ł-Ø   mi   SILNIK.
              break-PST-3Msg   lsgDAT engine.NOM
              'My engine broke.'
           b. AUTO   mi   się   zepsu-ł-o.
              car.NOM 1sgDAT REFL   break down-PST-3Nsg
              'My car broke down.'
           c. Zepsu-ł-o   mi   się AUTO.
              break down-PST-3Nsg 1sgDAT REFL car.NOM
              'My car broke down.'

The different responses in (4) show that when a sentence is entirely asserted, the subject, as marked by nominative case on the nouns, is always intonationally prominent (stressed), as it was in each of the languages in (3). This differs from when the subject is presupposed, as in (2), where it was not stressed and preferrably omitted. (4b,c) show that word order is flexible in such an instance and the subject can occur both pre- and

post-verbally. Therefore, when everything is comment/ focus, constructions may be formed with the subject preceding or following the verb in colloquial Polish, but in all cases the marked focal subject is stressed.

In contrast to sentence focus, which places an entire utterance in focus, narrow focus places a single constituent in focus. Such a situation might occur when an interlocutor has created a statement which is correct except for one false constituent. An addressee replying to such an erroneous statement corrects the wrong constituent and, thus, focuses on this single constituent. If a speaker says, "I heard your motorcycle broke down," and the addressee wants to inform him that it wasn't his motorcycle, but his car, the addressee's reply will put *car* in focus. The following provides Lambrecht's example of such a situation (5).

5.　　Q: I heard your motorcycle broke down.
　　　A: a. My CAR broke down.　　　　　　　English
　　　　　　b. Si è rotta la mia MACCHINA. /　　Italian (lit. 'broke down
　　　　　　　 È la mia MACCHINA che si è rotta.　my car.'/'It's my car
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　which broke down.')

　　　　　　c. C'est ma VOITURE qui est en panne.　French (lit. 'It is my car
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　which broke down.')
　　　　　　d. KURUMA ga kosyoo-si-ta.　　　　Japanese

In the above, only *car* is not presupposed. The addressee of the reply already knows something broke down. The assertion here relates that something broke down and that it was the speaker's car. The focus, the unpredictable information added to the presupposition is *car.* The relationship between *car* and *broke down* is asserted but not focused. A relationship of something and breaking down was already presupposed by that original speaker. However, the focus *car* gives the new information which is asserted along with its relation to the presupposition.

In English, the focal *car* is given intonational prominence, and word order remains the same as it was in (1) and (3). Italian can postpose the subject or use a special cleft construction (5b). Each time, the subject is stressed. French also uses a cleft construction (5c). The subject is stressed, but unlike sentence focus, the verb is not. Japanese similarly stresses only the (*ga* marked) subject and not the predicate (5d).

A similar example in Polish is given below (6).

6.   Q: Słyszałam, że nawalił panu motocykl.
         'I heard your motorcycle stopped working.'
      A: a. Nie MOTOCYKL,   a SAMOCHÓD.
           Not motorcycle.NOM but car.NOM
           'Not the motorcycle but the car.'
         b. To nie MOTOCYKL,   ale AUTO   mi   nawali-ł-o.
           That not motorcycle.NOM but car.NOM 1sgDAT break-PST-3Nsg
           'Not the motorcycle but the car broke.'
         c. Nie mój   MOTOCYKL,   a mój   SAMOCHÓD
           not 3MsgNOM motorcycle.NOM but 1MsgNOM car.NOM
           przesta-ł-Ø   jeździ-ć.
           stop-PST-3Msg go-INF
           'Not my motorcycle but my car doesn't go.'

In each of the above Polish examples, the focus is given intonational prominence. Furthermore, in each case it occurs after the material given in the original statement which it contradicts. Where verbs occur (6b,c), the focal NP is given as pre-verbal. This order of subject and then verb is the same order as in unmarked (non-narrow focus) sentences, such as that given under (6Q). Polish has SVO as its unmarked word order. English also marks the narrow focus with intonational prominence while maintaining the unmarked word order. The fact that a subject occurs pre-verbally when it is under narrow focus might be attributed to a specific pre-verbal focus position like the PrCS or to the fact that subjects tend to occur pre-verbally. Therefore, one must explore whether arguments receiving narrow focus occur in a special pre-verbal position or in-situ.

Thus, predicate (unmarked) focus involves a stressed predicate and optional postposed (or less likely pre-posed) subject. Sentence focus places stress on the subject and allows for pre- or post-verbal subjects. Narrow focus on the subject stresses the subject intonationally. Additionally, such subjects occur pre-verbally. However, the possibility that they can occur post-verbally has not yet been investigated. Hence, intonational or prosodic prominence is always a correlate of focus in Polish, as it was for the other languages cited. At times, a sentence occurred in the most common/unmarked word order for declaratives in Polish (SVO) where the focal element was placed according to this arrangement. This was seen in the last example dealing with narrow focus (6). Here, the subject was focal and it was initial. However, this could possibly be interpreted as a special pre-verbal or core/clause initial focus position. Sentence focus positions yielded both canonical and non-canonical word orders (4), which could lead one to posit optional focus related constructions in Polish. Thus, the existence of special focus positions or constructions in Polish has been given very limited support. Indeed, word order seemed quite free, except in the case of narrow focus. The next section will present additional tests to help clarify whether the non-canonically ordered examples are special focus constructions, or in the case of narrow focus, whether there is a special focus position. After further refining the analysis of these constructions, a table summarizing the constructions used in each focus type will be given at the end of this chapter (Table 1).

3.2   Further tests for focus in declarative replies

In the previous section, the only example which seemed to have fixed word ordering was narrow focus, (6), where focal material occurred in its canonical position.

This could be seen as evidence for either a pre-verbal focus position or in-situ focus, as the subject's canonical position is pre-verbal. However, it should be noted that the focal material is part of a larger constituent, 'not x, but y.' Jacennik and Dryer (1992) noted that such large constituents tend to avoid internal position. Although not explored by Jacennik and Dryer, another possible consequence of length could be that larger constituents tend to be placed in canonical position. This would account for why predicate focus (2) and sentence focus (4) examples, which contain relatively short NP's and predicates, had various word order alternatives, while (6), the narrow focus example, with its long constituent, had inflexible word order. Marked narrow focus with shorter constituents may yield different results than that with longer constituents.

In (6), the constituent length was long due to the fact that the speaker was negating the erroneous subject and adding the new, correct subject to be related in the assertion. A situation which only adds the new subject and does not need to negate a mistake would likely yield a shorter constituent. Questions using wh-words evoke a set of possible fillers of the empty argument position in the presupposed open proposition (Lambrecht 1994: 283). That is, the wh-word calls for something to replace it. The wh-word evokes a filler, but is not presupposed by either speaker to be the actual filler. Thus, the reply need not negate a wh-word in the way that an erroneous argument must be negated in a reply. Note the replacement of the wh-word is focal in the same manner that the replacement of the erroneous argument is focal. In both cases, the replacement is unpredictable from the question/erroneous statement. The reply asserts a relationship between the filler of the wh/replacer of the erroneous argument and the presupposed proposition given by the statement/question. The following provide an example (7,8).

7. Q: Jim ate dinner.
   A: No, BILL ate dinner.
   Presupposition: someone ate dinner
   Assertion: someone=Bill
   Focus: 'Bill'
8. Q: Who ate dinner?
   A: BILL ate dinner.
   Presupposition: someone ate dinner
   Assertion: someone=Bill
   Focus: 'Bill'

The answer in (7) presupposes that someone ate dinner just as the answer in (8) does. Both assert that the someone was Bill. The only difference is that in (7), an erroneous argument is corrected, while in (8) an unfilled argument is filled. Thus, the results of two such situations are comparable and, therefore, could produce similar results as far as focus structure is concerned. Therefore, as (6) provided an example of a negated erroneous subject, an example of a filled wh-subject can be tested to see if it too has only canonical word order. This is done in (9).

9. Q: Co nawaliło?   'What broke?'
   A: a. SAMOCHÓD mi   nawali-ł-Ø.
         car.NOM   1sgDAT broke-PST-3Msg
      b. Nawali-ł-Ø   mi   SAMOCHÓD.
         break-PST-3Msg 1sgDAT car.NOM
         'My car broke down.'

In (9), as in (6), the focus is the subject *samochód*, but in (9) the subject can occur before or after the verb, whereas (6) had canonical positioning only. The most striking difference between the two is that the focus of the answer in (9) is part of a relatively short constituent, consisting only of *samochód*, while in (6) the focal subject is part of a larger constituent negating the erroneous subject offered by the first speaker. This flexibility of word order when the subject is shorter in length appears consistently in Polish. (10) provides a further example of this flexibility.

10.   Q: Kto śpiewał? 'Who sang?'
        A: a. PIOTR   śpiewa-ł-Ø.
                Peter-NOM sing-PAST-3Msg
           b. Śpiewa-ł-Ø PIOTR.
                'Peter sang.'

When the answer focuses upon the subject, the subject may occur pre-verbally (10a) or

post-verbally (10b). This example either points toward an analysis with no unmarked

narrow focus positions (narrow focus placement is free) or leads toward the conclusion

that one of the above positions (pre- or post-verbal) is the unmarked position while the

other is marked.   These two alternative interpretations will be explored later.

Regardless of whether it occurs pre- or post-verbally, the subject receives sentence

(phonological) stress, as noted by the small caps. Thus, there is a flexibility to the word

order in Polish when the subject is part of a smaller constituent and is focused upon, but

in each case the focused element receives stress.

        So far, flexibility of word ordering has been found with each focus type. Only

when the focus was part of a large constituent was the word order fixed. However, all of

the above sentences were intransitive. This could bias the results concerning word order

flexibility. Jacennik and Dryer noted that VS order occurs most frequently with

intransitives (1992: 231). Therefore, perhaps this flexibility of constituent ordering does

not hold true for transitive verbs. To test this hypothesis, the subject of a transitive verb

was focused upon by a question (11).

11.   Q: Kto lubi Marię? 'Who likes Mary?'
        A: a. JAN   lubi   Mari-ę.
                John-NOM   like.PRES.3Msg Mary-ACC
           b. #Lubi Marię JAN.
           c. #Marię lubi JAN.
                'John likes Mary.'

The above answers show that, with transitive verbs, a grammatical answer places the

focused subject pre-verbally (11a), as was the case in (6b,c). As always, the focal

element receives stress. In addition, (11b,c) provide evidence that post-verbal focal

subjects (with or without phonological stress) are not felicitous in transitive clauses.

Infelicitous answers, marked with '#,' are grammatically viable but are inappropriate in a

given context.   Unlike ungrammatical (*) sentences which are judged by native speakers

to be wrong in any possible context, infelicitous sentences are judged as wrong for the

particular context but (perhaps) possible in others. This lack of flexibility is similar to

that witnessed in (6), leading to the conclusion that it is not simply that focal subjects of

large constituents only occur in canonical position, but rather that focal subjects in more

complicated sentences occur only in canonical position. Whereas (2,4, 9,and 10) consist

of only a predicate, its clitics and a subject NP comprised of a single noun, (6) and (11)

are of increased complexity due to either a coordinated subject (6b,c) or an object phrase

(11).   It is only in these sentences of increased complexity that focal NPs are limited to

their canonical position in terms of their syntactic function. Therefore, either the

unmarked narrow focus position is pre-verbal in Polish (with optional post-verbal focus

constructions for less complex sentences), or it is in-situ (with optional non-in-situ focus

constructions for less complex sentences).

   (11) provides an example of a reply to a wh-question where the subject of a

transitive verb receives marked narrow focus. Earlier, it was noted that the

presupposition, assertion, and focus of such wh-questions are similar to replies to

statements with an erroneous constituent corresponding to where the wh-question evokes

a filler. Therefore, when such an erroneous argument correction paradigm is set-up with

a transitive, results similar to the wh-paradigm in (11) might be expected. That is, one would expect stress on the corrected constituent, in this case the subject, and fixed canonical ordering. (12) gives an example of such an error correction paradigm for a subject of a transitive.

12.   Q: Piotr kocha Kasię. 'Peter likes Kasha.'
       A: a. Nie, to   JAN   kocha   Kasi-ę .
            No   FOC John.NOM love.PRES.3Msg Kasha-ACC
          b. Nie, to JAN Kasię kocha.
          c. ?Nie, kocha Kasię JAN.
          d. #Nie, kocha Kasię to JAN.
          e. #Nie, kocha (to) Jan Kasię.
          f. #Nie, Kasię kocha (to) JAN.
             'No, John loves Kasha.'

Similar to the original intransitive paradigm of subject contradiction, (6), and the wh-reply involving subject focus in a transitive clause, (11), the focal subject of a transitive verb is placed pre-verbally when correcting a previous argument (12a,b). Post-verbal focal subjects as in (12c,d,e,f) are judged to be odd (?) or infelicitous (#). Sentence final subject placement after the object is deemed odd (12c), and the addition of the focal particle *to* does not improve felicity (12d). The answer is completely infelicitous when the subject is sentence medial (12e), with or without the focus particle *to*. A post-verbal, sentence final subject in the response is also infelicitous (12f). The correlation between grammaticality of pre-verbal, focal subjects for both error corrections and wh-questions is expected according to Lambrecht, who claims that error correction and wh-question paradigms which correspond (as do (11) and (12)) have similar presupposition, focus, and assertion. Note that in (12) there is variable ordering of the verb and object, but in any case the subject is occurring first and receiving focus both intonationally and by placement of a focal particle before it. (12b) shows a focal subject followed by a non-

focal object before the verb. As the focal subject is clause initial and not pre-verbal, this gives evidence for a core/clause initial as opposed to pre-verbal focus position. However, this position is also the slot for unmarked subjects in Polish, so this is only at best very weak evidence for a focus position.

Thus, subjects of intransitive verbs receiving narrow focus may occur both pre- and post-verbally (9,10), provided the sentence is sufficiently simple (no coordination), but subjects within sentences involving an object or coordination must occur sentence initially, which is their canonical position (6, 11, 12). This supports Jacennik and Dryer's claim that VS ordering is more common for intransitives than for transitives (1992: 231), due to the simple fact that sentences containing transitive verbs always contain the added complexity of an object while intransitives do not (although they may be complex in other ways).

However, Jacennik and Dryer did not conclude that the dichotomy between transitives and intransitives was due to complexity of the clause. They noted that this dichotomy was no longer statistically significant when presentative and participant-removal type intransitive verbs were removed. Presentative verbs "denote the commencement of a process, event, state or institution or occurence or lasting of an event or period, or the coming into being or into appearance of an entity or the existence of an entity at a specific time or place (227)." Participant removal verbs "signal the removal of a participant." Such types of verbs were posited to be responsible for the preponderance of VS order with intransitive verb constructions. However, the intransitive verbs used in this paper, such as *spiewač*, 'to sing,' and *nawalič*, 'to break,' have not been presentative or participant removal type verbs. Yet, a dichotomy was observed between intransitive

versus transitive verbs for placement of a focal subject. This discrepancy between my findings and Jacennik and Dryer's merits investigation. It could be due to the fact that narrow focus is sufficiently rare that its effects don't show up in normal text counts or to a difference in the genre of the data considered by their study versus this paper.

So far, narrow focus examples have exclusively involved narrow focus on the subject. There exists the possibility that these focal subjects are not occurring sentence initially due to the fact that they are in canonical position but rather due to the fact that there is a core/clause initial unmarked focus position in Polish. (12b) shows that the subject can be initial, not immediately pre-verbal, and still focal. Therefore, the focus position might be core/clause initial focus or in-situ.

Objects of transitives have a canonical sentence final position in unmarked sentences (SVO). Thus, in-situ and clause-initial focus positions predict different outcomes for focal objects. If focus in Polish is in-situ, objects should only occur finally. If, however, focus is clause initial, focal objects should occur clause initially. The following sets up an error correction paradigm where the object is being corrected, thus receiving narrow focus (13).

13.   Q: Jan kocha Kasię. 'Jan loves Kasha.'
       A: a. Nie, Jan   kocha   MARI-Ę**.**
              No, John.NOM love.3sg.PRES Maria-ACC
          b. Nie, MARIĘ Jan kocha.
          c. ?Nie, MARIĘ kocha Jan.
          d. ?/#Nie, Jan MARIĘ kocha.
              'No, John loves Mary.'

In contrast to sentences with two overt arguments where focus was on the primary argument (the subject), a focal secondary argument (object) can be placed clause initially (b) as well as post-verbally (a) when there are two overt arguments. Thus, in (13a) the

object is stressed and post-verbal. However, in (13b), the object is placed before the subject and stressed to indicate focus. (13b) was noted by one consultant to be the preferred response to such a situation. (13c), where the focal object is pre-verbal and non-clause initial, and (13d), where the object is between the verb and subject, were judged to be less than satisfactory. Thus, the placement of a focal object can either be post-verbal (in-situ) or clause initial with otherwise canonical order (SV). In either case, the focal object is stressed.

Rather than clarifying whether focus in Polish is in-situ or clause-initial, the results in (13) indicate that can be either. Narrow focus when there are three constituents or a coordinated NP is necessarily clause initial with subjects, but is clause initial or final for objects. Note that this variability of placement for focal objects is occuring when there are three overt constituents. (14) provides an example of a transitive verb construction with only two overt constituents.

14. Q: Co kupi-ł-esz? 'What did you buy?'
    A: a. SAMOCHÓD kupi-ł-em.
          car-ACC   buy-PAST-1Msg
       b. Kupi-ł-em SAMOCHÓD.
          'I bought a car.'

The answers (14a) and (14b) show that the focal NP, the object bought, may occur before the verb (14a) or sentence finally (14b). Importantly, these two structures are distinguished by intonation. Emphasis in the form of stress in both cases is placed upon the focused element, *samochód,* 'car.' This is similar to what was seen with intransitive simple sentences (2,4,9,10) where the subject could occur either pre- or post-verbally but always received stress when focal. The argument status of the constituent (subject vs. object status) is not determining flexibility.

Furthermore, it is not simply the case that all transitive verb constructions with narrow focus have fixed word order as might expected from the sentences with focal subjects and transitive verbs (6,11,12). Both (13) and (14) show that transitive clauses can have variable word order when the object is focal. In the narrow focus examples seen so far, clause initial focus position is always a possibility, but clause final focus is only possible with objects and non-coordinated subjects of intransitives. Alternatively this may be stated as, in Polish, focused arguments may always occur in-situ. In addition, focused objects may occur clause initially and focused, non-coordinated subjects of intransitives may occur clause finally. These two descriptions lead to two possible analyses of the narrow focus phenomena observed thus far. Either the unmarked narrow focus position is in-situ at all times, with non-canonically ordered focus constructions for marked narrow focus of objects and non-coordinated subjects of intransitive verbs, **or** there is a core/clause initial focus position for unmarked narrow focus for subjects while marked narrow focus constructions exist for focal objects and non-coordinated subjects of intransitives.

The above describes possible focal positions and word orders in Polish. Yet, it fails to motivate why at times the focal arguments occur in non-canonical position and at other times, they do not. Whether marked versus unmarked narrow focus has any further repercussions needs to be explored. Furthermore, it needs to be conclusively determined whether unmarked narrow focus is in-situ. The next section examines these issues.

3.3 In-situ versus non-canonical placement of focal arguments

All of the paradigms used so far have employed wh-questions or error correction. Lambrecht (1994: 283) notes that the speakers of wh-questions typically presuppose that

there is an answer which fulfills the question. As cited earlier, he states that one does not

normally ask questions one does not expect answers to. Error correction paradigms also

contain such a presupposition. The correction entails a presupposition that the erroneous

argument is filled, although not by the argument stated previously.

Although Lambrecht finds such presuppositions trivial, Dryer (1996) notes that

they can have syntactic consequences. For example, he notes that clefted sentences in

English are felicitous responses to questions only when the speaker has such a

presupposition that a filler for an argument exists (15), adapted from Dryer (1996: 486).

15.   Q: Who saw John?
       A: a. Mary saw John.
          b. It was Mary who saw John.

Both the simple sentence (15a) and the clefted sentence (15b) can serve as answers to the

wh-question where the speaker presupposes that someone did see John. However, this

does not mean that the sentences are strictly equivalent. When the question does not lead

to the presupposition of a filler, the cleft is no longer an applicable response (Dryer

1996:510). (16), from Dryer (1996: 510), provides an example of a question where the

speaker does not assume that someone did in fact see John.

16.   Q: Did anyone see John?
       A: a. MARY saw John.
          b. #It was MARY that saw John.

Note that only the simple sentence is a felicitous reply to the question when there

is no presupposition that someone saw John. Thus, the sentence form as in (16a) does not

only arise when the speaker presupposes that a filler exists. As in (15a), it can arise when

there is such a presupposition, but, as in (16a), it also arises when there is not. The cleft,

however, is a felicitous response only when the speaker presupposes that there is a filler

(15b), and does not arise when the speaker lacks this presupposition (16b). Clefts are also used in contrastive situations, such as error correction paradigms (17).

> 17. Q: Jody saw John.
>   A: a. No, it was Mary that saw John.
>   b. No, Mary saw John.

In an error correction paradigm, either the cleft construction (17a) or the non-cleft (17b) is felicitous. The cleft construction might be seen to imply a greater degree of contrastiveness than is found in the non-cleft. However, note that as predicted earlier in this paper (p.19-20), the felicitous responses in the error correction paradigm mirror those in the wh-question paradigm (15,17). The simple sentence which can be used when the speaker does not presuppose a filler (16a), can also be used when the speaker presupposes a filler as in (15a) and (17a). The cleft which is infelicitous in situations where the speaker does not presuppose a filler (16b), is felicitous where the speaker makes such a presupposition (15b), (17b). This follows from the fact that speakers replying in error correction paradigms, like those replying to wh-questions, presuppose the existence of a filler for the focal argument (p.25).

The presupposition that there is a filler is possible for all the paradigms presented in Polish so far. That is, wh-questions as well as contradictions may be interpreted as presupposing a filler. Whether such a presupposition carries syntactic consequences in Polish as it does in English remains to be explored. The following provides an example in Polish of a question which does not lead the speaker to presuppose that a filler exists with its felicitous answer (18).

> 18.   Q: Czy ktoś widział Jana?   'Did anybody see John?'
>   A: a. MARIA   widzia-ł-a   Jan-a.
>   Mary.NOM   see-PST-3Fsg John-ACC
>   'Mary saw John.'

The answer uses canonical word order and stresses the focal *Maria*, 'Mary.' This is

exactly as was the case in (11a) which answered a wh-question subject. However,

subjects of transitives always occur sentence initially when focal. Unlike the English

example where the subject could be clefted or not in response to a wh-question (15),

Polish answers to a wh-question with a focal subject of a transitive always place the

subject in canonical position (6,11). A more interesting example might be provided by

looking at cases where variable word order patterns existed in the replies to wh-questions.

(19) provides such an example.

19.   Q: Czy ktoś śpiewał?   'Did anyone sing?'
      A: a. PIOTR śpiewa-ł-Ø.
          Peter.NOM sing-PST-3Msg
        b. #Śpiewał PIOTR.
         'Peter sang.'

Thus, focal subjects in final position are not grammatical when answering a question

which does not entail presupposition of a filler to the focal argument. Such a pattern was

grammatical when answering the wh-question where the speaker presupposed a filler (10,

repeated here for ease of comparison).

10.   Q: Kto śpiewał? 'Who sang?'
      A: a. PIOTR   śpiewa-ł-Ø.
          Peter.NOM sing-PAST-3Msg
        b. Śpiewał PIOTR.
         'Peter sang.'

Crucially, inverted word-order proves felicitous for focal subjects of intransitives only

when there is a presupposition that there is an actual answer to the question. This

placement is clause final for focal subjects. Whereas subject initial sentences arise in

instances with and without the presupposition of a filler, subject final answers are specific to answers where the speaker presupposes a filler.

As of yet, the role of specific focus positions in creating the two constructions above is undetermined. The SV construction, which is felicitous when the speaker presupposes the existence of a filler as well as when she does not, could be argued to have a core/clause initial focus position being filled by the subject. However, an equally plausible explanation is that the subject is occuring in-situ. The VS construction, appropriate only when the speaker presupposes a filler, could be argued to have a core/clause final focus position filled by the subject. Alternatively, one might argue that there is not a specific focus position, but rather that the focal argument is occurring on the opposite side of sentence than where it is canonically placed.

In order to the clarify in-situ versus core/clause initial issue, objects can be looked at. Objects do not occur clause initially when in-situ, but rather clause finally. Thus, if there is a core/clause initial focus position in replies to questions which do not entail presupposition of a filler to the wh-word, a focal object should occur initially. However, if the focus is in-situ, the focal object should only occur in-situ, clause finally. (20) explores this situation which distinguishes between the two possible focus position interpretations of (18,19a).

20.   Q: Czy Jan kocha kogoś?   'Does John love anyone?'
       A: a. Jan   kocha   MARI-Ę.
             John.NOM love.PRES.3sg Mary-ACC
          b. #MARIĘ Jan kocha.

When the speaker does not presuppose the existence of a filler, an object under narrow focus is placed in final position, its place in unmarked sentences. This canonical word order parallels the canonical word order used in such situations with narrow focus on the

subject, supporting an analysis of in-situ focus for constructions such as (19a) and (20a). Clause initial focus as in (20b) is not possible.

The felicity of the responses in (20) contrasts with the situation in (13) where the question entailed the presupposition of a filler. The grammatical responses of (13) are repeated below.

13.   Q: Jan kocha Kasię. 'Jan loves Kasha.'
       A: a. Nie, Jan   kocha   MARI-Ę.
             No, John.NOM love.3sg.PRES Maria-ACC
          b. Nie, MARIĘ Jan kocha.

Note that here, the clause initial focal object is felicitous (13b). This contrasts with (19b). Thus, when the speaker presupposes a filler, focal objects may be placed initially (13b) and focal subjects may be placed finally (10b). These possibilities are not possible when no such presupposition exists (19b, 20b). This does not point toward a single focus position for these presupposition entailed constructions. Rather it points to two positions, initial for objects and final for subjects, which is the opposite side of the core than where such arguments are placed in unmarked sentences.

Thus, this chapter has found variable word orders for all focus types. In the case of narrow focus, the variability was found to be related to presupposition and markedness. Table 1 summarizes these findings.

Focus Type	Possible Word Orders
Predicate	SV́, V́S
Sentence	ŚV, VŚ
Narrow with/without presupposed filler	
a.subject	ŚV
b.object	(S)VÓ
Narrow with presupposed filler	
a. subject	VŚ
b. object	Ó(S)V

Table 1. Word orders for declarative sentences of various types

3.4 Further issues and conclusion of declarative section

Several factors have been seen to determine word order in Polish other than just focus and non-focus. As was noted by Jacennik and Dryer, transitivity significantly affects word order. Focal subjects of transitive verbs occur only in canonical position. Constituent length also influences word order; coordinated subjects occur only in canonical position. Coordinated objects should be examined. Presupposition affects word order. Pitch prominence or stress consistently marks focus. Only when all of these factors are considered can one understand the motivations underlying variable word order in Polish and the correlations of these factors with focus.

Further areas for research in this area include predicate focus of transitives, second argument focus in a ditransitive, and focal subjects of transitives where the object is not overt. Also, whether the marked focus constructions for focal objects involve a core initial or clause initial position should be examined, as should clauses with adverbial expressions. These have not been explored above and could further refine understanding

of the phenomena. However, the basic parameters for the various constructions have been delineated.

4 Interrogative sentences.

4.1.Yes-no questions

4.1.0 Overview of the section

 This section explores the various possibilities of focus placement within a yes-no (non-wh) question sentence in Polish. The possibilities of focus in the question are explored by looking at the possible felicitous replies. First, SVO word ordered questions are explored using intransitives, transitives and ditransitives. The potential focus domain is the entire clause for each of the above. Also, it is found that the sentences with a greater number of constituents within the sentence seemingly allow for felicitous negation of more constituents. Then, non-SVO word orders are considered, leading to the conclusion that such sentences have a final focus position.

4.1.1 SVO-ordered yes-no questions

 Now that focus in answers has been explored to a certain level of resolution, question structure must be examined. It has been noted that for a given language, the structure of questions is not necessarily parallel to that of declaratives (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 424). In order to elucidate where focus is placed in a question, the possible felicitous replies must be looked at. When answering a question, the reply may contain presupposed material but the crux of the answer which makes it a relevant answer is the focus. So, when asked, *what are you eating*?, the reply may include *I am eating* as in *I am eating bananas*, but the new information *bananas* is what makes it a valid reply;

it is the focus. Thus, the plausible answers to a given question permit one to see what exactly in the question was able to be focused upon (answered). The following provides an example in English of a non-wh-question and its possible replies (21).

21.   Q: Did John eat dinner?
       A: a. No, Bob did.
          b. No, he ate breakfast.
          c. No, he bought it, but he didn't eat it.

Given the yes-no question in (21Q), a speaker of English could interpret it such that s/he assumes the speaker is asking whether it was John who ate dinner or someone else, as in (21a), assuming narrow focus on the subject in the question. Or as in (b), the object could be assumed to be the item of interest, placing narrow focus on the object. (21c) negates the assumed verb of the question, felicitously providing an answer. This is possible as questions can have nuclear focus on the verb. Thus, replies can concern only the verb.

Now, the same type of construction in Polish can be examined. First, a question and its replies are considered for a clause containing an intransitive predicate (22).

22.   Q: Czy Jan   śpiewa-ł-Ø?
          Q   John.NOM sing-PST-3Msg
          'Did John sing?'
       A: a. Nie Piotr   śpiewa-ł-Ø.
             No Peter.NOM sing-PST-3Msg
             'No, Peter sang.'
           b. Nie, on   gra-ł-Ø   na skrzypc-ach.
             No, he.NOM play-PST-3Msg on violin-PREP
              'No, he played the violin.'
           c. Nie, Piotr   gra-ł-Ø   na skrzypc-ach.
             No, Peter.NOM play-PST-3Msg on violin-PREP
              'No, Peter played the violin.'

In Polish, given an intransitive sentence, an appropriate reply might negate the subject, as in (22a). This attributes marked narrow focus on the subject to the original interrogative.

Alternatively, the verb alone may be addressed in the reply, as in (22b). As, there are no objects or adjuncts, (22b) might be analyzed as involving either nuclear or predicate focus. Finally, given the right context, such as 'I saw one of our friends in a concert,' a question like, *Did John sing*?, might be completely negated, focusing on each of the constituents in the clause (22c). Thus, any component of the sentence seems to be able to be focused upon in a yes-no question with words occurring in their canonical order.

Transitive sentences provide another level of complexity. (23) provides an example of a transitive yes-no question and its replies.

23. Q: Czy Jan   widzia-ł-Ø   Mari-ę ?
      Q   John.NOM see-PST-3Msg   Mary-ACC
      'Did John see Mary?
   A: a. Nie, on   telefonowa-ł-Ø   do niej.
       No, he.NOM   call-PST-3Msg   to her.GEN
       'No, he called her.'
      b. Nie, ale on   widzia-ł-Ø   Kristin-ę.
       No   but he.NOM   see-PST-3Msg Kristine-ACC
       'No, but he saw Kristine.'
      c. Nie, Piotr   ją   widzia-ł-Ø.
       No, Peter.NOM   her.ACC   see-PST-3Msg
       'No, Peter saw her.'
      d.#Nie, Piotr   telefonowa-ł-Ø   do niej.
       No   Peter.NOM   call-PST-3Msg   to her-GEN
       'No, Peter called her.'
      e.#Nie, on   telefonowa-ł-Ø   do Kristin-y.
       No   he.NOM   call-PST-3Msg   to Kristine-GEN
       'No, he called Kristine.'

The constituent most easily focused upon is verb; the question was assumed to have narrow, nuclear focus on the verb. Narrow focus on the last constituent 'Mary' is also possible (23b), where the reply contradicts the object, providing a felicitous answer. Narrow focus upon the subject (23c) is also possible. Focus on both the subject and verb was not possible as shown by the infelicity of (23d), which

contradicts the subject and verb in its reply. Similarly, in (23e) focus on both the verb and object is not felicitous. Hence, nuclear focus is most felicitous. A response involving narrow post-verbal focus on the accusative undergoer such as in (b) is also plausible, as is narrow focus upon the subject. However, focus on the subject and verb (d) or both the verb and object (e) is not felicitous, most likely due to pragmatic factors. It is hard to find a context where such answers would be natural.

Next, clauses with a ditransitive verb must be examined to further elucidate possible focus positions in the questions. Earlier, only positions adjacent to the verb were considered. Now a sentence-final but not directly post-verbal constituent is added. (24) gives a ditransitive question and its answers.

24.　Q: Czy Jan　　　pożyczy-ł-Ø　samochód Mari-i?
　　　Q　John.NOM loan-PST-3Msg car-ACC　Mary-DAT
　　　'Did John loan (his) car to Mary?'
　A: a. Nie, on sprzeda-ł-Ø　jej　　　samochód.
　　　　No, he sell-PST-3Msg her.DAT car.ACC
　　　　'No, he sold her a car.'
　　b. Nie, Piotr　　jej　　pożyczy-ł-Ø.
　　　　No　Peter.NOM her.DAT loan-PST-3Msg
　　　　'No, Peter loaned (it) to her.'
　　c. Nie, on　　jej　　pożyczy-ł-Ø　rower.
　　　　No he.NOM her.DAT loan-PST-3Msg bicycle.ACC
　　　　'No, he loaned her a bike.'
　　d. Nie, on　　　pożyczy-ł-Ø　go Wand-zie.
`　　　　No, he.NOM loan-PST-3Msg it.ACC　Wanda-DAT
　　　　'No, he loaned it to Wanda.'

As with monotransitives, the ditransitive question can be posited to have nuclear focus as marked by the contradiction of the verb (24a), marked narrow subject focus (24b), and marked narrow object focus (24c). In addition, marked narrow focus can be placed on the indirect object, as seen by its felicitous contradiction in the reply (24d). This shows that arguments do not have to be adjacent to the verb in order to receive focus. Indeed,

the entire core is under the scope of potential focus as any argument or the nucleus may be focused upon.

Thus far, all of the single arguments, but no larger groupings within the core, have been examined. (25) examines the possibilities for focus with larger components within the core. Note that the new, focal information has been italicized in order to make the sentences more easily translated. This is not an indication of stress or intonation per se.

25.   Q: Czy Jan   pożyczy-ł-Ø   samochód Mari-i?
          Q   John.NOM loan-PST-3Msg car-ACC   Mary-DAT
          'Did John loan (his) car to Mary?'
      A: a. ?Nie, on   *sprzeda-ł -Ø Wand-zie   rower.*
          No he.NOM sell-PST-3Msg Wanda-DAT bicycle.ACC
          'No, he sold Wanda a bicycle.'
        b. Nie, on   jej   *sprzeda-ł-Ø   rower.*
          No   he.NOM her.DAT sell-PST-3Msg bicycle.ACC
          'No, he sold her a bicycle.'
        c. Nie, on   *sprzeda-ł -Ø Wand-zie* samochód.
          No   he.NOM sell-PST-3Msg Wanda-DAT car.ACC
          'No, he sold Wanda a car.'
        d. Nie, on   pożyczy-ł-Ø   *Wand-zie   rower.*
          No   he.NOM loan-PST-3Msg Wanda-DAT bicycle.ACC
          'No, he loaned Wanda a bicycle.'
        e. Nie, *Piotr   sprzeda-ł-Ø*   jej   samochód.
           No, Peter.NOM sell-PST-3Msg her.DAT car.ACC
          'No, Peter sold her a car.'

(25a) is a reply which implies focus on all the constituents within the predicate; the verb, its object, and the indirect object are all contradicted. It was judged to be only marginally grammatical as a response, due to the fact that so much information changed. Only in a very specific context might it serve as an answer. Focus on the entire predicate was also seen to be unfelicitous or odd for monotransitives, so this is not entirely unexpected. Focus on the verb and either the direct object (25b) or the indirect object (25c) was grammatical. Focus on both the direct and indirect objects was also felicitous (25d).

(25e) shows that the verb and the subject can also be focused on at one time. These

additional possible groupings of focus imply that it is not simply that focus on the

predicate is always ungrammatical, but rather that only a certain proportion of the

information can be changed if the answer is to be pertinent. Only one component of a

monotransitive (nucleus or argument) can be negated while in a ditransitive, two

components (nucleus + argument (25b,c,e) or argument + argument (d)) can be negated

in felicitous replies. Likely this isn't an odd rule such that (n-1) of the constituents of the

predicate can be focused upon, but rather is a repercussion of the method of data

collection. Given a question and asked to pose possible replies, the informant is given

the unwieldy task of thinking of prototypical situations, contexts in which the question

may be asked and the probable replies. With more information in the question, it is easier

to think of possible likely replies. Study of actual spoken dialogue within context would

probably regularize the data more, where both mono- and intransitive predicates would

allow for any subcomponent of or the entire predicate can be focused upon. That less is

possible here is only due to the task of mentally creating context where it isn't. With

canonically ordered, yes-no questions, the potential focus domain encompasses the entire

core, restricted here only by pragmatic ability to relate the reply to the question.

4.1.2 Non-SVO ordered yes-no questions

Now, non-canonically ordered, yes-no questions can be investigated. As always,

intransitive verb constructions will be considered first, then transitive constructions will

be examined. Canonical and non-canonical orders for an intransitive, yes-no question are

given in (26).

26. a. Czy Jan śpiewa-ł-Ø?
         Q   John.NOM sing-PST-3Msg
     b. Czy śpiewa-ł-Ø Jan?
         'Did John sing?'

Here, it appears that intransitive questions have free word order - SV in (26a) or VS in

(26b). However, these sentences are not interpreted equivalently. The answers to (26a)

were provided in (22). These included replies implicating either nuclear or marked

narrow subject focus. (27) provides the felicity of these replies when answering the VS

question (26b).

27. Q: Czy śpiewa-ł-Ø JAN?
     A: a. Nie, Piotr   śpiewa-ł-Ø.
           No Peter.NOM sing-PST-3Msg
           'No, Peter sang.'
        b. #Nie, (Jan)   gra-ł-Ø   na skrypcach.
            No   (John.NOM) play-PST-3Msg on violin
            'No, (John) played on the violin.'

(27a) shows that the VS question may be interpreted as focusing on the subject, *Jan*.

This is seen by its felicitous negation by *Piotr* in the reply. However, (27b) shows that

nuclear/predicate focus cannot be assumed for this non-canonically ordered question.

The verb/predicate *śpiewał* cannot be grammatically negated. Thus, with yes-no

questions in non-canonical order, the post-verbal or final position can be seen to be the

focus position.

    Now, using a monotransitive verb, all possible orderings are given and rated for

grammaticality in (28). Later, those sentences which prove grammatical can be further

examined for pragmatic or semantic effects given by the ordering.

28. a. Czy Jan   widzia-ł-Ø   Mari-ę?
         Q   John.NOM see-PST-3Msg Maria-ACC
     b. Czy widzia-ł-Ø Jan Mari-ę?
     c. *Czy widział Marię Jan?

d. *?Czy Jan Marię widział?
e. Czy Marię Jan widział?
f. Czy Marię widział Jan?
   'Did John see Maria?'

(28a) gives canonical word order to allow for comparison. (28c,d) show that VOS and SOV orders are ungrammatical. However, VSO (28b), OSV (28e) and OVS (28f) are grammatical. Thus, only constructions in which the subject is directly adjacent to the verb are grammatical.

Now, the different grammatical word orders can be examined (29-31).

29.   Q: Czy widzia-ł-Ø Jan Mari-ę?
       A: a. #Nie, ale Piotr   ją   widzia-ł-Ø.
             No   but Peter.NOM her.ACC see-PST-3Msg
             'No, but Peter saw her.'
          b. ?Nie, ale on   zadzwoni-ł-Ø do niej.
             No   but he.NOM call-PST-3Msg to her.GEN
             'No, but he called her.'
          c. Nie, ale on   widzia-ł-Ø   Kristin-ę.
             No, but he.NOM see-PST-3Msg Kristine.ACC
             'No, but he saw Kristine.'

With VSO order, the object is most easily focused upon, providing evidence for a core final focus position (29c). Indeed, prosodic stress is placed on the object in the question when it is uttered. This is the only possible placement for prosodic stress in the above question. Focus upon the nucleus was less felicitous (29b), while focus on the subject was completely infelicitous (29a).

Next, OSV question order can be examined (30). If the results parallel those of (29), focus will be on the last element, the verb.

30.   Q: Czy Mari-ę Jan widzia-ł-Ø?
       A: a. #Nie, ale Piotr   ją   widzia-ł-Ø.
             No   but Peter.NOM her.ACC see-PST-3Msg
             'No, but Peter saw her.'

b. Nie, ale on　　　zadzwoni-ł-Ø do niej.
　　　　　　　　　　No　　but he.NOM call-PST-3Msg to her.GEN
　　　　　　　　　　'No, but he called her.'
　　　　　　　　　c. #Nie, ale on　　　widzia-ł-Ø　　　Kristin-ę.
　　　　　　　　　　No,　but he.NOM see-PST-3Msg Kristine.ACC
　　　　　　　　　　'No, but he saw Kristine.'

With OSV order, only nuclear focus is possible (30b), while subject and object focus

(30a,c) are infelicitous. Again, the last constituent is focal.

　　　　　With OVS order, the subject is most easily focused upon (31a).

　　31.　　　Q: Czy Mari-ę widzia-ł-Ø Jan?
　　　　　　　A: a. Nie, ale Piotr　　　ją　　　widzia-ł-Ø.
　　　　　　　　　　　No　but Peter.NOM her.ACC see-PST-3Msg
　　　　　　　　　　　'No, but Peter saw her.'
　　　　　　　　　b. #Nie, ale on　　　zadzwoni-ł-Ø do niej.
　　　　　　　　　　　No　but he.NOM call-PST-3Msg to her.GEN
　　　　　　　　　　　'No, but he called her.'
　　　　　　　　　c. #Nie, ale on　　　widzia-ł-Ø　　　Kristin-ę.
　　　　　　　　　　　No, but he.NOM see-PST-3Msg Kristine.ACC
　　　　　　　　　　　'No, but he saw Kristine.'

Again, non-final constituents are not easily focused upon (b,c).

4.1.3 Conclusion

While the potential focus domain of yes-no questions with SVO ordering is the entire

core, in non-SVO ordered yes-no question, there is a final focus position. Further

research needs to be conducted to see whether this final position is core, clause, or

sentence final, as in the above sentences all of these coincide. Such sentences are only

grammatical when the subject is adjacent to the verb. Sentences with ditransitive verbs

and non-core material should also be examined. More research is needed with

naturalistic data to account for possible problems in giving context-less questions to

answer.

4.2 Wh-questions and multiple wh-questions

4.2.0 Overview of the section

This section examines wh-questions, beginning with one wh-word and continuing up to three. It is found that at least one wh-word must occur initially to create a felicitous wh-question. Placing the verb initially creates a non-wh reading. Placing one wh-word initially and one finally creates an interpretation where a listing of multiple pairs of fillers for the wh-words is expected. In general, it is seen that in those sentences where all wh-words are initial, they can occur in any order. However, when one is initial and one final, subject will precede any object, direct object precedes indirect, and argument precedes adjunct.

4.2.1 Questions involving a single wh-word

Constructions containing wh-question words often differ fundamentally in their placement of focus than do those without such wh-question words. The following gives an example of two questions in English, one with a wh-question word (32a) and one without (32b).

32. a. What did you eat?
   b. Did you eat a sandwich?

The wh-object in (32a) occurs in initial position whereas the non-wh object in (32b) remains in its in-situ post-verbal position. In English, wh-question words occur clause initially in the pre-core slot (PrCS), which is a position inside the clause but outside of the core. In a wh-question there is no pause between the wh-word and the rest of the sentence.

Whether or not Polish makes use of such a position must be ascertained. The

following gives an example of a single wh-question word within a Polish sentence (33).

33.　　a. KTO　　　umar-ł-Ø?
　　　　　who-NOM die-PAST-3Msg
　　　　　'Who died?'
　　　b. *Umar-ł-Ø KTO?
　　　c. UMAR-ł-Ø kto?
　　　　　die-PAST-3Msg who-NOM
　　　　　'Did anyone die?'

(33a) indicates that when the wh-word subject occurs sentence initially and is given

prosodic prominence, the utterance is grammatical and has a similar meaning to the

English question using an initial wh-word. Simply reversing the order and placing the

wh-word finally with prosodic prominence is not grammatical (33b). However, with an

initial verb and final subject, a rather different meaning is obtained when the verb is

stressed, as in (33c), which is best translated as, 'Did anyone die?' The presupposition

that the event has happened is removed. This is not equivalent to the meaning of (33a).

The latter, (c), is not a true wh-question. It is closer in meaning to the following, (d).

　　　　d. Czy ktoś　　umar-ł-Ø?
　　　　　Q　anyone die-PAST-3Msg
　　　　　'Did anyone die?'

The different interpretations of (33a) and (33c), as well as their different

prosodics, might indicate a different focus in the grammatical sentences. Below, the

felicitous replies to each of the sentences is given. These answers allow one to see what

was focal in the questions.

34.　　Q: KTO　umar-ł-Ø?
　　　A: MARIA umar-ł-a.
　　　　　Maria.NOM die-PST-3Fsg
　　　A': Umar-ł-a MARIA.
　　　　　'Maria died.'

A'': MARIA.
     'Maria.'

(34) shows that the felicitous answer to the wh-question with the wh-word subject fills in who the unknown subject is, *Maria*. As explained in section 2.4, (34.A) does not necessarily entail the presupposition that someone died. (34.A') shows that an answer used when the speaker presupposes a filler is felicitous. Thus, initial wh-word questions are consistent with readings where it can be presupposed that there is an answer (A') as well as where the presupposition is optional (A). (A'') shows that only the subject is needed to be filled, the wh-word alone is indeed the focus.

(35) examines these issues with the other felicitous question, (33c).

35.   Q: UMAR-ł-Ø kto?
       A: MARIA umar-ł-a.
          Maria.NOM die-PST-3Fsg
       A': #Umar-ł-a MARIA.
           'Maria died.'
       A'': ?#MARIA.
            'Mary.'
       A''': Nie.
             'No.'

When the question places the wh-word finally, this word is interpreted as an indefinite pronoun, and the felicitous answer does not necessarily entail the presupposition that the event occurred (35.A). (35.A') shows that an answer which necessarily entails such a presupposition is not valid. The sentence in (35A) is ambiguous between a sentence focus type prosody and that of unmarked narrow focus on the subject (see table 1). However, (35A'') shows that the verb initial question cannot simply be answered with the subject *Maria*, it needs to have the verb as well. Therefore, *Maria* is not receiving narrow focus, but rather the whole sentence is focused upon. The grammaticality of (34.A'') shows that for the wh-word initial question, only the subject, the wh-word is

focal. Finally, the felicity of (35.A''') shows that one can answer the VS question with a yes-no answer. This would not be grammatical if the question were a true wh-question. The felicitous answer of 'no' denies that the event of someone dying did occur. This points to the fact that this question does not presuppose that the event took place but rather asks whether it did. Thus, focus and presupposition differ for (33a) and (33c).

The wh-word can be interpreted as a wh-word, and not an indefinite pronoun, only when it occurs in initial position, as in (33a). However, this initial position is also the in-situ position for Polish subjects. Therefore, it may not be the initial position, but rather in-situ where wh-words are interpreted as wh-words. In order to help elucidate whether the wh-question construction has an initial slot for all wh-words or whether wh-words simply occur in-situ, wh-word objects must be investigated. (36) shows the grammaticality of various placements of a wh-object.

36.   a. CO   robi-sz?
           what.ACC do-PRES.2sg
           'What are (you) doing?'
       b. ROBISZ co?
           'Are you doing anything?'

The second argument of a transitive, similar to the first argument of the intransitive, must occur sentence initially to be interpreted as a wh-word (36a). This is not the in-situ position for objects. When a wh-word occurs in the final position, in-situ, it is interpreted as an indefinite-specific pronoun (36b).

Next, sentences with three words, one of which is a wh-word, can be examined (37, 38).

37.   a. KTO   kupi-ł-Ø   chleb?
           who.NOM buy-PST-3Msg   bread.ACC
       b. KTO chleb kupił?
           'Who bought bread?'

c. KUPIŁ chleb kto?
d. KUPIŁ kto chleb?
   'Did anyone buy bread?'
e. ?CHLEB kupił kto?
f. ?/* Chleb kto kupił?
   'Did anyone buy bread?'

A question is grammatical and gives a wh-word interpretation if the wh-word subject is sentence initial (37a,b). Consultants noted that (37b) is slightly less acceptable than (37a) showing that SVO order is preferred for a question with a wh-subject. (37c,d), with verb in initial position, are grammatical, but differ in interpretation from (37a,b). (37c,d) are informal variants of 'did anyone buy bread?' The factuality of such an event is no longer presupposed. This is signalled by placing the verb in initial position, while the wh-word may occur finally (c) or medially (d) and is interpreted as an indefinite pronoun. As was seen in (33c), the verb is stressed in such sentences. When the object is placed first (e,f), a grammatical reading is harder to obtain. It could be used as a rather impolite way to indirectly command or to chide for not having done a given act, interpreted as, 'did anyone buy the bread (no one bought the bread did they!)?' Here, the event is presupposed not to have happened.

A similar situation can be found for objects which are wh-words in questions (38).

38.   a. CO   Jan   kupi-ł-Ø?
         what.ACC John.NOM buy-PST-3Msg
      b. CO kupił Jan?
         'What did Jan buy?'
      c. KUPIŁ Jan co?
      d. KUPIŁ co Jan?
         'Did Jan buy anything?'
      e. *Jan co kupił?
      f. ?*Jan kupił co?
          'Jan bought WHAT?'

In (38a,b) the wh-word is sentence initial, and the sentence is grammatical, regardless of where the subject is in relation to the verb. In (c,d) again a situation is given where the event is not presupposed to have taken place and the wh-words are interpreted as indefinite pronouns, which is signalled by placing the verb initially. Placing the non-wh subject first (e,f) was not grammatical. (f) was only possible if considered to be an echo question, mimicking the form of a sentence in question. For example, the speaker hears, 'Jan kupił _____.' To find out what was not heard/unclear he asks a question placing the wh-word exactly at that place in the sentence where he missed the information as in (f).

So far only argument wh-words have been considered. The following paradigm explores the placement of a non-argument wh-word, that is, an adjunct.

39. a. GDZIE Jan pracuje-Ø?
    where John.NOM work-PRES.3Msg
   b. GDZIE pracuje Jan?
    'Where does John work?'
   c. ?PRACUJE Jan gdzie?
    'Jan works WHERE?'
   d. *Pracuje gdzie Jan?
   e. *Jan gdzie pracuje?
   f. *Jan pracuje gdzie?

To be grammatical, a wh-adjunct must be placed initially, but the order of the words following is relatively unimportant (39a,b). All non-initial placements of the wh-word are ungrammatical (c-f). (39c) was rated as somewhat acceptable only because it could be an echo question, similar to (38f). Note that an interpretation of *gdzie*, 'where,' as an indefinite adverb is NOT obtained when it is placed non-initially. That is, a reading of 'does Jan work somewhere?' is never obtained. Thus, the adjunct is behaving differently than the arguments did. Only initial position is grammatical for the adjunct wh-word,

while argument wh-words can appear in sentences with the verb in initial position to obtain an indefinite pronoun reading (37c,d & 38c,d).

4.2.2 Multiple wh-word questions

Next questions containing two wh-words can be examined. (40) provides an example of such a construction using a transitive verb.

40.   a. CO   kto   kupi-ł-Ø?
            what.ACC who.NOM buy-PST-3Msg
        b. KTO co kupił?
           'Who bought what?'
        c. KTO kupił co?
           'Who bought what?' [+dist]
        d. ?*Co kupił kto?
        e. KUPIŁ co kto?
        f. KUPIŁ kto co?
           'Did anyone buy anything?'

(40a,b) show that questions are felicitous when both wh-words are placed sentence initially with the subject and object in either order. (40a) places the subject before object while (40b) places the object before the subject. (40c) was at first said to be ungrammatical, but upon further thought my consultant noted that it could be used when multiple pairs of subject and object were expected. An example of a felicitous reply to such a question would be *John bought a car, Sally a bike, Joe a moped*. It is a more limited reading where a distribution of pairs of answers is expected. Note that this type of construction requires that the subject be placed before the verb and the object after. Hence the ungrammaticality of (40d). Also, (40a,b) do not preclude such a distribution of pairs in the answer, but do not require it either. (40e,f) point out that sentences which place none of the wh-words initially are grammatical in Polish. Again, this creates a reading where the event is not presupposed to have taken place, where the wh-words are

interpreted as indefinite pronouns ('Did anyone buy anything?'). Therefore, in order to

obtain a wh-word reading, at least one of the wh-words must occur initially; the initial

position must be filled. When such a position is filled, a wh-reading is obtained for all

possible wh-words. When the slot is not filled, a wh-word reading is impossible for any

and all possible wh-words.

(41) examines the grammaticality of various word orders when an adjunct wh-

word and an argument wh-word are used in the question.

> 41. a. KTO gdzie śpiewa-Ø?
>   who.NOM where sing-PRES.3sg
>   b. GDZIE kto śpiewa?
>   'Who is singing where?'
>   c. KTO śpiewa gdzie?
>   'Who is singing where?' [+dist]
>   d. ?*GDZIE śpiewa kto?
>   e. ŚPIEWA kto gdzie?
>   'Is anyone singing anywhere?'
>   f. ?*Śpiewa gdzie kto?

When a question has two wh-words and one is an adjunct, grammatical readings are

obtained when both wh-words are placed initially in either order (41a,b). Also, the

argument may occupy initial position and the adjunct final to create a distributive listing

type of context (c). Placement of the adjunct before the verb and *kto*, 'who,' after was

less felicitous (d). Both arguments may be placed finally, given that the argument

precedes the adjunct (e). If the adjunct precedes the argument in a verb initial sentence, it

is ungrammatical (f). The felicitous verb initial question lacks the presupposition that the

event took place, again creating a non-wh reading, (e). Note that here both the adjunct

and argument are interpreted indefinitely. In (39) it was seen that a post-verbal adjunct

wh-word alone could not be interpeted as indefinite.

Thus, adjuncts behave similarly to objects in many respects (40). Both can occur in either order with the subject wh-word before a verb. Both must occur finally if there is a wh-subject in a sentence calling for a series of pairs in the answer, a distributive reading. However, whereas object and subject wh-words occur in either order when both are after the verb, adjuncts must follow the subject in such a situation. Thus, objects have more freedom of placement. Placing an object wh-word and an adjunct wh-word in a sentence with a non-wh-subject might show further differential behavior of the two. (42) presents this possibility.

42.   a. CO gdzie kupi-ł-eś?
          what.ACC where buy-PST-2Msg
       b. GDZIE co kupiłeś?
          'Where did (you) buy what?'
       c. CO kupiłeś gdzie?
       d. ?GDZIE kupiłeś co?
          'Where did (you) buy what?' [+dist]
       e. KUPIŁEŚ co gdzie?
       f. KUPIŁEŚ gdzie co?
          'Did you buy anything anywhere?'

Thus, adjunct wh-words and object wh-words can occur in either order when both are before the verb (a,b). The object wh-word comes before and the non-argument after the verb in a sentence giving a distributional reading, (c,d). The argument here takes precedence over the adjunct. However, when both are after the verb, either order is felicitous (e,f), and a non-wh reading is obtained.

Next, building in complexity, ditransitives will be examined in a sentence with four words where both the direct and indirect objects are wh-words (43). Due to the number of possible orders of a four word sentence, the orderings will be divided in groups according to placement of the wh-words - both initial (a-d), one initial and one

final (e-h), both final (i-l), one initial and one medial (m-p), one medial and one final (q-t), and both medial (u-x).

43.   a. CO   komu   Jan   da-ł-Ø?
            what.ACC who.DAT John.NOM give-PST-3Msg
           b. KOMU co Jan dał?
           c. CO komu dał Jan?
           d. KOMU co dał Jan?
            'To whom did Jan give what?'

When both wh-words are initial, the sentence is always grammatical.

           e. ? CO Jan dał komu?
           f. ? KOMU Jan dał co?
           g. ? CO dał Jan komu?
           h. ? KOMU dał Jan co?

All of the above appear to be marginally grammatical with different consultants offering differing judgments. Naturalistic data could shed further light on such constructions.

           i. ?*Jan dał co komu?
           j. *Jan dał komu co?
           k. DAŁ Jan co komu?
           l. DAŁ Jan komu co?
         'Did Jan give anything to anyone?'

Questions with both wh-words finally are ungrammatical when the subject is in initial position (i,j). They are grammatical is the verb is first (k,l) and lead to a type of reading where the speaker is not presupposing that an actual event took place, a non-wh-reading.

           m. ? CO Jan komu dał?
           n. ? KOMU Jan co dał?
           o. ?* CO dał komu Jan?
           p. * KOMU dał co Jan?
            'What did Jan give to whom?'

This construction was again marginal at best. Some found (m,n) to be completely felicitous, but another found them to be somewhat odd. However, no sentences are felicitous (for any consultant) when the subject is final and one argument is initial and one medial (o,p).

> q. *Jan co komu dał?
> r. *Jan komu co dał?
> s. ?*Dał co komu Jan?
> t. *Dał komu co Jan?

No question is grammatical if both the wh-words are medial (q-t).

> u. *Jan co dał komu?
> v. *Jan komu dał co?
> w. ?*Dał co Jan komu?
> x. *Dał komu Jan co?
>   'Whom did John give what?'

No question is grammatical if one question word is final and the other medial (u-z).

The indisputably felicitous cases involved either placing both wh-words initially (a-d) or both finally with the verb in initial position (k,l). Wh-initial (a-d) yield a wh-reading, while the verb initial (k,l) have indefinite-specific pronoun readings. In neither of these cases did the order of the direct and indirect objects make a difference.

So far, three distinct types of multiple wh-questions have been seen in Polish. In one, all wh-words are placed initially (40a,b, 41a,b, 42a,b, 43a-d). The wh-words can be arranged in any order relative to each other, but they are the first words in the sentence. Another construction involves placing the verb first and the wh-words last. This is seen in (40e,f, 41e,f, 42e,f, 43k,l). Here there is one restriction on the order of the wh-words. Subjects wh-words precede adjuncts (41e,f). The final type of construction given was

that placing one wh-word first and the other finally in the sentence to obtain a question

calling for a distributive answer. These were most felicitous in sentences containing

three words (40c,d, 41c,d, 42c,d, vs. 43e-h). Here more restrictions were noted. Subject

wh-words preceded objects (40c vs. 40d) as well as adjuncts (41c vs. 41d). Objects

preceded adjuncts (42c vs. 42d). The ordering of indirect and direct objects is examined

in (44).

> 44.   a. Co   da-ł-eś   komu?
>   what.DAT give-PST-2Msg who.ACC
>   b. ?Komu da-ł-eś co?
>   'What did (you) give to whom?'

As might be expected, such a construction is more grammatical when direct object comes

first and indirect last (44a).

Note that although (44a) was found to be clearly grammatical, a similar

construction with an overt subject (43e) was not. The presence of a subject or extra

constituent affected judgements. In (42) direct object and adjunct wh-words were

presented in a construction with no overt subject. (45) shows a similar construction with

an overt subject.

> 45.   a.Co   gdzie Jan   kupi-ł-Ø?
>   what.ACC where John.NOM buy-PST-3Msg
>   b. Gdzie co Jan   kupi-ł-Ø?
>   c. ?Gdzie Jan kupił co?
>   d. *Gdzie kupił Jan co?
>   e. *Co Jan kupił gdzie?
>   f. *Co kupił Jan gdzie?
>   'Where did John buy what?

As seen with all multiple wh-question constructions, when both the wh-words are

placed first in the sentence (45a,b), the sentence is grammatical. No distributive type

construction was grammatical (c-f). The overt subject again affected judgements.

(44) showed that it was preferable for direct objects to precede indirect ones in a distributive construction. Next, such a sentence containing an indirect object wh-word and an adjunct wh-word can be tested.

46.   a. Komu   gdzie da-n-o   pieniądze?
             who.DAT where give-PASS-3Nsg money
          b. ?Gdzie dano pieniądze komu?
          c. ?Komu dano pieniądze gdzie?
            'Where was money given out to whom?'

A sentence with a wh-word indirect object and adjunct is felicitous if both occur initially (46a). However, neither of the distributive type of constructions in (46b) and (46c) are well-formed. Here, there is no overt subject, but there is the added direct object constituent.

Next, sentences containing three wh-words can be examined. It should be noted that although such sentences are possible in Polish they are quite rare. Therefore, it was quite difficult to obtain clear judgements on the more marginal cases. First, the construction placing all wh-words initially will be considered (47a-f). Then, that placing the verb initially will be presented (g-l). Finally, other cases will be considered.

47.   a. Kto   co   komu   da-ł?
            who.NOM what.ACC who.DAT give-PST.3Msg
          b. Co kto komu dał?
          c. Kto komu co dał?
          d. Co komu kto dał?
          e. Komu kto co dał?
          f. Komu co kto dał?
            'Who gave what to whom?'

In all cases where all three of the wh-words occur initially, the question is grammatical (47a-f).

          g. Dał co kto komu?
          h. Dał co komu kto?

i. Dał kto co komu?
j. Dał kto komu co?
k. Dał komu kto co?
l. Dał komu co kto?
'Did anyone give anything to anybody?'

In all cases where all the wh-words occur finally and the verb initially, grammaticality is obtained. These translate as, "Did anyone give anything to anybody?" Here, the act is not presupposed to have occurred, similar to what was found in other verb initial multiple wh-question constructions (40e,f, 41e,f, 42e,f, 43k,l).

In other cases where the verb was medial, judgments were much less clear. Given below are the set most consistently judged to be grammatical (m-p), and the set consistently judged as ungrammatical (o-t).

m. Kto dał co komu?
n. Kto dał komu co?
o. *Kto komu dał co?
p. *Kto co dał komu?
q. *Komu dał kto co?
r. *Komu dał co kto?
s. *Komu co dał kto?
t. *Komu kto dał co?

Thus, sentences placing the primary argument in initial position and the verb second were grammatical (m-n). All other orderings are either at best marginal, judged inconsistently, or ungrammatical.

Note that (47m,n) contain four constituents and are grammatical. Thus, in the above examples where length of the sentence seemed to play a role in the possibility of creating a distributively interpreted sentence such as (43e-h), (45c-f), (46b-c), it was not simply the number of constituents that created the lack of grammaticalness. The number of non-wh constituents could be affecting judgments. However, to really understand

these results, naturalistic data is necessary. Obviously, lack of context could influence these decisions.

4.2.3 Conclusion

In sum, wh-word questions were found to be of three types. All wh-words could be placed sentence initially in any order. The verb could be placed initially with all wh-words finally, creating a non-wh indefinite specific reading of the pronouns. Also, a distributive reading could be attained by placing one wh-word first, the verb second and then other wh-words finally. Here the wh-word placed initially followed a hierarchy of subject>direct object>indirect object>adjunct.

5 Complex sentences

5.0 Overview

The previous sections examined only simple sentences. This section will expand the analysis of focus in Polish to include sentences containing more than one clause, complex sentences. First, complex sentences created by the verb *powiedzieć*, 'to say,' are examined. It is found that the subordinate clause cannot receive focus. Then, indirect questions, created using *pytać* 'to ask' are investigated. Subordinate clauses in this type of construction also disallow focus. However, non-focal wh-words are used in these indirect questions, and occur initially in the subordinate clause in a PrCS. Finally, a construction using *chcieć* 'to want' is investigated, in which an argument of the subordinate clause is found to occur in the matrix clause when it is a focal wh-word. It is further found that only the object of the subordinate clause can occur in the matrix clause as a wh-word. Such a subordinate clause, marked with *żeby*, is restricted for tense and

can receive narrow focus in final position. Other subordinate elements, such as

subordinate clauses marked with *że* and used with verbs such as *powiedzieć*, are not

restricted for tense and disallow focus.

5.1 Complex sentences

      Now, complex sentences in Polish are examined for possible focus placements.

First, constructions using *powiedzieć* 'to say' are investigated (48).

> 48.   Q: 'Czy Maria   powiedzia-ł-a, że Jan   będ-zie   czyta-ł-Ø
>   Q Maria.NOM say-PST-3sg   CMP Jan.NOM FUT-3Msg read-PST-3Msg
>   książk-ę?
>   book.ACC
>   'Did Maria say that Jan will be reading the book?'
>   A: '#Nie, Piotr.'
>   No Peter.NOM
>   'No, Peter.' (where *Peter* is replacing *Jan*.)
>   A': '#Nie, gazet-ę.'
>   No newspaper-F.ACC
>   'No, a newspaper.'

Neither the subject (48A) nor the object (48A') of the subordinate clause can be denied,

indicating that neither NP in the subordinate clause is focused upon. Thus, it is unlikely

that the subordinate clause will allow a wh-question word to occur in it, as a wh-word is a

focal element. (49) examines the grammaticality of various placements of wh-words in

such a sentence.

> 49.   a. *Maria   powiedzia-ł-a, że co   Jan   będ-zie
>   Maria.NOM say-PST-3Fsg   CMP what.ACC Jan.NOM FUT-3Msg
>   czyta-ł-Ø?
>   read-PST-3Msg
>   b. *Maria powiedzia-ł-a, że Jan będ-zie czyta-ł-Ø co?
>   c. *Maria powiedzia-ł-a, co że Jan będ-zie czyta-ł-Ø?
>   d. *Maria powiedzia-ł-a co, że Jan będ-zie czyta-ł-Ø?
>   e. ?*Co Maria powiedzia-ł-a, że Jan będ-zie czyta-ł-Ø?

f. *Maria co powiedzia-ł-a, że Jan bę dzie czyta-ł-Ø?

g. *Co   Maria   powiedzia-ł-a, co   Jan   bę dzie
what.ACC Maria.NOM say-PST-3sg   what.ACC Jan.NOM FUT-3Msg
czyta-ł-Ø?
read-PST-3Msg
'What did Maria say that Jan will be reading?'

Placing the wh-word *co,* 'what,' after the complementizer in the subordinate clause is not

grammatical (49a). Nor is it grammatical sentence finally (49b) or when placed initially

in the subordinate clause (c). It is not grammatical before the complementizer, whether

interpreted as part of the matrix clause (d) or subordinate clause (c). It is not a

grammatical sentence initially regardless of whether the complementizer is *że*, 'that,' or

co, 'what.' It is also not grammatical after the subject of the matrix clause (f). Indeed,

wh-words which are arguments of a subordinate clause are not permitted in Polish, which

disallows focus in subordinate clauses.

The subordinate clause in such a complex sentence appears to be functioning as

an argument. This can be examined by testing the grammaticality of the matrix clause as

an independent sentence, as well as by replacing the subordinate clause with a wh-

argument (50).

50.   a. *Maria   powiedzia-ł-a.
Maria.NOM say-PST-3Fsg
'Maria said.'

b. Co   Maria   powiedzia- ł-a?
what.ACC Maria.NOM say-PST-3Fsg
'What did Maria say?'

Without given a context where only part of the argument structure of the verb is called

for (such as a question like, 'Who said?'), the matrix clause of (49) is ungrammatical as

an independent clause (50a). Thus, the material provided by the *że* clause is necessary to

the logical structure of the verb; it is an argument. Furthermore, the subordinate clause

can be replaced by *co* which is a wh-word calling for an object filler (b). Thus, the *że*

clause functions as the object of the verb *powiedzieć*.

There are two constructions which seem to allow a wh-word to act as an argument

of a subordinate clause in Polish. One involves the verb *pytać* 'to ask' while the other

involves *chcieć* 'to want.' These will now be considered, beginning with *pytać,* 'to ask.'

51.   a. Maria   pyta-Ø, co   Jan   kupi-ł-Ø.
       Maria.NOM ask-3sg what.ACC Jan.NOM buy-PST-3Msg
       'Maria is asking what Jan bought.'
       b. Maria   pyta-Ø, co   Jan   będzie   kupi-ł-Ø.
       Maria.NOM ask-3sg what.ACC Jan.NOM be-FUT-3Msg buy-PST-3Msg
       'Maria is asking what Jan will buy.'
       c. *Maria pyta.
       'Maria is asking.'

The sentences in (51a,b) seem superficially like that of (48), but contain a wh-word.

However, there are differences. Note that (51a,b) have no complementizer. Here, the

clause containing the wh-word also functions as an NP argument of the matrix verb. This

can be seen by the ungrammaticality of the matrix clause as an independent clause (51c).

It is missing an argument, the object, and so is ungrammatical. The wh-word is occuring

clause initially, as it did for questions in simple sentences.

However, this does not necessarily mean that the wh-word in (51) is receiving

focus. (51) is not a question, so *co* is not under interrogative illocutionary force as the

wh-words in simple sentences were. This sentence is not calling for a filler to the wh-

word. Instead, *co* is functioning as the marker or the lower clause which is an indirect

question, similar to that which is used for its interpretation into English.   (52) shows the

felicity of filling the wh-word.

52.   Q: Maria   pyta-Ø, co   Jan   kupi-ł-Ø?
             Maria.NOM ask-3sg what.ACC Jan.NOM buy-PST-3Msg
             'Maria is asking what Jan bought?'
        A: #Mleko.
           milk.ACC
           'Milk.'

Even an attempt to change (51) to a question does not create a situation where the wh-word *co* is calling for a filler, as can be seen by the ungrammaticality of a response which fills it (52A). Thus, it is not possible to focus upon the wh-word. Again, Polish disallows focus in a subordinate clause.

Although, the wh-word in (51) cannot be focal, it still seems to be like the wh-words previously encountered in independent clauses in that it is occurring initially within the clause. (53) tests whether there is also a PrCS restriction to the subordinate wh-word in Polish.

53.   a. Maria   pyta-Ø, co   Jan   kupi-ł-Ø.
            Maria.NOM ask-3sg what.ACC Jan.NOM buy-PST-3Msg
        b. *Maria pyta-Ø, Jan co kupi-ł-Ø.
        c. *Maria pyta-Ø, Jan kupi-ł-Ø co.
        d. *Maria pyta-Ø co, Jan kupi-ł-Ø.
        e. *Maria co pyta-Ø, Jan kupi-ł-Ø.
        f. *Co Maria   pyta-Ø, Jan kupi-ł-Ø.
          'Maria is asking what Jan bought.'

Just as in the other constructions involving wh-words (except those with no presupposition that an event occurred), the wh-word of a subordinated clause must occur in the PrCS, such as in (53a). Any other placement (b-f) was ungrammatical. This lends further support for a PrCS in Polish.

Another construction exists which seems to contradict the generalization that embedded clauses in Polish cannot have focus positions, illustrated in (54).

54. a. Co   Maria   chce-Ø, żeby   Jan   jej   kupi-ł-Ø?
        what.ACC Maria.NOM want-3sg in order Jan.NOM her.DAT buy-PST-3Msg
        'What does Maria want Jan to buy her?'

Here, the accusative argument *co*, 'what,' seems to be an argument of the verb of

the lower clause, but occurs in the matrix clause. There is a complementizer, *żeby*, 'in

order.' *Co* is not occurring in the lower clause as it did in (52). (55) displays the

ungrammaticality of placing the wh-word there as well as elsewhere in the sentence.

55.   a. *Maria chce-Ø, żeby co Jan jej kupi-ł-Ø?
        b. *Maria chce-Ø, żeby Jan co jej kupi-ł-Ø?
        c. *Maria chce-Ø, żeby Jan jej co kupi-ł-Ø?
        d. *Maria chce-Ø, żeby Jan jej kupi-ł-Ø co?
        e. *Maria chce-Ø, co żeby Jan jej kupi-ł-Ø?
        f. *Maria chce-Ø co, żeby Jan jej kupi-ł-Ø?
        g. *Maria co chce-Ø, żeby Jan jej kupi-ł-Ø?
        h. *Maria chce, żeby Jan jej kupi-ł-Ø co?

Thus, nowhere in the sentence, except initially, can *co* occur, as shown by the

ungrammaticality of (55a-h). This includes initially in a place which would correspond

with a PrCS of the lower clause (55a), which was grammatical for (52).

Attempts to place other wh-words initially in such a sentence are shown in (56).

56.   a. *Kogo   Maria   chce-Ø, żeby   jej   kupi-ł-Ø
           who.ACC Maria.NOM want-3sg in order her.DAT buy-PST-3Msg
           chleb?
           bread.ACC
           'Who does Maria want to buy her bread?'
        b. *Kto   Maria   chce-Ø, żeby   jej   kupi-ł-Ø
           who.NOM Maria.NOM want-3sg in order her.DAT buy-PST-3Msg
           chleb?
           bread.ACC
           'Who does Maria want to buy her bread?'
        c. *Gdzie Maria   chce-Ø, żeby   Jan   jej   kupi-ł-Ø
           where Maria.NOM want-3sg in order Jan.NOM her.DAT buy-PST-3Msg
           chleb?
           bread.ACC
           'Where does Maria want John to buy her bread?'

Questioning the subject of the lower clause resulted in ungrammaticality whether this NP

was given accusative (56a) or nominative (56b) case. Similarly, the adjunct *gdzie*,

'where,' could not grammatically be placed sentence initially if interpreted as modifying

the lower clause (56c). A reading where *gdzie* was interpreted as modifying the matrix

clause was grammatical.

Although the wh-word in (54) appears in the matrix clause, it is still interpreted as

belonging to the subordinate clause. Thus, in this particular type of subordinate clause,

focus is allowable when the focal argument of the subordinate clause is placed in the

matrix clause. The ability for focus to occur in this subordinate element is further shown

through the felicitous negation of the subordinate object (57).

> 57. Q: Czy Maria   chcia-ł-a,   żeby   Jan   kupi-ł-Ø
>   Q   Maria.NOM want-PST-3Fsg in order Jan.NOM buy-PST-3Msg
>   chleb?
>   bread.ACC
>   'Did Maria want Jan to buy bread?'
>   A: Nie, mleko.
>   No, milk.ACC
>   'No, milk.'

The unmarked narrow focus position of the lower clause, that is the object, can be

negated (58). Therefore, embedded subordinate clauses beginning with *żeby* allow for

unmarked narrow focus in the subordinate clause.

This is not true of other types of subordinate clauses. Those beginning with *że*

could not receive unmarked narrow focus in the subordinate clause (48). A wh-word

interpreted as belonging to the subordinate clause, but occurring in the matrix clause, is

also not felicitous with the verb *powiedzieć*, 'to ask.' An example of this is given below

(58), along with a sentence using *żeby* for comparison.

58.   a. *Co   Maria   powiedzia-ł-a, że Jan   jej
              what.ACC Maria.NOM say-PST-3Fsg   that Jan.NOM her.DAT
              kupi-ł-Ø?
              buy-PST-3Msg
            'What did Maria say that Jan bought her?'
       b. Co   Maria   chce-Ø, żeby   Jan   jej   kupi-ł-Ø?
             what.ACC Maria.NOM want-3sg in order Jan.NOM her.DAT buy-PST-3Msg
             'What does Maria want Jan to buy her?'

Thus, the sentence with the *że* 'that' complementizer is ungrammatical when the

object wh-word occurs in the matrix clause and the subordinate clause is missing its

object (58a). However, the sentence with the complementizer *żeby,* 'in order,' allows for

just such a construction (58b). Superficially, such constructions might appear to be very

similar, but they differ in a number of ways.

Żeby differs from *że* in its ability to introduce clauses with various tenses (59).

59.   a. Maria   powiedzia-ł-a, że Jan   będ-zie czyta-ł-Ø
             Maria.NOM say-PST-3Fsg   CMP Jan.NOM FUT-3Msg read-PST-3Msg
             ksiażk-ę.
             book.ACC
            'Maria said that Jan will be reading the book.'
       b. Maria   powiedzia-ł-a, że Jan   czyta-ł-Ø   ksiażk-ę.
             Maria.NOM say-PST-3Fsg   CMP Jan.NOM read-PST-3Msg book.ACC
            'Maria said that Jan read the book.'
       c. Maria   powiedzia-ł-a, że Jan   czyta-Ø   książk-ę.
             Maria.NOM say-PST-3Fsg   CMP Jan.NOM read-PRES.3Msg book.ACC
            'Maria said that Jan is reading the book.'
       d. *Maria   chcia-ł-a,   żeby   Jan   będ-zie czyta-ł-Ø
             Maria.NOM want-PST-3Fsg in order Jan.NOM FUT-3Msg read-PST-3Msg
             ksiażk-ę.
             book.ACC
            'Maria wanted that Jan will be reading the book.'
       e. Maria   chcia-ł-a,   żeby   Jan   czyta-ł-Ø książk-ę.
             Maria.NOM want-PST-3Fsg in order Jan.NOM read-PST-3Msg book.ACC
            'Maria wanted Jan to read the book.'
       f. *Maria   chcia-ł-a,   żeby   Jan   czyta-Ø   książk-ę.
             Maria.NOM want-PST-3Fsg in order Jan.NOM read-PRES.3Msg book.ACC
            'Maria wanted that Jan is reading the book.'

In (59a), *że* marks a clause containing a future tense verb, and the sentence is

grammatical. *Że* can also mark clauses with past tense (b) and future tense (c). However,

as is seen in (60d), *żeby* cannot mark clauses with verbs in the future. (60f) illustrates

that the present tense is also not grammatical after *żeby*. Only the past tense is possible

in clauses introduced by *żeby* (60e). Thus, another difference exists between *że* and

żeby -- the latter is restricted to one tense while the former can co-occur with any tense.

However, simply because the verb in the subordinate clause for *żeby* is

morphologically past tense, this does not mean it is interpreted as past tense. For

example, future tense in Polish is commonly formed by using the future auxiliary and a

matrix verb marked for past tense (footnote 1). (60) presents sentences with the

subordinate clause marked morphologically as past but co-occurring with various time

adverbs.

60.   a. Maria   chcia-ł-a,   żeby   Jan   czyta-ł-Ø   książk-ę
         Maria.NOM want-PST-3Fsg in order Jan.NOM read-PST-3Msg book.ACC
         teraz.
         now
         'Maria wanted Jan to read the book now.'
      b. Maria   chcia-ł-a,   żeby   Jan   czyta-ł-Ø   książk-ę
         Maria.NOM want-PST-3Fsg in order Jan.NOM read-PST-3Msg book.ACC
         jutro.
         tomorrow.
         'Maria wanted Jan to read the book tomorrow.' (the reading is to have
         taken place tomorrow while the wanting was done in the past)
      c. Maria   chcia-ł-a,   żeby   Jan   by-ł-Ø
         Maria.NOM want-PST-3Fsg in order Jan.NOM be-PST-3Msg
         czyta-ł-Ø   książk-ę   wczoraj.
         read-PST-3Msg book-ACC yesterday
         'Maria wanted Jan to have read the book (by) yesterday.

A sentence containing *chcieć* as a matrix verb and *żeby* as the marker for the subordinate clause can have a reading where the second clause is given the morphological past marking, but interpreted as present tense (61a). Also, the subordinate clause marked in the past morphologically can be interpreted as future (b) or past (c). The subordinate verb is irrealis; it is spoken of as a desired state and not one that actually happened. Its tense is intrepeted as either a function of the main verb or of context, such as that provided by the time adverbs above.

There exists yet another construction where sentences using these two different complementizers differ. This type of construction, a cleft, is given below (62).

62.   a. To   co   Maria   chciała,   było   żeby
          that what Maria.NOM want-PST-3Fsg be-PST-3Nsg in order
          Jan   kupił   jej   samochód.
          Jan.NOM buy-PST-3Msg 3Fsg.DAT car.ACC
          'What Maria wanted was for Jan to buy her a car.'
       b. ?*To co   Maria   powiedziała, było   że
          that   what Maria.NOM say-PST-3Fsg be-PST-3Nsg that
          Jan   kupił   jej   samochód.
          Jan.NOM buy-PST-3Msg 3Fsg.DAT car.ACC
          'What Maria said was that Jan bought her a car.'

Again constructions using the two complementizers behave differently. A cleft can be formed from a sentence with a subordinate clause introduced by *żeby* (62a), but not by one introduced by *że*.

Whether such a cleft has the possibility of placing unmarked narrow focus in the subordinate clause is examined below (63).

63. To co Maria chciała, było żeby Jan kupił jej samochód.
      'What Maria wanted was for Jan to buy her a car.'
    A. Nie, traktor.
       No tractor.ACC
       'No, a tractor.'

Similar to the non-cleft construction using *żeby*, the cleft construction allows for

unmarked narrow focus in the subordinate clause, shown through its felicitous negation

(63).

5.2 Conclusion

In this section concerning complex sentences, focus has been explored for a

variety of constructions. Subordinate clauses were found generally to disallow focus

(48), as well as focal wh-words (49). Indirect questions placed a non-focal wh-word in

the PrCS of the subordinate clause (51, 53). A construction involving *chcieć* 'to want'

allowed for a focal wh-object to be placed sentence initially (54); the focal object is

interpreted as belonging to the subordinate clause but occurs in the matrix clause. The

marker of the subordinate clause, *żeby*, was examined, with a comparison to another

marker of subordinate clauses, *że*, which is used with matrix verbs such as *powiedzieć* 'to

say.' *Żeby* was found to allow only one tense in its subordinate clauses, while *że* was

found to have no such restrictions (60). Also, *żeby* was found to participate in a cleft

construction while *że* did not (62). Such a cleft construction allowed for unmarked

narrow focus in the subordinate clause.

6 RRG analysis

The previous sections explored focus in a wide variety of constructions. Through

tests of felicity and grammaticality, syntactic and pragmatic repercussions of various

constructions were examined. However, the actual structure underlying such

constructions has yet to be clearly delineated. By providing the syntactic structure along with the focus structure of the various constructions, the differences in their behavior can be both motivated and understood.

RRG provides a formal theory within which the structure of the sentences can be examined. Each construction entails a specific syntactic template associated with a focus structure. These syntactic templates show the layered structure of the sentence, and how the various constituents in the sentence fit together. This, combined with the focus structure, which includes both potential and actual focus domains, illuminates how the various constructions differ and why they were found to occur felicitously in different contexts.

The first types of constructions studied were simple, declarative sentences with three different focus types: predicate, sentence, and narrow. Predicate focus was marked by prosodic prominence on the verb, which could precede or follow the subject. Sentence focus called for a stressed subject which came before or after the verb. Neither of the two provided evidence for a focus position. Rather, focus type was marked by prosodic prominence in the form of intonational stress on a certain constituent. The following diagrams show both the structure of a sentence with predicate focus (Fig.4) and the structure of a sentence with sentence focus (Fig.5).
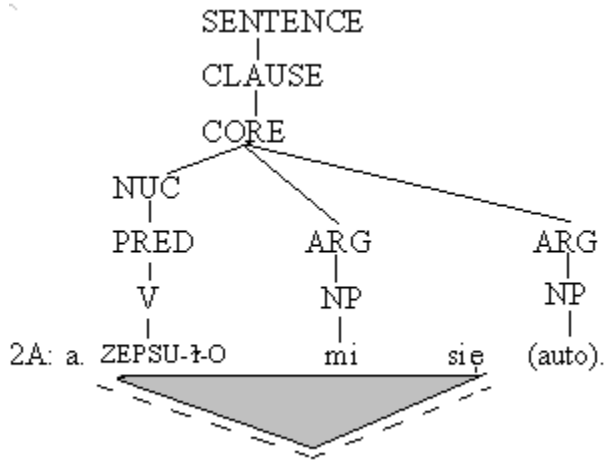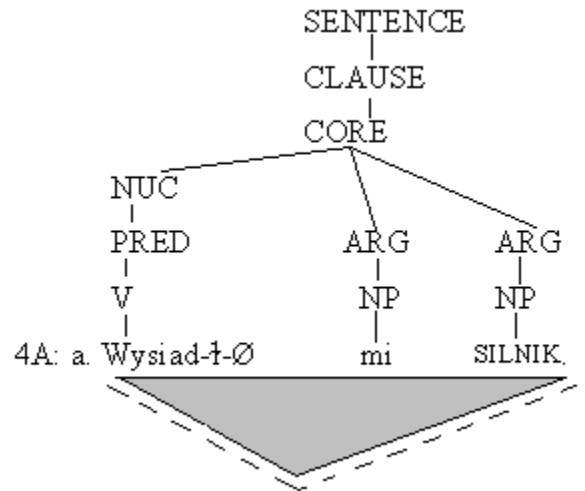
Figure 4. Predicate focus

Figure 5. Sentence focus

Narrow focus was found to be more complex. Potentially, any argument could be focused upon. Thus, the potential focus domain was the entire clause. A specific focused element was consistently marked by prosodic prominence, but word order was shown to vary. However, through a refinement on the understanding of presupposition, offered by Dryer (1996), word order could be described in a principled manner. Focus occurred in-situ when the speaker did not assume that a filler existed for a given question (19). If a filler was assumed to exist, a construction with a focus final position for focal subjects or a focus first position for focal objects could be used (10,13). Below are given diagrams of both narrow focus where the speaker does not necessarily presuppose a filler and narrow focus which necessarily entails such a presupposition (Figures 6,7).
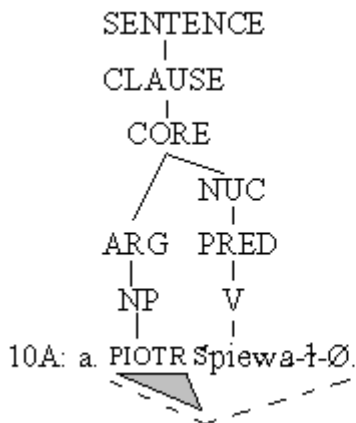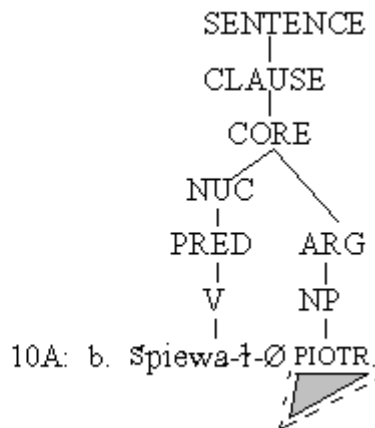
Figure 6. Narrow focus

Figure 7. Narrow focus entailing speaker
presupposition of a filler

In the section on yes-no-interrogatives, any constituent within the sentence was

able to be focused upon, as shown through the felicity of various responses (for example,

24). Thus, the entire sentence was within the potential focus domain for in-situ type

focus. When word order was varied, it was found that the last word in the sentence was

that which was focal (29-31). This seemed to indicate a specific construction for Polish

with a clause final focus position. This type of construction is given below (Figure 8).

Such a construction had a syntactic constraint that the subject had to be adjacent to the
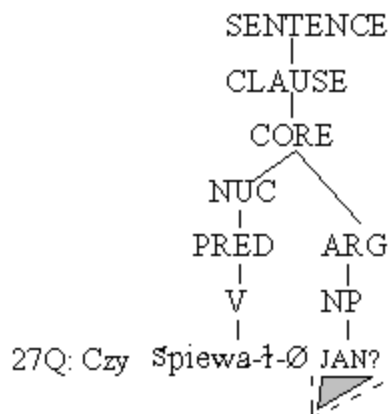
verb (*VOS, *SOV).

Figure 8. Clause-final focus in a yes-no question

When looking at wh-questions, it becomes immediately apparent that the initial position holds some significance. When a wh-question contains a single wh-word, it always occurs initially (33-39). When two or more are present, they may all occur initially (40-43, 45-47). Alternatively, one can occur initially and the others finally (40-42, 44). Questions containing wh-words which are all non-initial are not interpreted as wh-questions (33, 35-43, 47).

A special clause initial spot was also seen in English wh-questions (32). This spot, the PrCS, is mandatorily filled by one wh-word to create a wh-question. If it is not filled by a wh-word, a wh-question cannot be obtained. The structures of sentences containing multiple wh-words where are all initial (Figure 9), as well as where one is initial while the others are final (Figure 10) are given below.
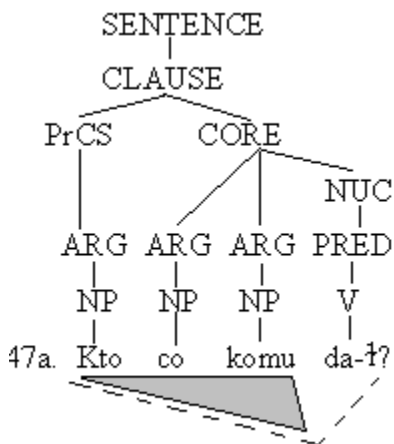
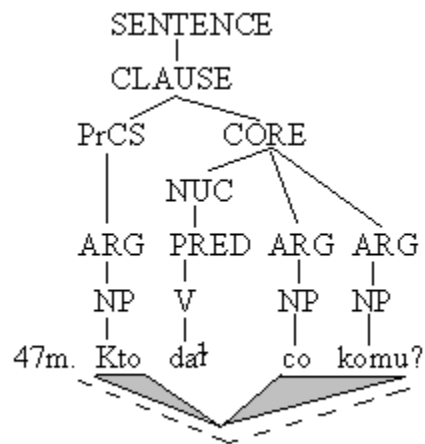Figure 9. Multiple wh-question, all wh-words initial

Figure 10. Multiple wh-question, one wh-word initial

Complex sentences contain additional restrictions on where focus can be placed. Sentences involving the verb *powiedzieć* , 'to say,' and the complementizer *że*, such as

(48), give evidence that the joining of a dependent clause with a matrix clause does not allow for focus within the dependent clause. In (48), the dependent clause functions as an argument of the matrix verb; it is a core argument.

In order to be in the potential focus domain, a subordinate clause must be a direct daughter of (a direct daughter of...) the clause node modified by illocutionary force (Van Valin & LaPolla: 485). Thus, as the dependent clause in (48) is not a direct daughter of the clause node receiving illocutionary force, it is not within the potential focus domain. Due to this, focal wh-word arguments of the subordinate clause are ungrammatical, even when placed initially (49).

Although the individual elements of the subordinate clause are not able to be focused upon, the entire clause is functioning as a single information unit, as seen by (50b). It is functioning as an argument of the core, so this subordinate clause as a whole is within the potential focus domain (similar to arguments in the simple sentences seen previously). As the subordinate clause is indeed a clause (not a core or nucleus), it can be marked for a variety of tenses (59a-c). Tense is a clausal marker. A diagram of a sentence such as in (48) is shown in Figure 11, which underlines the single information unit created by the subordinate clause.

Clausal arguments in indirect question constructions introduced by a wh-word also cannot contain focal wh-words (52). The subordinate clause functions as an argument of the matrix clause (51). As such it is a direct daughter of the core node and not in the potential focus domain. Therefore, the wh-word in the subordinate clause is not focusable and not calling for a filler, as seen in (52). This, too, is a case of
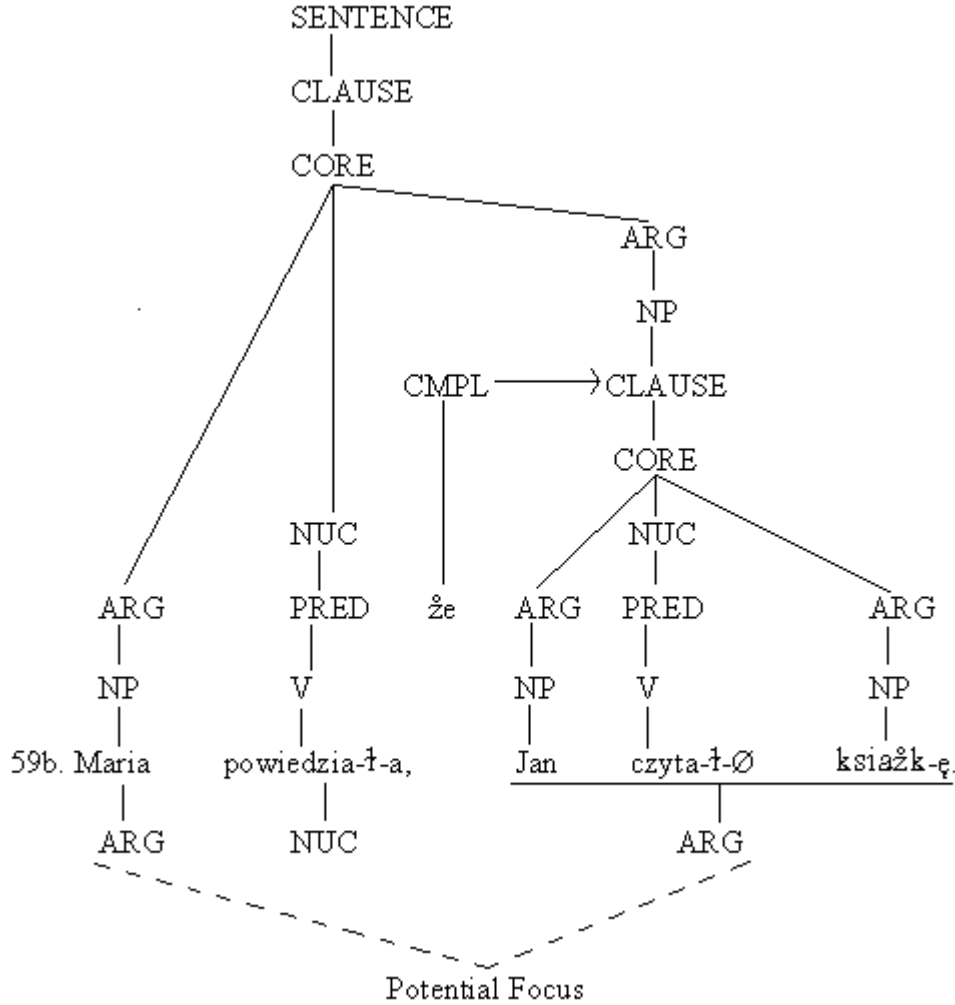
```
                          SENTENCE
                             |
                          CLAUSE
                             |
                           CORE
                           /    \
                                  ARG
                                   |
                                  NP
                                   |
                   CMPL ------→ CLAUSE
                                   |
                                 CORE
                                 /    \
              NUC                    NUC
               |                      |
       ARG    PRED    że    ARG   PRED        ARG
        |      |              |     |           |
        NP     V              NP    V           NP
        |      |              |     |           |
59b. Maria  powiedzia-ł-a,   Jan  czyta-ł-Ø  ksiażk-ę.
        |      |                          |
       ARG    NUC                        ARG
```

Figure 11.Structure of core subordination within an embedded clause

subordination of a clause, and not core or nucleus, as the subordinate clause is marked for

the clausal operator tense.

       However, unlike the example in Figure 11, there is no overt clause linkage marker

like *że*, and the wh-word appears in the PrCS (53).   This second type of core

subordination is given in Figure 12. In each of the above cases of subordination, the

matrix verb is marked for tense, and the matrix clause is unable to stand alone due to the

fact that it would be missing an argument if the subordinate clause were omitted.
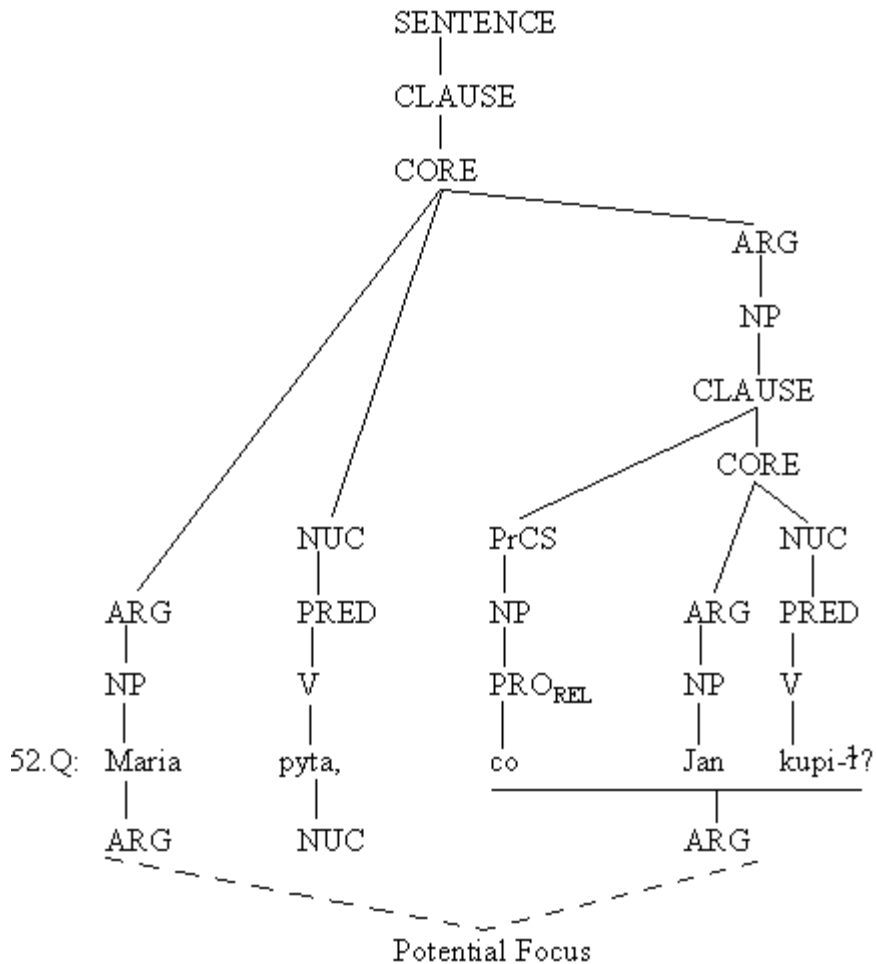
Figure 12. Core subordination involving an indirect question

A final complex sentence construction exists in Polish which is superficially similar to subordination with the *że* marker, but upon closer scrutiny behaves quite differently. This involves the marker *żeby*. The subordinate unit lacks tense, which shows that the level of juncture is below the clause level. Rather, the subordinate element consists of predicate and its arguments, a core. As stated above, to be in the potential focus domain, a subordinate clause must be a direct daughter (of a direct daughter...) of the clause node modified by illocutionary force (Van Valin & LaPolla: 619). The subordinate clauses in Figures 9, 10 are direct daughters of the core and not

the clausal node of the matrix verb. Thus, they are not in the potential focus domain.

However, this rule applies only to subordinate clauses, not cores. So, it is not applicable

to *żeby* constructions. Thus, the subordinate core can be within the potential focus

domain. However, due to the fact that it is only a core, it has no PrCS. Therefore, a focal

wh-word cannot occur within it. To express a focal wh-word argument of the

subordinate core, the wh-word appears in the matrix clause where there is a PrCS. This

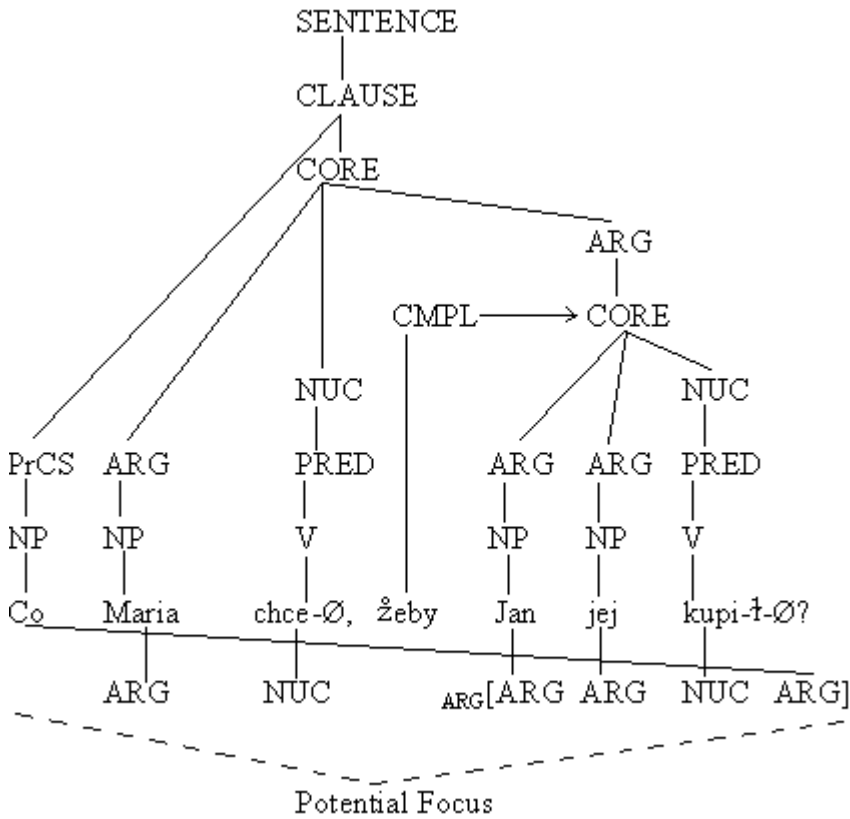accounts for (54), which is given in Figure 13.

Figure 13. Structure of (54).

7   Conclusion

The preceding study of focus in Polish provides answers to a number of questions

and also offers impetus for further research into this topic. First, simple declarative

sentences were shown to be differentiated in terms of sentence, predicate and narrow

focus. Sentence focus entailed intonational stress on the subject, which may occur before

or after the verb. Predicate focus involved stress on the verb and, preferably, the

omission of the subject. Narrow focus was seen to involve two types of constructions.

Those which presupposed a filler to an argument mandatorily placed focal subjects after

the verb and focal objects clause initially, while those which did not necessarily

presuppose a filler placed focal subjects clause initially and focal objects clause finally.

This is a richer typology of focus in declaratives than that discussed by Szwedek

(ibid), who posited a sentence final position for new material (roughly equivalent to

focus), but did not discuss other possibilities. Szwedek notes that yes-no interrogatives

can have stressed nouns occurring within the sentence or finally. In each case they are

focal. However, when the stressed noun is not in final position, the final, unstressed noun

is coreferential with an earlier noun; it is given (Swedek 124). This violates Szwedek's

assumptions that final position is for new information. No explanation of such an

apparent contradiction is given. My research indicates that the two types of sentences are

interchangeable. However, more research need to be conducted to examine whether this

is truly the case.

The RRG analysis of this data accounted for both yes-no and wh-interrogatives,

with their fundamental differences from declaratives. RRG analysis showed yes-no

interrogatives to involve either a clause-final focus position for non-canonically ordered

sentences or in-situ focus for canonically ordered sentences. Wh-interrogatives were shown to display a PrCS where at least one wh-word mandatorily occurred. Failure to fill the PrCS in a sentence containing wh-words resulted in a yes-no question. RRG theory efficiently accounts for these without resorting to ad hoc measures. The PrCS is a position attested to in many languages and long a part of RRG construction templates. The fact that it needs to be filled to create a true wh-interrogative is also unremarkable under an RRG analysis. RRG provides for pragmatic information to be stored with constructions. Thus, the pragmatic and contextual factors associated with various constructions found in this study are given a means of association.

Although the structure of a variety of sentences in Polish has been resolved for the most part, there still remain many issues to cover. First and foremost, naturalistic studies need to be conducted. Text analysis, as well as examination of spoken Polish, could lend support to the pragmatic constraints found for various constructions in this study, such as the distributive reading of a wh-interrogative which places one wh-word in the PrCS and one clause-finally. It could also show that such varying sensitivity of consultants to the pragmatic effects of constructions was not due to dialectal differences. One consultant felt that every possible word ordering of a given sentence is grammatical in Polish, and that each is used in a specific, distinct context. Naturalistic data might be able to further specify contexts in which sentences which are odd or ungrammatical out of context become felicitous. Also, differences between spoken and written Polish could be considered. Sentences following FSP rules might be more common in written Polish, as these are taught in Polish schools.

Finally, there remain many constructions to test for focus. Length was shown to be a factor in this study. Longer sentences containing adjuncts, coordinated arguments, verbs and predicates, and other types of variation should be examined in order to pin down exactly how length affects focus placement.

Other Slavic languages should also be considered to see if they behave in a manner similar to Polish. Claims such as Krylova and Khavronina's (1976) that non-FSP sentences in Russian are colloquial must be explored. Also, other non-related languages with free-word order could be examined. All of these various avenues of further research would enrich the understanding of focus in languages posited to have free word order, which has been developed for a variety of constructions within Polish here.

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