CASE MISMATCH IN POLISH CONTROL  
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Polish shows an interesting case agreement pattern with adjectives in control constructions.

(1) Janek   chce   być  ?miły/mił –ym
   John.NOM want.3SG.PRES be.INF nice-NOM/nice-INS
   “John wants to be nice”

(2) Janek   kaza-ł   Tom-kowi być  mił -ym/*mił –emu
   John.NOM order-3SG-PAST.M Tom-DAT  be.INF nice-INS/nice-DAT
   “John ordered Tom to be nice”

In (1), we can see that the DP Janek agrees with the corresponding adjective in bearing nominative case, the instrumental, however, seems to be possible as well (depending on the speaker, it is even preferred). In (2) the DP Tom carries dative case, the corresponding adjective carries instrumental, and the dative is not possible at all.

Various accounts have been proposed to explain this phenomenon (Przepiórkowski 2004, Bondaruk 2004, Witkoś 2010). While these analyses differ significantly from each other (Bondaruk follows Landau’s agree model, Witkoś the Movement Theory of Control, and Przepiórkowski works within the HPSG framework), they all assume that the instrumental case is a default case or default option.

In this paper, I show that the instrumental, a strongly morphologically marked case, is not a default option at all. By applying standard tests for default case, one can see that the instrumental does not behave like one. Thus, I propose that the instrumental gets assigned by a functional head in the syntactic derivation. I further demonstrate that the case mismatch is not a specific property of control structures, but can be found in other environments as well, as in many predication structures (3)-(4).

(3) Janek jest mił-ym człowiek-iem (John.NOM is nice-INS man-INS)
(4) Janek jest mily / ?mily-m (John.NOM is nice.NOM/nice-INS)

I propose that control structures (1)-(2) also involve predication as in (3) with an NP like człowiek (man) that forces the instrumental case on the whole DP incl. the adjective. The noun is later deleted in a process of NP-deletion. The instrumental on the adjective is then to be understood as residual. Importantly, this analysis differs from the one proposed for Icelandic, where the case mismatch is explained by having PRO carry case and transmit it to the predicate (Sigurðsson 2008). In my proposal, the case mismatch is independent of control.

Literature:


