

NPI LICENSING, SCOPE AND THE SIZE OF NEGATED PARTICIPLES IN POLISH

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Polish differs from English in that it allows negated verbal passive participles (see 1a. vs. 1b).

1a. *The article is being (*un)published.*

1b. *Tak zdobyty gol zostałby nie-uznany przez sędziego.*
 such scored goal would-get **neg-admitted** by referee

‘A goal scored in this way would not be admitted by the referee.’

The unavailability of *un-* in examples like (1a) has been analyzed by Bruening (2014) as the consequence of the adjectival nature of the prefix. According to Bruening *un-* is a head which merges with the participle and categorizes it as an adjective.

Since much of the literature shows convincingly that *un-* is not the adjectival head in adjectives (see e.g. Newell 2005, de Clercq 2013), we propose that *un-* may or may not play the role of a head in the structure. In this respect, it is similar to diminutive affixes attested in Slavic languages and elsewhere (see Wiltschko and Steriopolo 2007, Fabregas 2013).

The assumption that *un-* is the head in participles allows us to formulate a straightforward account of the difference between Polish and English illustrated in (1): Polish *nie-* is never a head so it does not categorize the participle as adjectival. Hence, negated participles in Polish may serve as complements of the auxiliary *zostać*.

Note that the sentence (1b) differs from the sentence in (2a), in which the negative particle *nie-* is cliticized onto the auxiliary, in that only the latter is felicitous with a negative tag question.

2a. *Tak zdobyty gol nie- zostałby uznany przez sędziego,*
 such scored goal **neg** would-get **admitted** by referee,
czyż nie?
 if not

‘A goal scored in this way would not be admitted by the referee, would it?’

2b. *Tak zdobyty gol zostałby nie-uznany przez sędziego,*
 such scored goal would-get **neg-admitted** by referee,
 (**czyż nie?*)?
 if not

Intended: ‘A goal scored in this way would not be admitted by the referee, would it?’

Moreover, the placement of *nie-* affects the mutual scope of the negation and the degree modifiers.

3a. *Poprawki zostały (w całości) nie-przyjęte (w całości) przez komisję.*
 amendments got **in entirety** **neg-accepted** **in entirety** by
 commission

‘The amendments have all been rejected by the commission.’

3b. *Poprawki nie- zostały w całości przyjęte przez komisję.*
 amendments **neg** got **in entirety** **accepted** by commission

‘Amendments have not all been accepted by the commission (only some have).’

(3a) predicates being rejected of the entirety of amendments, while (3b) denies the subject being accepted in its entirety. Furthermore, only sentences like (2a) and (3b) allow NPI licensing.

