

The Correlative Configuration in Polish*

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draft

1 Introduction

This study is an investigation of the correlative construction in Polish. It provides syntactic evidence suggesting that correlative clauses in this language should be analyzed as topicalized free relatives. This type of analysis lends support to the movement approach to correlatives, emphasizing the structural relationship of the proposed relative clause and some position inside the matrix clause.

The correlative construction can be thought of as a relativization strategy attested in a variety of languages (e.g. Hungarian, Hindi and Slavic languages). Two most basic descriptive properties of correlatives are presented in (1) and exemplified with Hindi (2) and Polish (3). I will refer to the embedded clause as the free relative (FR) and to the whole sentence as the correlative construction.

(1) Cross-linguistic properties of correlatives:

- a. The free relative precedes the main clause¹
- b. The main clause contains a demonstrative associated with the FR
- c. A descriptive representation: [FR wh- ...] [Matrix DEM ...]

(2) **Jo laRkii khaRii hai vo lambi hai.** (Hindi, Srivastav 1991:639)
REL girl standing is DEM tall is
'The girl who is standing is tall'.

* For valuable comments and discussions I am grateful to Karlos Arregi, Rajesh Bhatt, Anastasia Giannakidou, Vera Gribova, Chris Kennedy, Jason Merchant, Rouni Pancheva, Barbara Tomaszewicz, the audience FDSL 10, as well as two anonymous reviewers. Any errors are my own.

¹ A reviewer notes that the Hindi sentence in (2) is possible with the relative clause in the right periphery. Indeed, Polish also allows extraposition of relative clauses. Although the view presented here posits no underlying distinction between right and left displaced relatives, the two have been argued to be structurally unrelated in other languages. (1) is a typical description of the correlative construction, independent of a particular analysis.

- (3) **Kto** dużo pracuje **ten** jest bogaty. (Polish)
 who much work.3SG DEM be.3SG rich
 ‘Whoever works a lot is rich.’

Both (2) and (3) have the properties listed in (1): the free relative precedes the main clause, and the main clause contains a demonstrative that is interpreted in association with the relative clause. Structural properties of correlative constructions are still debated in the literature (Srivastav (1991), Rudin (1986, 2008), Izvorski (1996), Bhatt (2003), Lipták (2009, 2012), Mitrenina (2010) among many others). The main question underlying the debate concerns the structural relationship between the matrix and the relative clause: Are correlative FRs base-generated in the left periphery of the main clause? Or is this configuration derived by movement of the FR? Influential contributions provide evidence for both types of analysis. Proponents of the base-generation analysis (including Srivastav (1991), Izvorski (1996), Lipták (2012)) argue that correlatives are unlike other types of relative clauses and therefore should be treated as a separate type of relative construction: one where the relative clause is left-adjoined to the main clause. This view needs to explain the nature of the associative link between the FR and the demonstrative (often referred to as the correlative proform). On the other hand, Bhatt (2003), Mahajan (2000) and Leung (2009) argue that the FR is generated as a constituent with the demonstrative and undergoes movement to the left-peripheral position.

In this paper, I provide evidence from Polish supporting the movement approach to correlatives. I highlight the non-negligible number of similarities between correlatives and free relatives, which remain unexplained under a base-generation analysis: their truth-conditional identity, morphological properties of the correlative proform, as well as matching effects. In section 2 I present the basic ideas that existing accounts of correlatives crosslinguistically offer. In sections 3 I turn to matching phenomena that apply uniformly in free relatives and correlatives. Section 4 develops the analysis. First, I consider displacement possibilities of Polish free relatives and propose that one of the configurations derived by such displacement renders the correlative configuration. Second, I present syntactic evidence for the proposed position of the fronted FR in the left periphery, namely Spec,TopP. Section 5 is a short discussion of how the presented facts challenge the base-generation approach to correlatives. Section 6 concludes.

2 Two types of accounts

The literature offers a number of analyses of the structure and meaning of correlative constructions cross-linguistically, which can be classified into two types: the movement approach (aka uniformity approach) and the base-generation approach (non-uniformity approach). This section briefly reviews the main ideas behind the two approaches and their implications.

2.1 Base generation: Srivastav (1991), Izvorski (1996)

Various versions of the base-generation approach have been proposed for other languages, among others, by Srivastav (1991) for Hindi and Izvorski (1996) for Bulgarian. They argue that correlative clauses are syntactically and semantically distinct from other types of relative clauses in those languages, which leaves no straightforward way of deriving the correlative configuration by movement. This led Srivastav (1991) and Izvorski (1996) to propose that correlatives are an independent type of relative construction: clausal adjuncts, similar to antecedents of conditionals, base-generated as left-adjoined to the matrix clause. Srivastav analyzes correlatives as TP-adjoined, while Izvorski – as CP-adjoined (4). Izvorski (1996) modifies the adjunction site to CP, since, as she argues, the demonstrative undergoes A-bar movement to Spec,CP in Bulgarian correlatives. Given that the demonstrative follows the FR in the surface form, the adjunction site must be above Spec,CP.

(4) Non-uniformity accounts:

- a. Srivastav (1991) for Hindi: [TP CP_{rel} [TP ... Dem. ...]]
- b. Izvorski (1996) for Bulgarian: [CP CP_{rel} [CP Dem_i [C [TP ... t_i ...]]]]

An important question that a base-generation analysis must address is the presence and the form of the correlative proform – the demonstrative. As for the form, Srivastav (1991) makes a descriptive statement, widely adopted in the literature and known as “the demonstrative requirement”, according to which the matrix clause must contain a demonstrative, not any other (definite) element. Base-generation accounts offer two ways of deriving the obligatory semantic association of the proform with the relative clause: i) anaphoric co-reference (the demonstrative anaphorically refers to the FR) and ii) variable binding. Under the binding approach, the correlative FR is treated as a generalized quantifier that binds a variable in the main clause. The demonstrative serves as that variable.

2.2 Movement approach: Bhatt (2003), Mahajan (2000), Leung (2009)

Under the movement approach Bhatt (2003), Mahajan (2000), Leung (2009) the left-dislocated position of a correlative is derived by fronting of a clause-internal relative clause. Bhatt (2003) argues that the relative clause is generated as adjoined to the demonstrative and undergoes optional fronting in Hindi. Leung (2009) proposes that this fronting involves sideward movement of the relative marker that is generated together with the demonstrative as a doubling constituent. Putting the details of those analyses aside, the common denominator is the claim that the demonstrative and the relative marker are generated as a constituent (5).

(5) [DP wh [DP Dem]] or [DP [DP Dem] wh]

Arguments for this type of account come from the fact that the demonstrative and the relative clause can appear as a constituent inside the main clause, i.e. fronting of the relative CP in Hindi is not obligatory. Additionally, Leung (2009) makes an important point that the demonstrative and the relative pronoun are subject to category matching, which only receives explanation if the demonstrative and the relative clause are structurally related. In the following section I take the matching requirement as a starting point for developing a uniformity analysis of Polish correlatives.

3 Matching in Polish free relatives

Free relatives are typically analyzed as DPs that differ from regular headed relative clauses in that they lack a nominal restriction (the NP-layer) (Bresnan (1978), Citko (2000), Groos & Van Riemsdijk (1981), Larson (1987), Izvorski (2000) and others), as shown in (6).

(6) [DP [D [CP wh_i [C ... t_i ...]]]]²

In Polish, free relatives exhibit variation in the spell out of the D-projection: the external part of the relative clause may optionally contain a demonstrative (7).

(7) Zaproszę (tego) kogo lubię.
 invite.1SG (DEM.ACC) who.ACC like.1SG
 ‘I will invite who I like.’

² The structure in (6) assumes the Comp Account of free relatives. Under the alternative Head Account, the wh-phrase heads the DP external to the relative CP.

Citko (2003) analyzes the version of (7) with a demonstrative as a different type of a relative clause – a Light-Headed Relative Clause. This name captures the fact that, in cases where the demonstrative occurs, the relative clause is not “free” in the sense that the DP contains some kind of head – the demonstrative. This difference, however, only amounts to overt realization of the D-projection external to the relative CP. Crucially, free relatives and Light-Headed relatives have the same structure and meaning.³⁴ Note that the presence of the demonstrative in (7) does not result in a change of meaning. The semantic analysis of both versions should thus be the same: as standardly assumed, it is a definite description, where the property denoted by the relative clause is composed with a definiteness operator contributed by D (Jacobson (1995), Dayal (1995), Giannakidou & Cheng (2006)). Morphological realization of D has no bearing on the semantics of the free relative.⁵ I propose the structure in (8) of the two types of free relatives.

(8) Two types of Free Relatives in Polish:⁶

- a. Bare Free Relatives: $[_{DP} [_D [_{CP} wh_i [_C \dots t_i \dots]]]]$
- b. Dem-Free Relatives: $[_{DP} Dem [_D [_{CP} wh_i [_C \dots t_i \dots]]]]$

The presence of the demonstrative appears to be a matter of true optionality. However, it becomes obligatory when it serves to alleviate case matching effects, as show in (9).

- (9) a. *Zaufam komu/kogo lubię.
 trust.1SG who.DAT/who.ACC like.1SG
 (‘I will trust who I like.’)

³ Although there may be a difference on the presupposition level, the presence of an overt demonstrative in the FR does not seem to give rise to truth-conditional meaning change. It is worth noting that universal FRs (aka *wh-ever*-FRs) have different semantic and syntactic properties (see e.g. Dayal (1997), Citko (2010), Tomaszewicz (2012) and are not subject of the present analysis.

⁴ It is important to note that there are three other types of LHRCs in Citko’s classification. Their heads include: universal, existential and negative quantifiers. These also count as “light-headed” since the only relative head is a determiner (there is no NP restriction). However, unlike the demonstrative, quantifiers contribute to truth-conditional meaning and thus are distinct from bare FRs in a way Dem-FRs are not.

⁵ The realization of D in free relatives is subject to cross-linguistic variation. A well known example where FRs obligatorily spell out their definiteness morpheme is Greek (see Giannakidou & Cheng (2006) for more discussion).

⁶ Citko (2003) proposes a slightly different implementation: her analysis follows the Head-Account of FRs, where the WH-word moves to D, instead of remaining in Spec, CP. Consequently, the demonstrative is derived by the WH-word incorporating to the definite D that heads the relative clause. Space limitations prevent me to discuss this interesting approach, and since it doesn’t prove crucial for the present argument, I omit the incorporation idea for ease of exposition. In addition, it will be shown that the demonstrative can undergo A-bar movement stranding the FR, suggesting it is not itself a head.

- b. Zaufam temu kogo lubię.
 trust.1SG DEM.DAT who.ACC like.1SG
 ‘I will trust who I like.’

In (9), the matrix predicate requires a dative object, while the embedded predicate – an accusative object. This mismatch results in ungrammaticality in (9-a), whether the *wh*-phrase is marked for accusative or dative. Overt realization of the demonstrative (9-b) provides a nominal element that can realize the matrix dative case, while the *wh*-phrase is assigned accusative by the embedded predicate.

While case matching effects disappear in Dem-FRs, the relative marker and the demonstrative are subject to obligatory matching in category and animacy features. The relative markers involved in free relatives are homophonous with *wh*-pronouns, with the exception of the pronoun *który* ‘which’. This pronoun only appears with a nominal restriction and thus is banned in free relatives, which lack a nominal layer. As opposed to the *wh*-pronoun *który*, free relative markers, such as *kto* ‘who’ and *co* ‘what’, are unmarked for gender and number, but bear animacy features (10).

(10) Featural specification of relative pronouns and demonstratives

a. Nominal relative pronoun/Dem

b. Free relative pronoun/Dem

	±human			Sg/Pl	
	Sg	Pl		+human	–human
MAS	<i>który/ten</i>	<i>którzy/ci</i>	MAS		
FEM	<i>która/ta</i>	<i>które/te</i>	FEM	<i>kto/ten</i>	<i>co/to</i>
NEUT	<i>które/to</i>	<i>które/te</i>	NEUT		

Since FR-pronouns are unspecified for gender and number features, the demonstratives in FRs have syncretic exponents for those features (11).⁷

- (11) a. Zaproszę tego kogo lubię.
 invite.1SG DEM_[+hum] who_[+hum] like.1SG
 ‘I will invite who I like.’

⁷ A reviewer asks whether the FR pronoun and demonstrative bear no gender and number features whatsoever. I refer to them as underspecified for those features, although the particular morphological analysis of the phi-syncretism is orthogonal to the point made here, namely that FR pronouns and demonstratives exhibit no morphological marking that would reflect ϕ -agreement, while relative pronouns and demonstratives co-occurring with a nominal restriction do.

- b. *Zaproszę tych kogo lubię.
 invite.1SG DEM_[pl, mas] who_[+hum] like.1SG
 ('I will invite who I like.')

In fact, any demonstrative with specific gender and number morphology is an impossible free relative head. This fact suggests that the D selecting for the relative clause enters into an agreement relation with the relative marker. As a result, the demonstrative in FRs may only be marked for the features that FR pronouns are specified for (animacy and category but not φ -features). This matching requirement can be readily explained by the phenomenon of DP-internal concord since the demonstrative and the relative pronoun are generated within the same nominal projection.

Correlative constructions show the same behavior as free relatives with respect to matching. First, the demonstrative is optional if the matrix and the embedded predicates assign the same case (12-a), but it becomes obligatorily with a case mismatch (12-b).

- (12) a. Kogo lubię (tego) zaproszę.
 who.ACC like.1SG (DEM.ACC) invite.1SG
 'I will invite who I like.'
- b. Kogo lubię *(temu) zaufam.
 who.ACC like.1SG (DEM.DAT) trust.1SG
 'I will trust who I like.'

Second, the demonstrative functioning as a correlative proform exhibits agreement with the free relative pronoun reminiscent of its behavior in Dem-FRs (13).

- (13) a. Kogo lubię tego/*tych zaproszę
 wh_[+hum] like.1SG DEM_[+hum]/*DEM_[pl, mas] invite.1SG
 'I will invite who I like.'
- b. Tych zaproszę.
 DEM_[pl, mas] invite.1SG
 'I will invite THOSE.' or 'Those, I will invite'.⁸

⁸ Depending on intonation, both a topic and a focus interpretation of the fronted object are available.

Although the demonstrative in (13-a) is not adjacent to the relative marker, it is nevertheless required to agree with the relative marker for the relevant set of lexical features (which here excludes φ -features). It should be noted that there is nothing wrong with the demonstrative *tych* in this position of the main clause: if we get rid of the free relative, the sentence is a well formed transitive clause with a fronted demonstrative object (13-b).⁹ Thus, the agreement facts suggest that the relative pronoun and the demonstrative in correlatives must appear in a configuration local enough for agreement. While a uniformity account is able to derive this instance of matching, a base-generation account needs to stipulate it.

In addition to those two striking similarities between free relatives and correlatives, we should not overlook the obvious one: their virtual synonymy. The sentences in (12-a) and (11-a) are not truth-conditionally distinct, although they do differ with respect to information structure. This final observation leads us to the analysis developed in the next section, where correlatives are claimed to be topicalized free relatives.

4 Fronted FRs and the correlative configuration

The correlative construction has been previously analyzed as contrastive topicalization. Crnič (2008) argues that Slovenian correlatives are generated in a left-dislocated position, while the demonstrative is a contrastive topic (14-a). Lipták (2012) shows that, in Hungarian, the demonstrative may occupy either a topic or a focus position (14-b).

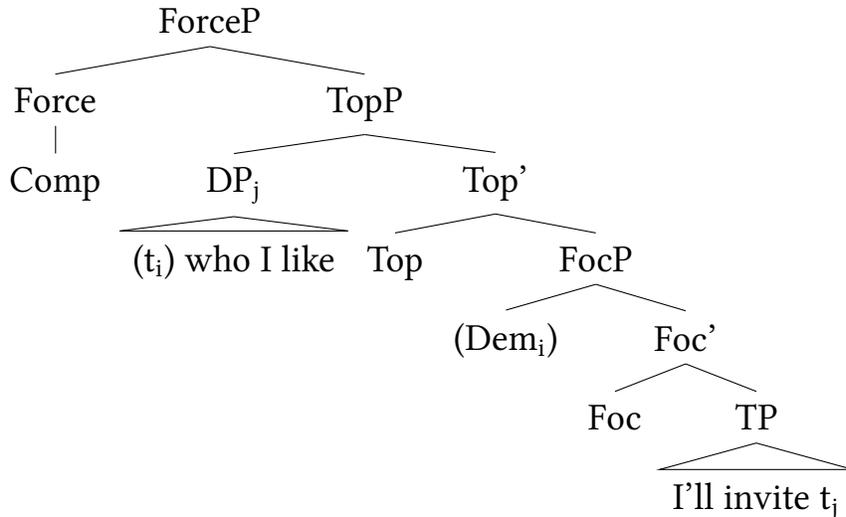
- (14) a. Crnič (2008): [_{FR} wh- ...] [_{TopP} Dem [_{TP} ...]]
- b. Lipták (2012): [_{FR} wh- ...] [_{TopP} {Dem}] [_{FocP} {Dem}] [_{TP} ...]]

Both Crnič and Lipták adopt the non-uniformity view – the free relative is base-generated in the left periphery, while the proform is part the main clause and undergoes topic- or focus-fronting. I would like to propose that Polish correlatives involve a similar structure, one that involves topicalization of the FRs and fronting of the demonstrative to a position in Spec,FocP. Thus, unlike the analyses in (14), I argue that both the demonstrative and the FR are displaced. As represented by

⁹ Here, the demonstrative bears φ -features presumably assigned by an elided NP.

(15), the demonstrative undergoes focus-fronting and the free relative DP undergoes remnant movement to the sentence topic position.¹⁰

(15) The correlative configuration:



A range of syntactic facts lend support to the analysis in (15). First, Polish RFs can be displaced to yield other configurations than the correlative. Both bare FRs and Dem-FRs can undergo at least two types of fronting: focus movement (16-a) and topicalization (16-b). The two types of displacement can be distinguished by intonation and by the (optional) presence of topic and focus particles. I assume that the topic particle *to* is a realization of the Top head, while the focus particle *że* is a realization of the Foc head.¹¹ Thus, the second piece of evidence for topicalization comes from the relative position of the particles and other material in the sentence.

(16) a. [DP (Tego) kogo LUBIMY]_i [Foc **że**-śmy [TP zaprosili t_i]]
 (DEM.ACC) who.ACC like.1PL FOC-1PL invited.1PL
 ‘We invited those who we LIKE.’

b. [DP (Tego) kogo lubimy]_i [Top (*to*) [Foc **że**-śmy [TP zaprosili t_i]]]
 (DEM) who.ACC like.1PL TOP FOC-1PL invited.1PL
 ‘Those who we like, we invited.’

¹⁰ I adopt the split CP hypothesis Rizzi (1997) and assume that the clausal left periphery has the following structure: [ForceP [TopP [FocP [FinP [TP]]]]].

¹¹ See Tajsner (2007) for an extensive discussion of *to* as a topic marker, and Migdalski (2006) and Szczegielniak (2005) for a treatment of *że* as a focus head. The focus particle surfaces only when it serves as a clitic host.

5 Arguments against a base generation analysis

The uniformity analysis proposed here provides a natural account of the matching requirement in correlatives: the impossibility of φ -features on the demonstrative proform falls from the agreement with a free relative pronoun, which lacks φ -feature specification, by the same DP-concord mechanism as in Dem-FRs. A base-generation account, on the other hand, has no straightforward way of deriving these facts. Under this view, the free relative is an adjunct that bears no structural relation to the demonstrative. The main clause is thus predicted to be an independent clause, whose syntactic well-formedness does not rely on the content of the adjunct. This, however, makes the incorrect prediction that the demonstrative should be allowed to be marked with φ -features, since main clauses allow φ -marked bare demonstratives (cf. (13-b)).

An additional issue that arises in Polish is the nature of the semantic link between the proform and the free relative. The two accounts offered in the literature seem to be untenable explanations. Analyzing the demonstrative as a bound variable makes it similar to pronouns, which cross-linguistically function as bound variables. Interestingly, pronouns may not be used as correlative proforms in Polish (19-a), nor can demonstratives be used as bound variables (19-b).

- (19) a. *Kto wygra, {jego} pochwałę {go}.
 who.NOM win.FUT he.ACC praise.1SG.FUT he.ACC
 ('I will praise the one who wins'.)
- b. [Każdy chłopiec]_i chciał, żebym go_i/*tego_i pochwaliła.
 every boy wanted COMP he.ACC/*DEM.ACC praise.1SG
 '[Every boy]_i wanted me to praise him_i'.

Under the view that the demonstrative is an anaphora referring back to the free relative, similar issues arise: demonstratives are not used anaphorically outside of correlatives ((20-a), (21-a)), while typical anaphoras, such as definite NPs (20-b) and epithets (21-b), may not function as correlative proforms.

- (20) a. Marek znów powiedział mi wierszyk. Uwielbiam tego chłopca/*tego.
 Marek again tell.3SG.PST me poem adore.1SG DEM boy.ACC/*DEM
 'Marek told me a poem again. I adore this boy'.

- b. *Kto napisze wierszyk, tego chłopca pochwałę.
 who.NOM write.3SG.FUT poem DEM boy.ACC praise.1SG.FUT
 ('Whoever writes a poem, I will praise that boy'.)
- (21) a. Jeśli Marek ucieknie (to) znajdę łobuza/*tego.
 if Marek escape.3SG.FUT TOP find.1SG.FUT bastard.ACC/*DEM.ACC
 'If Marek escapes I will find the bastard'.
- b. *Kto ucieknie, {łobuza} znajdę {łobuza}.
 who.NOM escape.3SG.FUT bastard.ACC find.1SG.FUT bastard.ACC
 ('Whoever escapes, I will find the bastard'.)

Finally, the obligatory demonstrative form of the proform remains a mystery under the base-generation approach – “the demonstrative requirement” is little but a descriptive statement. The view advocated here accounts for both the fact that the proform must be a demonstrative and that it can optionally be omitted when case matching requirement of the relative and the main clause are met.

6 Conclusion

The present study provided new evidence from Polish correlatives that lends support to the uniformity approach to those constructions. I proposed that the correlative construction is a derived configuration, resulting from topicalization of a type of free relative. There are no doubt numerous remaining questions concerning, among other things, reconstruction effects, the details of the information structure, and implications for a broader analysis of free relatives. The goal of this short contribution was to draw attention to a range of syntactic facts that receive explanation only under a uniformity analysis and in particular, one that makes an explicit connection between topic/focus movement and correlativization.

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