Anna Bondaruk. *Copular clauses in English and Polish: Structure, derivation, and interpretation.* Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2013. 371 pp.

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Research into the nature and structure of copular constructions has provided a lot of interesting insight into the architecture of the grammar and the interaction between syntax, morphology, and semantics. For example, work by Andrea Moro (2000) on symmetry within the verb phrase or Marcel den Dikken's (2006) proposals on phase extension have spurred new approaches to how basic syntactic computations are carried out. The book under review here, *Copular clauses in English and Polish: Structure, derivation, and interpretation* by Anna Bondaruk, is an interesting contribution to this already vibrant field of research. Her work has two aims: to provide a clear and state-of-the-art overview of existing proposals on a whole variety of copular constructions and to offer an analysis of three major classes of such constructions in Polish. In order to achieve these aims, she divides the book into two parts. Part 1 discusses copular clauses in English, whereas Part 2 critically analyzes existing proposals on copular constructions in Polish and puts forward a novel analysis for these structures. This simple linear division of labor has the advantage of providing the reader with an overview of research that is fuller than what the author needs for her analysis of Polish. The downside to this approach is that it also gives the impression that work on these two languages remains to some degree disjointed. Fortunately, the author makes an effort to integrate some of the work on non-Slavic copulas into the discussion of her proposals. The discussion concentrates on research carried out in the past twenty years within the generative framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995). The author's own proposals are also couched in this approach. The aim appears to be to accommodate Slavic data to the broad principles of MP.

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The book is 371 pages long, and includes an index and references. The first three chapters, roughly one third of the book, are devoted to English. The discussion provides an exhaustive taxonomy of copular constructions. The impression is that the goal of this section is to give the reader a sense of the richness of "flavors" that copular constructions come in when analyzed semantically and syntactically. In chapter 1, we are introduced to the taxonomy of copular constructions in English based on Higgins 1979 and to proposals in Mikkelsen 2004, 2005, which will resonate throughout the book. Chapter 2 gives an overview of the predicational and specificational clauses in English, and chapter 3 introduces us to equatives in English. Each chapter follows a template where the properties of the constructions are introduced, followed by a critical overview of existing recent approaches. In that sense, the discussion is not so much driven by any given proposal or theory, other than broad Minimalism, but rather by taxonomy. Such an approach makes the first section a useful reference tool for any linguist interested in these constructions, but readers should not expect to find advocacy for any specific framework. Instead, they will find a critical overview and comparison of some of the existing proposals. Work by Mikkelsen (2005, 2011) and Roy (2006) plays an important role in the discussion. Proposals made by Roy are crucial for the author in that they introduce a subdivision of predicational clauses into characterizing and defining, a subdivision later used in the analysis of Polish.

The second part of the book concentrates on Polish copular clauses. Chapter 4 starts off with a typology of Polish copular constructions. The division is partly driven by the observation that Polish has two copulas, the verb *być* and the pronominal *to*, and both can occur in the same clause. Chapter 5 discusses the possible types of copular clauses that contain just *być*; the discussion here centers around the difference between copular constructions with be+DP_{INST} vs. be+DP_{NOM}. Bondaruk incorporates into her proposal Roy's (2006) observation that copular clauses can be either characterizing or defining. She argues that the status of PredP determines the predicate DP's case so that clauses with instrumental DPs are characterizing, whereas those with nominative DPs are defining. Chapter 6 tackles predicational clauses with both copular elements present. Bondaruk argues that the pronominal copula heads a Predicate Phrase, whereas the verbal copula is in *v*. This is a modification of Citko 2008, which also argued that both copulas have verb-hosting heads. A large part of this chapter is devoted to the difference between agreement and case mechanisms in

copular constructions and double-object constructions where, following Citko 2011, the author assumes that two verbal heads value each object independently. Chapter 7 discusses inverse copular constructions in Polish. The author argues against Tajsner (2008) who, based on Bailyn's Generalized Inversion, proposes that the subject in inverse copular constructions remains in situ. Instead she offers an account based on Slioussar 2007, where she assumes that the subject in inverse copular constructions is in SpecT and the predicate has undergone A'-movement to SpecCP or SpecTopic. The final chapter is devoted to equatives in Polish, which, according to the author, exhibit a symmetrical structure similar to what has been argued for in Moro 1997, 2000 for English, and for Russian in Pereltsvaig 2007. The symmetry is broken via movement driven by the need to label the small clause (Moro 2006). This allows one argument to be closer to T than the other, and thus blocks the possibility of multiple agree. The book ends with a section providing summary and conclusions.

The very beginning of the book starts off with a discussion of English copular clauses involving Higgins's (1979) taxonomy of the types of structures based on the referential properties of DPs and the syntactic difference between predicational, specificational, equative, and identificational clauses. Examples of the four types used in the book are given below, following Higgins 1979.

(1) As for the tallest girl in the class,…
   a. …she is Swedish. (Predicational—ascribing a property to the subject)
   b. …that/it is Rosa. (Specificational—serves to specify a value for a variable)
   c. (pointing to her) …she is Rosa. (Equative—signals identity)
   d. …this is Rosa. (Identificational—teaches the name of places/people)

The aim of the chapter is to reduce that taxonomy to as few representations as possible. The idea is to group these expressions based on their common properties exhibited in processes like tag question formation or the assignment of information structure. For example, the author argues that specificational clauses are inverted Predicational clauses. Adopting the proposals in Moro 2000, she argues for a small

clause analysis of these structures. Differences between the two are reduced to the semantic type of the subject. Predicational clauses use referential subjects, whereas specificational require non-referential ones. The ideas presented here are based on Mikkelsen 2005, 2011. Non-referential subjects of the type <e, t> are usually incompatible with indefinite DPs. However, as the author notes, there is an attested presence of indefinite subjects in specificational clauses, as well as cases where a definite subject is ruled out. That kind of variation in the availability of semantic types of the subject is problematic for the approach in Mikkelsen 2005, which Bondaruk tries to defend. The issue is raised but never really addressed, leaving the reader with the impression that the author is content with just reporting different approaches.

The impression lingers while reading the rest of the discussion concerning English. For example, the debate whether predicate raising is A or A' is reported in detail, although, the issue seems to be far from settled. Bondaruk seems to be satisfied with assuming Mikkelsen's approach, where the difference between predicational and specificational clauses boils down to the feature composition of Tense. Predicational clauses involve movement of a referential DP to SpecT for the usual reasons. Specificational clauses differ from predicational in that T also has an uninterpretable Topic feature that has to be checked by a non-referential post-verbal DP. That DP moves, even though it is c-commanded by the higher DP. It can move to T because it can check more features, namely, a Topic feature, than the higher DP. Bondaruk finds this analysis to be elegant and in the spirit of the Minimalist Program.

I must admit that I am not as convinced. The first obstacle is the issue of intervention effects, which Mikkelsen tries to resolve by assuming the principle that locality of movement can be overridden by feature-checking efficiency. Basically, if something below an eligible goal can check more features on the attracting head, then it can violate Relativized Minimality. This in itself is problematic since we should be able to alleviate any Relativized Minimality effect with information structure. More importantly, I am not a fan of incorporating information structure into a feature checking system. The end result inevitably seems to be a descriptive model in which features are used as descriptions of structures and representations. Thus, a topic feature can appear on any head of a phrase to the Specifier of which we move a Topic-endowed XP. However, if we look at topicalization, almost any

XP can be Topic. This gets the facts right, but it also makes the story unfalsifiable. After all, topic features only surface where there is topic.[1]

Chapter 3 discusses equatives in English. These differ from Predicational and specificational clauses in that both DPs are referential. Bondaruk provides an overview of arguments for and against a symmetrical structure of equatives as proposed, for example, in Moro 2000. The analysis is contrasted with proposals which share the intuition that there is a dedicated functional head licensing equative structures (as in Hedberg and Potter 2010 and Reeve 2010). Both the symmetrical approach and the dedicated functional head approach are rejected on the grounds that there is no empirical evidence for them in English, and thus, from a Minimalist perspective, they should be abandoned. The problem with this argument is that, when discussing Polish in later chapters, the author adopts a new functional head for predicational and specificational clauses (Pred) that can be defective or full, whereas for equatives she argues for a symmetrical structure along the lines of Moro 2000. Assuming that Minimalist theories aim to achieve explanatory adequacy and that UG exists in some form or another, then evidence from Polish should be sufficient grounds to propose a similar structure in English, unless there are clear facts to argue against such a unification. However, that does not seem to be the case. Bondaruk expressly rejects some proposals for English not because they are inconsistent with the data but rather because by just looking at English it is not possible to eliminate simpler analyses (if we call type shifting of the predicate simpler, which is another matter). This might be a fine point, but it is an important one. If we take the Minimalist Program at its face value, then derivations in one language should apply to every other language, unless a child acquiring a language has clear triggers to adopt something different. In other words, we might as well argue that the initial hypothesis is that copular constructions are symmetrical, as in Polish equatives. This hypothesis is falsified for some structures, for example, predicational clauses in Polish. However, it is maintained for English as well as Polish equatives. This would mean that claims for a symmetrical structure of equatives in Polish represent an argument for adopting it for English equatives, and maybe even for predicational clauses.

Bondaruk introduces Polish data in chapter 4 where she gives an overview of the types of copular clauses present in the language. It is

[1] It is also unlikely that Topic is a property of lexical heads.

an interesting and welcome survey. Polish not only exhibits a typology of copular constructions similar to English, it also has an additional dimension in that it has two copulas that can cooccur with each other. The choice of copula plays a role in what type of clause is available. Furthermore, there is variation as to case marking of the predicational DPs. The verbal copula *być* can license a DP in the instrumental or nominative; it also takes APs. In addition to verbal copulas, there is a pronominal copula *to* that behaves in isolation like a linker of identical categories. It can join two nominative DPs, two APs, or two PPs. When both pronominal and verbal copulas are present, then both DPs have to be nominative (Citko 2008). Bondaruk reports that there is agreement that predicational clauses can occur with *być*, but it is less obvious if there are predicational clauses in which both copulas are present (*to* and *być*). It appears that some authors (Błaszczak and Geist 2001) argue that when both copulas are present the meaning is specificational or identificational.

Setting aside the issue of two copulas, there is an additional dimension of variation in that predicational readings are available with *być* licensing both nominative and instrumental case, as well as copula-plus-AP constructions. The division is different in equatives, which surface with all three combinations, provided the DP is nominative. Finally, Bondaruk claims that the third type of clause, namely specificational, requires the presence of both copulas, but she gives examples where *być* is dropped (although she provides some arguments why specificational clauses are not possible without *to* being underlyingly present).

As the reader can see, the discussion involves a lot of detail and the picture is far from clear. The distribution of copulas is most clear in identificational sentences, which appear to require just the pronominal or verbal copula but not both. Bondaruk's meticulous listing of different forms is useful, but only up to a point. What appears to be lacking is a clear indication of what role her taxonomy plays in her theoretical proposals. This also applies to her discussion of the so-called syntactic tests that show that given types of copular constructions behave like a specific class in relation to processes like extraction, inversion, tag-question formation, and left dislocation. These facts are interesting, but I feel that the discussion would be more engaging if the syntactic behavior of various classes of clauses was clearly tied in with the types of derivations that are argued for in later chapters.

In chapter 5 the author begins to outline her proposals. The discussion leads us to two types of predicational clauses with *być* present.

(2) (Ja) jestem Polakiem.
I$_{NOM}$ am Pole$_{INST}$
'I am a Pole.'

(3) (Ja) jestem Polak.
I$_{NOM}$ am Pole$_{NOM}$
'I am a Pole.'

Following Roy (2006), Bondaruk suggests that (2) is a characterizing clause, whereas (3) is a defining clause. She proposes a derivation where both DPs are generated in a Predicational Phrase (following Citko 2008). PredP can be defective, which means the head does not have any features, or it can have a full set of agreement features and license instrumental case. Thus (2) contains a full PredP, whereas (3) involves a defective null PredP. The use of null functional heads is troublesome. If it has no features, then what is a Pred head? Just PF material? There is also no connection between defectiveness/fullness of Pred and the final interpretation of the clause as defining or characterizing.

The mechanics of the derivation itself are somewhat complex. Example (2) involves the subject DP *ja* receiving case from T after raising to its Spec. The mechanism is via Agree. Where T has unvalued agreement features, it probes its c-command domain, finds the nominative DP and, after valuing its agreement features, attracts the DP to SpecT to satisfy the EPP. The lower DP *Polakiem* is probed by Pred, which has unvalued agreement features and valued case features; Pred values its agreement features with the DP and assigns Instrumental case (the DP has unvalued case features). *Być* is a *v* head sandwiched between T and PredP. It does not seem to play any role, even in EPP movement. An inert phasal verbal head is peculiar, considering that the author assumes a Minimalist, presumably phase-based, model.

The derivation of (3) is more complex because Pred is defective. The case of both DPs is established via Agreement. The DP is in SpecPredP and has unvalued case features. It probes its c-command domain and finds the DP complement of PredP. Agreement between two DPs with unvalued case, the author argues, results in synchronization of unvalued case on both DPs, where now both DPs have unvalued case real-

ized as nominative. T again has unvalued agreement features, it probes its c-command domain, and finds the DP in SpecPredP. What follows is feature valuation between T and DP in SpecPredP. Once that happens, the lower predicate DP receives nominative case by virtue of case agreement between the subject and predicate DP. Finally, the subject DP raises to SpecT. The analysis adopts the feature-sharing algorithm of Frampton and Gutmann (2000). However, instead of multiple agree, we have T probing one goal that agrees with another DP and, for purposes of case, they behave as one as if they were daisy chained. A similar analysis is adopted for AP complements of PredP, which are always marked as nominative because they agreed with the Subject DP.

The defective/non-defective status of Pred is meant to capture the difference in case marking on the predicate DP in (2) and (3). The proposed mechanism does not seem to capture anything else. For example, Bondaruk argues that, unlike in Russian, (2) and (3) do not differ as far as extraction of either the subject or predicate DP via *wh*-movement. I am not so sure about this claim. The examples given involve short *wh*-movement, which in a scrambling language is not very telling. It appears to me that long-distance extraction favors the instrumental *wh*, like in Russian. However, the proposed analysis does not predict this.[3] The complexity of the proposal leaves one wondering if it would not be more economical to assume that there are two 'to be' copulas in Polish, where the characterizing one assigns nominative to its object and the defining one assigns instrumental case. There is no need for a Pred phrase, or an elaborate mechanism of case agreement between DPs. This criticism of unwarranted complexity applies to some degree to the other approaches that Bondaruk reviews and rejects. She discusses other different proposals including Pereltsvaig 2007 and Roy 2006, all developed for Russian. The recurring postulate here is that there exists a structural difference between the Russian equivalents of (2) and (3). That might be the case, since we do have extraction asymmetries in

[3] Compare short-distance extraction of instrumental vs. nominative (p. 168) and long-distance extraction:

(i) Kto / Kim ty jesteś?
who$_{NOM}$ who$_{INST}$ you are
'Who are you?'

(ii) *Kto / ?Kim Jan powiedział że ty jesteś?
who$_{NOM}$ who$_{INST}$ Jan said that you are
'Who did Jan say you are?'

Russian, and this phenomenon could provide justification for postulating different structures. However, the correlation between extraction properties and phrasal structure does not come through in the discussion. Bondaruk appears to be interested primarily in case-assignment strategies.

In chapter 6 the author discusses copular constructions in which both pronominal *to* and verbal *być* are present. Modifying Citko 2008, Bondaruk places the pronominal clitic not in T but in Pred, positioning it below the verbal one in *v*. A Pred headed by *to* is defective, hence the complement DP is always nominative. Bondaruk's notes that *to* is not tense-marked, so its being in T would be strange, as opposed to the verbal copula, which is tense-marked. Examples with both copulas, as in (4) below, are defining, and the correlation begs the question of how that would be related to a defective Pred.

(4) Marek to był muzyk.
Mark$_{NOM}$ it was musician$_{NOM}$
'Mark was a musician.'

I think that the author has missed an opportunity here to make her analysis account for the similarities between double-copula constructions and verbal-copula ones with a nominative predicate DP. This is unfortunate, because the proposal has promise for capturing correlations between the two structures, as well as their differences. A good example is her analysis of the interesting property that the verbal-copula construction with a nominative predicate DP can take 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person pronoun subjects, but the double copular construction can only take 3rd person subjects. Bondaruk attributes this difference in distribution to Person-Case Constraint effects (Bonet 1991, Bejar and Rezac 2003). The PCC states that a Direct and Indirect object combination cannot involve two weak elements when the Direct object is 1st or 2nd person.

(5) I showed them it/*you/*me.

Polish does not observe the PCC in double-object constructions (Citko 2011). However, the restriction on subjects in double-copular constructions appears to be a reflex of the PCC. The idea pursued in the book is that double-object constructions have a richer structure than in

English, as argued by Citko (2011). Although Polish double-object constructions differ from English, case evaluation in Polish double-copular constructions remains similar enough to the one for double-object constructions in English, so that in both cases the PCC is triggered. This involves multiple probing by T into the verbal domain. Such probing is argued to trigger the PCC.

The thing about copular constructions is that they often exhibit inversion. Undoubtedly, the relationship between inverted and non-inverted structures, as well as the differences between inverted constructions, can give us invaluable insight into the grammar. Thus it is no surprise that Bondaruk devotes a whole chapter to inverted constructions. The two types she concentrates on are given below. The (b) examples are inverted versions of the (a) examples (p. 272).

(6) a. Ewa jest moją przyjaciółką.
Ewa$_{NOM}$ is my friend$_{INST}$

b. Moją przyjaciółką jest Ewa.
my friend$_{INST}$ is Ewa$_{NOM}$
'Ewa is my friend.'

(7) a. Ewa to jest moja przyjaciółka.
Ewa$_{NOM}$ it is my friend$_{NOM}$
'Ewa is my friend.'

b. Moja przyjaciółka to jest Ewa.
my friend$_{NOM}$ it is Ewa$_{NOM}$
'Ewa is my friend.'

The first distinction Bondaruk draws is that inverted clauses with just the verbal copula, as in (6b), are predicational, as compared to the ones with both copulas, as in (7b), which are specificational. The distinction is supported by the differences in information structure. Bonadruk argues that (7b) always has the post-copular DP in focus, whereas (6b) is more flexible and allows either DP to be focused. Because the pronominal copula is homophonous with *it*-clefts in Polish, the analogy with cleft constructions springs to mind, for example, Declerk 1988. However, there is no mention of clefts in the discussion. I agree that there is definitely a tendency for (7b) to have focus on the last DP, but there are counterexamples to the claim that the final DP has to be focused in (7b).

In the example below, the DP is final, but it is a topic since it constitutes Given information, that is, discourse-available information by virtue of being present in the preceding structure.

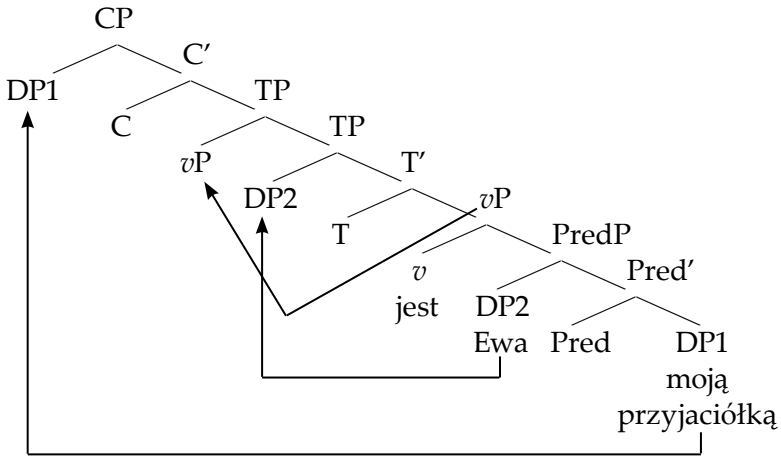
(8) Mimo że nikt nie lubi Ewy, jestem pewien że
although that no one NEG like Ewa am certain that
moja przyjaciółka to jest Ewa.
my friend it is Ewa
'Although no one likes Ewa, I am certain that Ewa is my friend.'

There are other examples like (8). It is beyond the scope of this review to discuss the nature of such constructions, but it is possible that there is some level of contrastive topicality here. Unfortunately, the author does not discuss types of focus or topic, which is a missed opportunity, and she equates information-structure mapping with a semi-cartographic approach, where information structure is in the domain of the Left Periphery (Rizzi 1997), and possibly TP. It is possible that a relativistic approach in the spirit of Tajsner 2008, where Topic and Focus are computed relative to each other (see Wagner 2006, Kučerová 2012) is more promising. Bondaruk's criticism of the specific ideas in Tajsner has its basis. Polish does not have a unique dedicated post-verbal presentational focus position as Romance languages do (Gallego 2013). However, there is nothing in the system preventing us from saying that Focus and Topic are computed relative to each other in two distinct configurations. Polish allows both computations: one which is typical for English, where Focus is on the pre-verbal subject, and the other typical for Spanish, where post-verbal subjects are focused. Bondaruk's semicartographic solution is not so convincing, because the facts she cites indicate that Focus can precede or follow Topic. This dual configuration is difficult to capture if Topic is in SpecC, for there is no Focus position above it. To the author's credit, she ultimately rejects a dedicated Topic head and assumes that a position above Focus is sufficient to receive a Topic interpretation. Unfortunately, this position is high up in CP, making it look like a rehash of Rizzi 1997.

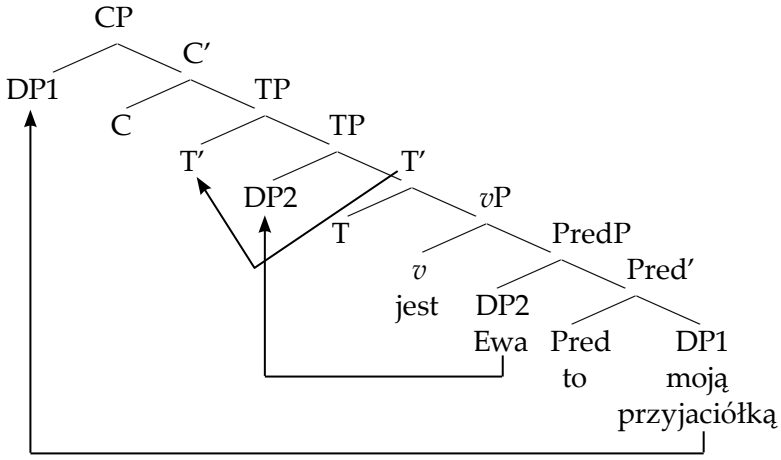
Bondaruk discusses interesting reconstruction phenomena that serve as confirmation of the A-bar status of the inverted DP. Her proposal is that (6b) is derived from (6a) by raising the predicate DP to SpecCP, moving the subject DP to SpecTP, and then moving the *v*P com-

plex, to SpecTP.[4] Example (7b) is derived from (7a) via movement of the predicate DP to SpecCP, raising of the subject DP to SpecTP, and raising the T-bar projection to SpecTP. The derivations are given below. Reconstruction of the predicate DP is allowed and even expected since it undergoes A-bar movement to SpecCP.

(9) = (6b)



(10) = (7b)



[4] This violates Anti-locality, as pointed out to me by Steven Franks.

The above diagrams are based on Bondaruk's derivations (pp. 304–5).[5] They capture the fact that the A-bar-moved DP can reconstruct. Bondaruk examines binding reconstruction data that seem to confirm this.

(11) a. [Każde państwo w Europie zachodniej]$_i$ było
every country$_{NOM}$ in Europe western was
wrogiem swojego$_i$ sąsiada.
enemy$_{INST}$ REFL neighbor
'Every country in Western Europe was the enemy of its neighbor.'

b. Wrogiem swojego$_i$ sąsiada było [każde państwo
enemy$_{INST}$ REFL neighbor was every country$_{NOM}$
w Europie zachodniej]$_i$.
in Europe western
'Every country in Western Europe was the enemy of its neighbor.'

The same pattern holds for clauses with both copulas present. There is a drawback, however. Example (12a) shows that the string 'enemy REFL neighbor' does not need reconstruction to receive an interpretation. Examples like (12a) suggest that the grammaticality of (11) need not be a reflex of reconstruction. In addition, example (12b) shows that no antecedent is necessary for the anaphor *swój*. Examples like (12b), where the reflexive has no antecedent, remind us that Binding data in Polish have to be treated carefully.

(12) a. Znany wróg swojego sąsiada poszedł do kina.
known enemy$_{NOM}$ REFL$_{GEN}$ neighbor went to cinema
'A known enemy of his own neighbor went to the cinema.'

b. Swojego sąsiada jest dobrze mieć blisko.
REFL neighbor is good have near
'It is good to have one's neighbor close.'

[5] Since it is unnecessary for this analysis, I have omitted the PF-driven movement aimed at getting the correct word order. It involves raising the Pred head *to* above the *v* head *jest* (see p. 234).

Another interesting property of inverted structures is the way the DPs agree with the copula. Agreement patterns sensitive to gender indicate that in inverted structures agreement with the verb is carried out with the post-copular element.

(13) a. Suchocka była złym premierem.
Suchocka$_{NOM.F}$ was$_{F}$ bad Prime Minister$_{INST.M}$
'Suchocka was a bad Prime Minister.'

b. Złym premierem była Suchocka.
bad Prime Minister$_{INST.M}$ was$_{F}$ Suchocka$_{NOM.F}$
'Suchocka was a bad Prime Minister.'

In the above example we can see that the canonical structure in (13a) exhibits agreement with the pre-verbal DP, whereas in inverted structures like (13b) it is the post-verbal DP that undergoes gender agreement. This constitutes convincing evidence that inverted structures need to be derived from canonical ones and that the DP *Suchocka* is the subject, since subjects are what agree in phi features. Unfortunately, as Bondaruk notes (p. 287), the pattern of agreement where the subject always agrees in phi features does not hold for constructions in which both the verbal and pronominal copula are present and both DPs have to be marked as nominative. Example (14a) below shows the canonical structure that is predicational in interpretation, and example (14b) shows the derived inverted one that is specificational in nature. Unlike in (13b), in (14b) the inverted DP does not agree with the copula.

(14) a. Suchocka to był zły premier.
Suchocka$_{NOM.F}$ it was$_{M}$ bad Prime Minister$_{INST.M}$
'Suchocka was a bad Prime Minister.'

b. Zły premier to była Suchocka.
bad Prime Minister$_{NOM.M}$ it was$_{F}$ Suchocka$_{NOM.F}$
'Suchocka was a bad Prime Minister.'

Surprisingly, in the structures exemplified by (14), it is always the post-copular element that undergoes gender agreement with the copula. Bondaruk points this out but does not offer an analysis, thus missing an opportunity to account for these interesting phenomena. It would be worth examining whether the presence of nominative case on

the post-verbal DP plays a role in post-copular gender agreement in (14) independently of subjecthood. It must be noted that in (13) both DPs are differentiated by case, while in (14) they are not, since both are nominative. Another avenue is to examine the possibility that the presence of both copulas blocks inversion, which would make (14b) not related to (14a) via inversion.

Last but not least, T-bar movement in (7b) is controversial. Bondaruk is aware of this and makes reference to Adger and Ramchand's (2003) analysis of Scottish Gaelic to support her own proposal. In footnote 6, Adger and Ramchand are quoted as saying: "[N]ote that within a bare phrase structure-type theory (Chomsky 1995), Pred' is a syntactic object just like any other and so may move and target a position where it can satisfy the EPP requirements of T." Unfortunately, such an approach is a misunderstanding of bare phrase structure. It would make X-bar structure and bare phrase structure translational variants. In bare phrase structure there is no specialized phrase-structure algorithm, just the forming of sets. Set formation puts two elements together. In the process there are only two things to keep track of: when the process starts, which is why heads are important, and when the process ends, which is why maximal projections and their labels are important. Intermediate phrases do not exist in the final representation of an XP, although they are a part of its computation. The system is derivational, with discrete stages of computation, but there is no "memory" of projection, just heads and full phrases. In such a derivational system, an intermediate phrase cannot be probed before the final XP is completed, since there is no probe at that point (it is inserted after an XP is complete). Take, for example, a derivation where an XP merges with YP giving {XP, YP}. Assume the result is XP={XP, YP}. If intermediate categories were to exist in bare phrase, they would have the status of maximal projections, and a subsequent probe P seeking an XP would not be able to distinguish the intermediate category target from the final phrase: Does P Agree with XP={XP, YP} or with the XP inside XP that is merged with YP? Movement could not take place. It is important to highlight this issue because special labeling algorithms, something Bondaruk makes use of in her final chapter on equatives, have no place within a system where projection levels are predetermined, as they are for example in X-bar structure. In X-bar-like systems, labels are established by heads that project bar levels. However, Bondaruk wants to maintain vestiges of X-bar structure and at the same time utilize the discussion in Chomsky 2013 which exploits a potential problem of how

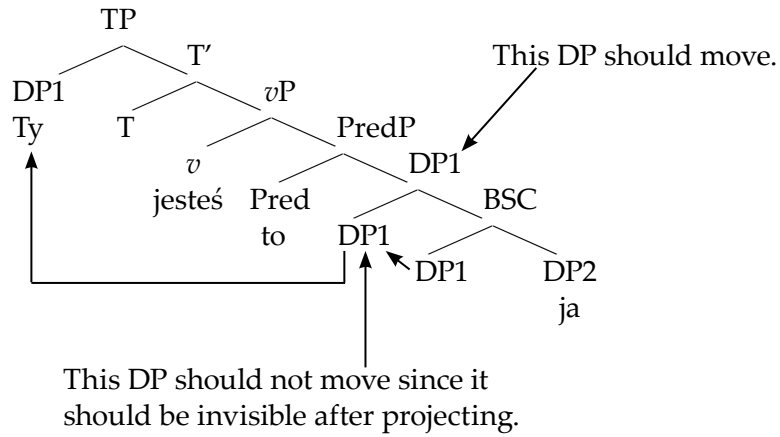
to label the outcome of an XP merging with another YP. But Chomsky's discussion only makes sense if we do not have intermediate phrases like X-bar. In X-bar systems it is impossible to merge with a maximal projection, unless you are an adjunct, and even there, labels are pre-determined and so is linearization.

As already mentioned, the issue is important for the analysis of equatives, where Bondaruk adopts proposals from Moro (2000) and argues that there is a symmetrical merger of two DPs and one of them has to raise in order for the structure to be labeled. In a system where intermediate projections exist, this would not be an issue to exploit. One DP would be in the Spec of another DP or adjoined to it. No other options exist in X-bar. There could never be a set {DP1, DP2} reanalyzed as DP1. However, it is precisely this inability to label a symmetrical set like {DP1, DP2} that constitutes the cornerstone of the author's analysis of Polish equatives. That is why she should not make use of intermediate projections; doing so leads to contradictions.

To see this contradiction, let us examine the structures underlying equatives that Bondaruk argues for. Equatives involve two nominative DPs that are later separated by one or both copulas (*to* and *być*). This separation is achieved via movement of one of the DPs out of the symmetrical structure and subsequent raising to T. Following Pereltsvaig (2007) and Moro (2000), Bondaruk assumes that the two DPs form a bare small clause (BSC), and one of the DPs has to raise. Bondaruk follows Moro (2000) in allowing a structure BSC = {DP1, DP2} to be unlabeled and unlinearized. This implies BSC needs to become asymmetrical in order to converge. The symmetry is broken when one DP moves. To be precise, BSC ultimately receives a label when one of the DPs re-merges with it, thus forming {DP1, {DP1, DP2}}. In the case of equatives, where both DPs are pronouns, either DP1 or DP2 can move. Otherwise, it is always the pronoun DP that moves (it is far from clear whether we can have equatives with both DPs being non-pronominal). Movement out of BSC is driven purely by the need to label and linearize. It is not the result of T being a probe, hence no multiple probing and no PCC. The result is a set DP1 = {DP1, BSC}, where BSC = {DP1, DP2}. At this point, T can probe the closest DP. Unfortunately, the derivation again makes use of movement of intermediate levels of projecting phrases, although unlike with T-bar raising, the author does not explicitly say so. To be precise, Bondaruk assumes it is not the maximal projection DP1 = {DP1, BSC} that is probed, but the initial DP1 merged with BSC. But that should only be possible if the moved element DP1 did not project. When the moved

DP1 projects, as it has to since that is why it moved, the closest DP1 for T as a probe is the DP1 resulting from the merger of {DP1, BSC} = DP1, and not the DP1 merged with BSC. In order to illustrate the point, let us examine the derivation of a simple equative provided by Bondaruk on page 326. As before, PF-type movement of *to* is not indicated in the structure. Bondaruk argues on page 234 that *to* is generated below the verbal copula but can optionally raise at PF like a clitic.

(15) Ty to jesteś ja.
you it is me
'You are me.'



This is a problem. To be fair, Bondaruk admits that her analysis of equatives is tentative. For example, another unresolved issue is what assigns case to the non-raised DP2 that remains in BSC. Both have to be nominative, which would suggest that the application of the previously adopted mechanism for predicational defining clauses is at play. The moved DP1 agrees and synchronizes in case with the lower DP2. This is only possible if Pred in equatives is defective; otherwise it would assign instrumental case to DP1. However, it is far from clear why a defective Pred is present in both constructions, aside from the fact that it captures nominative case assignment. One can only hope that Bondaruk continues her research and further develops her ideas on equatives and the defective nature of Pred.

The book is an important contribution to the discussion of copular constructions in Slavic. It provides a lot of novel data and an insightful

analysis. It does have some drawbacks, but they highlight the weakness of existing theories as much as the complexity of material that we are dealing with. Bondaruk's work, even when it raises doubts, allows us to formulate new and interesting questions about the nature of these constructions in Polish. There is a feeling that this is the beginning of a research program and not its culmination. Research of the type this book represents invites new questions and debates about the structure of the verbal domain. For example, it would be interesting to explore the ideas involving phase extension (den Dikken 2007) and head movement in structures discussed in this book. The idea would be to use Polish and other Slavic-language data to tell us something about the nature of these processes and provide insight into English and other languages. I hope that this will be the case. This book is a good starting point for such an exciting research program.

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