

## Distribution of genitives and classificatory adjectives in Polish NPs

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Our talk addresses the order of various satellites of N within Polish nominals. Specifically, we investigate the distribution of Classificatory Adjectives (ClassAs) in the presence of Genitive satellites (GenPs). ClassAs, which are sometimes analyzed as confined to a unique postnominal position within NP (Rutkowski and Progovac 2005, Rutkowski 2007), show a persistent tendency to occupy a prenominal (pre-N) position in the presence of a GenP in the same NP:

- (1)a. *neolityczne*      narzędzie      **pracy**  
       Neolithic<sub>CLASSA</sub>      tool              work<sub>GENP</sub>  
 b. \**narzędzie*      *neolityczne*      **pracy**  
 c. \**narzędzie*      **pracy**              *neolityczne*

Intriguingly, other NPs hosting both a ClassA and a GenP do not exhibit the same strict word order and allow for the optional placement of ClassAs either pre- or post-N:

- (2)a. *dzienne*              zużycie              **wody**  
       daily<sub>CLASSA</sub>              consumption      water<sub>GENP</sub>  
 b. *zużycie*              *dzienne*              **wody**  
 c. \**zużycie*              **wody**              *dzienne*

Our account for the distinction in (1) and (2) is two-fold: it employs the distinction between different kinds of GenPs that accompany N adopted from Trugman (2004a/b) coupled with the representational approach towards ClassAs in Polish NPs advanced in Cetnarowska, Pysz & Trugman (CP&T, to appear). Specifically, following Trugman's (ibid.) classification of Russian Genitives, GenP **pracy** in (1) is analyzed as a Type Genitive (TypeGen) semantically analogous to ClassAs denoting the type of N. In contrast, GenP **wody** in (2) is ambiguous between a TypeGen and an internal argument of N. The same ambiguity is attested with genitive external arguments and possessors of Ns:

- (3)a. *galowy*              mundur              **kadeta**  
       parade<sub>CLASSA</sub>              uniform              cadet<sub>GENP</sub>  
 b. mundur              *galowy*              **kadeta**  
 c. \*mundur              **kadeta**              *galowy*

In (3), GenP together with ClassA denote a type of uniform—usually worn by cadets on festive occasions, with TypeGen **kadeta** not referring to any particular wearer of the uniform. Alternatively, (3) can denote a parade uniform of some cadet, with the GenP referring to a possessor of N (PossGen).

Polish ClassAs are found both in pre- and post-N position depending on certain semantic factors discussed in CP&T (ibid.). Hence they may compete with TypeGens for the postnominal position. We claim that the conflict resolution is semantically driven and grounded in the semantic hierarchy of modifiers in (4) (Bouchard 1998, Scott 2002, Pereltsvaig 2007):

- (4) Subjective Evaluation>Size>Speed>Weight>Temperature>Wetness>Age>Shape>Colour>  
 Nationality/Origin>Material>**Typing Attribute**

According to (4), TypeGens together with ClassAs denoting the type of N must be N-adjacent. Since ClassAs can alternatively surface pre- or post-N, two modifiers can be in principle N-adjacent, as in *przeciętne*<sub>CLASSA</sub> *zużycie* *dzienne*<sub>CLASSA</sub> *wody*<sub>GENP</sub>, ‘average daily consumption of water’. The same is true when a ClassA co-occurs with a TypeGen, (1a-3a). Yet, a modifier higher on the semantic hierarchy cannot precede a lower modifier, which rules out (1b/c), (2c) and (3c), in contrast to

grammatical (2b) and (3b). The latter are also grammatical with argument GenPs, which saturate N+ClassA predicates and are, hence, found NP-final.

In sum, a semantic approach to modifier distribution coupled with a more refined classification of GenPs in Polish will be shown to account for a wide sample of data in a parsimonious way.

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