

On topic movement within Polish noun phrases

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The paper addresses the issue whether information structure should be stated only at the clausal level (as argued in Szendrői 2010), or both at the level of clauses and noun phrases (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1998, Giusti 2005, Aboh et al. 2010). While some authors have discussed discontinuous noun phrases in which a focused adjective moves to the left periphery of the clause, as in (1) (cf. Pereltsvaig 2008 for Russian, Cegłowski 2009, Nowak 2000 for Polish), the question remains if topic or focus movement occurs inside noun phrases which are not split. The data from Polish which bear on this issue include examples of referential nominals and event nominals which exhibit both the unmarked word order (as in 2a, where the adnominal genitive follows the head noun), and the marked word order (as in 2b, where the genitive DP precedes the head).

Several plausible ways of analysing the movement in question will be considered. The pre-head placement of the adnominal genitive is treated in Migdalski (2000) as resulting from its movement to the Specifier of Determiner Phrase (which is implied by the constraint that the fronted genitive phrase must be referential, cf. 3b). An alternative analysis involves recognizing fronted genitives as occupying the position of the Specifier of Possessive Phrase (cf. Rappaport 2000), since they can follow the demonstrative (as in 4a) and since they act as a substitute for prenominal possessive adjectives, which sound awkward and old-fashioned in Polish (cf. **Basiny* ‘Basia.PossAdj’ in 2c, **Magdziny* ‘Magda.PossAdj’ in 4b).

However, as the pre-head genitive DP must be discourse-linked, it will be argued here that it moves to the Specifier of Topic Phrase, which is a functional projection within a noun phrase available for topicalized elements (cf. Giusti 2005). The topicalization seems to be restricted to adnominal genitives denoting Possessors and Agents (see 2b, 4b). Adnominal object-type genitives (denoting Patients) can move to the pre-head position for stylistic reasons (due to the requirements of rhyme and rhythm, as in 5). An additional issue raised in the paper is the comparison of the genitive DP fronting in Polish noun phrases with the occurrence of two word orders in English noun phrases (such as *the President’s son* and *the son of the President*), and the question whether the Topic Phrase projection needs to be recognized within noun phrases in English.

- (1) *Na sledujuščij ostan’tes trollejbys.* (Russian)
for next stay.Imper trolleybus
‘Stay for the NEXT trolleybus!’ (from Pereltsvaig 2008: 7)
- (2) a. *przyjazd Basi* (arrival Basia.Gen) b. *Basi przyjazd* (Basia.Gen arrival)
c. **Basiny przyjazd* (Basia.PossAdj arrival)
- (3) a. *prawa człowieka* (rights human.Gen)
b. **człowieka prawa* (human.Gen rights) (from Migdalski 2000)
- (4) a. *ten Magdy brat to uroczy chłopiec*
this Magda.Gen brother to.Part charming boy
b. **ten Magdziny brat to uroczy chłopiec*
this Magda.PossAdj brother to.Part charming boy
‘Magda’s brother is a charming boy.’
- (6) *Wrocławskie Tanie Książek Czytanie*
Wrocław.Adj cheap.Sg books.Gen reading
‘Cheap Book-Reading (Fair) in Wrocław’

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