

Two structures for the NNC and complex numerals in Polish

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This presentation has two goals: (A) to argue for a widespread application of a uniform representation of Numeral Noun Constructions (NNCs) based on an updated version of Bailyn (2004), somewhat in contrast to the proposals in Danon (2012), and (B) to argue for a predominant cardinal-as-specifier representation of complex NNCs in Polish.

(A) The debate on the structure of NNCs has yielded two distinct representations applicable to NNCs: the cardinal-as-head and the cardinal-as-specifier representations. The former is proposed when the numeral and the NP it modifies bear distinct cases (e.g. the structural case environment for higher numerals in Polish/Russian), while the latter is applied whenever the numeral and the NP show case concord (e.g. the oblique case environment for higher numerals in Polish/Russian). We submit that many cases may have a uniform representation, based on an updated proposal in Bailyn (2004). Our modification reads as (1). This solution refers to Burzio's Generalization and preserves derivational and structure building transparency and avoids the issue of look-ahead and the No Tampering ban (Chomsky 2001; Stepanov 2001). Otherwise the structure would have to change in the run of the derivation to accommodate requirements of the case licensing head (probe) external to QP. We take (1) to be flexible and providing for a wide empirical coverage subsuming many cases discussed under the guise of the two different representations in Kayne (2010), Danon (2012) and Norris (2014).

(B) The modified structure in (1) can be further parametrized by assuming different modes of licensing case of the NP complement, of which Polish NNCs are good examples. Either one or two Case Projection sequences, Kseq. (cf. Caha 2009, 2010) are used in the composition of the NNC. We take Kseqs to be necessary for morpho-syntactic realization of case on NP. A possibility of variable (NumP vs Adj/NP vs Adj) agreement with the passive participle/adjective constitutes a pivotal diagnostic for the determination of the structure of complex NNCs in Polish. Regular agreement (NumP vs Adj/*NP vs Adj) testifies to one Kseq for NumP and a separate Kseq for the NP-complement (cf. 3), while variable agreement (NumP vs Adj/NP vs Adj) testifies to only one Kseq for the entire QP, cf. (2). Our proposal covers the entire spectrum of Polish NNCs, including complex numerals, fractions, numeral nouns, collective numerals and paucals.

(1) [QP CardinalNum [FQ [...NP...]]]

(2) [Kseq [QP1 [QP2 [NumP trzy] FQ2 [NumP tysiące]] FQ1 [NP. studentek]]]
three thousand_{PL,ACC} students_{F,PL,GEN}

było nagrodzone/nagrodzonych

was_{3SG,N} rewarded_{PL,ACC/PL,GEN}

(3) [Kseq [QP1 [QP2 [NumP trzy] FQ2 [NumP tysiące]] FQ1 [Kseq [NP studentek]]]]
three thousand_{PL,ACC} students_{F,PL,GEN}

były nagrodzone/*nagrodzonych

were_{3PL,F} rewarded_{PL,NOM/*PL,GEN}