

The extractability of genitive NP-complements and its implications for the size of the nominal domain in Polish

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INTRODUCTION

The structure of nominal constructions has been on the linguistic agenda for quite some time now (Lees 1960; Chomsky 1970; Newmeyer 1970; Szabolcsi 1983, among others). However, it was Abney's (1987) analysis that set a potentially novel, inspiring direction of the syntactic investigations by asking questions regarding the cross-linguistic status of nominals. Ever since the postulation of the DP-Hypothesis, two major lines of argumentation have been pursued, informally referred to as "the universal DP" (Longobardi 1994; Progovac 1998; Rappaport 2001; Migdalski 2001, 2003; Rutkowski 2002, 2007; Pereltsvaig 2007, a.o.) and "the parameterised DP" (Fukui 1988; Baker 2003; Bašić 2004; Bošković 2005, 2010, 2012a,b, 2014a,b, 2015a,b, 2016; Despić 2011, 2013, a.o.), with extraction from nominals constituting one of the major arguments in the discussion. For instance, it has been noted that Left Branch Extraction (Ross 1967) and its various guises is typically allowed in languages classified as "DP-less" (Corver 1992):

FOCUS: extractability of NP-complements in Polish and its potential significance for the size of nominal projections.

POINT OF DEPARTURE: Bošković's (2014a,b; 2015a,b) assumption that extraction of genitive NP-complements in NP-languages (Polish, Serbo-Croatian, etc.) is illicit for the same reason why it is licit in DP-languages (English, etc.), i.e., due to Antilocality.

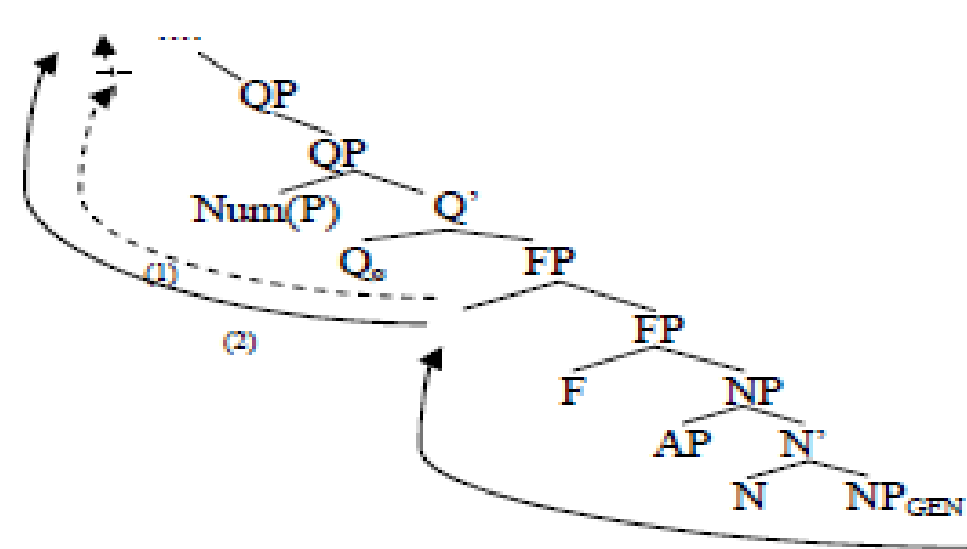
(1) (Bošković 2014b: 48)
 ?*[Ovog grada]_i sam pronašla [_{NP} sliku t_i] (SC)
 this city am found picture
 'Of this city I found a/the picture'

PROBLEM1: While Polish should pattern along with SC, the judgements are far from clear-cut (cf. Rappaport 2001).

(2) ?[Którego miasta]_i znalazłeś [zdjęcie t_i] ? (P)
 which city (you) found picture
 'Which city did you find a picture of?'

PROBLEM2: extraction of NP-complements across numerals (extraction from QP); on the Genitive-of-Quantification scenario (Franks 1994; Bošković 2010, 2014b), the QP-FP complex would be expected to hinder NP-complement extraction the way DP does in English (see also Despić 2011).

(3) [_{NP} GEN]_i ... [_{QP} *t_i [_{QP} Num(P) [_Q Q [_{FP} t_i [_{F'} F [_{NP} [_{N'} N t_i]]]]]]]] (Antilocality)



Antilocality (Grohmann 2000/2003): Movement must not be too local (i.e., movement should cross a maximal projection)

PIC (Chomsky 1998/2000, 2001): Movement from a phase must proceed through the phase edge

STEP 1: Data collection

- 8 types of constructions including extraction of NP-complements and extraction across numerals
- 5 items for each of the variable sets
- 10 distractor sentences (i.e., 20% of the overall input)
- constructions in question 'camouflaged' within more context (intra- to inter-clausal: 72.5% / 27.5%)
- items randomised (www.random.org/lists/)
- Likert-type scale based questionnaire (1 t o 5)
- statistical processing: central tendency (mean, median, mode); dispersion (Standard Deviation); distribution (Skewed Distribution).

STEP 2: Analysis

GENERAL OBSERVATION: extraction from nominal structures is generally considered marginally grammatical (4):

(4) (LBE – wh (3.36) > LBE – adjectives (2.72) > extraction of genitive NP-complements (2.44) > extraordinary LBE (2.40) > LBE – demonstratives (1.88) > extraction of adjective across another adjective (1.86) > extraction across a numeral (1.69) > deep LBE (1.62)

extraction of genitive NP-complements

- results markedly worse than LBE-wh/AP, yet still relatively consistent,
- mean values for SD (1.23) and SDis (0.57) indicate that the judgements were not significantly dispersed and most of them oscillated slightly below the mean score.

extraction across Num / Quant

- uniform pattern of dispersion and concentration of scores (SD relatively high in comparison to the mean score, SDis positive for all sets > concentration of scores below the mean score)

5)
 a. *Według zeznań informatora, barman niemieckich_i celowo obraził German_i on purpose offended wielu t_i piwoszy. many t_i beer-drinkers.
 "According to the account of an informer, the bartender offended many German beer-drinkers on purpose."
 b. [_{AP} niemieckich]_i celowo obraził [_{QP} wielu [_{FP} F [_{NP} t_i piwoszy]]]

PUZZLE: extraction of NP-complements across numerals (items 4 & 5) judged relatively higher

	Item 1	Item 2	Item 3	Item 4	Item 5	Mean (Items 1-5)
Mean	2.21	1.58	2.01	3.11	3.26	2.44
SD	1.231813237	1.035992428	1.079683055	1.325071035	1.369237113	1.21
SDis	0.713267962	1.691161755	0.841184323	-0.103273081	-0.278170103	0.57
Mode	1	1	1	3	4	2.00
Median	2.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.20

Table 3. Set G – extraction of genitive complements.

	Item 1	Item 2	Item 3	Item 4	Item 5	Mean (Items 1-5)
Mean	1.70	1.92	1.58	1.74	1.49	1.69
SD	0.941314236	1.07138506	0.848344948	1.168983738	1.001365106	1.01
SDis	1.32224142	0.928789912	1.358169418	1.619237065	2.285134365	1.50
Mode	1	1	1	1	1	1.00
Median	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.20

Table 7. Set F – extraction across a numeral

STEP 3: Revision + more data

•Witkoś & Dziubała-Szrejbrowska (2015):
 [_{QP} NumP [_{QP} F_Q [_{NP} AP [_{NP} N ...]]]]

GENERAL OBSERVATION: Such a strict and precise approach to the number of projections in the nominal domain may indeed seem conceptually appealing. However, it also creates the temptation to feed / bleed Antilocality whenever necessary by arbitrarily postulating functional projections.

•discourse driven extraction to pre-N position?? (Cetnarowska 2013: 8)

(5) ten Hanki kolejny / KOLEJNY narzeczony
 this Hanka_{GEN.G-TOP} next / next_{FOC} fiancé
 'this next fiancé of Hankas'

CONCLUSIONS

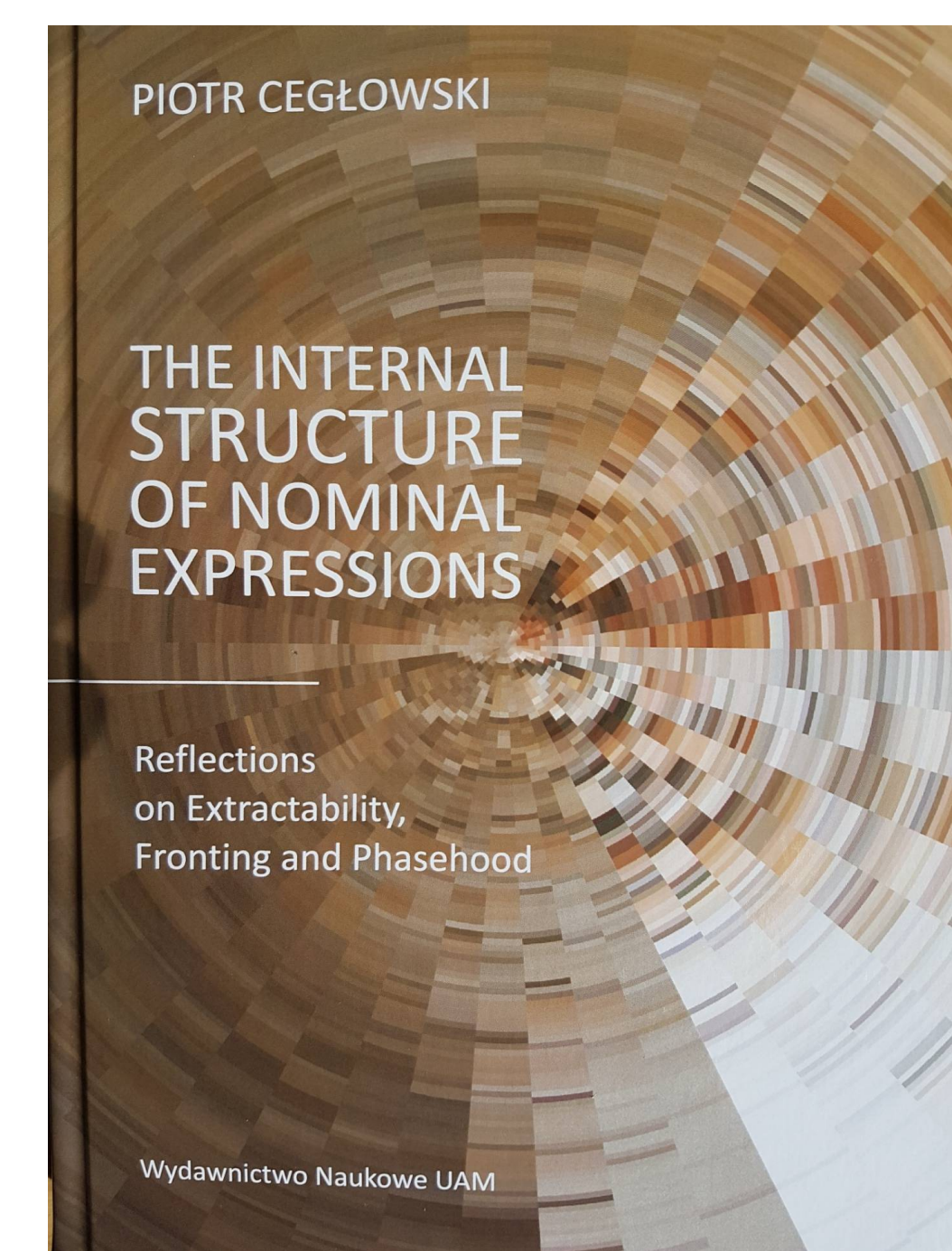
- close-to-acceptable judgements obtained for the extraction of genitive NP-complements;
- stark contrast between the (relatively high) acceptability of extraction of NP-complements and unacceptability of extraction of prenominal APs across numerals & quantifiers >>> problem for Genitive of Quantification scenario (Franks 1994; Bošković 2010, 2014b);

FURTHER IMPLICATIONS:

- movement to a prenominal position >> more structure included in the phrasal nominal structure in Polish
- NP-complement is **not** the complement of a phasal head (Abels 2003) >>> serious challenge for a uniform analysis of the extraction of genitive NP-complements and deep LBE;

MORE IMPLICATIONS:

- DP-internal fronting as well as extraction from DPs is ultimately discourse-driven and resembles analogous movements in the clausal domain (Ihsane & Putskás 2001, among others).



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