

**Accounting for some flexibility in a rigid construction:
On the position of classificatory adjectives in Polish**

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Aim This paper aims to reconsider the previous accounts of classificatory adjectives (ClassAs) in Polish put forth in Rutkowski & Progovac (2005) and Rutkowski (2007) (ClassP model, henceforth). We argue that the ClassP model, which treats ClassAs as non-iterative elements obligatorily surfacing in postN position, cannot be sustained either on empirical or conceptual grounds. We suggest an alternative proposal, which does not preclude iterative ClassAs, accounts for their re-ordering and derives relevant structures in an economical way.

ClassP model According to Rutkowski & Progovac (2005) and Rutkowski (2007), Polish ClassAs are distinct from qualifying adjectives (QualAs) not only in their semantics but also in their syntax. While QualAs are merged preminally in iterative functional projections above NP, (1b), ClassAs are merged in Spec, NP and their postN placement is derived by N-movement to a functional projection ClassP immediately dominating NP, (1a) (from Rutkowski 2007: (4)).

- (1) a. linia krzywa
line curved ‘a curve (a type of line)’ *classificatory reading*
b. krzywa linia
curved line ‘a curved line (a line that happens to be curved)’ *qualifying reading*

Since Spec, NP is taken to be non-iterative, there can be only one ClassA per one NP (Rutkowski 2007, fn. 7). When a class has to be identified by two adjectives, their compounding is required, as in (2).

- (2) a. gramatyka transformacyjno-generatywna
grammar transformational-generative
b. *gramatyka transformacyjna generatywna
grammar transformational generative

Although the ClassP model acknowledges the existence of phrases with two adjectives in postposition, as in (3a), it analyses only one of them, the one immediately following the noun, as ClassA. The right-peripheral adjective is treated as a reduced relative clause, which is supported by its expansion into a full relative, as in (3b) (this possibility is prohibited for ‘genuine’ ClassAs). Moreover, the second adjective can appear preminally, (3c), in contrast to ClassAs, for which “such a relocation is absolutely impossible” (Rutkowski 2007: 333), (3d).

- (3) a. tłuszcz roślinny częściowo utwardzony
oil vegetable.ADJ partly hydrogenated
b. tłuszcz roślinny, który jest częściowo utwardzony
oil vegetable.ADJ which is partly hydrogenated
c. częściowo utwardzony tłuszcz roślinny
partly hydrogenated oil vegetable.ADJ
d. *częściowo utwardzony roślinny tłuszcz

Refuting the ClassP model We demonstrate that the ClassP model encounters a number of empirical problems. Firstly, there exist numerous noun phrases hosting two postN adjectives which resist compounding, as in (4) (cf. (2)).

- (4) a. *przewozy lotniczo-pasażerskie
transport aerial-passenger.ADJ
b. przewozy lotnicze pasażerskie
transport aerial passenger.ADJ

Secondly, ClassAs can be found in preN position without exhibiting a change in their semantics into QualAs, as in (5) (cf. (3d)).

- (5) a. lotnicze przewozy pasażerskie b. pasażerskie przewozy lotnicze
aerial transport passenger.ADJ *passenger.ADJ transport aerial*

Moreover, some ClassAs must obligatory surface in preN position, as in (6) (Willim 2000, 2001).

- (6) a. czarna jagoda b. *jagoda czarna
black berry 'blueberry' *berry black*

Thirdly, the ClassP model appears problematic insofar as it rests on a strong correlation between the adjective type and its ability to be expressed as a full relative clause. Yet, this is not a foolproof test for distinguishing between ClassAs and QualAs, for some ClassAs can be expanded to full relatives, as in (7b) (Nowakowska 1998).

- (7) a. drukarka atramentowa b. drukarka, która jest atramentowa
printer ink-jet.ADJ *printer which is ink-jet.ADJ*

In sum, the ClassP model appears too strong to accommodate a broader range of empirical data, as illustrated above.

Towards an alternative model Considering the above-mentioned counterevidence, we take the analysis of Polish ClassAs as non-iterative elements to be inadequate and argue for a more flexible approach, which draws a parallel between Polish and Romance languages that allow several ClassAs in postN position. As in Spanish, where the relative order of several ClassAs is governed by semantic principles (see Bosque & Picallo 1996), Polish multiple ClassAs obey the same rules. Specifically, adjectives found closest to N denote a larger class, with each subsequent adjective restricting it and denoting a sub-class. Interestingly, a permutation of the order between two ClassAs is allowed when the noun can be classified in two possible ways, as in (8). Otherwise, only one order is possible, as in (9).

- (8) a. literatura medieval francesa vs. literatura francesa medieval Spanish
literature medieval French *literature French medieval*
b. koncesja ogólnopolska telewizyjna vs. koncesja telewizyjna ogólnopolska Polish
license all-Poland.ADJ television.ADJ *license television.ADJ all-Poland.ADJ*
(9) a. coma alcohólico metílico vs. *coma metílico alcohólico Spanish
coma alcoholic methilic *coma methilic alcoholic*
b. msza święta żałobna vs. *msza żałobna święta Polish
mass holy memorial *mass memorial holy*

Adopting the insights of the representational approach by Bouchard (1998, 2002), we distinguish between ClassAs that modify sub-parts of the referent of N and those that modify atomized Ns. Only the former may participate in establishing a new 'natural kind' with N by forming a tight semantic and syntactic complex with it. This accounts, among other things, for the obligatory adjacency of such ClassAs to N either in pre- or postposition, as in (10).

- (10) a. molekularna struktura/ struktura molekularna wody
molecular structure/ structure molecular water.GEN
b. *struktura wody molekularna

Several levels of classificatory modification are proposed, each exhibiting its particular semantic and syntactic properties. We show under what conditions postN strings of ClassAs can be licensed and what governs their possible word-order permutations.

The present analysis of Polish ClassAs appears to achieve more cross-linguistic uniformity, at the same time accommodating a broader range of empirical facts exhibited by the language. The data in support of the proposal are drawn from the full IPI PAN Corpus (2nd edition).