

## The extractability of genitive N-complements and its implications for the size of the nominal projection in Polish

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This presentation focuses on the extractability of N-complements in Polish and its potential significance for the size of nominal projections. The point of departure is Bošković's (2014a,b) assumption that extraction of genitive N-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]<sub>i</sub> sam pronašla [<sub>NP</sub> sliku t<sub>i</sub>] (SC)  
 this city am found picture  
 'Of this city I found a/the picture'

Given the correlation between the alleged absence of the DP-layer and the extractability of N-complements, Polish should pattern along with SC. However, the judgements are far from clear-cut (2) (see also Rappaport 2001).

- (2) [Którego miasta]<sub>i</sub> znalazłeś [zdjęcie t<sub>i</sub>]?? (Polish)  
 which city (you) found picture  
 'Which city did you find a picture of?'

Extractability of N-complements across numerals (extraction from QP) constitutes yet another intriguing point. Following the Genitive-of-Quantification scenario (Franks 1994; Bošković 2010, 2014), the presence of QP (a potential phase) is expected hinder N-complement extraction, similar to DP in English, consider (3) and (4), respectively.

- (3) [<sub>NP</sub><sub>GEN</sub>]<sub>i</sub> ... [<sub>QP</sub> \*t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>QP</sub> Num(P) [<sub>Q'</sub> Q [<sub>FP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>F'</sub> F [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>N'</sub> N t<sub>i</sub>]]]]]]]] (\*Antilocality)
- (4) Tego miasta widziałem siedem zdjęć.  
 [this city.GEN]<sub>i</sub> (I) saw [<sub>QP</sub> seven [<sub>FP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> pictures t<sub>i</sub>]]  
 'Of this city, I saw seven pictures.'

Specifically, Antilocality forces the N-complement to move to the edge of FP. Provided QP is a phase (Despić 2011), the complement should stop over at QP to satisfy Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2001). At the same time, Antilocality should block the movement from FP to QP. In turn, any direct extraction from FP, although sufficiently 'antilocal', would be expected to violate the PIC.

In order to test the acceptability of the two types of constructions (extraction of N-complement, extraction of N-complement across a numeral) a Likert scale - based empirical study has been conducted. The subjects (183 native speakers of Polish) were asked to judge the acceptability of the input sentences on a scale from 1 to 5. The results not only revealed that N-complements are (at least marginally) extractable, but also proved the presence of the numeral to increase the its acceptability.

Finally, it should also be observed that Polish also allows movement of the N-complement *within* the nominal (5).

- (5) [[TEGO MIASTA]<sub>i</sub> zdjęcie t<sub>i</sub>] znalazłem t<sub>j</sub> w gazecie.  
 this city picture (I) found in newspaper  
 ‘I found a picture of this city in the newspaper.’

The fact that native speaker judgements support the acceptability of sentences like (2) and (4), coupled with the availability of discourse-driven NP-internal fronting (5), provides legitimate reasons to assume that the nominal structure in Polish is fairly elaborate (in any case, richer than NP). It is argued that the structure minimally contains the sequence of projections constituting the discourse domain, which triggers movements like (5) and possibly ‘mediates’ in further extraction of the N-complement (see Grohmann 2000; Ihsane & Putskás 2001), consider (6).

- (6) [DP [TopP [FocP [AgrP [NP ...]]]]]

In a broader perspective, an approach along these lines may offer interesting insights into the (un)grammaticality of other types of extraction, e.g., deep Left Branch Extraction.

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