

**Coordination/attribution cline in N+N combinations
and the availability of the „X not Y” construction in Polish**
Bożena Cetnarowska, University of Silesia in Katowice (Poland)

This paper considers N+N combinations in Polish which consist of fully inflected constituents that show agreement in case, e.g. *dentysta idiota* (dentist.NOM.SG idiot.NOM.SG) ‘a dentist who is an idiot; an idiot of a dentist’ and *praca marzenie* (job.NOM.SG dream.NOM.SG) ‘a dream of a job’. Such combinations are recognized as juxtapositions (i.e. a subtype of composites) by Grzegorzczkova (1981), as noun phrases in apposition by Kallas (1980), and as constructs by Willim (2001). As in the case of compound-like multiword units in other languages (see Masini and Benigni 2012 for Russian), it is possible to apply to them the compound typology postulated by Scalise and Bisetto (2009), which identifies their three major classes, i.e. coordinate, attributive and subordinate multiword units.

While the borders between the three types of multiword combinations are notoriously difficult to draw, it will be argued here that the contrast between coordination and attribution in NN combinations is relevant to the acceptability of the “X not Y” construction in Polish. This emphatic negative construction, exemplified in (1), is characteristic of informal Polish and has arguably developed from longer predicative structures, which are shown in (2).

(1) a. *potwór nie teściowa*
monster.NOM.SG not mother-in-law.NOM.SG
‘a monster of a mother-in-law; a mother-in-law who is a monster’

b. *cham nie kierowca*
lout.NOM.SG not driver.NOM.SG
‘a lout of a driver; a driver who is a lout’

(2) a. *To jest potwór,*
this.NOM.SG be.PRES.3SG monster.NOM.SG
a nie teściowa.
and not mother-in-law.NOM.SG
‘This is a monster, and not a mother-in-law.’

b. *To był cham, a nie kierowca.*
this.NOM.SG be.PST.3SG lout.NOM.SG and not driver.NOM.SG

Constituents of coordinate NN combinations of the multifunctional type (cf. Renner and Fernández 2011) in Polish are not attested in the “X not Y” construction. They can be used, instead, in predicative sentences which state that a given referent represents properly the class of items denoted by X (*aktor* ‘actor’), rather than by Y (*tancerz* ‘dancer’).

(3) *To jest aktor, a nie tancerz.*
This be.PRES.3SG actor.NOM.SG and not dancer.NOM.SG

Coordinate juxtapositions can be regarded as double-headed since they consist of constituents whose status is equal. This is shown by the change in their word order (4a) and by the application of the IS A condition in (4b) (cf. Fabb 1998).

(4) a. *tancerz-aktor* (dancer.NOM.SG actor.NOM.SG);
aktor-tancerz (actor.NOM.SG dancer.NOM.SG)

b. *X jest tancerzem. X jest aktorem.*
‘X is a dancer. X is an actor.’

Constituents of Polish NN combinations in (5) do not occur in the “X not Y” construction, either (see 6). The juxtapositions in (5) are not reversible and they represent the canonical attributive type, where the right-hand noun signals a property metaphorically attributed to the (left-hand) head noun.

(5) a. *kobieta guma* (woman.NOM.SG rubber.NOM.SG) ‘female contortionist’

b. *pisarz widmo* (writer.NOM.SG ghost.NOM.SG) ‘ghost writer’

- a.' **guma kobieta* (rubber.NOM.SG woman.NOM.SG)
- b'. **widmo pisarz* (ghost.NOM.SG writer.NOM.SG)
- (6) a. **guma* *nie* *kobieta*
 rubber.NOM.SG not woman.NOM.SG
- b. **widmo* *nie* *pisarz*
 ghost.NOM.SG not writer.NOM.SG

The “X not Y” construction is acceptable (as in 7c, 8c) with constituents of attributive NN combinations in (7a, 8a) which can be treated as comparative juxtapositions (see 7b, 8b).

- (7) a. *kobieta anioł* (woman.NOM.SG angel.NOM.SG) ‘an angel of a woman’
- b. *kobieta jak anioł* ‘a woman like an angel’
- c. *anioł nie kobieta* (lit. angel not woman) ‘an angel of a woman’
- (8) a. *praca koszmar* (job.nom.sg nightmare.nom.sg) ‘a nightmare of a job’
- b. *praca jak koszmar* ‘a job like a nightmare’
- c. *koszmar nie praca* (lit. nightmare not job) ‘a nightmare of a job’

NN combinations in (9a, 10a), whose constituents occur felicitously in the “X not Y” construction (as shown in 9c, 10c), belong to the “intermediate zone” between attributive and coordinate types. The internal word order of such juxtapositions can be changed (see 9b, 10b), as is expected of coordinate NN combinations.

- (9) a. *żołnierz ofermą* (soldier.NOM.SG milksop.NOM.SG) ‘a milksop of a soldier’
- b. *oferma żołnierz* (milksop.NOM.SG soldier.NOM.SG) ‘a soldier who is a milksop’
- c. *oferma nie żołnierz* (lit. milksop not soldier) ‘a milksop of a soldier’
- (10) a. *prawnik kretyn* (lawyer.NOM.SG moron.NOM.SG) ‘a moron of a lawyer’
- b. *kretyn prawnik* (moron.NOM.SG lawyer.NOM.SG) ‘a lawyer who is a moron’
- c. *kretyn nie prawnik* (lit. moron not lawyer) ‘a moron of a lawyer’

Both constituents of N+N combinations in (9a, 10a) denote properties which can be predicated of the same referent, e.g. someone who is both a soldier and a milksop. However, the constituent which carries the expressive value appears to function as a modifier (and not a co-head) since it can be replaced by an adjective, e.g. *ofermowaty żołnierz* ‘klutzy soldier’, *kretyński prawnik* ‘moronic lawyer’.

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