The Syntactic Properties and Diachronic Development of Postnominal Adjectives in Polish[*]

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Typical adjectival modifiers precede nouns in Modern Polish. However, classifying adjectives (i.e. elements which subclassify the reference of the noun) appear in postposition. This paper focuses on the postnominal placement of adjectives in Polish, exploring it from a synchronic and diachronic perspective. I will first briefly discuss the ClassP (Classification Phrase) hypothesis put forward in Rutkowski and Progovac (2005) (subsection 1.1) and attempt to show why Trugman's (2005) account of Russian postnominal adjectives is not applicable to Polish (subsection 1.2). I will also draw a parallel between the ClassP analysis of Polish N-A sequences and Pereltsvaig's (2006) account of approximative numerical expressions (subsection 1.3). Section 2 traces the historical source of the N-A classifying construction (subsection 2.1) and provides an account of the syntactic reanalysis that the construction in question has undergone in the history of Polish (subsection 2.2). The last section of this paper is devoted to a unified analysis of classifying adjectival expressions, pseudo-partitives, and structures with classifiers. I will propose that all of them involve the same functional projection located immediately above NP (which I will refer to as nP). I will argue that the syntactic activation of what Rutkowski and Progovac (2005) call

ClassP would not have been possible in the historical development of Polish had it not made use of a more general syntactic configuration (nP), provided by Universal Grammar.

1 N-A Structures in Modern Polish

1.1 Rutkowski and Progovac (2005)
This subsection presents an overview of the analysis of classifying adjectives proposed in Rutkowski and Progovac (2005), henceforth RP. RP's aim is to account for the fact that regular adjectival modifiers usually precede the head noun in Polish, whereas classifying adjectives appear in postposition. As opposed to typical non-restrictive qualifying adjectives, classifying elements indicate a certain class (category, type) that the denoted entity belongs to (see e.g. Warren 1984).[1] It should be noted that the postnominal placement of adjectives in classificatory expressions is obligatory in Polish: this requirement is not conditioned stylistically or contextually. Thus, the phenomenon in question is different from what Trugman (2005) describes as classifying structures in Russian. The Russian N-A pattern seems to be optional and restricted to scientific terms and formal/official product names used in trade. In Polish, the classifying configuration is very productive and appears in all kinds of contexts, as the following non-terminological examples of everyday vocabulary illustrate:[2]

(1) a. koło   zapasowe   b. * zapasowe koło
         wheel   spare
         'spare wheel'
(2) a. powieść   kryminalna   b. * kryminalna powieść
         novel   criminal
         'detective story'
(3) a. pismo   pornograficzne   b. * pornograficzne pismo
         magazine pornographic
         'pornographic magazine'

Note that, strictly speaking, the starred structures in (1b-3b) are not ungrammatical. Nevertheless, they are clearly infelicitous because they imply an attributive reading, which is unnatural in the case of the above

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[1] See also Willim (2000a) for a detailed discussion of the semantic relationship between the classifying adjective and the head noun.
[2] Note that examples in this subsection do not come from RP.

examples. For instance, (3b) would be acceptable if it denoted a magazine that *happened* to be pornographic. However, such a context is rather unlikely. Although examples (1a-3a) do not seem to have obvious attributive equivalents, RP show that it is possible for the same adjective to be used both classificatorily and attributively. Compare the following pair of expressions:

(4)   a. linia   krzywa
            line   curved
            'curve (a type of line)'
    b. krzywa linia
            'curved line (a line that happens to be curved)'

According to the analysis put forward in RP, the surface location of classifying adjectives in all the above examples results from overt N-raising: the noun moves from N (its underlying position) to the head of a higher functional projection (tentatively labelled ClassP – Classification Phrase), located immediately above NP.[3] In principle, there are no restrictions as to what kind of adjectives may be interpreted as classifying.[4] According to RP's account, the classificatory reading is obligatory as long as the head noun is raised to Class.[5]

In structures with multiple adjectives it is always the postposed one that is interpreted as classifying. Note that both (5) and (6) are, in principle, grammatical (although only (5) is actually used to refer to the 'National Bank of Poland'):

(5)   Narodowy Bank   Polski
            national   bank   Polish
            'national bank of Poland'

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[3] For a different analysis of classifying N-A structures which is also based on overt N-raising, see Willim (2000a) and (2001). According to Willim, the noun moves to the head of K(ase)P(hrase), the highest functional projection in the nominal complex, whilst the classifying adjective is located in the specifier of Num(ber)P(hrase). However, Willim does not make it clear why the Spec-NumP position is accessible to classifying adjectives but not to qualifying ones.

[4] This observation is also made by Willim (2000a), who argues that the classifying/qualifying distinction does not derive from the semantic properties of a particular adjectival lexeme. Instead, she proposes that the dichotomy in question is conditioned pragmatically.

[5] RP and Rutkowski and Progovac (2006) show that N-to-Class movement need not be overt: it is covert in Serbian and Lithuanian classifying constructions.

(6)   Polski Bank Narodowy

Depending on which adjective appears postnominally, the bank in the above examples is classified as belonging either to the class of Polish banks or to the class of national banks. Both classifications are conceivable, although the semantic difference involved is slight. However, in the case of (7-8) the same kind of difference is crucial for correct interpretation:

(7)   mały   pancernik   olbrzymi
        small   armadillo   giant
        'a small giant armadillo'
(8)   olbrzymi pancernik mały
        'a giant dwarf armadillo'

Example (7) denotes a giant armadillo (i.e. a representative of the species *Priodontes maximus*) that happens to be small; on the other hand, example (8) refers to a dwarf armadillo (*Zaedyus pichiy*) that happens to be very big.

1.2 Trugman (2005)
Traditional grammars of Polish say that the function of classifying adjectives is to indicate a distinctive feature of the denoted entity: such a feature has been referred to as "permanent" (Klemensiewicz 1948:58-60), "essential" (Brajerski 1959:169), or "generic" (Rospond 2003:197). However, the term "generic" (*gatunkowy* in Polish) might be misleading. It should be stressed that Polish classifying expressions are not necessarily generic. Therefore, they are different from the Russian N-A structures analyzed by Trugman (2005). She shows that, in Russian, expressions with postnominal adjectives cannot be object-referring. This is definitely not the case in Polish, as illustrated below:

(9)   a. Silnik odrzutowy jest   wspaniałym   wynalazkiem.
           engine jet-adj   is   wonderful   invention
           'The jet engine is a wonderful invention.'
        b. * Odrzutowy silnik jest wspaniałym wynalazkiem.
(10)   a. Ten   silnik   odrzutowy jest   zepsuty.
           this   engine jet-adj   is   broken
           'This jet engine is broken.'
        b. * Ten odrzutowy silnik jest zepsuty.

The N-A expression *silnik odrzutowy* 'jet engine' may be kind-

referring/generic (9a) or object-referring (10a); it is grammatical both with individual-level and stage-level predicates, unlike postpositional adjectival structures in Russian. Trugman (2005) assumes that the generic interpretation of the Russian N-A construction is derived by overt N-to-D movement (this movement is explained as a mechanism which licenses a phonologically null D, à la Longobardi's 1994 model of N-raising in Romance). Additionally, Trugman (2005) proposes that the noun cyclically adjoins to its premodifiers, pied-piping them in a snowball fashion, and dragging the whole complex to D. However, neither this complex scenario, nor a simple N-to-D approach can be used to account for the syntax of Polish classifying structures. Examples such as (11) show that there are no reasons to assume that N-raising in Polish classifying expressions targets D, and not Class.

(11)   pięć   zepsutych   silników$_i$ odrzutowych   t$_i$
         five   broken   engines   jet-adj
         'five broken jet engines'

If the noun moved directly to D, it would be expected to surface in front of numerals and attributive adjectives, which are best analyzed as located in the region between D and N (cf. Rutkowski 2002).[6] As shown above,

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[6] An anonymous reviewer argues that the position of Polish numerals is not necessarily fixed between D and N. Following Willim (2000b), the reviewer notices that cardinals may either precede or follow possessive pronouns, as illustrated below:

(i)   moje   trzy   siostry
         my   three   sisters
         'my three sisters'
(ii)   trzy   moje   siostry
         three   my   sisters
         'three of my sisters'

If possessive pronouns are analyzed as residing in the DP layer, the position of the cardinal numeral seems to be unclear. Reasons of space prevent a detailed discussion of this issue in the present paper. I assume that, being adjectives and not determiners, Polish possessive pronouns need not be based generated exclusively in the DP layer. Similarly to other adjectives (including demonstratives), they may appear at various levels in the Polish DP structure. Note that the inversion shown in (i-ii) is not possible in structures with elements which are always base generated relatively high in the nominal structure (i.e. above the position of the cardinal numeral), such as the general quantifier

this prediction is wrong.

According to the ClassP model presented in RP, the classifying adjective is located in the specifier of NP. Hence, the number of classifying elements in a classifying nominal expression is limited to one.[7] Trugman (2005) argues against this analysis. She discusses constructions that seem to be problematic from the point of view of the ClassP model because they include more than one postnominal modifier:

(12) tłuszcz roślinny częściowo utwardzony
      oil   vegetable partly   hydrogenated
      'partly hydrogenated vegetable oil'

However, I treat elements such as *częściowo utwardzony* 'partly hydrogenated' in (12) as reduced relative clauses. Trugman (2005) points out that classifying postmodifiers should not be analyzed in this way because they cannot be replaced with full relative clauses. This generalization seems true for Polish classifying elements; for instance, (13) is not necessarily synonymous with (14) (note that classifying expressions often become idiomatic).

(13) pancernik mały
      armadillo small
      'dwarf armadillo (*Zaedyus pichiy*)'
(14) pancernik, który jest mały
      armadillo which is   small
      'armadillo which is small'

However, it seems that the above observation holds only for those

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wszyscy 'all':

(iii) wszystkie trzy   siostry
       all   three sisters
       'all three sisters'
(iv)   *trzy   wszystkie siostry
       three   all   sisters
       int. 'three of all the sisters'

For a fuller discussion of the syntax of cardinal numerals in Polish, the reader is referred to Rutkowski and Maliszewska (2007).

[7] Note that this restriction does not apply to qualifying adjectives, which can be stacked pronominally because they reside in iterable functional projections above NP.

adjectives which surface immediately after the noun. Other postnominal modifiers seem to be easily acceptable in full relative clauses; note that there is no semantic difference between (15) and (16):

(15)   tłuszcz roślinny   częściowo utwardzony
         oil   vegetable-adj   partly   hydrogenated
         'partly hydrogenated vegetable oil'

(16)   tłuszcz roślinny,   który   jest częściowo utwardzony
         oil   vegetable-adj   which   is   partly   hydrogenated
         'vegetable oil which is partly hydrogenated'

There are at least two more arguments for treating elements such as *częściowo utwardzony* 'partly hydrogenated' in (12) as reduced relative clauses, and not as classifying elements. Firstly, they are often separated from the N-A classifying structure by a phonetic pause. Secondly, and more importantly, they may as well be placed prenominally, as the following example illustrates:

(17)   częściowo utwardzony   tłuszcz roślinny
         partly   hydrogenated   oil   vegetable-adj
         'partly hydrogenated vegetable oil'

Note that such a relocation is absolutely impossible in the case of classifying elements (i.e. those adjectives that are place immediately after the head noun):

(18)   *częściowo utwardzony   roślinny   tłuszcz
          partly   hydrogenated   vegetable-adj   oil

Having taken into consideration all the above evidence, I conclude that the analysis proposed by Trugman (2005) is not applicable to classifying N-A structures in Polish.

1.3 An Analogy to N-to-Class Raising: Approximative Shift in Russian
An important corollary of RP's proposal is that N-raising may result in a semantic change. This could be viewed as problematic if movement is assumed to be a mechanism of feature checking that should not have impact on the interpretation of the whole expression. Note, however, that according to the ClassP model, it is not N-movement itself that yields the classificatory interpretation, but rather the presence of the Class head. I assume that the Class head is optional, but when it is present, it is associated with a formal feature which attracts the head noun.

Interestingly, the operation of N-to-Class raising does not seem to be an isolated phenomenon among Slavic languages. There seems to be at least one more example of overt N-raising with analogous semantic implications. As shown by Franks (1995) and Pereltsvaig (2006), among others, N-raising in Russian numerical expression can lead to an approximative reading:

(19) a. desjat’ knig
          ten   books
          'ten books'
      b. knig desjat’
          'approximately ten books'

The above phenomenon is exactly parallel to what happens in classifying structures in Polish – compare the examples in (4a-b). In both cases the difference in meaning is based on the word order of the head noun (lexical elements and case marking being exactly the same).

Pereltsvaig (2006) proposes that the Russian approximative inversion results from the head noun being moved to a higher functional phrase, which she labels EvidP (Evidential Phrase). She further argues that the approximative N-raising is triggered by the feature [+NONCOMITTAL] (expressing the speaker's uncertainty about the exact number), which is merged in the Evid head. Note that the above derivation corresponds to RP's account of classifying expressions. In the latter case, it could be assumed that the noun is raised in order to check a classifying feature merged in Class. The two N-raising analyses discussed here might be illustrated in the following simplified way:

(20)   FP   (FP = EvidP or ClassP)

         F   (...)
     [+CLASS/+NONCOM]

                            NP

                      N
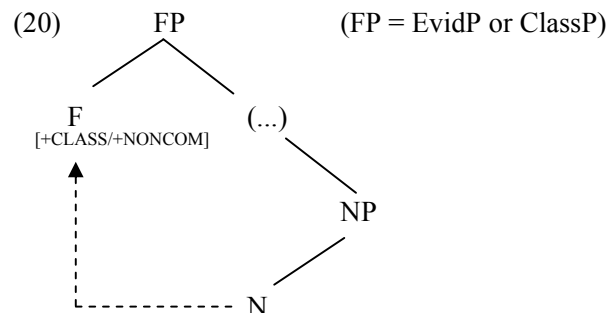
In both cases, a feature hosted in a functional projection makes the noun

move from N to the head of that projection, crossing the material which is base generated in between.

2 N-A structures in Old Polish

2.1 Appositive Clarification Constructions

The aim of this subsection is to explore the historical origin of the Modern Polish N-A construction discussed above. First, it should be noted that the classifying structure is not inherited from Old Slavic. As pointed out in many traditional grammars (see e.g. Brajerski 1959, 1963, Rospond 2003, among others), adjectives started to be placed in postposition in Old Polish as a result of Latin influence (in Latin, attributive adjectives normally appear after the head noun).[8] Brajerski (1963) provides interesting evidence that the "inverted" Latin-based N-A structure became common in Old Polish in the second half of the fifteenth century (his study focuses on the word order of adjectival possessive elements). That change in the grammatical system of Old Polish resulted in the emergence of another innovative structure: namely, a prepositional construction in which the preposition was doubled (it appeared before both the head noun and the postnominal modifier):
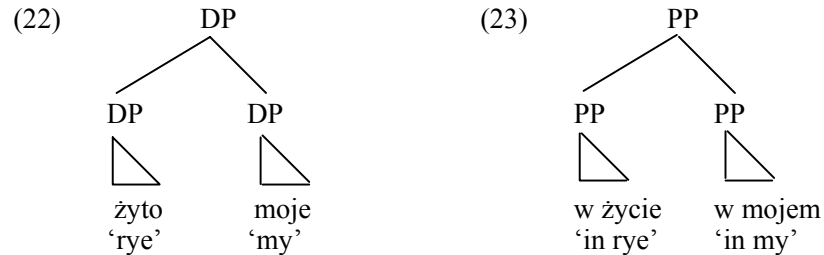
(21)   w   życie   w   mojem
        in   rye   in   my
        'in my rye'

Brajerski (1963) analyzes examples such as (21) as clarifying constructions which should be interpreted in the following way: 'in rye, that is to say in my rye' – see Rutkowski (2006b) for more details. The syntactic structure of the N-A sequence must have been perceived as more complex than that of the regular A-N attributive construction: note that the phenomenon of preposition doubling is attested only in the form P-N-P-A, and not P-A-P-N. The latter might have been possible too but it would have required an unexpected clarification context ('in mine, that is to say in my rye').

The preposition repetition data indicates that the postnominal modifier was in a way "detached" from the head noun, it had an

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[8] Certain sociolinguistic aspects of this contact-induced syntactic calque are discussed in Rutkowski (2006b) (where the emergence of postnominal adjectives in Old Polish is interpreted as an example of learnèd/elite-governed influence – à la Pountain 1998 and van Marle 2003).

"adjunctive" function. Thus, it seems plausible to treat it as an appositive DP (or PP, if preceded by a preposition). I analyze the appositive DP/PP as adjoined to the DP which contains the modified noun.[9]

(22)
```
              DP
            /    \
          DP      DP
         /|      /|
        / |     / |
      żyto     moje
      'rye'    'my'
```

(23)
```
              PP
            /    \
          PP      PP
         /|      /|
        / |     / |
     w życie   w mojem
     'in rye'  'in my'
```

Interestingly, Yadroff (1999) shows that the phenomenon of preposition repetition is also attested in Old Russian. Moreover, in this case, not only postnominal modifiers (24), but also regular appositive nominal structures (25) seem to admit doubled prepositions.
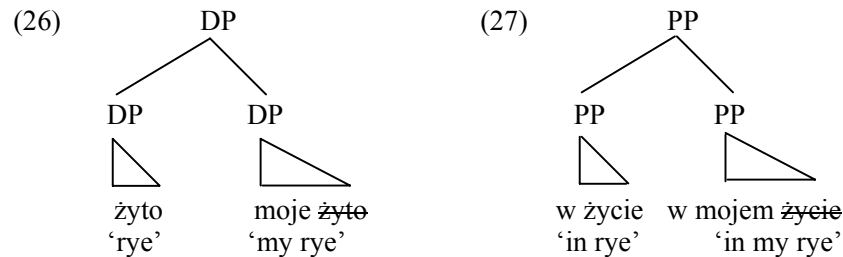
(24) iz   kamnja iz   černago
      from   stone   from   black
      'from black stone'

(25) v   gorod   v   Veneceju
      into   city   into   Venice
      'into the city of Venice'

Although Yadroff (1999) does not analyze the structure in (24) as appositive, the parallel between (24) and (25) seems to support the structural interpretation given in (23). The appositive analysis also patterns with Brajerski's (1963) comments on the original semantics of expressions such as (21). Hence, I assume that the nature of the phenomenon of preposition doubling was the same in Old Polish and Old Russian.

It should be underlined that the postnominal adjective in constructions such as (22) agrees with the head noun in number, case, and gender, although the two elements belong to two separate DPs. If we assume that agreement is a local phenomenon, the adjective should not be able to agree with a noun which is not located in the same DP. Therefore, I argue that in structures such as (22), the modified noun is

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[9] As the question of the theoretical status of adjunction is not crucial for the present discussion, I leave it aside and simply assume that the operation of adjunction does not change the label of its input phrase: [$_{XP}$ [$_{XP}$ X] ADJUNCT].

present in both DPs, one copy being subject to ellipsis under identity (the same is true for structures with doubled prepositions):

```
(26)            DP                    (27)           PP
              /    \                               /    \
            DP      DP                           PP      PP
           /|      /|                           /|      /|
          / |     / |                          / |     / |
        żyto    moje żyto                     w życie  w mojem życie
        'rye'   'my rye'                      'in rye'  'in my rye'
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The ellipsis analysis finds support in the fact that, as noted by Brajerski (1963), Old Polish third-person possessive pronouns are placed in postposition significantly less frequently than first and second-person possessive pronouns. This observation can be straightforwardly accounted for by assuming that ellipsis must be licensed by adjectival morphology (see e.g. Lobeck 1995). Under this assumption, the third-person possessive pronouns *jego* 'his', *jej* 'her', *ich* 'their' cannot function as ellipsis-licensers because, from the morphological point of view, they are genitival forms of the personal pronouns *on* 'he', *ona* 'she', *oni* 'they' (which means that they do not exhibit adjectival morphology).

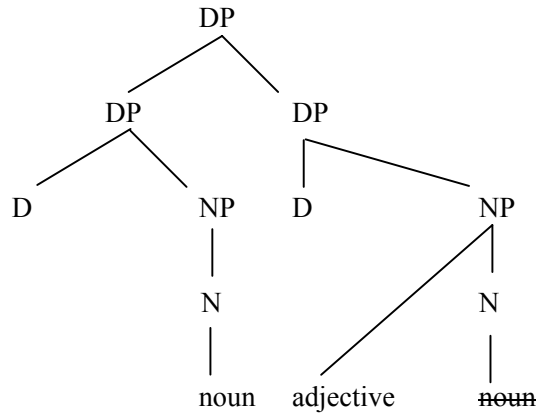*2.2 Diachronic Syntactic Reanalysis in N-A Structures*

If RP's model is correct, one needs to account for the diachronic difference between the Old Polish apposition structure and the Modern Polish ClassP configuration. In Modern Polish the phenomenon of preposition repetition is not grammatical (compare (3) and (28)):

(28)   a.   w   piśmie   pornograficznym
              in   magazine   pornographic
              'in a pornographic magazine'
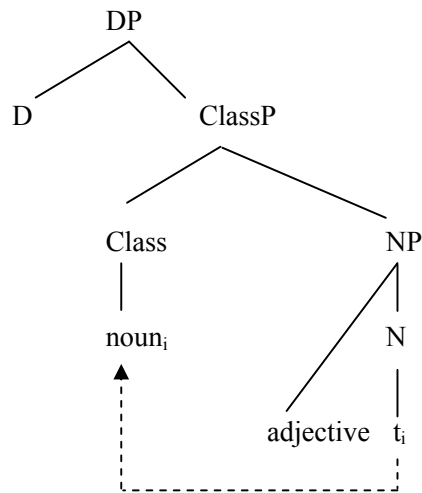   b. * w piśmie w pornograficznym

This suggests that Modern Polish postnominal modifiers are not appositive. Instead of merging two separate DPs in a complex appositive fashion, the bi-phrasal construction has been reduced to a single DP. At some point between the Old Polish period and now, the interpretation of the N-A sequence started to shift from clarification to classification (see Rutkowski 2006b). This semantic change was accompanied by the

structural reanalysis illustrated in (29) and (30).

(29)   Old Polish bi-phrasal structure

```
                        DP
                   ┌────┴────┐
                 DP           DP
              ┌───┴───┐    ┌───┴────┐
             D       NP   D         NP
                     │              │
                     N              N
                     │              │
                   noun   adjective  noun
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(30)   Modern Polish mono-phrasal structure

```
                   DP
              ┌────┴────┐
             D        ClassP
                   ┌─────┴──────┐
                 Class          NP
                   │         ┌───┴───┐
                 nounᵢ              N
                   ▲              │
                        adjective  tᵢ
```

Note that it is possible that the Russian approximative construction discussed in subsection 1.3 evolved in exactly the same way: a bi-phrasal structure was reanalyzed as mono-phrasal when the postnominal word order became associated with a specific reading (that of approximation).

The reanalysis illustrated in (29) and (30) has taken place because of

the activation of a functional projection associated with the classifying interpretation (ClassP). I assume that, at some point, the syntactic status of the higher N position underwent a reanalysis from lexicality to functionality. The acquisition process which underlay this change could have proceeded as follows: the child acquiring the N-A construction interpreted the higher noun as placed in a functional projection (Class) and deduced from that that the noun had been raised from its base position in the lower N. Therefore, the whole structure was reinterpreted as mono-phrasal, with only one occurrence of the head noun. It does not seem plausible that the Classification projection is language-specific. I assume that the appositive structure in (29) could not have been reanalyzed as (30) if the ClassP configuration was not part of Universal Grammar (note, however, that its universality does not imply that ClassP must be active in *all* languages). Therefore, in the last section of this paper, I will try to examine the status of ClassP in Universal Grammar.

3 What is ClassP?

I argue that what RP tentatively label as ClassP is in fact a functional nominal projection that can be activated syntactically in (at least) three different ways. I will refer to that projection as nP, in order not to limit its syntactic role to any particular semantic interpretation. Besides being involved in classifying expressions of the type discussed in section 1, nP can also host pseudo-partitive elements and classifiers. This two kinds of constructions are discussed below.
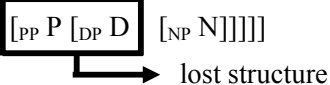
3.1 ClassP = MP

Many languages differentiate partitives proper from pseudo-partitives. This is illustrated below with examples from Swedish ((31), after Koptjevaskaja-Tamm 2001) and Greek ((32), after Stickney 2004):

(31) a. en kopp av detta te   [partitive]
         a cup of this tea
         'a cup of this tea'
      b. en kopp te   [pseudo-partitive]
         a cup tea
         'a cup of tea'
(32) a. mia kouta me ta vivlia   [partitive]
         a box with the books
         'a box of the books'

b. mia   kouta   vivlia   [pseudo-partitive]
    a   box   books
    'a box of books'

This distinction may be defined semantically: partitives refer to a part/subset of a superset, whereas pseudo-partitives indicate an amount (quantity) of some substance (cf. Koptjevaskaja-Tamm 2001). In terms of syntax, pseudo-partitives are generally less complex than partitives: the above Swedish and Greek pseudopartitive examples differ from the partitive ones by not allowing determiners or prepositions to intervene between the measure element and the measured noun. Note also that, according to Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001), pseudopartitives derive from partitives historically. As shown in Rutkowski (2006a), the above observations can be accounted for by assuming that pseudopartitives emerge when the first noun of the partitive structure is reanalyzed as a functional element (i.e. as the head of what Stickney 2004 calls Measure Phrase – MP). Such a reanalysis results in loss of structure:

(33) $[_{DP}$ D $[_{NP}$ N $[_{PP}$ P $[_{DP}$ D $[_{NP}$ N]]]]]   [partitive]
                                            → lost structure

(34) $[_{DP}$ D $[_{MP}$ M $[_{NP}$ N]]]   [pseudo-partitive]

Interestingly, Stavrou (2003) points out that there is a syntactic correlation between classifying and pseudo-partitive expressions in Greek: namely, only classifying adjectives can intervene between the heads M and N in pseudo-partitives. Therefore, (35b) is ungrammatical (as opposed to *elafria* 'light', *frixta* 'terrible' is not a classifying adjective):

(35)   a. ena   paketo   me   frixta   tsigara   [partitive]
          a   pack   with   terrible cigarettes
          'a pack of terrible cigarettes'
    b. *ena   paketo   frixta   tsigara   [pseudo-partitive]
          a   pack   terrible cigarettes
    c. ena   paketo   elafria   tsigara   [pseudo-partitive]
          a   pack   light   cigarettes
          'a pack of light cigarettes'

MP selects an NP complement, which explains why only classifying adjectives are grammatical in pseudo-partitive structures; recall that, according to RP's model, classifying modifiers are base generated in the

specifier of NP, whereas qualifying adjectives are located above NP:

(36)　　[$_{DP}$ D [$_{FP}$ qualifying As [$_{MP}$ M [$_{NP}$ classifying A [N]]]]]

As shown in (35c), Greek does not have N-to-Class movement in classifying expressions. I argue that this fact can be accounted for by assuming that M and Class are two different labels for the same head (projected immediately above NP), which can be either occupied by a pseudo-partitive measure element (as in Greek) or targeted by N-raising (as in Polish). This hypothesis seems to be supported by the fact that Polish has no special syntactic construction that would correspond to the pseudo-partitive interpretation.

3.2 ClassP = ClP

According to many researchers, East Asian classifiers reside in a functional phrase above NP (see e.g. Li 1999). This kind of approach is illustrated in (37); the Chinese example *san ben shu* 'three books' is taken from Watanabe (2006).

(37)
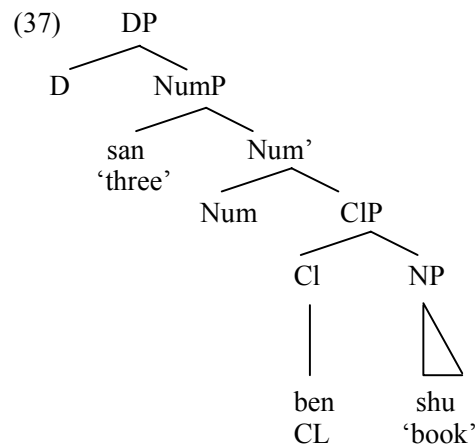
In some studies, the above construction has been analyzed as parallel to the pseudo-partitive structure discussed in the previous subsection (see e.g. Chierchia 1998). Therefore, I argue that ClP is in fact another label for the functional phrase projected immediately above NP. This proposal finds support in the fact that classifier languages such as Japanese do not seem to allow pseudo-partitive heads. Watanabe (2006) shows that measure elements such as the Japanese noun *donburi* 'big bowl' in (38)

are themselves accompanied by a numeral+classifier combination (a specialized classifier *hai* is used when the measure noun denotes a container used for serving food and drinks):

(38)   Roger-wa gohan donburi-ni   yon-hai-o   tabeta.
           Roger-top rice   big.bowl-dat   4-CL-acc   ate
           'Roger ate four big bowls of rice.'

According to Watanabe (2006), the fact that the measure element requires a classifier in Japanese means that it is a separate DP, and not a functional element above NP. Therefore, I argue that languages such as Japanese do not have pseudo-partitives, i.e. structures in which the measure element is the head of a functional projection. The Japanese equivalents of expressions such as *a bottle of wine* must be treated as partitives proper. I conclude that, in languages such as Japanese, the presence of classifiers implies the lack of pseudo-partitive heads.

3.3 Summary: nP = ClassP = MP = ClP
The above observations are summarized in the following table:

Table 1. nP-related phenomena cross-linguistically

Phenomenon	Polish	Greek	Japanese
overt N-raising in classifying structures	✓	-	-
psudo-partitives as functional heads	-	✓	-
classifiers as functional heads	-	-	✓

I propose that the three phenomena listed above occur in complementary distribution because they are all related to the same functional projection, which can be assigned a range of semantic functions. I tentatively label it nP (in order to remain neutral with respect to its semantics) and assume that it is projected universally. Its most important characteristic is that it is located immediately above NP.[10] As shown above, the nP layer hosts *either* classifiers *or* pseudo-partitives, *or* it attracts N-raising in classifying adjectival structures. Possibly, it has other functions as well

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[10] It should be stressed that I do not assume that nP is the *only* functional head in between D and N. There are definitely other functional projections above nP (for instance, phrases hosting cardinal numerals and quantifiers).

but I leave this issue for further research.

4 Conclusion

In this paper, I have focused on the syntax of the Modern Polish classifying adjectival structure and the Old Polish appositive N-A construction. The diachronic relation between these two configurations has been analyzed as an example of syntactic reanalysis. I have also proposed that the syntax of classifying adjectival expressions might be related to other phenomena that involve a functional projection located immediately above NP (which I label nP).

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