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Topics in the syntax of nominal structure across Romance

Bernstein, Judy B., Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1993

TOPICS IN THE SYNTAX OF NOMINAL STRUCTURE ACROSS ROMANCE

by

JUDY B. BERNSTEIN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics
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Date

Richard Kayne
Chair of Examining Committee

Sept. 23, 1993

Date

Richard Kayne
Executive Officer

Robert Fiengo

Richard Larson

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

TOPICS IN THE SYNTAX OF NOMINAL STRUCTURE ACROSS ROMANCE

by

Judy B. Bernstein

Adviser: Professor Richard S. Kayne

This thesis investigates the syntactic significance of nominal word order and agreement patterns in modern Romance languages. The data included in this study are from several well-studied Romance languages, as well as from several varieties that have received little attention in the theoretical literature.

In the major Romance languages, adjectives generally follow the noun. A small group of adjectives, however, necessarily precede the noun, and still others may either precede or follow the noun, the difference in position generally associated with a difference in interpretation. It is assumed (following recent proposals in the literature) that adjectives in Romance are underlyingly prenominal and that the unmarked postnominal surface position is derived by syntactic movement of the noun across the adjective. The full range of facts is accounted for by a proposal distinguishing two syntactic classes of adjectives. Whether an adjective belongs to one or the other class determines whether it may be modified, appear predicatively, and appear in elliptical constructions.

Another area explored is ellipsis in the Romance noun phrase. The specific

constructions of interest consist of an indefinite or definite article plus an adjective. It is suggested that the terminal vowels appearing on Italian and Spanish nouns may be generated independent of a lexical noun stem, and that this element is able to license the empty projection corresponding to the elided noun in indefinite constructions. The pattern found in Catalan, although superficially distinct, may also be accommodated by the general proposal. For the definite construction, which is shown to contrast with the indefinite one, it is argued that the definite article functions as a subordinator for a predicative adjective phrase, licensing the phrase as an argument.

The fact that adjectives are overwhelmingly prenominal in Walloon supports the idea that the underlying order in Romance is adjective-noun. The position of adjectives in Walloon, coupled with the fact that Walloon nouns are unmarked for plural, argue that Walloon nouns never become amalgamated with a plural marker. Instead, the distribution of an agreement affix associated with adjectives suggests that the affix is really a nominal plural marker. The significance of variation across Walloon dialects is also explored.

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I was introduced to the wonderful world of syntax in Bob Fiengo's syntax class. I had no idea what was going on until I began studying for the final exam, and even then, I still wasn't too sure. All I know is that I found the stuff fascinating and returned for round two the next semester, when I wrote my first syntax paper on (what else?) DPs (still known as NPs back then). My feeling lost along the way had nothing to do with the quality of the teaching. Bob is among the very best teachers I have ever had.

Richard Kayne has greatly influenced me in many ways, more than I could possibly enumerate here. His classes have always been very inspiring, and my appointments with him

challenging and way too short. I have great admiration for this man who, in addition to being a great linguist, I have found to be an extremely fair and honest human being. On a more personal level, I am grateful for his continuous support, and his willingness to read whatever I gave him (first or final draft), often on very short notice. Many of the proposals in this thesis are a development of ideas Richard has shared with us in class, or with me during our meetings. I only hope that I have done them (the ideas) justice in the development.

I actually met Richard Larson before my other two committee members, back at the 1986 LSA institute at CUNY. The trouble is I don't remember meeting him. I'm glad that we re-met all those years later. I am lucky to have had Richard on my committee. He is a wonderful person to talk to about many things (including linguistics), and he has provided much valuable feedback on the thesis. And if not for Richard, I would still not know how to write an abstract.

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I could not have made it through these long, often difficult, years without the support

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And last, but not least, thanks to my family. You're finally getting what you've been waiting for all these years--a doctor in the family.

Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction

This dissertation investigates syntactic patterns in noun phrases in modern Romance languages. The goals of this comparative study are threefold: 1) to further explore the parallelisms between sentences and noun phrases; 2) to account for word order patterns displayed within the noun phrase; and 3) to investigate syntactic aspects of morphological properties.

Although the languages examined belong to the same language family and have certain characteristics in common, they also differ from each other in many important ways. Of importance to this study are the characteristics shared by the varieties, as well as those that distinguish one language variety from another.

Although many of the Romance languages examined in this thesis have already

received substantial attention in the syntactic literature, the specific constructions analyzed have not been well-studied. One particular Romance language, Walloon, has received relatively little attention in the theoretical literature. Unexpected syntactic patterns in Walloon noun phrases shed light on an array of phenomena relevant to recent work in comparative Romance syntax.

1.1 Theoretical Background

In important work by Chomsky (1986b), it was argued that the conventional X-bar notation for lexical categories should be extended to functional categories as well. Subsequent work in syntax has argued that the structure of the clause is even more highly articulated than what was provided for by Chomsky. In this more recent work, it has been claimed that Chomsky's Inflection Phrase (IP) should be expanded to consist of two maximal projections, Tense Phrase (TP) and Agreement Phrase (AgrP) (Pollock 1989, Belletti 1990, Kayne 1991, among others).

An important issue left unaddressed in Chomsky (1986b) is whether the extension of maximal projections corresponding to functional categories of the sentence should generalize to the noun phrase. This question was taken up by Szabolcsi (1983), based on evidence from Hungarian, and Abney (1987) (following an idea by Brame (1982)), in his doctoral dissertation, who argued that noun phrases are clausal and that this should be represented in X-bar notation. Abney argued that a functional category Determiner Phrase (henceforth, *DP*) is the maximal category projected by the class of determiner elements and heads the noun phrase. The structure Abney proposed for DP is the following:

(1)
```
        DP
       /\
      D  NP
      |   |
     the  N
          |
        woman
```
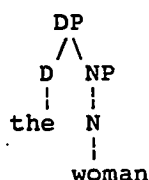
Another issue left open by Chomsky is whether the operation of Verb Movement, which is arguably limited to auxiliary elements in English (Emonds 1978, Pollock 1989) and apparently robust in most other Germanic and Romance languages, has an equivalent in the noun phrase. Not surprisingly, word order in English noun phrases is very rigid, mimicking the behavior found in sentences. In Romance languages, on the other hand, word order is more variable. The fact generally noted is that adjectives occur both pre- and postnominally in, at least, the major Romance languages.

In recent years, several proposals have argued for a more articulated DP than that in Szabolcsi (1983) and Abney (1987). Ritter (1991), for example, has argued for a functional head corresponding to number in Hebrew DPs. I review several of these proposals in the relevant sections of the dissertation. Recent work on Romance languages by Cinque (1990b, 1992, 1993), Picallo (1991, to appear), Longobardi (1992a,b, 1993), and Valois (1991a,b) has pursued both the issue of functional categories in DP, and the idea of Noun Movement in DP parallel to Verb Movment in IP. I adopt the idea that certain surface word order differences between the Romance languages and the Germanic languages reduce to the presence vs. absence, respectively, of Noun Movement.

Although Noun Movement allows for a straightforward account of the fact that Germanic languages generally exhibit the order adjective-noun and the Romance languages noun-adjective, many cross-linguistic differences may not be explained by Noun Movement alone. In this dissertation, I explore several aspects of the syntax of Romance DPs that may

be accommodated within a framework that assumes Noun Movement, but which will require several additional assumptions.

1.2 Overview of the Data and a Preview of the Proposals

One particularly interesting aspect of noun phrases in Romance is that some adjectives must precede the noun, others usually follow the noun, and still others may either precede or follow the noun (Spanish examples are representative of the major Romance languages):

(2)Sp: una casa$_i$ blanca t$_i$
               'a white house'

(3)Sp: a.   un mero accidente
             'a mere accident'

      b.   *un accidente mero

(4)Sp: a.   las olorosas flores   (*nonrestrictive*)

      b.   las flores olorosas   (*restrictive*)
              'the fragrant flowers'

If Noun Movement derives the postnominal position of the adjective in (2), as I will assume, then it is unclear why the example in (3)b is ungrammatical. The examples in (4) would seem to indicate that a noun may not always raise up to the same functional X°, accounting for the variation in the position of the adjective. Also mysterious is the fact that the interpretation of the adjective in prenominal position is not identical to that in postnominal position.

I take the facts in (2)-(4) (as well as some additional ones I discuss) to argue for distinguishing between two basic syntactic classes of adjectives. Following recent ideas in the literature, I assume that the example in (2) is derived by an N raising over an AP that

is adjoined to a maximal projection within DP. I show that the distribution of adjectives like the one in (3) argue that some adjectives are syntactic heads that project to AP and take an NP with an overt noun as obligatory complement. I discuss several consequences of this proposal, one of which is that certain adjectives are apparently ambiguous between the two classes of adjectives. For adjectives like those in (4), I suggest that the N must always raise up to the same functional head, and that the (surface) position of the adjective is determined by adjunction site.

Another aspect of Romance (distinguishing it from, for example, English), is that DPs are grammatical without an overt N:

(5) Sp: uno pequeño′   (*un pequeño)
       'a small (one)'

(6) It: uno piccolo   (*un piccolo)
       'a small (one)'

In languages like Spanish and Italian, the *o* affix on the indefinte article is apparently necessary to license the construction, given the ungrammaticality of the equivalent examples without the affix. That the *o* is playing a role in the elliptical construction is supported by the fact that the *o* may not appear with an overt noun:

(7) Sp: un(*o) libro peqeño

(8) It: un(*o) libro piccolo
       'a small book'

What exactly is the role of the affix in these examples?

I claim that the affix corresponds to the head of a functional category I label Word Marker Phrase (WMP). Although word markers are generally associated with lexical elements (e.g., *libro* 'book', *guapo* 'handsome'), I argue that they may be generated in WM° independent of lexical N-stems and subsequently raise to D°. The proposal that two types

of adjectives must be distinguished will account for why the indefinite construction is not possible with all adjectives.

Interestingly, the equivalent construction in Catalan is formed with the preposition *de*, which like *o*, may not appear with an overt noun:

(9)Ca: un de petit   (cf. *un petit)

(10)Ca: un llibre (*de) petit
           'a small book'

I propose that in Catalan, what I take to be an abstract word marker must be spelled out (as *de*), yielding the forms we see in (9). Certain masculine/feminine alternations will support the idea that *de* corresponds to an (abstract) word marker.

Romance languages also exhibit an elliptical construction with the definite article. Unlike the indefinite construction, however, which is productive across Romance, the definite construction is not productive, for example, in Italian (except in cases where the adjective may be interpreted as a noun):

(11)Sp: el pequeño

(12)It: *il piccolo
           'the small (one)'

Furthermore, the definite construction in Catalan, unlike the indefinite one, is formed like its Spanish equivalent, that is, no *de* appears:

(13)Ca: el petit
           'the small (one)'

I conclude that the definite construction is structurally distinct from the indefinite construction discussed above. Specifically, I aruge that the definite article in an example like (11) is able to turn an otherwise predicative AP into an argument, in the same way that a definite article creates an argument from an otherwise predicative NP. The analysis I propose offers an

explanation for the fact that the distributions of the indefinite and definite constructions in small clause contexts are not parallel.

If Romance languages are characterized by Noun Movement, how can we account for the following generalizations about Walloon?

a) Adjectives appear prenominally:

(14) Wa: a.   on neûr tchapê
'a black hat'

        b.   lès cûts panś
'the well-baked bread'

b) Plural marking is completely absent on nouns:

(15) Wa: a.   on rotch oûy
'a red eye'

        b.   dès rodje-oûy
'red eyes'

c) An *ès* marker is associated with feminine plural prenominal adjectives:

(16) Wa: a.   lès grossès pîreś
'the big stones'

        b.   dès bèlès mâhonś
'nice houses'

I claim that the prenominal position of adjectives and the absence of phonetically realized plural marking on nouns argues that Noun Movement is relatively absent in Walloon. I further claim that the *ès* marker illustrated in (16) corresponds to the head of a functional category corresponding to number, Number Phrase (NumP). This basic proposal has several consequences that I discuss. In addition, I explore the significance of variation among Walloon dialects.

1.3 Organization of the Dissertation

In chapter 2 of the dissertation, I address the adjective distribution facts. An overview of the data in English and Romance shows that the analyses proposed until now cannot accommodate the full range of data. Although the Noun Movement approach I adopt derives the unmarked postnominal position of the Romance adjective quite straightforwardly, it is not clear how it could account for the occurrence of prenominal adjectives. The distribution of adjectives argues that two syntactic classes of adjectives must be distinguished. An important consequence of the proposal is that certain adjectives will be ambiguous between the two classes. I further show that the proposal for Romance extends to English (prenominal) adjectives. French liaison facts, as well as the distribution of adjectives in Romanian, provide further support for the analysis.

Chapter 3 is concerned with indefinite and definite null nominal constructions. I argue that the terminal vowels (*word markers*) on Spanish and Italian nouns are heads of a functional projection, and that they may be generated without an accompanying N-stem. I further argue that the word markers play a role in licensing null nominal constructions in Romance languages. Interestingly, Catalan employs a slightly different strategy in these constructions. I show that the Catalan facts can be straightforwardly accommodated by the basic proposal. I then present several arguments against the idea that the indefinite and definite constructions are parallel. My analysis of the definite construction develops the idea that the definite article in the Romance languages exhibiting [def. article + adjective] may be a subordinator for XPs other than NP. I claim that the definite article in these languages is able to create an argument out of an otherwise predicative category.

Chapter 4 explores nominal structure in Walloon. The absence of plural marking on

Walloon nouns argues that a noun has not merged with its plural marker, and the distribution of a so-called adjective agreement marker argues that it really corresponds to the noun's plural affix. The predilection for prenominal adjectives in Walloon further argues that Noun Movement is relatively absent, although I will discuss one set of facts that suggests that partial movement may be assumed. The account I propose for the Walloon facts will offer an explanation for the distribution of the plural marker in compounds, as well as for a difference in stem liaison between French and Walloon. In the appendix of chapter 4, I briefly examine the variation in word order and agreement patterns found in dialects of Walloon.

1.4   A Note on Conventions

Throughout the thesis, I distinguish between NP, the maximal category projected by the noun itself, and DP, the functional category projected by the definite article, and the (noun-)phrasal equivalent of IP (or AgrP). Use of the descriptive term *noun phrase* (parallel to *sentence* or *clause*) is not to be understood to correspond exclusively to DP or NP.

Examples from the various language varieties (some corresponding to names of localities) are labelled according to the following abbreviations:

Bastogne	(Ba)
Catalan	(Ca)
Campidanese	(Cam)
Dinant	(Di)
Dutch	(Du)
French	(Fr)
Hebrew	(He)
Hungarian	(Hu)
Italian	(It)
Liégeois	(Li)
Namurois	(Na)

Picard   (Pi)
Portuguese   (Po)
Ranrupt   (Ra)
Romanian   (Ro)
Sardinian   (Sa)
Spanish   (Sp)
Tenneville   (Te)
Veneto   (Ve)
Walloon   (Wa)

Chapter 2

The Syntactic Status of Adjectives in Romance

A long-standing problem in syntactic theory has been how to characterize adjectives. Some of the questions important to such an investigation include: 1) What accounts for the relative position of the adjective? 2) What accounts for the variation in interpretation of a particular adjective? and 3) Why are some adjectives invariably attributive, some invariably predicative, and others apparently attributive and predicative?

This chapter will be devoted to examining a wide range of Romance data relevant to the above questions. Two well-known facts about Romance are, for example, that adjectives usually appear postnominally and that they display gender and number agreement. These characteristics of Romance adjectives, as well as cross-linguistic variation in the general patterns described, will be important to the development of the analysis, and will be

compared with the corresponding English facts. I will show that the analysis proposed for Romance generalizes to English as well.

The organization of the chapter is as follows: In section 2.1, I survey the distribution of adjectives in English and Romance and review several relevant proposals that have been put forth to account for the data.

I begin section 2.2 by reviewing some recent proposals for Noun Movement in Romance, and then demonstrate how the (unmarked) postnominal surface position of Romance adjectives is straightforwardly derived by assuming that the noun head crosses over an adjoined adjective as a result of head-to-head movement. I then argue that differences in interpretation associated with the position of the adjective relative to the noun (traditionally referred to as *restrictive* vs. *nonrestrictive* readings) are determined by the adjunction site of the adjective. I further show that considering all adjectives to be alike syntactically will fail to account for the full range of data. If Noun Movement is the mechanism that derives the postnominal surface position of the adjective in the Romance noun phrase, as I will assume, why do some adjectives invariably appear prenominally? Why don't these same adjectives appear as predicates? I claim that these different properties of adjectives are attributable to their syntactic status. I argue that certain adjectives display the properties of syntactic heads.

In section 2.3 I discuss some of the consequences of the proposals I have made. In particular, the proposal distinguishing two syntactic classes of adjectives will shed light on some otherwise mysterious interpretation and liaison facts. I further show that the proposals made for Romance extend to English. Further support for the proposals are provided by data from Romanian.

Finally, in section 2.4, I address several further issues. I begin by suggesting an

account of postnominal adjectives in English. Then, I briefly discuss adjective agreement in Romance. The final issue I address is how to characterize English plural marking.

2.1 Position and Interpretation of Adjectives

I begin this section with a general discussion of the distribution of adjectives in English and briefly review three earlier analyses (Bolinger 1967, Ronat 1974, and Jackendoff 1977) that have been proposed to account for the data, as well as one more recent proposal (Abney 1987). I will show that several problems remain unresolved even in the more recent work.

The second part of this section is devoted to the Romance facts. After an overview of the data, I review Valois' (1991) proposal for adjectives in event nominals in French.

2.1.1 Adjectives in English

In English, attributive adjectives are uniformly prenominal, as illustrated by the examples in (1) (many examples from Bolinger 1967):[1]

(1) a.   the big table   (cf. *the table big)

     b.   the intelligent woman   (cf. *the woman intelligent)

     c.   a total stranger   (cf. *a stranger total)

     d.   an angry storm   (cf. *a storm angry)

     e.   a mere man   (cf. *a man mere)

Although the postnominal position is excluded for the adjectives in (1), there are are several adjectives that do appear postnominally:

(2) a.   the man asleep   (cf. *the asleep man)[2]

     b.   the students present   (cf. *the present students)

A small class of adjectives may appear pre- or postnominally, yet interpretation in the two positions is not identical. Also note that the postnominal position favors modification, as with the following prepositional phrases:[3]

(3) a.   a responsible man   (cf. A man responsible for his actions.)

     b.   the stolen jewels   (cf. The jewels stolen during the robbery.)

     c.   the navigable river   (cf. The river navigable during the summer months.)

     d.   the visible stars   (cf. The stars visible in the Western sky.)

In (3)a, *responsible* employed prenominally means 'trustworthy', in postnominal position it means 'accountable'. The interpretation varies according to position in (3)b,c,d as well. As Bolinger (p. 13) notes, the prenominal position conveys a sense of customariness, the postnominal one a sense of temporariness.

The position of the adjective in simple noun phrases does not necessarily predict acceptability in predicative contexts. So the examples from (1) are not uniformly admitted in or excluded from predicative contexts:[4]

(4) a.   The table is big.

     b.   The woman is intelligent.

     c.   *The stranger is total.

     d.   *The storm is angry.

     e.   *A/The man is mere.

The adjectives from (2), which appear in postnominal position, are consistently allowed in predicative contexts:

(5) a. The man is asleep.

b. The students are present.

This is also the case for the adjectives that appear pre- and postnominally:

(6) a. This man is responsible.

b. These jewels are/were stolen.

c. The river is navigable.

d. The stars are visible.

2.1.1.1 Earlier Approaches

Bolinger (1967) argues against the following sort of transformationalist approach of deriving attributive adjectives from relative-clause constructions:

(7) I bought the table

--> I bought the table that was big -->

The table was big

I bought the table big --> I bought the big table

Although a transformational source for attributive adjectives like *big* in (7) looks attractive, Bolinger (p.2) shows that this derivation does not work as well for other examples. Bolinger (pp.2-4) provides three arguments against deriving attributive adjectives from a predicative source.

First, as I mentioned above, many adjectives that do not appear in predicative contexts may be employed attributively. Others never appear attributively, but do appear in predicative contexts. Deriving attributive adjectives by relative-clause transformation provides no explanation for these distributional facts.

The second argument against the transformation involves the differences in

interpretation between attributive and predicative uses of adjectives. In (8) (=(6)b), the adjective is ambiguous between what Bolinger terms the *action* (favored with *were*)[5] and *characteristic* readings:

(8)   The jewels are (were) stolen.

The *action* reading of the (participial) adjective is the one connected to the action of stealing, whereas the *characteristic* reading of the adjective describes a more inherent quality of the jewels.

The same adjective is unambiguous in (9). In (9)a the reading is *characteristic*, in (9)b it is *action*:[6]

(9)   a.   the stolen jewels

       b.   the jewels stolen

Deriving the examples in (9) from the predicative source in (8) creates a less ambiguous construction than the underlying ambiguous one, making derivation an unlikely source for attributive adjectives.[7]

A third argument against deriving attributive adjectives by transformation is the fact that the predication relation associated with the adjective is often one not associated with *be*, so that (10) matches up with (11)b, and not the impossible (11)a:

(10)   a daily newspaper

(11)   a.   *The newspaper is daily.

        b.   The newspaper appears daily.

In fact, most predications may not be transposed to attributive position (Bolinger, p.6).

Although I will not review the other details of Bolinger's work here, I will follow his basic insight that attributive adjectives are not derived from a predicative source (see,

however, section 2.4.1).

Ronat (1974:62-71) distinguishes between *simple* adjectives (like *rouge* 'red') and *complex* adjectives (like *capable de* 'capable of') in French. Although she did not specifically address the English facts, her findings are relevant to the present discussion and therefore I include them here. Ronat shows that the distribution of the simple adjectives argues against deriving them from relative clauses, and proposes generating them within N'. Complex adjectives, on the other hand, do pattern with restrictive relative clauses. Ronat provides several tests for distinguishing between simple adjectives and restrictve relatives/complex adjectives. I present three of her tests below.

First, extraction is impossible from the complement of complex adjectives, whether or not they appear in a relative clause (examples from her (32)):

(12)Fr: Pierre a engagé les personnes capables de tout faire.

        a.   *De quoi Pierre a-t-il engagé les personnes capables?

        b.   *De quoi Pierre a-t-il engagé les personnes qui sont capables?
                     Of what Pierre has he hired the people (who are) capable)?

From simple phrases, extraction is possible (examples from her (33)):

(13)Fr: Ces personnes sont capables de tout.

        De quoi sont-elles capables?
        'Of what are they capable'

Second, *les seuls* guarantees a restrictive relative reading (Ronat's (37)):

(14)Fr: a.   Les seuls livres que je connaisse sont là.
               'The only books that I know are there'.

        b.   *Les seuls livres sont là.

Similarly, only the complex adjectives, but not the simple ones, may appear with *les seuls*:

(15)Fr: a.   *Les seuls livres rouges sont là.
          'The only red books are there.'

          b.   Les seuls livres susceptibles de te plaire sont là.
          'The only books likely to please you are there.'

A third test involves possessive pronouns, which are possible with simple adjectives,

but not with complex adjectives and relative clauses:

(16)Fr: a.   Je te donnerai mes livres rouges.
          'I will give you my red books.'

          b.   *Je te donnerai mes livres qui sont rouges.
          'I will give you my books that are red.'

          c.   *Je te donnerai mes livres capables de te plaire.
          'I will give you my books likely to please you.'

In sum, Ronat's tests show that the distribution of simple adjectives does not match

that of complex adjectives and relative clauses, arguing against deriving simple adjectives

from a relative source. Ronat's *simple* adjectives correspond to what I have been referring

to as *attributive* adjectives.

Jackendoff (1977), in support of the Lexicalist Hypothesis of Chomsky (1970), argues

for expanding the base rules of the grammar and rejecting the idea of deriving prenominal

adjectives by a relative clause transformation. Justification for expanding the base to include

the category AP comes from the fact that adjectives, like verbs and nouns, take prepositional

phrases and complement clauses (Jackendoff 1977:13):

(17)   a.   afraid of Bill

        b.   eager to please

If verbs and nouns are assumed to project to the VP and NP level, then adjectives should be

treated in a parallel fashion.

Adjectives will now fall under the general X' schema developed in Chomsky (1970,

his (48),(49)):

(18)　a.　　X''--> [Spec,X'] X'

　　　b.　　X' --> X - Comp

In this framework, maximal projections (X'') are either specifiers or complements. Jackendoff considers prenominal adjectives in English to be sisters of N'. The structure he assigns to a noun phrase like the one in (19)a is provided in (19)b (Jackendoff's (5.69a)):[8]

(19)　a.　　a beautiful two weeks

　　　b.

```
            N'''
             |
            N''
           /    \
        N'''      N'
        /  \      |
    Art''  N''    N
     |    /  \    |
     a   A'''  N' weeks
        /      |
  beautiful    N
               |
              two
```
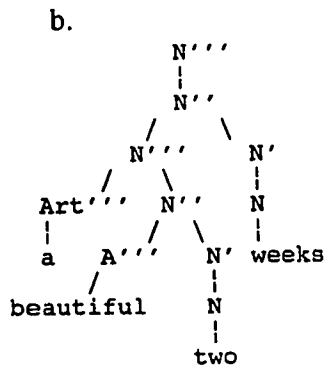
　　　Abney (1987:322) translates Jackendoff's proposal into a DP structure (Abney's (372)):

(20)

```
        DP
       /  \
      D    NP
          /  \
              N'
         _____|
        / / /   |
     (QP) AP AP  N
```
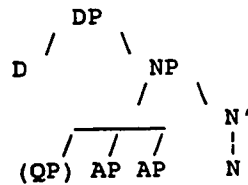
In other words, AP occupies a SpecNP position: The modification in (20) incorporates Abney's claim that the determiner heads its own maximal projection DP.

2.1.1.2   *Adjective Phrase* in English

Abney (1987:322) mentions two basic problems with the structure in (20): 1) It

supports "an arbitrary number of specifiers of N", and 2) It cannot account for the scopal

relations between these specifiers.

Another earlier approach that Abney discusses assumed that adjectives were adjoined

to iterating N's (Abney's (373)):

(21)
```
        DP
       /\
      D  NP
        /\
      QP  N'
         /\
        AP  N'
           /\
          AP  N'
              !
              N
```
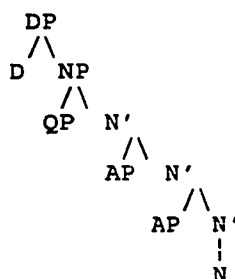
Crucially, this would violate current assumptions about X' Theory, which restricts adjunction

to heads or maximal projections.

Abney then claims that a prenominal descriptive adjective is an A° head that projects

to AP, selecting NP as its complement.[9] Since prenominal adjectives (in English) may not

have complements (i.e., they are non-phrasal) (22)a, Abney reasons that they are heads.

This contrasts with postnominal adjectives, which may have complements:[10]

(22) a. *the [proud of his son] man

    b. the man [proud of his son]

The structure Abney proposes for the prenominal adjectives is shown in (23) (his (381)):[11]

(23)

```
        DP
       /\
      D  AP
      |  /\
      a A  NP
        |   |
      proud man
```

I believe that this proposal suffers from the following four shortcomings: 1) The proposal that prenominal adjectives are uniformly heads (conforming to the strcture in (23)) allows no way to distinguish syntactically between those attributive adjectives that can appear predicatively and those that cannot (recall examples (4)-(6)); 2) Abney's proposal offers no obvious solution to the problem of how to generate multiple adjectives since, in his system, A° selects NP as its obligatory complement; 3) Earlier in his chapter 4, Abney suggests deriving *someone good* by N-to-D movement. The derivation Abney proposes is the following (Abney's (312)):

(24)

```
          DP
        /    \
       D      NP
      /\      /\
     D  N    AP N'
     |  |    |  |
   some one_igood t_i
```
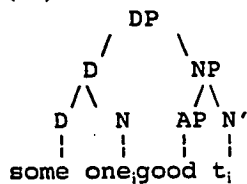
When he revises the structure of prenominal adjectives (recall (23)), he can no longer derive *someone good* by head-to-head movement. If the prenominal adjective is now considered a head, movement from N to D will violate the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984, Chomsky 1986b, Baker 1988).[12] The derivation in (25) (which incorporates Abney's prenominal adjective proposal) would therefore be barred:

(25)

```
    *      DP
         /    \
       D       AP
      / \      / \
    D    N    A   NP
    |    |    |    |
  some one_i good  N
                   |
                   t_i
```
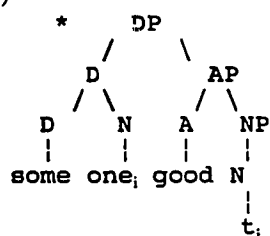
4) Abney's proposal leaves open the question of why the adjective in (26)a, which is potentially ambiguous, becomes unambiguous in the postnominal position. (These facts will be identical to the Romance facts to be discussed in section 2.3.1):

(26) a. some poor one[13]

b. some-one_i poor t_i

In (26)a, *poor* may mean 'impoverished' or 'pitiable' (perhaps the latter interpretation is preferred), while in (26)b, only the 'impoverished' reading is possible.

The account I develop in section 2.2 for Romance (and generalize to English in section 2.3.2) will be more articulated than Abney's basic proposal and will be able to accommodate the facts that proved to be problematic for Abney's original analysis. I turn now to the Romance data.

2.1.2 Adjectives in Romance

The unmarked surface order in Romance is noun-adjective. Several examples of this unmarked order are given below:

(27)Sp: el libro corto
          the book short
          'the short book'

(28)It: un vestito rosso
a dress red
'a red dress'

(29)Fr: une table longue
a table long
'a long table'

(30)Ca: un noi prim
a boy thin
'a thin boy'

The order adjective-noun is also found, and even required, in the case of adjectives

like the following:

(31)Sp: un mero accidente   (cf. *un accidente mero)
'a mere accident'

(32)It: un mero incidente   (cf. *un incidente mero)
'a mere accident'

(33)Fr: l'autre maison   (cf. *la maison autre)
'the other house'

(34)Ca: l'altra noia   (cf. *la noia altra)
'the other girl'

Certain other adjectives appear both pre- and postnominally, the position of the

adjective determining its interpretation. In traditional terminology, the prenominal position

yields a *nonrestrictive* reading, while the postnominal position yields a *restrictive* one:

(35)Sp: a.   las olorosas flores   (nonrestrictive)
           b.   las flores olorosas   (restrictive)
                 'the fragrant flowers'

(36)It: a.   una simpatica persona
          b.   una persona simpatica
               'a nice person'

(37)Fr: a.   la brutale invasion
          b.   l'invasion brutale
               'the brutal invasion'

(38)Ca: a.   un tràgic suicidi
             b.   un suicidi tràgic
                   'a tragic suicide'

In the Spanish example in (35)a, *olorosas* expresses an inherent (poetic) quality of the flowers, whereas in (35)b, the adjective picks out those particular flowers with the quality of being *olorosas*. The distinction between the (a) and (b) examples in Italian, French, and Catalan (in (36)-(38)) is parallel.

One last class of adjectives is especially intriguing. At first glance, these adjectives belong to the group exemplified in (35)-(38) since they appear both pre- and postnominally. Note, however, that the difference in interpretation between the (a) and (b) examples is not of the same nature as the *nonrestrictive* vs. *restrictive* distinction above:

(39)Sp: a.   el simple hombre
                  'the mere man'

             b.   el hombre simple
                  'the simple-minded man'

(40)It: a.   il pover'uomo
                  'the pitiable man'

             b.   l'uomo povero
                  'the impoverished man'

(41)Fr: a.   une certaine chose
                  'a particular thing'

             b.   une chose certaine
                  'a sure thing'

(42)Ca: a.   els diversos llibres
                  'the different books'

              b.   els llibres diversos
                  'the varied books'

In addition to the more obvious word order facts, there are other important

differences characterizing each group of adjectives. As we saw above for English, adjectives in Romance do not uniformly appear in predicative contexts. The adjectives in (27)-(30), and (39)b-(42)b may appear in predicative contexts, whereas the ones in (31)-(34) and (39)a-(42)a may not. The adjectives that may appear predicatively may also be modified and appear in elliptical nominal constructions. (Further elaboration and specific examples of these constructions will be provided in subsequent sections.) These distributional differences argue for distinct structural representations.

2.1.2.1   Word Order in Walloon

In Walloon, adjectives are overwhelmingly prenominal. Representative examples are given in (43) (from Remacle 1952:146-147) and include regular attributive adjectives, as well as those derived from verbal sources. These are contrasted with equivalent examples from French (44), where the postnominal position is the unmarked one.[14]

(43) Wa: a. dès streûtès cotes
        'tight dresses'

      b. on neûr tchapê
        'a black hat'

      c. on-étrandjîr nom
        'a strange name'

      d. du l'corante êwe
        'running water'

      e. on djinnant bokèt
        'an annoying kid'

      f. lès cûts pans
        'the well-baked bread'

      g. one mouyi pîre
        'a wet stone'

(44)Fr: a. des robes étroites

    b. un chapeau noir

    c. un nom étranger

    d. de l'eau courante

    e. un enfant gênant

    f. les pains (bien) cuits

    g. une pierre mouillée

I will address the significance of the Walloon word order facts in section 2.2.1 (see chapter 4 for a more comprehensive examination of Walloon DPs).

2.1.2.2 Word Order in Sardinian

In Sardinian dialects, specifically Logudorese and Campidanese, adjectives are almost exceptionlessly postnominal. The following Campidanese examples illustrate the pattern found in the two Sardinian dialects, as compared with standard Italian (examples from Blasco Ferrer 1986:90):

(45) Cam: a. una dí trista
   It: b. una triste giornata
         'a sad day'

(46) Cam: a. tempus malu est faendi
   It: b. sta facendo mal tempo
         it's making bad weather
         'the weather is bad'

The only adjectives appearing prenominally, according to Blasco Ferrer, are those whose meaning is distinguished by position (examples from Blasco Ferrer, p. 90):

(47) Cam: a. una bella dí
   It: b. una bella giornata
         'a nice day'

(48)	Cam:	a.	mandarinus bellus
	It:	b.	mandarini buoni
			'good oranges (juicy)'

(49)	Lo:	a.	una grandu festa
	It:	b.	una gran festa
			'a great feast'

(50)	Lo:	a.	un'ómini mannu
	It:	b.	un uomo grande
			'a big/tall man'

In fact, these adjectives correspond to those described above in (39)-(42).

Jones (1990:29-30) also notes this difference in interpretation between pre- and postnominal position in Sardinian:[15]

(51)	Sa:	a.	unu sant'ómine
			'a saintly/virtuous man'
		b.	un'ómine santu
			'a canonized man'

(52)	Sa:	a.	póveru (prenominal)
			'pitiable'
		b.	póveru (postnominal)
			'impoverished

He describes another group of adjectives that may only appear prenominally (examples from Jones, p. 31):[16]

| (53) | Sa: | s'áttera manu |
| | | 'the other hand' |

| (54) | Sa: | sa mattessi cosa |
| | | 'the same thing' |

| (55) | Sa: | s'unicu problema |
| | | 'the only problem' |

I return to these Sardinian facts in section 2.2.2.

2.1.2.3   An Approach to Adjectives in Event Nominals

One recent approach to the variability in adjective distribution and ordering is contained in Valois (1991a,b). Valois argues that the relative ordering of adjectives in event nominals in French is determined by the adjunction site of the adjective. Adopting Abney's DP structure, Valois (1991b:158-159) assumes the presence of two additional functional categories for English and French noun phrases, Num(ber)P and No(un)P.[17] He identifies three groups of adjectives and claims that one class is adjoined to NumP, one to NumP or NoP, and the third to NoP. This parallels classification of adverbs (Jackendoff 1972, Rochette 1990) which can arguably adjoin to TP, VP or both.

Assuming obligatory movement of N° to Num° (the highest functional head below D) in French, he derives the fact that adjectives in event nominals may always appear postnominally on the surface. In other words, the N° crosses over these adjectives and incorporates with functional heads corresponding to the N's inflectional morphology. Valois also notes that these adjectives may appear prenominally (pp. 153-155). He derives these facts by adjective incorporation. In other words, the N raises to a functional head and then the head of the adjoined adjective cliticizes to the left of N in Num°. The first part of the derivation for the example in (56) (Valois' (17)e) is given in two steps in (57) (Valois' (20)a,b):

(56)   Fr: la fréquente complète invasion de Jupiter
               'the frequent complete invasion of Jupiter'

(57)   Fr: a.   la fréquente [$_{Num}$ invasion$_i$] complète t$_i$ Jupiter
               b.   la fréquente [$_{Num}$ complète$_k$ [$_{Num}$ invasion$_i$]] t$_k$ t$_i$ de Jupiter

Next, Valois claims that either the head of the adjoined AP *fréquente* adjoins to the left of the [adjective+noun] complex in Num° and the whole (larger) complex right-adjoins

to D° or *fréquente* right-adjoins to D° and then the [adjective+noun] complex in Num° right-adjoins to *fréquente* (Valois:162). Valois' analysis has the advantage of ensuring that the adjective hierarchy will always be obeyed, and therefore, accounts for the impossibility of the following example (Valois' (31)):

(58)   Fr: *la complète fréquente invasion de Jupiter

Valois' proposal, even though it may correctly derive the postnominal position of adjectives in event nominals, is problematic with respect to the prenominal position (see section 2.2.3 for discussion and an alternative explanation for the prenominal position). For one thing, Valois does not address the issue of why the interpretation of the adjective varies according to its position with respect to the noun (recall the *restrictive* vs. *nonrestrictive* examples from section 2.1.2).[18] In addition, his proposal is limited to this one class of adjectives. Recall that in section 2.1.2 I discussed a class of adjectives (*mero, otro,* etc.) that must obligatorily appear prenominally. Valois' proposal (as it stands) could not account for these word order facts.

2.1.3 A Unified Analysis for English and Romance?

We have seen that Bolinger (1967), Ronat (1974), and Jackendoff (1977) have convincingly argued against deriving attributive adjectival constructions from predicative ones, and that Abney's (1987) proposal for English requires further refinement. It is, moreover, not clear how Abney's basic proposal would extend to Romance, where attributive adjectives occupy pre- and postnominal positions.

In order to account for word order differences between English and Romance, two possible sorts of solutions come to mind. One solution would be to propose that Romance,

unlike English, has two different D-structure slots for adjectives (one pre-, one postnominal). The other possible solution is to say that Romance is essentially like English at D-structure, and that the differences lie in the syntactic component of the grammar. I explore these hypotheses in further detail below.

In the following sections of this chapter, I propose that both syntactic category (relevant at D-structure) and syntactic movement play a role in determining the distribution of adjectives in Romance and English. I claim that distinguishing between two classes of adjectives is relevant for both Romance and English, and that syntactic movement will account for some of the word order patterns characteristic of Romance.

2.2   Accounting for the Variation Within Romance

I return now to the distribution of Romance adjectives briefly discussed in section 2.1.2. After discussing several alternative approaches to the word order facts, I adopt a Noun Movement approach along the lines proposed in Cinque (1990b, 1992, 1993), Valois (1991a,b), Picallo (1991), and others. I show, however, that Noun Movement alone is insufficient to account for the full range of data in Romance. I propose that a particular adjective may potentially be adjoined to more than one XP and that two syntactic classes of adjectives must be distinguished.

2.2.1   Deriving Surface Word Order by Noun Movement

In order to account for the basic word order facts in Romance, three general hypotheses are available. The first hypothesis would claim that adjectives in Romance may be generated pre- and postnominally. Another possibility would be that adjectives are

generated either pre- or postnominally in Romance, and then may raise or lower across the noun. The third possibility, and the one I will adopt, assumes that adjectives are generated prenominally in Romance, and that Noun Movement across the adjective accounts for the (unmarked) surface order we observe.[19]

The first hypothesis, that Romance allows base-generation of adjectives both pre- and postnominally, is falsified by the patterns exhibited in such varieties as Walloon and Sardinian. Recall that Walloon is characterized by prenominal adjectives and the Sardinian dialects are characterized by postnominal adjectives. I will therefore not consider this a viable alternative.

The second hypothesis, that adjectives are generated either pre- or postnominally and then optionally move, was proposed in work by Giorgi and Longobardi (1991). Their position was that Romance adjectives are generated postnominally in Romance, in accordance with their *Head Subject Paramter*,[20] and then optionally move to the prenominal position in languages like Italian, Spanish, and French. Extending this to Walloon, I would have to claim that Walloon adjectives obligatorily move to the prenominal position. It is not obvious what would trigger obligatory adjective raising in Walloon.

There is a more basic problem with their approach. Under the plausible assumption that adjectives in the noun phrase are the nominal counterpart to adverbs in the verb phrase, an adjective movement hypothesis may not be available.[21] In work by Pollock (1989) and Belletti (1990), it is the verb that raises (from V to I, and possibly to C), the adverb remaining in its base-generated position. If DP is really clausal in nature (as assumed in work by, for example, Szabolcsi 1983, 1987, and Abney 1987, and subsequent work on the internal structure of noun phrases), then we would predict that the counterpart of V in IP,

namely N in DP, would be the X° that undergoes movement, and that the adjective, like the adverb in IP, would remain in its base-generated position.[22] If this work is on the right track, then raising the adjective from post- to prenominal position would simply not be an option.[23] Additionally, a Giorgi/Longobardi approach to adjective placement will not offer an explanation for facts concerning the distribution of a Walloon plural marker, to be discussed in chapter 4.

Another logical possibility, of course, within an adjective movement approach, would posit the prenominal position as underlying, and derive the surface word order by adjective lowering. This would alleviate the problem posed by the Walloon prenominal facts. In other words, adjectives would surface in their base-generated position in Walloon. In languages like standard Italian where adjectives generally appear postnominally, or in Sardinian where they must appear postnominally, we would have to say that the adjective had lowered to the postnominal position. Again, this sort of approach would be unavailable if adjectives are not subject to general movement processes. Furthermore, there is the additional problem of how to license the trace of the lowered adjective.

I will assume the third possibility. In other words, the base-generated position of the adjective in Romance is the prenominal one, following ideas already developed in Cinque (1990b, 1992, 1993) and Valois (1991a,b). Under this hypothesis, the surface order adjective-noun in Walloon represents the underlying order. Given the D-structure order D-A-N, application of Noun Movement in Spanish and French would yield the surface strings in (59):

(59)   Sp: a.   el libro$_i$ rojo t_i
                    'the red book'

Fr: b.   une table$_i$ ronde t_i
                 'a round table'

The simple case of Noun Movement illustrated above yields the unmarked order in Romance, that is, the adjective is postnominal at S-structure.

Certain conceptual advantages are obtained by adopting a Noun Movement approach. For one, surface order in clauses and in noun phrases will be derived by parallel mechanisms of head movement. Another advantage is that adjectives in both Romance and Germanic will be base-generated prenominally, allowing for parallel treatment. The surface word order differences result from the presence vs. absence, respectively, of Noun Movement. In this and subsequent chapters, I show how a general head-raising approach, in addition to several other theoretical assumptions, will allow for a unified approach to several Romance nominal constructions.

2.2.1.1   Recent Proposals for Noun Movement

Two subcases of nominal head movement have been proposed for Romance. The first subcase concerns word order relations between determiner elements and nouns, and involves Noun Movement to the determiner head. The second concerns word order relationships among adjectives, internal/external arguments, and nouns. Arguing for head movement of the noun in these cases requires a landing site between N and D, since raising the noun all the way to D in the syntax would exclude potentially grammatical constructions. In this section I will briefly review the proposals advocating both subcases of Noun Movement.

To my knowledge, the earliest proposal for Noun Movement in Romance was made by Dobrovie-Sorin (1987) for Romanian. In Romanian, unlike the other Romance languages,

the definite article is postnominal (60)a. Compare this with French, where the definite article is prenominal (60)b:

(60)   Ro: a.   omul
                        man-the
                        'the man'

        Fr: b.   l'homme
                        'the man'

Rather than assume that the underlying order of definite determiner and noun is idiosyncratic in Romanian, Dobrovie-Sorin claimed that the underlying order in Romance is always determiner followed by noun, and that the surface order found in Romanian is derived by adjoining the N to the left of the determiner in $D°$. Transposing her analysis into a DP framework, the example in (60)a would conform to the following representation:

(61)

```
        DP
        /\
       D  NP
      /\   |
   omᵢ ul  N
           |
           tᵢ
```
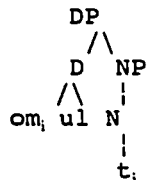
This derivation is a typical case of head-to-head movement, the moved $N°$ antecedent-governing its trace from the $D°$ position.[24]

Longobardi (1992a, 1993) argues for N-to-D movement (in this case, substitution) to account for the distribution of proper names in Romance. Longobardi proposes a principle of grammar that requires a category D in order for a nominal expression to be an argument.[25] Most instances of determinerless nominals will not meet the requirements for argumenthood and are, therefore, excluded from subject position. Proper names, on the other hand, are not necessarily introduced by determiners (e.g. in Italian), yet they are always true arguments. This suggests that either there is a null D with proper names, or that

the proper name itself occupies the D position at S-structure.

Word order facts support the second option, namely that the proper name moves from N to D in the syntax. The following examples from Longobardi (his (26a-c)) illustrate:

(62)   It: a.   Il mio Gianni ha finalmente telefonato.
                   'The my Gianni finally called up.'

       b.   *Mio Gianni ha finalmente telefonato.
            'My Gianni finally called up.'

       c.   Gianni mio ha finalmente telefonato.
            'Gianni my finally called up.'

In (62)a, the article *il* occupies the D position, the proper name occupies the N position, and the possessive adjective occupies some intermediate position. In (62)b, we can assume that the D position is empty, accounting for the ungrammaticality of the example. Without an overt determiner, the proper name must cross *mio*, filling the D position at S-structure, as in (62)c.

The second subcase of Noun Movement mentioned above derives the relative ordering of nouns, thematic arguments of the noun, and adjectives. In work by Cinque (1990b, 1992, 1993), Picallo (1991, to appear) and Valois (1991a,b), functional heads between N and D provide landing sites for the raised noun, which cannot raise all the way to the lexically filled D position.[26] Following recent work by Ritter (1991), who proposes a functional projection Num(ber) P(hrase) for the Hebrew noun phrase, Picallo assumes a NumP and a Ge(nder) P(hrase) for Catalan, and Valois a NumP for French.[27]

Picallo (1991) assumes that Catalan (underived) noun phrases conform to the abstract representation given in (63) (her (3)):

(63)

```
        DP
        |
        D'
        |  \
        D    NuP
             |
             Nu'
             |  \
             Nu    GeP
                   |
                   Ge'
                   |  \
                   Ge    NP
                         |
                         N'
                         |
                         N
```
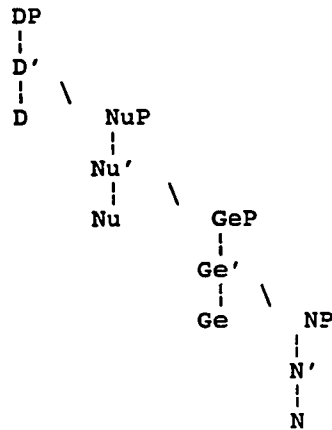
Extending Abney's (1987) proposal for a functional projection DP in the noun phrase, Picallo

suggests that assuming maximal projections corresponding to number and gender is supported

by the consistent presence of number and gender marking on Catalan nouns.[28] N-

Movement will adjoin the $N°$ to $Ge°$, and subsequently adjoin this complex to $Nu°$, so that

a simple DP like *les gates* 'the cats' (f.pl.) will have the representation in (64) (Picallo's (6)):

(64) $[_{DP} [_{NuP} [[[[gat-]_i+F]_j+P] [_{GeP} t_j [_{NP} t_i]]]]]$

Picallo argues that the underlying structure for nominals with arguments in Catalan

is represented by (65)a (her (8a)). The surface order (i.e., N head followed by arguments)

is derived by application of Noun Movement through the head of GeP to the head of NuP,

yielding the string in (65)b (her (7a)):

(65)   Ca: a. $[_{DP} [_{NuP}$ +PLUR $[_{GeP}$ en Pere $[_{Ge'}$ +FEM $[_{NP}$ Nabokov $[_{N'}$novel.les]

        b.   les novel.les d'en Pere de Nabokov
              'the novels of Pere of Nabokov'

Valois (1991b) makes a similar proposal for French DPs, arguing for the functional

categories Num(ber)P(hrase) and No(un) P(hrase), the latter the projection of the overt

nominalizing affix in event nominals (p. 61).[29] Arguments will occupy Spec positions of

maximal projections of NP and adjectives in event nominals will occupy positions adjoined to maximal categories of DP and therefore both will precede the N at D-structure. Head-to-head movement, interacting with adjective incorporation, will derive the surface order of elements.

2.2.2 The Structural Representation of Adjectives

As I briefly discussed in section 2.2.1, I assume that the postnominal surface position of the adjective in Romance is derived via Noun Movement. The structure I assume for a simple noun phrase like the one in (66)a may be represented by (66)b:

(66)   Sp: a.   el libro rojo
                      the book red
                      'the red book'

      b.

```
        DP
       /\
      D   NumP
      |    /\
      el  Num  NP
          |    /\
       libro_i AP  NP
              |    |
            rojo   N
                   |
                   t_i
```
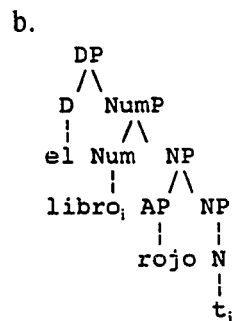
In this noun phrase, the underlying order of elements matches the English surface order, that is, adjectives precede nouns. The surface order in Romance is derived via head-to-head movement of the noun *libro*, which raises from the N° to the Num° position, obeying the HMC. I have followed Valois (1991a,b) and Picallo (1991, to appear), who assume the presence of a functional projection NumP. In chapter 4 I provide independent evidence for this projection in Romance, based on the distribution of a plural marker in Walloon.

As I mentioned earlier, I assume that adjectives are the noun phrase equivalent of

adverbs, and are, therefore, not subject to general movement operations. In (66)b, I have

represented AP as adjoined to a maximal projection (here, to NP), akin to the

representation of adverbs in IP assumed in Chomsky (1991) and Belletti (1990).

Another possibility would be to claim that adjectives occupy Spec positions of

maximal projections in the noun phrase, on a par with the structure Pollock (1989)

assumed for adverbs in verb phrases. This is the approach taken in recent work by

Cinque (1992, 1993).

Cinque proposes that ethnic adjectives, a class of theta-bearing elements, are

generated in the SpecNP position and that attributive adjectives are generated in Spec

positions of functional XPs between DP and NP. Either of these two basic proposals for

adjectives would allow the head movement analysis I assume, since head-to-head

movement would go through under either proposal. Although I will not adopt the idea

that regular attributive adjectives are generated in SpecXP, I will adopt it for thematic

APs. Let's look at both of the alternatives more closely, beginning with several

arguments against generating attributive adjectives in specifier positions.

First, there have been several proposals for Spec-to-Spec movement of DP

arguments in Romance. If this work is on the right track, this would seem to prohibit

attributive adjectives from also being generated in SpecXP. In work by Valois (1991a),

for example, it is argued that arguments of the DP occupy Spec positions of XPs

according to the thematic hierarchy [possessor > agent > theme] of Giorgi and Longobardi

(1991). Extraction from DP proceeds via Spec positions through SpecDP, which Valois

claims is an A-bar position. This account will explain several extraction facts. First, the

presence of an agent will block extraction of the theme, as illustrated below (Valois' (4)):

(67)   Fr: a.   Tu connais le portrait [DP de Rembrandt] [DP d'Aristote]
                                         <u>agent</u>   <u>theme</u>
                  'You know the portrait of Rembrandt of Aristotle'

       b.   Le peintre dont_i tu connais le portrait t_i d'Aristote
            'the painter of whom you know the portrait of Aristotle.'

       c.   *Le philosphe dont_i tu connais le portrait de Rembrandt t_i
            'the philosopher of whom you know the portrait of Rembrandt'

       d.   Le philosophe dont_i tu connais le portrait ti
            'the philosopher of whom you know the portrait'

In (67)c, the agent noun phrase *de Rembrandt*, which would occupy a higher Spec

position than the theme, blocks extraction of the theme. As (67)d shows, the theme may

be extracted, since there is no agent to block movement.

The analyses in Picallo (1991, to appear) would also pose problems for an

approach that generated attributive adjectives in SpecXP. Picallo proposes that SpecNP

(on a par with SpecVP) is the base-generated position for a noun phrase subject (or

agent), and in Picallo (to appear), the base position of the possessive pronoun. NumP,

she argues, is always a raising category, and the possessive raises from SpecNP through

SpecGe(nder)P, to SpecNumP in order to be indentified. The D-structure of a simple

possesive noun phrase in Catalan, as in example (68)a (her (41)), would be represented

by (68)b (her (42)):

(68)Ca: a.   les sev<u>es</u>_i   fill<u>es</u> t_i
               the 3rd_{FEM.PLUR} daughters_{FEM.PLUR}
               'His,her,their daughters'

       b.   [DP [NumP [Nu' -s[GeP <u>se</u>(w) [Ge' -e- [NP <u>fill</u>-]]]]]]
               +PLUR   3rd(GEN) +FEM   daughter

The X° *fill* moves via Noun Movement from the N°, through the functional head

Ge°, to Num°, amalgamating with the gender (*e*) and number (*s*) affixes along the way. The possessive pronoun *seves* has raised through the Spec positions, and picked up the morphological agreement matching the head noun's via Spec-head agreement.[30]

As I mentioned above, Valois' and Picallo's analyses would therefore not be compatible with an account that assumed attributive adjectives to be generated in Spec positions.

One last reason for assuming that adjectives are not generated in specifier positions goes back to one of the problems Abney sites with Jackendoff's analysis (section 2.1.1.2) with respect to the potential number of specifiers. Although nothing in principle would prohibit an even more articulated DP structure with additional functional heads (and therefore additional Specs), assuming that adjectives occupy Spec positions would necessarily bar instances of more than one adjective per Spec. If adjectives are adjoined to XPs, then instances of multiple adjectives of the same semantic class will be represented as multiple adjunction to an identical XP.[31] Furthermore, although the relative order of multiple adjectives is rather fixed, which Cinque (1992, 1993) claims argues for the SpecXP option,[32] variation in order is also found. It is difficult to see how the fixed order can be altered at all if particular Specs are associated with particular semantic classes of adjectives.

Cinque (1993:5) provides two additional arguments in favor of generating adjectives in specifier positions, the first related to the discussion of the preceding paragraph. Cinque points out that assuming adjectives are adjoined to XP provides no way to limit the potential number of adjectives (which in practice does not go above six or seven, according to him), whereas assuming that adjectives are generated in specifier

positions automatically limits the number of adjectives to the number of functional heads in DP.

I admit that this argument is potentially damaging to the adjective-adjoined-to-XP idea. However, a crucial assumption must be made in order to maintain Cinque's idea. The number of functional categories would have to exactly match the potential maximum number of adjectives allowed in a DP, otherwise it would appear that we are creating functional XPs to accommodate the potential number of adjectives. Another question that remains open (for both proposals, really) is what exactly the four or five unaccounted for functional heads correspond to. It is also possible that the limit on the potential number of adjectives is not determined by the syntax, but rather by processing considerations.

Another argument that Cinque provides in favor of the adjective-in-Spec hypothesis is that it automatically generates all adjectives on the left, since Specs are uniformly to the left of the head in Romance and Germanic. Cinque claims that directionality would have to be stipulated in the adjective-adjoined-to-XP hypothesis.

In fact, nothing would have to stipulated in the adjective-adjoined-to-XP hypothesis either if we adopt Kayne's (1993b) proposal, where rightward adjunction is not an available option. So, both hypotheses are able to generate adjectives on the left without further stipulation.[33]

I return now to ethnic adjectives, which I have so far assumed (following Cinque) to be generated in SpecNP. Consider the following (examples from Cardinaletti and Giusti 1990):

(69)   It: a.   l'invasione tedesca della Polonia
                  'the German invasion of Poland'

       b.   *Ne ho vista una tedesca (della Polonia).
            'cl I saw a German (one).'

       c.   *L'invasione (della Polonia) fu tedesca.
            'The invasion was German.'

       d.   *Ritengo questa invasione tedesca.
            'I believe this invasion German.'

Here, the adjective *tedesca*, which bears the agent Θ-role, may not appear predicatively,

in small clause contexts, or stranded under *ne*-cliticization. According to Cardinaletti and

Giusti (1990) and Cinque (1990a), *ne* is to be thought of as binding an NP. *Ne*-

cliticization is therefore impossible in example (69)b, because the adjective occupies

SpecNP.

But ethnic adjectives are not always theta-bearing. Assuming attributive adjectives

are adjoined to XP allows us to distinguish the following set of facts (also from

Cardinaletti and Giusti 1990) from those in the previous example:

(70)   It: a.   un libro tedesco
                  'a German book'

       b.   Ne ho letto uno tedesco.
            '(I) cl read a German (one).'

       c.   Questo libro è tedesco.
            'This book is German.'

       d.   Ritengo questo libro tipicamente tedesco.
            '(I) believe this book typically German.'

In these examples, the ethnic adjective appears in those constructions that I will show are

characteristic of adjoined adjectives (see sections 2.2.2.2 and 2.2.4). To elaborate one

point here, notice that *ne*-cliticization is possible in (70)b. This is completely expected if

(the nonthematic) *tedesco* is adjoined to XP, but not if assumed to occupy SpecNP.

Maintaining Cinque's idea that the theta-bearing ethnic adjectives are in SpecNP, we correctly predict the following example to be grammatical:

(71)It: Quella tedesca (della Polonia) è stata la peggiore.
    'The German (one) was the worst.'

If the empty category here is N°, as I will argue in the next chapter, then nothing should prevent an adjective from occupying SpecNP.[34] This contrasts with the ungrammatical example in (69)b where *ne* is coindexed with the entire NP, not just with the head.

Besides the ethnic adjectives, many denominal adjectives (e.g. *nucleare* ('nuclear'), *elettrico* ('electric'), and *solare* ('solar')) are also ambiguous between theta-bearing adjectives and regular attributive adjectives. Consider the following facts (examples due to Raffaella Zanuttini):

(72)It: a.   un'esplosione nucleare/elettrica
     b.   *una nucleare/elettrica esplosione
           'a nuclear/electrical explosion'

     c.   ?*Ne ho sentita una nucleare/elettrica vicino a casa mia.
           'I heard a nuclear/electrical (one) near my house.'

     d.   Quella nucleare/elettrica ha avuto luogo vicino a casa nostra.
           'The nuclear/electric (one) took place near our house.'

These judgments are only relevant if the adjective is interpreted as agent. The example in (72)c is correctly predicted to be ungrammatical if we assume *ne* to be coindexed with NP.

Interestingly, however, if we are talking about *electric fans* (that is, a purely attributive sense of the adjective), then the example with *ne* is fine:

(73)It: Ne ho comprato uno elettrico.
    'cl I bought an electric (one).'

And as Giorgi and Longobardi (1991:129) show, the non-theta-bearing form of the

adjective (*nonreferential*, in their terms) may even appear prenominally (their (30)):[35]

(74)It: Un'elettrica Lollobrigida ha presentato il festival di ieri sera.
         'An electric (=brilliant) Lollobrigida introduced last night's festival.'

This supports the idea that when *elettrico* may not be understood as an argument, it must

be adjoined to XP. If we were to assume that both the theta-bearing and attributive forms

of the adjective occupied the SpecXP position, there would be no way to account for

these different behaviors.

Distinguishing two structures for denominal adjectives like *elettrico* even receives

support from the distribution of the equivalent adjective in English. Consider the

following examples:

(75) a.   I bought an electric fan last week.

      b.   There was an electrical explosion/fire near my house.

The form of the theta-bearing adjective in (75)b is different from the form of the

descriptive adjective in (75)a.

To summarize, I have discussed two competing ideas about where to generate

adjectives. One possibility is to generate adjectives adjoined to XPs within DP, the other

is to generate adjectives in specifier positions within DP. I have provided several reasons

against adopting a structure where attributive adjectives occupy Spec postions, and

discussed Cinque's arguments for such a structure. Although I argued against the idea of

generating attributive adjectives in SpecXP, I have adopted Cinque's idea that theta-

bearing ethnic adjectives are generated in SpecNP. Finally, I have shown that two classes

of ethnic adjectives must be distinguished, those that are thematic, and those that behave

just like regular attributive adjectives. Assuming that the nonthematic ethnic adjectives

are adjoined to XP may account for the otherwise mysterious distribution of these
adjectives.

2.2.2.1   Arguments Against Noun Movement?

Lamarche (1991:25) has argued that certain adjective ordering differences between
French and English are problematic for a Noun Movement approach. In a language like
French, he claims, postnominal adjectives are generated on the right of the noun, and in
English, on the left. Lamarche argues that if the underlying order of adjectives and
nouns in French and English were the same, then Noun Movement would simply cross
the N head over the adjectives, preserving the relative order among adjectives.

Lamarche discusses four basic problems with a movement analysis. His first
argument concerns the position of the adjectives with respect to an [N+complement]
construction. In French, the adjective appears after the complement, whereas in English
it precedes the noun (examples from Lamarche's (8)):

(76) Fr: a.   un groupe de femmes important
                  'a large group of women'

      b.   les producteurs de pétrole indépendants
            'the independent oil producers'

If these [N+complement] constructions are not compounds, as Larmarche convincingly
argues,[36] then a simple N-raising analysis predicts that the adjective will appear between
the N and its complement as a result of the N crossing over the adjective. This is not
what we find.

Cinque (1992, 1993, and p.c.) discusses similar facts in Italian. He claims that in
an example like the following, the adjective is derived from a predicative source and

modifies the [N+complement] (examples Cinque's):[37]

(77) It: un [libro di ricette] vecchio
a book of recipes old
'an old [book of recipes]'

Compare this with (78) where the adjective is clearly attributive, that is, modifying the

noun directly, and straightforwardly derived by movement of the noun across the

adjective:

(78) It: un [libro vecchio] di recette
a book old of recipes
'an [old book] of recipes'

Considering *vecchio* in (77) to be predicative is supported by the fact that if a complement

is added after two adjectives (the first attributive, the second predicative), the result is

ungrammatical. Compare (79)a,b,c:[38]

(79) It: a. un [libro vecchio] bello
'a nice old book'

b. *un libro vecchio bello di ricette
'a nice old book of recipes'

c. un [libro vecchio di ricette] bello

Not discussed by Cinque is what exactly he is assuming to be the structure for

these examples with what he calls predicative adjectives. A so-called reduced relative

structure would seem to conflict with the facts noted by Ronat (1974) that I discussed in

section 2.1.1.1, since these *simple* adjectives are usually barred in restrictive relative

contexts.[39]

Another option would be to take these (predicative) adjectives to be in something

like a small clause structure, along the lines proposed in Stowell (1983), Burzio (1986),

and adopted in Chomsky (1992). What I had in mind was something like the following

for (79)c (where XP, YP represent functional projections between DP and NP):

(80)

```
            DP
           /\
          D   AP
          |   /\
         un Spec  A'
            /    |
           XP   bello
          /\
         X  YP
         |  /\
      libro_i AP  YP
             |   /\
          vecchio Y   NP
                  |   /\
                 t'_i N   PP
                      |   △
                     t_i di ricette
```
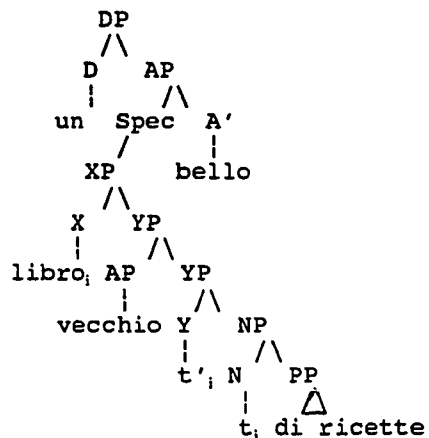
In this structure, the noun raises and crosses over the adjective *vecchio* that is adjoined to YP, and *di ricette* is represented as a complement of the noun.

A question that arises here is whether the structure in SpecAP is base-generated there, or has raised from lower down. I believe that the second option is more plausible. For one thing, it's not clear why English would disallow the structure in (80) as a base-generated structure. Assuming that (the entire) XP has raised to SpecAP, however, we could relate the relative absence of such a structure in English to a more general absence of raising in DPs.[40]

Lamarche's second argument against N-raising is that the relative ordering of postnominal adjectives with respect to the noun in English is in the mirror image of the French order (examples from Lamarche's (16)):[41,42]

(81) Fr: a. une voiture blanche rouillée   a rusty white car
              a car white rusty

      b. une bière blonde froide   a cold pale beer
              a beer pale cold

> c. un fruit orange énorme a huge orange fruit
> a fruit orange huge

It is interesting to note that Lamarche (p. 222, fn.6) states that it is difficult to find sequences of two postnominal adjectives and that the more neutral way to say these phrases is to have one adjective in the prenominal position (Lamarche's (i)a, fn.6):

(82) Fr: un énorme fruit$_i$ orange t$_i$
    'a huge orange fruit'

With this ordering of elements, of course, a N-raising analysis would be quite straightforward, since the sequence of adjectives matches the English one. The only difference between the English and French here is that the N crosses over the adjective *orange* in French, but not in English.

For the relatively marked examples in (81), we can again appeal to Cinque's idea and the structure proposed in (80), and consider *voiture blanche*, in (81)a, to have raised to the specifier of *rouillée*.

Lamarche's third argument involves the interpretation of sequences of adjectives. In the following examples (Lamarche's (17)-(18)), the interpretation of (83)a matches that of (84)a and the interpretation of (83)b matches (84)b:

(83) a. a handicapped elderly person

    b. an elderly handicapped person

(84) Fr: a. une personne agée handicapée

    b. une personne handicapée agée

This is not what we would expect under an Noun Movement analysis.

Again, Cinque's proposal is relevant here. In both the French and English examples above, the (adjoined) attributive adjective is the one adjacent to the noun

(*elderly/agée* in the (a) examples, *handicapped/handicapée* in the (b) examples). The second adjective in each of the French examples would again be taken to be the head of AP to whose specifier position the [N+A] has raised.

Finally, Lamarche discusses Valois' (1991a,b) event adjective facts. Here again, the ordering is not what we would expect under a simple N-raising approach (Lamarche's (19a), (20a)):

(85) Fr: a. l'invasion américaine instantanée de l'Irak

b. the sudden American invasion of Iraq

Crisma's (1990) examples indicate that these facts are not parallel for Italian (Crisma's (265a)-(266a)):

(86) It: l'atteggiamento ostile americano
'the hostile American attitude'

(87) It: la risposta diplomatica americana
'the diplomatic American response'

These Italian examples, unlike the French ones, allow for a straightforward movement analysis.

Accounting for the French order, Valois' (1991b:163-164) articulated structure proposes the following derivation for the example in (88)a (his (33)):

(88) Fr: a. l'invasion martienne brutale de Jupiter
'the brutal Martian invasion of Jupiter'

b.

```
        DP
       /\
      D  NumP
      |    /\
      |   /  \
      1' Num   NoP*
      |        /\
   invas-ion  Spec   No*'
      i     k  /\    /\
           martienne No*   NoP
                     |     /\
                     t     No  VP
                      k     |   /\
          ↑_⊖-role_|        t   V   DP
                            k   |   /\
                                t   Jupiter
                                i
```
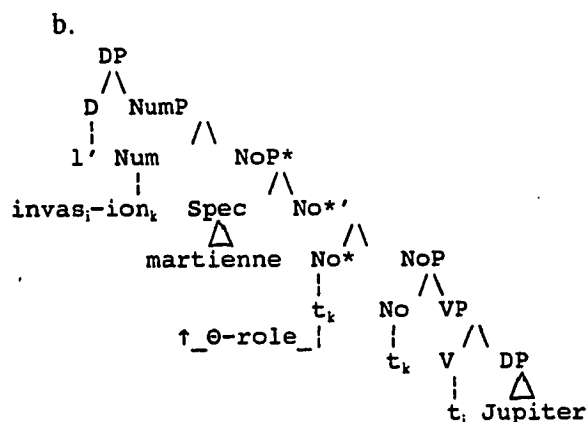
In other words, the Θ-role is discharged in SpecNoP* after the verb merges with the

nominalizing affix (in NoP). The adjective *brutale* would be adjoined to NoP, deriving

the observed surface order. To account for the Italian/English order (recall (86)-(87)),

Valois claims that the adjective *ostile/hostile* is adjoined to NoP* in these languages.

In summary, Lamarche's work provides several challenges for a Noun Movement

approach with respect to relative (postnominal) adjective ordering. Cinque's idea,

however, potentially allows for an interpretation of the facts that would be consistent with

an N-raising analysis. I have proposed one possible approach to the question of how

exactly Cinque's idea may be expressed syntactically. Valois' analysis may account for

the surface order of elements found in event nominals.

2.2.2.2   Shortcomings of a Noun Movement Analysis

Certain adjectival patterns do not seem to fit within the general framework I have

assumed so far. For one thing, certain adjectives appear pre- and postnominally

(89)   Sp: a.   las olorosas flores (non-restrictive)
               b.   las flores olorosas (restrictive)
                     'the fragrant flowers'

So far, I have not accounted for the occurrence of prenominal adjectives, although I have

discussed Valois' account of related facts in section 2.1.2.3 .

Recall that another class of adjectives must obligatorily appear prenominally. The examples are repeated here:

(90) Sp: a. un mero accidente (cf. *un accidente mero)
'a mere accident'

It: b. un mero incidente (cf. *un incidente mero)
'a mere accident'

Fr: c. l'autre maison (cf. *la maison autre)
'the other house'

Ca: d. l'altra noia (cf. *la noia altra)
'the other girl'

If both instances of prenominal adjectives in (89) and (90) above are also adjoined to XPs in the DP, then they may not be adjoined to NP, since they would then appear postnominally on the surface after Noun Movement. These adjectives are perhaps adjoined to NumP. Recall that I have assumed that N-raising is obligatory in the major Romance languages, and that N raises to Num° in order to pick up number inflection. Although nothing I have said prohibits the adjectives from being associated with this higher position, and N-Movement to Num° would not affect the surface position of the adjective (adjoined to NumP), the distributional evidence suggests that the prenominal adjectives in (90) are not on a par with the sort of adjective depicted in (89) or the attributive adjectives (*corto*, *rosso*, etc.) discussed earlier in section 2.1.2.

One property of the regular attributive adjectives is that they may always appear predicatively:

(91) Sp: a. El libro es corto.
'The book is short.'

It: b.   Il vestito è rosso.
'The dress is red.'

Fr: c.   La table est longue.
'The table is long.'

Ca: d.   El noi és prim.
'The boy is thin.'

This is also true of the adjectives related to those in (89):

(92)   Sp: a.   Las flores son olorosas.
'The flowers are fragrant.'

It: b.   La persona è simpatica.
'The person is nice.'

Fr: c.   L'invasion est brutale.
'The invasion is brutal.'

Ca: d.   Un suicidi és tràgic.
'A suicide is tragic.'

The adjectives in (90), however, may never appear predicatively:

(93)   Sp: a.   *El accidente es mero.
'The accident is mere.'

It: b.   *L'incidente è mero.
'The accident is mere.'

Fr: c.   *La maison est autre.
'The house is other.'

Ca: d.   *La noia és altra.
'The girl is other.'

Another characteristic associated with the regular attributive adjectives and those from (92) is that both may appear in elliptical nominal constructions and/or be stranded by *ne/en*.[43]

(94)   Sp: a.   (He visto) uno corto
'(I have seen) a short one'

It: b.   (Ne ho visto) uno rosso
'(cl I have seen) a short one'

Fr: c.   (J'en ai vu) une longue
'(I cl have seen) a long one'

Ca: d.   (N'he vist) un de prim
'(cl I have seen) a thin one'

(95)   Sp: a.   (He sentito) unas olorosas
'(I have smelled) some fragrant ones'

It: b.   (Ne ho visto) una simpatica
'(cl I have seen) a nice one'

Fr: c.   (J'en ai vu) une brutale
'(cl I saw) a brutal one'

Ca: d.   (N'he vist) un de tràgic
'(cl I saw) a tragic one'

The adjectives from example (90), on the other hand, are ungrammatical with *ne-*cliticization or in elliptical constructions:

(96)   Sp: a.   *(He visto) uno mero
'(I have seen) a mere one'

It: b.   *(Ne ho visto) uno mero
'(cl-I have seen) a mere (one)'

Fr: c.   (J'en acheté) un autre[44]
'(I-cl have read) two other ones'

Ca: d.   *(N'he vist) un de mer
'(cl-I have seen) a mere (one)'

A third characteristic distinguishing the first two groups of adjectives from the third involves modification. The adjectives from (91) and (92) may be modified by an intensifier:

(97)   Sp: a.   el libro muy corto
'the very short book'

It: b.   un vestito così/molto rosso
'a so/very red dress'

Fr: c.   une table très longue
'a very long table'

Ca: d.   un noi molt prim
'a very thin boy'

(98)   Sp: a.   las muy olorosas flores/las flores muy olorosas
'the very fragrant flowers'

It: b.   una così simpatica persona/una persona così simpatica
'a so nice person'

Fr: c.   la très brutale invasion/l'invasion très brutale
'the very brutal invasion'

Ca: d.   un molt tràgic suicidi/un suicidi molt tràgic
'a very tragic suicide'

The adjectives appearing in (90), on the other hand, do not allow modification:

(99)   Sp: a.   *un muy mero accidente
'a very mere accident'

It: b.   *un così mero incidente
'a very mere accident'

Fr: c.   *la très autre maison
'the very other house'

Ca: d.   *la molt altra noia
'the very other girl'

The one clear pattern that emerges from these data is that the adjectives in (89)

and (92) (*olorosa, simpatica*, etc.) seem to pattern with the regular attributive adjectives I

have assumed to be adjoined to XPs within the Romance DP. The adjectives in (90) (e.g.

mero) behave quite differently. These data call for refinement of the basic structure I

have assumed for adjectives.

In the next two sections, I propose that the adjectives illustrated in both (89) and

(92) are adjoined to XPs, and those in (90) are syntactic heads projecting to AP. I show

how this distinction accounts for the facts that I have described here.

2.2.3 .Multiple Adjunction Sites for Adjectives

In order to account for the distribution of the class of adjectives that appear pre-

and postnominally (as in (92), *oloroso, simpatico*, etc.), I propose that adjectives may be

adjoined to either NP or NumP.[45] The examples in (100)a,b may then be represented by

(101)a,b, respectively:

(100)Fr: a. une large vallée (nonrestrictive)
    b. une vallée large (restrictive)
     'a large valley'

(101) a.
```
         DP
        / \
       D   NumP
       |   / \
      une AP  NumP
          |   / \
        large Num NP
              |   |
          vallée₍ᵢ₎ N
                  |
                  tᵢ
```

b.
```
         DP
        / \
       D   NumP
       |   / \
      une Num  NP
           |   / \
       vallée₍ᵢ₎ AP  NP
                 |   |
               large N
                     |
                     tᵢ
```
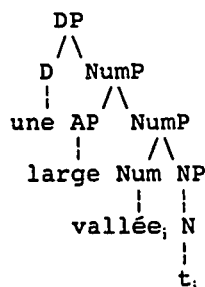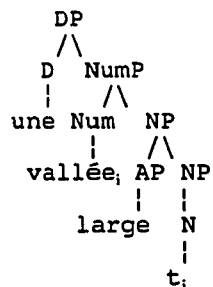
The surface word order is then determined by whether or not the noun crosses over the

adjective when it raisies to Num°. In (101)a, the noun *vallée* does not cross over the

adjective, accounting for the prenominal surface position of the adjective. In (101)b, on

the other hand, *vallée* crosses over the adjective, deriving the postnominal surface

position of *large*.

In addition to the word order difference between the (a) and (b) examples in

(101), there is also a subtle difference in interpretation, as I have .indicated above. In

(101)a, *une large vallée* is a member of a class of large valleys, whereas in (101)b, *une*

vallée large is a member of a class of valleys of which this member happens to be large.[46]

The subtle variation in interpretation between the pre- and postnominal position is determined by adjunction site, not movement: An adjective adjoined to NumP will yield a nonrestrictive interpretation and an adjective adjoined to NP will yield a restrictive interpretation.[47]

The structures proposed in (101) are consistent with a recent proposal about the adjunction sites of adverbs. Belletti (1990:66-67) claims that sentential adverbs are adjoined to AgrP,[48] whereas VP adverbs are adjoined lower down (perhaps to VP). In (102)a, the adverb is adjoined to the past participial AgrP or TP, and so the verb does not cross over the adverb when it raises to the past participial Agr head. In (102)b, *completamente* is arguably adjoined to VP, and so the participle crosses over the adverb when it raises to Agr (examples are Belletti's (82) and (79d), respectively):

(102) It: a.   (In quelle circostanze) Gianni ha completamente sbagliato.
                  '(In those circumstances) Gianni has completely mistaken.'

            b.   Maria ha chiuso completamente con quel lavoro.
                  'Maria has finished completely with that job.'

If my proposal is correct, then a difference in interpretation should be associated with a difference in adjunction site in these examples as well. Cinque (1993, fn.7) provides the following pair, the distinction essentially that described in note 46:

(103) It: a.   Hanno brutalmente aggredito l'Albania.
                  'They have brutally attacked Albania.'

            b.   Hanno aggredito brutalmente l'Albania.
                  'They have attacked Albania brutally.'

Nothing in principle, then, should bar adjectives like those below in (104)-(106)

from appearing prenominally on the surface, that is, from being adjoined to an XP higher

than NP (keeping in mind that the postnominal position is the unmarked one):

(104)Sp: el libro rojo
'the red book'

(105)It: un vestito rosso
'a red dress'

(106)Fr: une table rouge
'a red table'

In fact, color adjectives, which regularly appear postnominally in the major Romance

languages, may appear prenominally in contexts where they are taken to express inherent

qualities of the noun they modify. I illustrate with the following examples:

(107)Sp: la blanca nieve
'the white snow'

(108)It: la buia notte   (example from Nespor 1988:(31b))
'the dark night'

(109)Fr: les rouges cerises   (example from Ronat 1974:60)
'the red cherries'

(110)Ca: la blava mar
'the blue sea'

The structures proposed in (101) also distinguish between the pre- and postnominal

occurrences of these adjectives. The adjectives appearing in (107)-(110) would be

adjoined to NumP, as in (101)a; the postnominal (unmarked) position would be the result

of adjunction to NP, as in (101)b.

Valois (1991b:152), who proposed a derivation similar to the one I have assumed

in the case of postnominal adjectives in event nominals (recall discussion in section

2.1.2.3), notes that these adjectives may also appear either pre- or postnominally (Valois'

(14a),(16a)):

(111)Fr: a.   l'invasion probable de Jupiter

            b.   la probable invasion de Jupiter

                    'the probable invasion of the Jupiter'

He argues (p. 154) that the prenominal position in an example like (111)b is derived by the adjective incorporating into the head noun.

Valois' first argument for incorporation is that these prenominal adjectives, since they are heads, can never be phrasal (Valois' (18)):

(112)Fr: a.   l'invasion improbable aux yeux des Terriens de Jupiter

                    'the invasion improbable to the eyes of the Earthlings of Jupiter'

            b.   *l'improbable aux yeux des Terriens invasion de Jupiter

                    'the improbable to the eyes of the Earthlings invasion of Jupiter'

This is not, in my opinion, a strong argument for head incorporation, given that the prenominal form (as well as the postnominal one) may be modified with the adverbial *très* ('very'):

(113)Fr: a.   l'invasion très probable

            b.   la très probable invasion

A head incorporation account would predict that example (113)b is ungrammatical, or it would require the [intensifier+adjective] to somehow incorporate with the N° in prenominal position. I would associate the ungrammaticality of (112)b to a prohibition against prenominal *heavy APs* (or pre-head complements), akin to the English facts illustrated in (114), rather than take this example to be evidence for incorporation of the adjectival head in prenominal position in (111).

(114)   a.   a woman [proud of her daughter]

         b.   *a [proud of her daughter] woman

This prohibition against pre-head complements recalls Kayne's (1993b) proposal, in which

subject-head-complement is the only (underlying) order available. I will have more to say about this sort of example in section 2.4.1.

Valois' second argument for the head incorporation analysis is that only prenominal adjectives trigger liaison (Valois' (19)):

(115)Fr: a. les fréquente ([z]) invasions de Jupiter

     b. les invasions (*[z]) infréquentes de Jupiter

If (115)a involves incorporation of the adjective with the noun, then, as Valois (1991b:160-161) actually argues, cases of determiner-noun liaison must also involve incorporation. This account of the liaison facts leads to the generalization that all cases of liaison are instances of incorporation. This seems too strong a generalization, given the possibility of other types of (optional) liaison, such as liaison between an adjective and PP complement (116)a, or between a noun and postnominal adjective (116)b (examples from Morin and Kaye 1982, their appendix):

(116)Fr: a. Ils sont prêt ([z]) à partir.
        'They are ready to leave.'

     b. de-z-arme ([z]) automatique ([z]) américaines
        'American automatic weapons'

Adopting Valois' proposal, we would be forced to conclude that incorporation was involved in these examples as well.

A third potential problem, as Valois himself notes (p.155), is that extracting a head out of an adjunct is generally not allowed. One way of ruling out this extraction (Valois himself does not elaborate) is to take the potential problem here to be the failure of antecedent government due to the absence of c-command. If we follow Kayne's (1993b) category/segment distinction (which he adopts from Chomsky (1986b) who had

adopted it from May (1985)), then the extracted A° head could not c-command its trace, since only the upper (adjoined) segment of AP, but not the entire category, will dominate the trace.

One last problem is that, under Valois' analysis, the difference in interpretation between the pre- and postnominal position of the adjectives would have to be the result of movement. There isn't any evidence that this type of syntactic movement disambiguates interpretation.

In summary, I have shown how differences in word order and the corresponding interpretation of adjectives in Romance may be accounted for straightforwardly by assuming (at least) two D-structure adjunction sites for adjectives. When the adjective is adjoined to a lower XP (say, NP), the N's crossing over the adjective (to Num°) derives the postnominal position of the adjective. The restrictive interpretation of the adjective is associated with this lower adjunction site. When the adjective is adjoined to a higher XP (say, NumP), the N's raising to Num° will not cross the adjective, deriving the prenominal surface position of the adjective. The nonrestrictive interpretation of the adjective is associated with this higher adjunction site. This treatment of the facts for adjectives in DP generalizes straightforwardly to adverbs in IP.

2.2.4 Adjectives as Heads

The next part of the proposal will address adjectives of the *mero* class. Recall that these adjectives only appear prenominally, may not be modified, and may not appear in predicative contexts or in elliptical nominal constructions. The claim I make is that these adjectives are X° elements that project to the XP level. I show that this

characterization accounts for the word order and distributional facts of these adjectives.

I propose that a noun phrase like the one in (117)a is represented by the structure in (117)b:

(117)Sp: a.   un mero accidente
                 'a mere accident'

         b.

```
    DP
   /\
  D   AP
  |   /\
  un  A   NumP
      |    /\
     mero Num  NP
           |    |
       accidente_i N
                  |
                  t_i
```

The adjective *mero*, which projects to the XP level, takes an NP complement with an overt N, *accidente*.[49]   The noun undergoes obligatory head-to-head movement to Num°, amalgamating with number inflection. The descriptive observation that these adjectives may not appear postnominally now receives a natural explanation. The trace of a noun that has raised across the A° to a higher X° would not be governed by its antecedent due to the intervening A° head (in violation of the HMC). With the adjectives I have claimed to be adjoined to XPs, nothing will block antecedent government of a N-trace by the raised noun head.

Recall that these adjectives may not appear in elliptical nominal constructions:

(118) Sp: a.   *el mero   (cf. el grande)
                'the mere (one)'   ('the big (one)')

      It: b.   *quello mero   (cf. quello grande)[50]
                'the mere (one)'   ('the big (one)')

This is accounted for by the selectional requirements of A°. In other words, the examples

in (118) are ungrammatical because the A°'s selectional requirement for an overt N has not

been met.[51] Another sort of problem with the example in (118)b will be discussed in the

next chapter.

Note, however, that the Romance equivalent of *other*, which I have claimed to be an

X° adjective, may appear without an overt noun:

(119)Sp: el otro
            'the other (one)'

(120)It: l'altro
            'the other (one)'

(121)Fr: l'autre
            'the other (one)'

(122)Ca: l'altre
            'the other (one)'

I would claim that in these examples *other* is a noun. This is supported by the distribution

of the element in English, since, even in English, *other* may appear without an overt noun:

(123)   the other (one)

If *other* were an adjective here, it would constitute an exception to the general prohibition

(in English) against elliptical nominal constructions. A second reason for considering *other*

to be a noun in English is the fact that it can be pluralized just like an ordinary noun:

(124)   the others

The fact that these adjectives may not appear predicatively is also explained by the

selectional requirements of A° adjectives (see also Degraff and Mandelbaum 1993). If we

assume Chomsky's (1992) predication structure (based on Stowell 1983 and Burzio 1986),

then the underlying structure for *John is intelligent* (and *I consider John intelligent*) is the

following (Chomsky's (4)), substituting DP for his NP:

(125)

```
        AgrP
        /\
    Spec    Agr'
↑           /\
        Agr_A   AP
                /\
              DP   A'
              |    |
            John   A
                   |
                intelligent
```
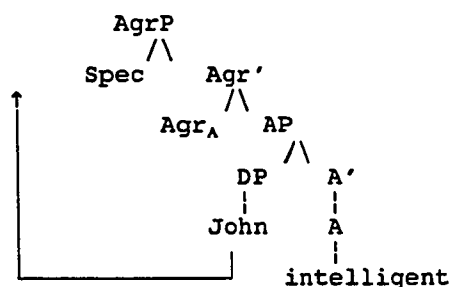
The structural relationship between the predicate and the subject (before raising) does not meet the selectional requirement of the A° adjectives. Consequently, the A° adjectives could never appear in this configuration, although nothing in principle will prohibit the adjoining adjectives from doing so.

Cinque (1993) raises some potential problems for the A° adjective analysis. One of his points is that several adjectives don't seem to fit neatly into one of the two basic paradigms. He provides examples like *numeroso/diverso* in Italian, which he says only appear prenominally with the 'several/numerous' interpretation, and appear postnominally with this same interpretation.[52] I return to Italian *diverso* in section 2.3.1 when I discuss ambiguous adjectives.

Another potential problem cited by Cinque (fn.26) is that the French adverbial counterparts of the necessarily prenominal adjectives (e.g. *simplement*) must precede past participles, but cannot be considered heads because finite verbs can raise over them, deriving the postverbal surface position. Mandelbaum (1994) proposes that *-ly* adverbs are formed by raising either an A° adjective like *mere*, or the A° head of an adjoined AP, to the *-ly* adverbial head in an adjoined position. So whether the adjective starts out as an A° adjective or an adjoined adjective, the adverbial formed will always be in an adjoined position. This would account for the possibility of finding these adverbs in postverbal position.

Another potential problem for the A° analysis, according to Cinque, is the behavior of the (adjectival) element *solo* (the adverbial form being irrelevant here) in Italian. He provides the following examples (from Longobardi (1993)):

(126)It: a.   La sola Maria si è presentata.

            b.   *La Maria sola si è presentata.

            c.   *Sola Maria si è presentata.

            d.   Maria sola si è presentata.
                   'Only Maria showed up.'

Example (126)a would represent the underlying order of elements, and (126)d would be the result of N-to-D movement of the proper name. Although *solo* may not appear postnominally with a common noun (*la sola figlia di Gianni* 'John's only daughter' vs. **la figlia sola di Gianni*)[53], it does appear postnominally with proper names, as (126)d shows. So although a common noun may not cross over *solo*, the proper name is apparently able to do so, bringing into question the idea that *solo* is an A° adjective.

One crucial question raised by the analysis is why *solo* should differentiate between common nouns and proper names, since both are assumed to be N° elements. There is, in fact, another explanation available that can accommodate the distribution of both the common nouns and the proper names with *solo* and allows me to maintain the A° adjective idea for adjectives like *mere* and the ambiguous adjectives I discuss in the next section.

I propose that *solo* is not an adjoined AP or an A° head (of the type I have been discussing), but rather that *il solo* is a complex D element.[54] In other words, *la sola figlia* would be represented as follows (abstracting away from the functional categories between DP and NP):

(127)It: [$_{DP}$ la-sola [$_{NP}$ figlia]]

It is now clear why the common noun could not raise and left-adjoin to D--the result would require obliterating the determiner, which Longobardi (1992a, 1993) has already claimed is not allowed, or left-adjunction to the definite article, which is never allowed in Italian (although it is permissible in Romanian). In the structure I have proposed in (127), there is in addition no way for *figlia* to move in between the two components of the comlex *la-sola*. Besides, syntactic N-to-D movement of common nouns in Italian is generally not found, although certain exceptional nouns are apparently allowed to do so (e.g. *casa mia* 'my house', discussed by Longobardi).

The proper name, on the other hand, i⌐ able to obliterate the determiner, and as Longobardi has shown, is able to raise to D. The derivation of *Maria sola* is now quite straightforward:

(128)It: a.   [$_{DP}$ la-sola [$_{NP}$ Maria]]

                 b.   [$_{DP}$ Maria$_i$-sola [$_{NP}$ t$_i$]]

The underlying order of elements is the one given in (128)a. Since *Maria* is a proper name, N-to-D movement of *Maria* is able to obliterate the determiner. Movement yields the order we see in (128)b.

There is one group of adjectives that I do find to be extremely problematic (*principale*, etc.), as also noted by Cinque. I will not have a specific proposal to make about these adjectives, but I will discuss some of their basic properties.

Cardinaletti and Giusti (1990) and Cinque (1990a) show that at S-structure *principale* must appear postnominally (Cardinaletti and Giusti's (8)a,b):[55]

(129)It: a.   Ho un argomento principale.
'(I) have a main argument.'

              b.   *Ho un principale argomento.

Cinque (1993), however, provides another set of examples, including one where *principale*

is licit in prenominal position (his (19)a,b):

(130)It: a.   Questo è il principale motivo della sua partenza.

              b.   Questo è il motivo principale della sua partenza.
'This is the main reason for his departure.'

Pierre Pica (p.c.) found both the pre- and postnominal position to yield grammatical results

in French:

(131)Fr: a.   la raison principale de ses actes

              b.   la principale raison de ses actes
'the main reason for his actions'

Given what has been said in previous sections, the expectation is that *principale* should also

appear in predicative contexts. This adjective, however, is consistently barred in this context

(Cardinaletti and Giusti's (16)a, Cinque's (18), Pica's French judgment, respectively):

(132)It: *Questo argomento è principale.
'This argument is main.'

(133)It: *Questo motivo è principale.
'This reason is main.'

(134)Fr: *La raison est principale.
'The reason is main.'

      Inability to appear in predicative contexts will correctly predict the impossibility of

stranding with partitive clitics (135) and the impossibility of modification (136), suggesting

that perhaps it is an A° adjective:

(135)It: *Ne ho uno principale.
'cl I have a main (one).'

(136)It: *l'argomento molto principale
'the very main argument'

The fact that *principale* may appear in elliptical nominal constructions, however, casts doubt

on its already dubious status as an A° adjective:

(137)It: Sono uscito di quello principale.
(speaking of *gates*, 'I went out of the main one.')

The generalizations that emerge from the preceding examples are: 1) *Principale*

appears postnominally (and prenominally with a perhaps slightly different interpretation); 2)

It may not appear predicatively or with *ne*; 3) It may not be modified; and 4) It may appear

in elliptical nominal constructions. How to characterize *principale* is entirely unclear to me.

I will have to leave the issue of *principale*-type adjectives for future work.

In this section, I have claimed that certain adjectives are syntactic heads which project

to the XP level. These adjectives do not appear postnominally because N-raising across the

A° would result in a failure of antecedent government of the trace of the raised N.

Selectional requirements of the adjective account for the impossibility of forming elliptical

nominal constructions with these adjectives. I will have more to say about these A°

adjectives in section 2.3.1.

2.3 Some Consequences of the Proposal

The claim that two types of adjectives must be distinguished has several

consequences. In section 2.3.1, I claim that certain adjectives are actually structurally

ambiguous between the two types of adjectives I have argued for. Then, in section 2.3.2,

I return to the prenominal adjective facts of English, arguing that the analysis proposed for

Romance will generalize to English as well. Finally, the liaison facts I discuss in section

2.3.3, and the distribution of adjectives in Romanian that I discuss in section 2.3.4, provide further support for the general proposal.

2.3.1 Structurally Ambiguous Adjectives

If I am correct in my claim that two types of adjectives must be distinguished, then the question arises as to whether there are some adjectival elements that seem to exhibit characteristics of both adjectival heads and adjoined adjectives. The data from Romance clearly support the idea that certain adjectives are ambiguous between the two types. Unlike the adjectives that exhibit only a subtle difference in interpretation between the pre- and postnominal position (recall the restrictive vs. nonrestrictive distinction from earlier sections), the adjectives that I discuss here exhibit a more significant difference in interpretation as a result of their syntactic status.

Consider, for example, the following pairs from four major Romance languages:

(138)Sp: a.   el simple hombre
                  'a simple/mere man'

              b.   el hombre simple
                  'a simple-minded man'

(139)It: a.   il pover'uomo
                  'the pitiable man'

              b.   l'uomo povero
                  'the impoverished man'

(140)Fr: a.   une certaine chose
                  'a certain/particular thing'

              b.   une chose certaine
                  'a sure thing'

(141)Ca: a.   els diversos llibres
                  'the different/various books'

> b.   els llibres diversos
>   'the varied books'

For all of these pairs (representative of a finite class of adjectives found across Romance languages), the interpretation associated with the adjectives in prenominal position (i.e., the (a) examples) differs significantly from the interpretation associated with the postnominal position (i.e., in the (b) examples).

Interestingly, the (a) examples exhibit all the behavioral characteristics attributed to adjectival heads, and the (b) examples exhibit the characteristics attributed to adjoined XPs. I examine the distribution below.

In predicative contexts, only the interpretation corresponding to the (b) examples in (138)-(141) is available, supporting the claim that this occurrence of the adjective corresponds to an adjoined adjective. The interpretation of the (a) examples in (138)-(141) above is never found in predicative contexts, supporting the claim that this occurrence of the adjective is an A° adjective:

(142)Sp: El hombre es simple.
              'The man is simple-minded.' (cf. *'The man is mere.')

(143)It: L'uomo è povero.
              'The man is impoverished.' (cf. *'The man is pitiable.')

(144)Fr: La chose est certaine.
              'The thing is sure.'   (cf. *'The thing is particular.')

(145)Ca: Els llibres són diversos.
              'The books are varied.'   (cf. *'The books are different.')

As we saw previously, the predication facts seem to correlate with the clitic extraction facts. In other words, if an adjective may not be used predicatively, it may not appear stranded in these constructions. This generalization will disambiguate the X° adjectives from

the adjoined ones:[56]

(146)It: a.   Ne ho visto uno povero.
    'I have seen an impoverished (one).'
    (cf. *'I have seen a pitiable (one).')

    Fr: b.   J'en ai trouvé un certain.
    'I have found a sure (one).'
    (cf. *'I have found a particular (one).')

    Ca: c.   N'he vist uns de diversos.
    'I have seen varied (ones).'
    (cf. *'I have seen different (ones).')

Following the pattern described for the adjectival heads, the adjectives in the (a) examples in (147)-(150) generally disallow modification, while those in the (b) examples, patterning with adjoined adjectives, allow it.[57]

(147)Sp: a.   *el muy simple hombre
    'the very mere man'

    b.   el hombre muy simple
    'the very simple-minded man'

(148)It: a.   *il così pover'uomo
    'the so pitiable man'

    b.   l'uomo così povero
    'the so impoverished man'

(149)Fr: a.   *la très certaine chose
    'the very particular thing'

    b.   la chose très certaine
    'the very sure thing'

(150)Ca: a.   *els molt diversos llibres
    'the very different books'

    b.   els llibres molt diversos
    'the very varied books'

Only the adjectives in the (b) examples above may appear in elliptical nominal constructions:

(151)Sp: el simple
             'the simple-minded (one)'   (cf. *'the mere (one)')

(152)It: quello povero
             'the impoverished (one)'   (cf. *'the pitiable (one)')

(153)Fr: *la certaine[58]
             'the sure (one)'   (cf. *'the particular (one)')

(154)Ca: els diversos
             'the varied (ones)'   (cf. *'the different (ones)')

This is accounted for by the generalization that adjectival heads require NP complements with overt N heads.

The data presented above support the claim that the adjectives in examples (138)-(141) are really ambiguous between two structural representations. The representation I attribute to the adjectival heads (i.e., the (a) examples in (138)-(141)) would be represented by (155)a, and the representation for the adjectives adjoined to XPs (i.e., the (b) examples in (138)-(141)) would be represented by (155)b:

```
(155)Sp:  a.                              b.
              DP                              DP
             /\                              /\
            D  AP                           D  NumP
            |  /\                           |   /\
           el A  NumP                      el Num NP
              |   /\                          |   /\
          simple Num NP                  hombre_i AP  N
                  |   |                          |   |
              hombre_i N                      simple  t_i
                      |
                     t_i
```
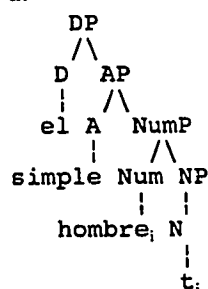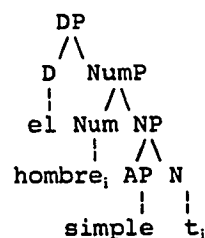
In both representations, the noun undergoes Noun Movement to the Num° position. The postnominal surface position of the adjective in (155)b is derived by the noun crossing over the adjective that is adjoined to the maximal projection, in this case, to NP.[59]

Distinguishing the prenominal from the postnominal forms in this section is also supported by the fact that in some languages the equivalent of the prenominal form is

expressed by a different lexical item than the postnominal form. Examples are provided

from the Campidanese (Cam) dialect of Sardinian in (156) (example from Blasco Ferrer

1986:90) and Catalan in (157) (examples due to Enric Vallduví):

(156)Cam: a. una grandu festa
       'a great feast'

    b. un'ómini mannu
       'a big man'

(157)Ca: a. el gran llibre
       'the great book'

    b. el llibre gros
       'the big book'

   Finally, recall the discussion about Sardinian word order from section 2.1.2.2.

Sardinian adjectives appear postnominally, with two general sorts of exceptions. One

class of exceptions corresponds to the adjectives that I have argued to be syntactic heads:

(158)Sa: s'áttera manu
      'the other hand'

The second type of exception corresponds to the adjectives I have claimed to be

structurally ambiguous. The head type will appear prenominally and the adjoined type

will appear postnominally, following the pattern I have described in this section:

(159)Sa: a. unu sant'ómine
       'a saintly/virtuous man'

    b. un'ómine santu
       'a canonized man'

   Cinque (1993:fn.26, citing work by Crisma 1990) mentions *diverso* as a potential

counterexample to the pattern I have described. According to Cinque, the interpretation

of *diverso* in prenominal position ('several/various') is also found in predicative position,

and this would be unexpected if *diverso* could potentially function as an A° adjective.

As I showed in previous examples, the pattern for Catalan *divers* is a perfectly regular ambiguous adjective.[60] It is not clear that Crisma's examples are necessarily inconsistent with this. As Crisma points out (pp.92-93), *diverso* can be used as a numeral or a descriptive adjective, the prenominal position generally associated with the numeral reading and the postnominal associated with the descriptive reading (examples are Crisma's (168)a,b):

(160)It: a. le diverse opinioni espresse sull'argomento
          'the various opinions expressed about the argument'

          b. le opinioni diverse espresse sull'argomento
          'the dissimilar/varied opinions expressed about the argument'

Diverso with the 'several/various' reading may not be modified (according to Cinque) and is not found postnominally (as expected for an A° adjective), although Crisma and Cinque claim that the 'several/various' reading is found predicatively. Crisma claims, in fact, that predicative *diverso* is ambiguous between the pre- and postnominal readings above (Crisma's (169)b):

(161)It: Le vostre scelte in questo caso potrebbero essere diverse.
          'Your choices in this case can be various/several/dissimilar.'

Cinque provides the following examples of *diverso* ('various') employed prenominally and predicatively (from his fn. 26):

(162)It: a. Le diverse famiglie che accettarono...
          'The various families that accepted...'

          b. Le famiglie che accettarono furono diverse.
          'The families that accepted were various/several.'

Crisma also claims (p. 155), that the attributive use of *diverso* (with interpretation 'different'/'varied') may appear pre- and postnominally, as well as in predicate position (Crisma's (292) and (293)):[61]

(163)It: a.   Vedo le cose da un diverso punto di vista.

           b.   Vedo le cose da un punto di vista diverso.
                'I see things from a different/distinct point of view.'

(164)It: a.   Ho sentito a questo proposito opinioni diverse.

           b.   ?Ho sentito a questo proposito diversissime opinioni.

           c.   Ho sentito a questo proposito opinioni diverssissime.
                'On this proposal I've heard (very) different/varied opinions.'

This last set of facts would not be a problem for my analysis. The pre- vs. postnominal surface position would simply be a result of adjunction site.

The probematic part of the distribution of *diverso* is the claim that the 'various/several' interpretation is possible in predicative contexts. To my ear (in English) a gloss of 'various/several' in predicate position sounds unnatural, and so I would probably select a different gloss in order to create a natural English translation ('numerous', perhaps, although this sounds somewhat unnatural to me as well). I have no sense, of course, of whether or not the 'various' interpretation is natural in predicative position in Italian.

Even assuming that *diverso* may have this 'several'/'various' interpretation in predicative position, there is another possible explanation for these facts. It is possible that (Italian) *diverso*, instead of being ambiguous between an A° adjective and an adjoined adjective, is ambiguous between a quantifier (like *molto*) and an attributive adjective. The prenominal and predicative cases with interpretation 'various/several' would correspond to the quantifier *diverso*.

So, it is not completely clear that an adjective like Italian *diverso* is a counterexample for the classifications of adjectives I have proposed. If the unexpected

interpretation is possible in predicative contexts, it is possible that Italian *diverso* is

ambiguous between a regular attributive adjective and a quantifier.

At this point, I would like to address the issue of why it is that the X° adjectives

pattern the way they do. The suggestion I will make is that these adjectives are functional

elements, as compared with regular attributive adjectives, which are lexical. This

suggestion recalls ideas expressed independently in Bolinger (1967), Ronat (1974) and

Abney (1987).

Bolinger (1967:18-20) expresses a similar intuition when he describes how these

elements may show a kinship to determiners (165), intensify the determiner (166), or

qualify the tense of the verb (167) (examples Bolinger's):

(165)   a.   He is a true poet.

         b.   He is a regular champion.

(166)   a.   He is the very man.

         b.   Look for their main faults.

(167)   a.   He is the future king.

         b.   This is my old school.

Ronat (employing terminology of Milner's (1967)) refers to what I have been

calling X° adjectives as *modal adjectives*. In addition to the distributional facts I

provided earlier, she points out that these adjectives "can only be separated from the noun

by another modal" (Ronat 1974:90; following examples are her (61); M=modal,

A=adjective, N=noun):[62]

(168)Fr: a.   un grand simple soldat   (MMN)
                      'a great mere soldier'

b. un parfait vrai poète (MMN)
'a perfect true poet'

c. un gentil simple soldat (AMN)
'a nice simple soldier'

d. un sympathique ancien professeur (AMN)
'a nice former professor'

e. *un bon vieux docteur (MAN)
'a good old doctor' (if *bon* = as a doctor)

f. *un sacré gentil farceur (MAN)
'a darned nice joker'

Although the data are not completely clear (see Nicole Wolfe's judgments below), Ronat's generalization about nothing intervening between the *modal* adjective and the noun merely describes the situation at S-structure. In a more current framework, however, example (169)d below (the example in parentheses), with *sympathetique* appearing postnominally, must be the result of the noun crossing over the adjective, which is adjoined, say, to NP. The ungrammaticality of (168)e,f, may therefore be attributed to the failure of the noun to raise, rather than to a constraint against having an adjective ajoined to an XP between A° and N°. I am not even convinced that it would be impossible to have an A° adjective followed by an adjective adjoined, say, to NumP, so that the raised N does not cross the adjective. This D-structure configuration seems to be available in English (see section 2.3.2).

Nicole Wolfe's (p.c.) judgments are somewhat different from Ronat's:

(169)Fr: a. *un grand simple soldat

b. *un parfait vrai poète (cf. un vrai vrai poète)

c. ?un gentil simple soldat (cf. un simple soldat gentil)

d.   *un sympathetique ancien professeur

(cf. un ancien professeur sympathetique)

e.   *un bon vieux docteur   (cf. un excellent vieux docteur)

f.   un sacré gentil farceur

Although she agrees with Ronat's general intuition that non-*modal* adjectives may not

intervene (on the surface) between the *modal* ones and the noun (169)e,[63] she does not

like non-*modal* adjectives to precede the *modal* adjectives either ((169)c,d). As I

suggested in note 62, we can take Ronat's pre-*modal* adjectives to be adjoined to AP.

Interesting here is the difference between Ronat's and Wolfe's judgments in the

(a) and (b) examples in (168) and (169). Apparently, Ronat allows these *modal* adjectives

to be iterated, whereas Wolfe doesn't.[64] This difference recalls the variation between

standard (American) English and certain southern American English varieties (discussed

in Battistella 1992). In standard (American) English, modal auxiliaries are never iterated,

but in southern American dialects the *might could* construction is found. Battistella

claims that certain inversion operations indicate that *could* is the true modal, and that

might is a prehead modifier. It will be interesting to see if this analysis can be carried

over to the cases of iterated *modal* adjectives.

Recall that Abney (1987:327) claims that all prenominal adjectives in English

select an NP complement. He suggests that, analogous to auxiliary verbs, prenominal

adjectives can be thought of as *auxiliary nouns*, and are, therefore, functional in some

sense. Although I would not adopt the idea that all prenominal adjectives in English are

X° adjectives, the insight that A°s are functional heads seems compatible with Ronat's

observations.

Thinking again about Battistella's proposal on the *might could* construction, we can perhaps consider these A° adjectives to be functional heads akin to modal auxiliaries. The fact that A° selects NP is then parallel to the fact that modal auxiliaries select VP.[65] That there exists only a relatively small number of these adjectives (i.e., it's a closed class of elements), as compared with regular (adjoined) attributive adjectives, also supports the idea that they are functional heads.

One final point is that although these A° adjectives may not be modified by regular adjective intensifiers (e.g. *very*), one X° adjective may serve as an intensifier of the second (as indicated by the interpretation), at least in Italian (as pointed out to me by Raffaella Zanuttini):[66]

(170)It: a.   una gran bella casa
'a really nice house'

         b.   un gran bel ragazzo
'a really nice-(looking) boy'

This seems to support the idea that these adjectives are functional X°s, since the more significant type of semantic value usually associated with lexical heads is absent with these elements.[67] In these examples, Battistella's proposal may again be relevant for the otherwise unexpected cases of iterated A°s.

In this section, I have shown that certain Romance adjectives are structurally ambiguous between A° adjectives and adjoined adjectives. The A° adjective is associated with an interpretation distinct from its adjoined counterpart, and patterns in all respects with the unambiguous A° adjectives discussed in section 2.2.4. I have also suggested that A° adjectives, in addition to requiring an overt N, should be considered to be functional heads.

2.3.2 Prenominal Adjectives in English

Although descriptive adjectives must almost invariably precede the noun in English, arguing against Noun Movement, there is evidence suggesting that the proposal for two types of Romance adjectives may be extended to English.

Recall from the last section that I have argued that ambiguous adjectives in Romance are heads in prenominal position (171)a and adjoined to XPs in postnominal position (171)b:

(171)Sp: a.   el pobre hombre
                    'the pitiable man'

            b.   el hombre pobre
                    'the poor man'

In English, these same adjectives, in spite of their invariable prenominal surface position, are ambiguous between the two readings. I illustrate with two examples, which correspond to the Romance ones from section 2.3.1:

(172)   the poor man

        a.   'the pitiable man'
        b.   'the impoverished man'

(173)   a certain thing

        a.   'a particular thing'
        b.   'a sure thing'

We now have an explanation for the ambiguity of these adjectives in English. In each case the (a) interpretations in (172)-(173) correspond to a structure where the adjective is an X° projecting to an AP and the (b) interpretations to a structure where the adjective is adjoined to an XP.

The other distributional facts related to the structural status of the adjectives are found with the English cases. The adjectives that I claim are heads may not be modified ((174)-(175)a), while the ones which are adjoined may be ((174)-(175)b).[68]

(174)   a very poor man

     a.   *'pitiable'
     b.   'impoverished'

(175)   a very certain thing[69]

     a.   *'particular'
     b.   'sure'

Similarly, only the interpretation corresponding to the adjoined adjectives is obtained in predicative contexts:

(176) the man is poor

     a.   'impoverished'
     b.   *'pitiable'

(The elliptical nominal constructions and partitive clitic cases of Romance are, of course, irrelevant here, since English does not admit these constructions.)

Now consider the case of two (superficially) identical juxtaposed adjectives:

(177)   that poor poor man

     a.   'that very pitiable man'

     b.   'that very impoverished man'

     c.   'that pitiable impoverished man (lost all his $ and his wife in Vegas)'

     d.   *'that impoverished pitiable man'

Of the four logically possible interpertations, I believe only three are actually available. The interpretation in (177)a is derived by a structure in which both instances of *poor* are A° heads projecting to AP (and therefore iterated). In this case, the first occurrence of

the adjective serves as an intensifier of the second, reminiscent of the Italian facts we saw earlier. In (177)b, the interpretation indicates that both adjectives are adjoined, yielding intensification of 'impoverished'. The interpretation in (177)c (perhaps more clearly glossed as 'that poor impoverished man') is quite straightforward. The first instance of *poor* corresponds to an A° taking an NP complement with the AP 'impoverished' adjoined to NP.[70] I find the interpretation in (177)d (perhaps clearer as 'that impoverished poor man') to be completely unavailable. I am not sure what would rule this example out. The first instance of *poor* in (177)d would have to be adjoined to XP, arguably AP, and the second would be an A° projecting to AP. Recall that a parallel example in French was judged grammatical by Ronat (1974):

(178)Fr: un sympathique ancien professor
                'a nice former professor'

On the other hand, Nicole Wolfe found this same example to be ungrammatical. So, it is not clear to me what is occurring in these two English and French examples.

In section 2.2.4, I discussed adjectives which I claimed were invariably heads in Romance. (Recall that these adjectives obligatorily appeared prenominally.) In English too, these same adjectives may be analyzed as X° elements. First of all, they may not be modified:[71,72]

(179)   * a very mere man

(180)   * a very other girl

And they never occur in predicative contexts:

(181)   * some men are mere

(182)   * the girl is other

The analysis also accounts for the following set of facts:

(183)a.   ?another mere man

    b.   the other poor man   (cf. the other poor fellow)

    c.   the other tall man

    d.   that poor lonely man   ('impoverished' or 'pitiable')

The example in (183)a is fairly good. As I mentioned before, it seems that A° adjectives

may be iterated.[73] The example in (183)b is grammatical, with either the 'impoverished'

or 'pitiable' interpretation. When the adjective means 'impoverished', recall, it is

adjoined to NP, and the requirement that the A° have an NP complement with an overt

head is fulfilled. The adjective may also mean 'pitiable' (seen more clearly in the

parenthetical example). Here again we have what looks like a case of iterated A° heads.

In this case, however, *other* does not modify *poor*. Example (183)c is fine: The A° *other*

has an NP complement, with the adjective *tall* adjoined to NP. In (183)d, *poor* is

ambiguous between two interpretations, hence structurally ambiguous. As a head, the

adjective takes an overt NP complement that has the adjective *lonely* adjoined to it.

Under the second interpretation, *poor* is adjoined to an XP above NP.

I have briefly demonstrated here that the analysis I have proposed to account for

the distribution of adjectives in Romance may be extended to English. Although English

does not exhibit the word order variation of Romance, interpretation facts support the

proposal that two types of adjectives must be distinguished.

Although Noun Movement is generally absent in English, I have discussed one

particular construction that Abney (1987) has suggested may be derived by movement of

the N° *one*. Recall an example like (184)a, represented as in (184)b, where I have

assumed that the N° *one* raises to the quantifier *some* located in D (ignoring for now the

position of the adjective):

(184) a.   someone tall

b.
```
           DP
          /\
         D  NP
         |   |
    some-one;  N
             |
             t;
```
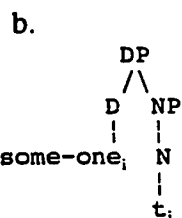
As I discussed earlier, Abney's assumption that all prenominal adjectives in English are

heads leaves no way to derive (184)a. N-to-D movement would have to cross the

intervening A° head, resulting in a violation of the HMC. This illicit derivation is shown

here:

(185)
```
         * DP
          /\
         D  AP
         |   /\
    some-one;  A  NP
             |   |
           tall  N
                 |
                 t;
```
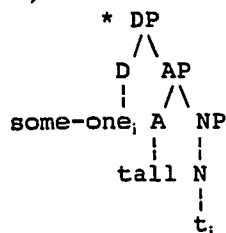
If we assume that an adjective like *tall* is adjoined to an XP though (which is supported

by the distributional facts), the derivation of *someone tall* becomes straightforward:[74]

(186)
```
           DP
          /\
         D  NP
         |   /\
    some-one;  AP  NP
             |   |
           tall  N
                 |
                 t;
```
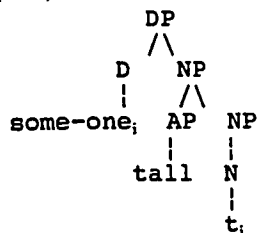
In this structure, the N° *one* raises to D°, crossing the adjective adjoined to NP. This

derivation permits the trace of the raised N to be antecedent-governed.

We now derive an explanation for a related set of facts. Consider an example

with an adjective that I have claimed is structurally ambiguous. The D-structure order

may result in either of the two interpretations:[75]

(187)   some poor one

      a.   'pitiable'
      b.   'impoverished'

Once Noun Movement has taken place, only one interpretation is available:

(188)   some-one$_i$ poor t$_i$

      a.   *'pitiable'
      b.   'impoverished'

This example may only have the interpretation of (187)b.

This is explained in the following manner. The (a) and (b) examples from (187)

may be represented by (189)a and (189)b, respectively:
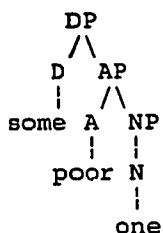
(189)   a.
```
              DP                          DP
             /\                          /\
            D   AP                      D   NP
            |   /\                      |   /\
          some A   NP                 some AP  NP
               |   |                       |   |
              poor N                      poor N
                   |                           |
                  one                         one
```
                                  b.
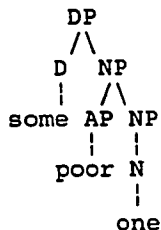
Head-to-head movement is only possible in (189)b, as illustrated in (190). In (189)a, the

presence of the A° blocks movement of the N° element.

(190)
```
              DP
             /\
            D   NP
            |   /\
       some-one_i AP  NP
               |   |
              poor N
                   |
                   t_i
```
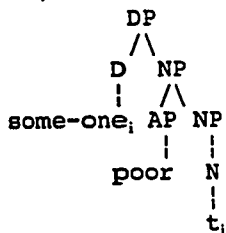
The interpretation of the adjective in the D-structure in (189)b matches the interpretation

in (190). This is the only interpretation available, because only an adjoined adjective permits head-to-head movement of the $N°$ across it.

Distinguishing between (189)a and (189)b is further supported by the following examples:

(191) a.   *some-thing$_i$ mere t$_i$ (cf. some mere thing)

      b.   *some-thing$_i$ other t$_i$ (cf. some other thing)

In other words, the adjectives that I have claimed are heads block N-to-D movement in English (note that the examples are reasonable as D-structure forms).[76]

In this section, I have demonstrated that the proposal I have made distinguishing two syntactic classes of adjectives in Romance extends quite naturally to English. Although Noun Movement is relatively absent in English, what I have considered to be an exceptional case of N-raising in English patterns with the Romance facts. In chapter 3, section 3.1.3.3, I will suggest further refinement of the analysis, particularly in terms of the status of the quantifiers (*some, every*, etc.) and the directionality of adjunction.

2.3.3 Liaison and Sensitivity to Adjective Class

In Morin and Kaye (1982), several interesting French liaison facts are examined.
The phenomenon that is of particular importance to this chapter involves sensitivity to
adjective type (Morin and Kaye:319-320).[77] The relevant facts are given below (Morin
and Kaye's (69a,b,c)):[78]

(192)Fr: a.   Pierre a eu un bonbon rouge, moi j'en veux un (n-)orange.
    'Pierre had a piece of red candy, I want an orange one.'

    b.   J'ai mis mon maillot vert, je ne sais plus où j'ai mis
mon (n-)orange.
'I put on my green T-shirt, I don't know where I put
my orange one.'

    c.   J'ai mis mon nouveau maillot, je ne sais plus où j'ai mis
mon n-ancien/*mon ancien.
'I put on my new T-shirt, I don't know where I put my old one.'

The authors point out that the distinction between the optional liaison in (192)a,b, and the
obligatory liaison in (192)c correlates with the fact that the adjective *orange* in (192)a,b
would occur postnominally, whereas the adjective *ancien* (192)c would occur
prenominally.

These data receive a natural explanation under the analysis advocated in this
chapter. In the case of *ancien*, an X° element, the adjective (at S-structure) occupies the
head of an XP that is the complement of D°:[79]

(193)

```
        DP
       /\
      D  AP
      |  /\
     mon A  NumP
         |   /\
      ancien Num NP
             |  |
             e  N
                |
                e
```
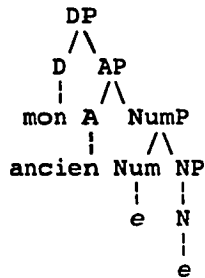
Here, there is no intervening structure that blocks liaison.

In the case of *orange*, on the other hand, the adjective is in an adjoined position. It cannot be adjoined to NumP, because this would result in a prenominal adjective when a lexical noun raised from $N°$ to $Num°$. Instead, the adjective must be adjoined to NP:

(194)

```
        DP
       /\
      D  NumP
      |   /\
    mo(n) Num  NP
           |   /\
           e  AP  NP
              |   |
           orange N
                  |
                  e
```
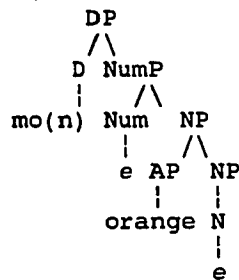
The structural representation above provides an explanation for the optionality of liaison in example (192)c--that is, the intervening NumP blocks liaison.

This difference in liaison facts between the two types of adjectives provides additional support for the structural distinction I have been arguing for in this chapter.

There is one problem with this account of the liaison facts, however. The structure depicted in (193) lacks an overt N and therefore violates the selectional requirements of $A°$. Perhaps in this particular example (see (192)c) the contents of the empty NP are somehow recoverable from the preceding clause containing a lexical NP, reminiscent of cases of English VP ellipsis with modal auxiliaries (see note 65).

2.3.4 Adjective Distribution in Romanian

Reconsider examples like the following, where the (a) example involves an A°

adjective and the (b) and (c) examples involve a potentially ambiguous adjective:

(195)Sp: a.   un mero accidente
                    'a mere accident'

             b.   el hombre pobre
                    'the pitiable man'

             c.   el pobre hombre
                    'the impoverished man'

I have claimed that the example in (195)b involves an adjoined adjective and the one in

(195)c an A° adjective.

Next recall Dobrovie-Sorin's (1987) proposal that nouns raise to D° in Romanian,

deriving the fact that the definite article appears postnominally. Example (61) is repeated

here:

(196)

```
        DP
       /\
      D   NP
     /\   |
  om_i ul N
           |
           t_i
```
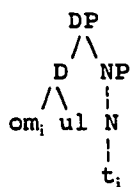
How does the proposal distinguishing two types of adjectives interact with the

proposal for N-raising to D in Romanian? Specifically, if A° adjectives are heads

intervening between D° and N°, N° movement across the adjective should result in a

failure of antecedent government of the trace of N. Raising over an adjoined adjective

should be unproblematic.

There is striking evidence from Romanian that further supports distinguishing

adjoined adjectives from A° adjectives. First, let's look at the pattern with an adjective

that I have claimed to be adjoined. N-raising to D° is quite straightforward here

(Romanian examples due to Virginia Motapayane):

(197)Ro: lacul frumos
             lake-the beautiful
             'the beautiful lake'

With adjectives that I have claimed to be A° adjectives, however, we find the

following pattern:

(198)Ro: simplul fapt ca...
             mere-the fact that...
             'the mere fact that...'

In other words, an A° adjective, not the noun, raises and incorporates with the

determiner. The derivation for (198) would be as follows:

(199)

```
            DP
           / \
          D   AP
          |   / \
   simpl-ul A    NP
          |    |
          t    N
               |
              fapt
```

This derivation obeys the HMC, since there is no intervening X° to block antecedent

government.

Even more striking are the examples with ambiguous adjectives corresponding to

those examples in (195)b,c:

(200)Ro: Omul sárac nu compara masina.
             man-the poor not buy car
             'The poor man doesn't buy a car.'

(201)Ro: Sáracul om, si-a pierdut nevasta.
             poor-the man, REFL has lost the wife
             'The poor man has lost his wife.'

In (200), the adjective is adjoined and the noun head raises (across the adjective) to D°.

This corresponds to the example in (197). In (201), the adjective is an A° head and so

the adjective, not the noun, raises to D°. This derivation is equivalent to the one

represented in (199).

In sum, Romanian provides further support for the claim that two syntactic types

of adjectives must be distinguished.

2.4 Further Issues

In the next three subsections, I address several other relevant issues. In section

2.4.1, I suggest an analysis for postnominal adjectives in English. In section 2.4.2, I

briefly discuss several proposals concerning adjective agreemeent. Finally, in section

2.4.3, I briefly address how English nouns might acquire inflectional morphology in the

absence of syntactic N-raising.

2.4.1 Postnominal Adjectives in English

In section 2.1.1.1, I presented arguments by Bolinger (1967), Ronat (1974) and

Jackendoff (1977) against the idea that attributive adjectives are derived from relative

clauses by transformation. In this section I address the (relatively small) class of English

adjectives that uncharacteristically appear in postnominal position, several examples of

which I have provided here:

(202) a.   The students present (in class today)...

b.   The man responsible (for the crime)...

c.   A woman proud (of her daughter)

It is important to note that the postnominal position seems to be facilitated by the presence

of the prepostional phrases. In fact, for the (c) example, the prepositional phrase is

obligatory. The identical interpretation is not found in prenominal position:

(203)   a.   At the present time...

      b.   Their responsible butler took care of the matter.

      c.   A proud woman...

Although the adjectives in (203) would be regular adjoined adjectives, what is the

proper account of the postnominal position of the adjectives in (202)?

One possible way to analyze the examples in (202) is to consider the AP to be

right-adjoined to NP. There are several problems with this idea. For one thing, I have

been assuming throughout this work that adjunction is uniformly to the left (following

Kayne 1993b). Another problem with assuming that adjectives may be adjoined on the

right in English is the question of why adjectives could not freely adjoin to the right in

Romance, deriving the unmarked postnominal (surface) position. A third problem with

this idea is that it could not distinguish prenominal adjectives, which don't allow

complements, from postnominal adjectives, which seem to prefer them. Why should

directionality of adjunction influence whether or not adjectives can take complements?[80]

I would like to suggest, instead, that the relevant structure for the examples in

(202) is essentially the small clause structure proposed in Stowell (1983) (and also

adopted in Burzio 1986 and Chomsky 1992). In other words, the adjective heads an AP

in the following configuration:

(204)

```
        AP
       /\
    Spec  A'
     |    |
    DP    A
    Δ     |
  the man  responsible
```
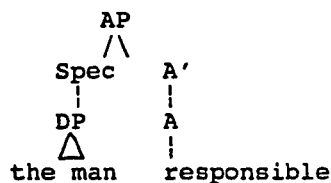
Up until now, this structure has been adopted in small clause contexts and copula

constructions. In the small clause case, *I consider the man responsible,* the verb *consider*

takes a predicative AP as a complement, and the DP raises to $SpecAgr_O$ at LF for case

(following Chomsky 1992). In the copula case, the DP raises overtly to $SpecAgr_S$,

deriving *The man is responsible.* In both of these cases the AP is a predicate.

I would like to suggest that this structure may also function as an argument (as in

the examples in (202)). In that case, a D takes AP as a complement and turns the

predicative AP into an argument (see chapter 3, section 3.4 for a more explicit proposal).

The relevant structure would now be:

(205)

```
        DP
       /\
      D  AP
        /\
     Spec  A'
           |
           A
```
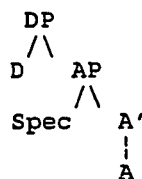
There is a question here about why the D is not phonetically realized. I address this

briefly in chapter 3, section 3.4.

Now the fact that only postnominal adjectives take complements may be accounted

for by the following generalization: Adjuncts don't take complements, but heads do. The

adjectives that appear in the structure in (205) are heads, and so they may take

complements.[81] The prenominal adjectives, as adjuncts, may never take

complements,[82] although the prenominal A° adjectives may still be assumed to take NP

as an obligatory complement.

There is one other sort of case I have not addressed. This is the group of deverbal adjectives which seem to be related to the passive (as noted by Bolinger):

(206) a.   the jewels (were) stolen in the robbery

     b.   the officials (were) elected in the primaries

Although I will not have a specific proposal to make about these deverbal adjectives, it seems that they are best treated as raising of the noun from object position, parallel to a traditional analysis of passive formation.

2.4.2 Adjective Agreement

Throughout this chapter, I have maintained the assumption that N-raising in Romance results in the picking up of nominal inflectional affixes. A well known fact about Romance languages is that adjectives generally agree with their nouns in number and gender.[83] I have said nothing so far about what accounts for this agreement. Although I will not be defending a particular proposal here, I briefly discuss several of the possibilities and I return to the general topic in chapter 4.

One by now standard type of agreement relationship is established in a Spec-head configuration (e.g. subject-verb agreement). Since I have argued that attributive adjectives are adjoined to XPs within DP, the requirements for a Spec-head configuration are not met.

An alternative to this is to think of the relationship between the N and an adjective adjoined to XP as analogous to the Spec-head configuration,[84] so that agreement would be triggered in a parallel fashion. One potential problem with this idea is that an

adjective could conceivably be adjoined to an XP lower than NumP, and in this

configuration it is not clear how the adjective could agree in number with a noun that has

not yet merged with its number affix. One way out of this problem is to generalize

Chomsky's (1992) checking theory to the DP. In this framework, an N-stem would

obtain its inflectional features in the lexicon and be inserted into the syntax inflectionally

complete. Syntactic N-raising would be motivated by morphological checking

requirements. Since the N-stem is inflectionally complete, agreement could be triggered

on an adjective adjoined to any functional XP between DP and NP.

Another approach would be to assume that the adjective, like the noun, has its

own functional categories corresponding to, for example, number and gender. I expand

upon this idea somewhat in chapter 4.

Another possibility for adjective agreement is suggested by Valois (1991b:171-

172) for adjectives in event nominals. Valois adopts Stowell's (1983) idea that adjectives

(and other lexical heads) take external arguments; therefore, the structure of AP would be

as follows (Valois' (48)):

(207)   [$_{AP}$ PRO [$_{A'}$ adjective]]

This corresponds, I believe, to Stowell's generalization of the subject position across

categories. Stowell's examples involve (adjectival) small clauses (Stowell's (24b), (41a),

(43a)):

(208)   a.   Alexandra proved [$_{AP}$ the theory [false]]

       b.   *I don't want [$_{AP}$ PRO sick]

       c.   John [$_{VP}$ arrived] [$_{AP}$ PRO completely exhausted]

(The ungrammaticality of (b) results from PRO being governed. In (c), AP is an adjunct

clause, so PRO remains ungoverned (Stowell:304).) I have assumed that Valois is equating (207) to (208)b,c.)

Valois claims (pp. 172-173) that when the N in a Romance DP has raised to Num° (crossing over the adjoined adjective(s)), it will have amalgamated with its inflectional features. Then, the noun will m-command everything below it in NP and trigger adjective agreement by controlling PRO in SpecAP.

It is not clear to me how Stowell's small clause structure is relevant here, and whether Valois means to generalize the proposal to all attributive adjoined APs. Even if it is relevant here, an adjective adjoined to NumP (as I have proposed) would never be m-commanded by the raised noun, unless we assume the N raises to D. I have already argued against the idea of the noun (generally) raising to D in the syntax. Even if it raises at LF, an idea which is actually appealing, it would be too "late" to control PRO and trigger adjective agreement.

2.4.3 Affix Lowering in English?

So far, I have claimed that N-raising in Romance results in a noun's inflectional affixes being "picked up" during the course of movement. If English is characterized by the relative absence of Noun Movement, accounting for the prenominal position of adjectives, how does an N-stem amalgamate with its plural s marker, which I assume to be the head of NumP? Although I will not have a specific proposal to make, I review two possible approaches to this question.

One possibility, of course, is to assume that the affix lowers onto the English N-stem in the syntax. We can extend Pollock's (1989) "strong" and "weak" distinction in

IP to the DP, and distinguish French, with "strong" agreement, therefore overt N-raising, from English, with "weak" agreement, therefore no overt N-raising. Although it will yield the right result with respect to, for example, the placement of adjectives (parallel to Pollock's data with adverbs), it suffers from the problem of how to license the trace of the lowered affix. One possible solution, as proposed in Chomsky (1991) for IP, is to assume that the potentially improper chain is "repaired" at LF by raising the [N-stem+s] to Num°.

Another approach to these same facts would be to extend Chomsky's (1992) recent checking proposal to the DP. Chomsky (p.39) proposes that lexical stems already contain their inflectional properties in the lexicon. Syntactic vs. LF V-raising will still derive the difference between French and English in surface position of adverbs. Chomsky argues that morphological checking requirements force V-raising to inflectional heads. In a language with "strong" agreement, like French, a verb's tense and agreement features are checked in the syntax as the verb passes through the relevant functional heads.

Extending Chomsky's proposal to the DP, we would assume that a noun already contains its inflectional features in the lexicon. In other words, a plural noun like *book-s* would be inserted into the syntax inflectionally complete. Parallel to the case discussed above, "strong" agreement in French would force the N to raise to Num° in the syntax in order for the N to check it's morpholgical features. In English, a language characterized by relatively "weak" agreement, raising to Num° would take place at LF. Assuming LF movement correctly derives the fact that adjectives appear prenominally in English.

In these last three subsections, I have discussed several issues that are problematic under most approaches to the various data I have been examining. At this point, I have

only been able to suggest possible solutions. Further work is needed to determine more precisely how to resolve these issues.

Notes to chapter 2

1. I employ the term *attributive* descriptively to refer to adjectives that modify the noun within the DP. This contrasts with *predicative* adjectives, appearing after the copula or in small clause constructions.

2. This adjective in (2)a belongs to a class of adverbial adjectives beginning with *a*: *awake, afloat, afire, agog, alive* (Bolinger 1967:12).

3. Modification seems less necessary, at least for (3)a and (3)b, when these adjectives appear in full sentences:
(i)   He is the man responsible.
(ii)   These were the jewels stolen.
(iii)   ??This is the river navigable.
(iv)   ??These are the stars visible.

4. The adjectives that do not appear predicatively are also barred in small clause constructions (see sections 2.2.4 and 2.4.1):
(i)   *I consider that stranger total.

5. Bolinger (p.3., fn. 1) notes the relationship to the passive that is present with *were*.

6. To my ear, (i) is a more natural sentence than (ii):
(i)   The jewels stolen during the robbery were returned to their rightful owners.
(ii)   ?The stolen jewels were returned to their rightful owners.
In other words, the inherent quality of the adjective is awkward in a sentence like (ii) where this (stolen) quality would be altered.

7. Richard Larson (p.c.) questions Bolinger's reasoning here, noting that LF movement disambiguates interpretation.

8. Jackendoff (1977) argues for the Uniform Three-Level Hypothesis. I will not discuss the details of his proposal here.
      For (19)b, Jackendoff (p. 129) considers it advantageous to treat the numeral *two* as a noun. He reasons that nouns, but not quantifiers, may be preceded by adjectives (*beautiful weeks* vs. **beautiful a*). Unlike Jackendoff, I would not consider *two* to be a noun.

9. Abney uses the following sort of example to support his idea that NP is the complement of AP (Abney 1987:324):
(i)   too big a house
I would consider this be an instance of A-bar movement of the adjective to the left of the D. See note 21 for discussion.

10.   I suggest a possible analysis of these facts in section 2.4.1.

11.   Abney proposes that predicative APs are Deg(ree) P(hrase)s.

12.   Head Movement Constraint   (Travis' (1984:131))
          An X° may only move into the Y° which properly governs it.
For the purposes of this work, I will assume that the HMC is reducible to the E(mpty)
C(ategory) P(rinciple) (Chomsky 1981), expressed in terms of antecedent-government.
See Chomsky (1991, 1992) and Rizzi (1990) for relevant discussion.

13.   This example is admittedly odd as an S-structure phrase.

14.   At this point, I am not distinguishing among Walloon dialects. The examples
provided in (43) are in Remacle's native variety of La Gleize, located within the Liégeois
dialectal zone (see dialect map at the end of chapter 4). Cross-dialectal differences are
discussed in the appendix of chapter 4.

15.   Since Jones does not distinguish among dialects in these particular examples, I
have employed the general label *Sa*.

16.   Other adjectives in this group are: *primu* ('first'), *sicundu* ('second'), *próssimu*
('next'), *úrtimo* ('last') (from Jones 1990, p. 31).

17.   No(un)P is the functional category corresponding to the nominalization suffix of
the derived nominal (following Picallo 1991). The basic structure Valois is assuming is
the following (Valois 1991b:158, his (25)):
(i)

```
        DP
       /\
      D  NumP
          /\
        AP   NumP
        Δ    /\
    probable Num  NoP
              |   /\
           [+sg] AP  NoP
                 Δ   /\
              brutal No VP
                     |  /\
           invadeₖ-ion V  DP
                       |  Δ
                       tₖ Jupiter
```
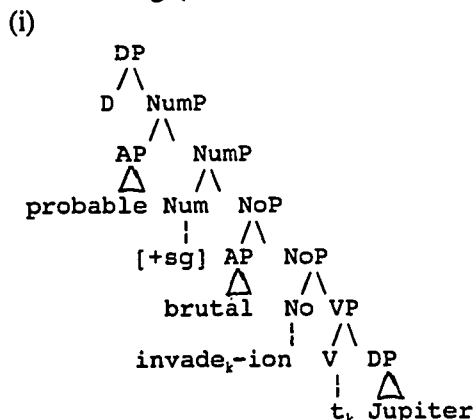
18.   In fact, Valois' analysis would suggest that a difference in interpretation is derived
by movement (see section 2.2.3).

19.   Cinque (1992) claims that the position of the noun relative to the adjectives in, for
example, Sardinian vs. Walloon, is a consequence of how far the noun raises in each of
the respective languages. In a language like Sardinian, the noun would raise further than
in Walloon, deriving the fact that Sardinian adjectives are overwhelmingly postnominal,
and Walloon ones prenominal.

I have not examined crosslinguistic differences in position of an adjective relative to the noun except in the case of Walloon (see chapter 4).

20. Head-Subject Parameter (Giorgi and Longobardi 1991:162)
>
> External semantic functions (of the noun) are licensed at D-structure on the right in Romance but on the left in Germanic.

(See chapter 4 for further discussion of the *Head Subject Parameter*.)

21. Although I will proceed under the assumption that adjectives in noun phrases are not generally subject to movement, it is important to note that adjectives may be subject to A-bar movement. For example, *wh*-movement from within DP has a pied-piping effect, the adjective moving along with the *wh*-word:

(i)   [how tall]$_i$ is she t$_i$

Similarly, the following examples might also be argued to be cases of A-bar movement:

(ii)   [so/too charming]$_i$ a t$_i$ man

(iii) [how big]$_i$ a t$_i$ man

We might think of (ii) as a focus construction. Hendrick (1991) has proposed A-bar movement for constructions like (iii). Valois (1991b:34) suggests that *how big* in (iii) has moved to SpecDP, which he assumes to be an A-bar position.

Another possible case of A-bar movement in the DP involves topicalization of the adjective:

(iv)   intelligent$_i$, he's not t$_i$

I will not discuss these cases of A-bar movement of adjectives in the present work.

22. The placement of the adverb is actually used as a diagnostic for Verb Movement in Pollock (1989) and Belletti (1990).

23. As Richard Kayne has pointed out to me, one way of generating adjectives (or adverbs) postnominally, is to take them to be complements. I will not be discussing this option (but see Larson 1988 for perhaps parallel IP considerations).

24. The question that arises here is why the noun raises (as far as) to the definite article in Romanian. In the appendix of chapter 4, I suggest that nouns raise to D° in order to license the definite article. The movement takes place in the syntax of Romanian and at LF in the other major Romance languages. This parametric difference is probably related to the fact that Romanian, unlike the other Romance languages, exhibits overt case morphology on nouns.

25. The principle introduced by Longobardi (1992a) is the following (his`(19)):
>
> A 'nominal expression' is an argument only if it is introduced by a category D.

26. Valois (1991b:60), in fact, claims that instances of liaison between D and N are a reflection of N-to-D movement in French (his (27a)):

(i)   les *(z) enfants
     'the children'

This forces him to say that with prenominal adjectives (of a particular class, see section

2.2.3 for more detail), D+A+N are all incorporated within D° (order of adjunction aside) in an example like the following:

(ii) la probable invasion
'the probable invasion'

This raises the question of how to derive an example like the following, where the prenominal adjective is modified:

(iii) la très probable invasion
'the very probable invasion'

I will not adopt Valois' claim that (common) N raises to D in the overt syntax in French, although it may raise to D at LF, as I suggest in the appendix of chapter 4.

27. Valois (1991b), following Picallo (1991), assumes an additional functional XP, No(un)P, corresponding to the nominalizing affix of event nominals. Picallo represents this differently. She has characterized the affix as a head of a *functional* projection NP. The complement of NP is a "category-neutral lexical projection headed by a stem" (Picallo, p. 297).

28. Picallo (1991:282) notes that the label *Gender Phrase* should be understood to correspond to the notion *word marker*, in the sense of Harris (1991).

29. The justification for NumP is analogous to Picallo's.

30. In French (and Spanish), on the other hand, possessive pronouns appear to be determiner-like, that is, syntactic heads (Kayne 1975, Tremblay 1989). Picallo has proposed that in those languages where the possessive is determiner-like, the head of the Spec raises further, to D. I will not pursue the topic of possessive pronouns.

31. What I had in mind were examples like the following:

(i)   the nice <u>big</u> <u>round</u> ball
(ii)   the <u>long</u> <u>narrow</u> white shelf

Valois (1991b:149), however, says that Jackendoff (1972) restricts adjunction of more than one adverb to the same projection. Valois reasons (1991b:166-167) that this restriction is more semantic than syntactic, and provides examples with two adjectives/adverbs of his <u>frequent/ly</u> class:

(iii) a.   the clever careful invasion of Jupiter
       b.   They cleverly carefully invaded Jupiter.

To my ear, (iii)a is pretty good, but (iii)b is quite bad.

32. Crisma (1990:59-60), on the other hand, has proposed that the ethnic adjectives are generated in SpecNP, but that the descriptive adjectives are adjoined higher up. This is more in line with what I assume.

33. If we adopt Kayne's proposal, however, another potential problem arises. Under Kayne's analysis (p. 15), adjunction is limited to one per XP because a second adjunction would violate his antisymmetry requirement. If Kayne's limitation on adjunction turns out to be correct, more than one adjective could not be adjoined to the same XP.

34.   For discussion on the special status of ethnic adjectives in Walloon, see chapter 4, section 4.4.2.

35.   A late discovery reveals that the example numbers and page numbers attributed to Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) actually correspond to those of the pre-book manuscript. I apologize for this.

36.   True compounds would involve examples like the following (Lamarche's (9)):
(i)Fr: a.   camp d'entraînement
              'training camp'
        b.   lunettes de soleil
              'sunglasses'
Here, modification internal to the compound is disallowed (Lamarches's (10c)):
(ii)Fr: *un camp japonais d'entrainement
              'a Japanese training camp'
With the examples in (76), internal modification is possible, indicating that they are not compounds (Larmarche's (11a,b)):
(iii)Fr: a.   J'ai rencontré un groupe de 6 femmes, et un de 3 hommes.
              'I met a group of 6 women and one (a group) of 3 men.
        b.   les producteurs japonais de pétrole brut
              'the Japanese crude oil producers'
        Cinque (1990b) and Crisma (1990) also claim that similar Italian examples are compounds (Crisma's (270a),(271a)):
(iv)It: a.   incursione aerea giapponese
              'Japanese air raid'
        b.   Mercato Comune Europeo
              'European Common Market'
        The postnominal adjective in all these examples may perhaps be accommodated within an N-raising framework. What is needed here is a more developed theory of compounds, as Cinque (1993, p. 9) also notes.

37.   Cinque (p.c.) shows that similar facts obtain in English, but that in English, the adjective has to be quite heavy (examples Cinque's):
(i)   a.   an old man, nice with everybody
       b.   an old man, nice and witty
Although Italian doesn't require this heaviness, Cinque observes that there is a slight pause before the adjective in (77), but not in (78).

38.   I see one potential problem with Cinque's idea. As Cinque (1993) himself notes, the adjective *principale* may not be used predicatively in Italian (p.4), although it may appear postnominally (examples are Cinque's):
(i)It: *Questo motivo è principale
              'this reason is main'
(ii)It: a.   questo è il principale motivo della sua partenza
              'this is the main reason for his departure'
        b.   questo è il motivo principale della sua partenza

If *principale* may not be used predicatively, then it's appearance in (iii)a is mysterious, since, following Cinque, this instance of the adjective should be predicative (judgments due to Raffaella Zanuttini):

(iii)It: a. l'attore maschile principale
  b. il principale attore maschile
   'the principal male actor'

For event nominals, Pierre Pica provided the following judgments for French:

(iv)Fr: a. la principale invasion allemende
  b. ?l'invasion allemande principale
   'the main German invasion'
   (cf. *l'invasion principale allemande)

(As Pierre Pica notes, the interpretation for (iv)a and (iv)b is not identical. The difference should be paraphraseable as 'the main German invasion' for (iv)a vs. 'the German main invasion' for (iv)b.

Raffaella Zanuttini (p.c.), however, did not like the Italian equivalent for (iv)b:

(v)It: a. la principale invasione tedesca fu quella del 1939.
  b. *l'invasione tedesca principale
   'the main German invasion'
   (cf. *l'invasione principale tedesca)

39. The issue of appropriate structure also arises with so-called reduced relatives. One obvious way to represent reduced relatives would be an adjunction to the right of NP. But I have already suggested that attributive adjectives may not be adjoined on the right, since right-adjunction (following Kayne's 1993b analysis) is completely prohibited. I return to the issue of so-called reduced relatives in section 2.4.1.

40. It is not obvious that a (relative) absence of N-raising in English should correlate with the relative absence of this particular sort of XP movement. For one thing, English could arguably have a similar type of raising in relative clauses (as proposed in Kayne 1993b).

Significant here are the Walloon facts. In multiple adjective constructions, the word order matches the English order and not the French/Italian order (examples from Remacle 1952:149):

(i) Wa: a. one nète grîse camisole
     'a clean grey camisole'
  Fr: b. une camisole grise propre
     a camisole grey clean
(ii) Wa: a. one grosse supèsse tâte
     'a big thick slice-of-bread'
  Fr: b. une grosse tartine épaisse
     a big slice-of-bread thick

Unfortunately, I do not have a Walloon equivalent for (79)c (i.e., with a noun complement). If the word order turns out to match the English word order, then this would provide evidence of a correlation between both types of constructions, and support the idea of raising for both.

As I will show in chapter 4, although N-raising is relatively absent in Walloon,

the postnominal position of ethnic adjectives is arguably derived by partial N-raising.

41.   Lamarche (1991:221, fn.4) mentions Sproat and Shih's (1988) discussion of adjective ordering, where it is claimed that although prenominal adjectives follow a relative ordering pattern, an ordering restriction does not apply to postnominal adjectives in French. Lamarche says that their claim about postnominal adjectives was based on unclear examples, and that a proper selection of examples would yield the same ordering restriction found in prenominal position. Since the Sproat and Shih article is unavailable to me, I have assumed Lamarche to be correct on this point.

42.   Lamarche gives the following pairs of examples (his (14)-(15)), the (a) examples with a neutral intonation pattern):
(i)   a.   a red American car
        b.   ?*an American red car
(ii)Fr: a.   une voiture américaine rouge
        b.   ?*une voiture rouge américaine
Although I find a contrast between (i)a and (i)b, I find the example in (i)a to be odd. The reason I can accept it at all, I think, is that for me the [color adjective+ethnic adjective] forms some sort of compound. (Debbie Mandelbaum (p.c.), who also finds (i)a odd, said that for her the compound consists of the [ethinic adjective+noun].)
        The status of an example like (i)a becomes even more degraded for me with other ethnic adjectives:
(iii)   a.   ?? a yellow Italian car
        b.   ?? a red German car
        c.   ? a blue Japanese car

43.   For now, I appeal only to the distribution of the adjectives with clitics and in null nominal constructions. In chapter 3 I will propose an analysis for these constructions. Note that Spanish does not have a so-called partitive clitic.

44.   The grammaticality of this example is related to the special status of *autre*. In this example, I would say that the adjective has incorporated with D. I elaborate on this idea in the next chapter. See also section 2.2.4, where I show that *autre* may also be an N° in certain contexts.

45.   In fact, I will have to revise this slightly in the next chapter, where I show that there is evidence suggesting that adjectives do not adjoin to NP, but may adjoin to NumP, WMP, and whatever other functional XPs may be assumed. The basic point, that at least two different adjunction sites must be assumed here, will still hold.

46.   Thanks to Johan Rooryck for discussing this example with me. Cinque (1993:2)) provides a parallel, perhaps clearer, example in Italian (his (6)):
(i)It: a.   la loro brutale aggressione all'Albania
        b.   la loro aggressione brutale all'Albania
                'their brutal attack against Albania'
In (i)a, it is the act that is brutal, whereas in (ii)a, it is the manner of the atttack that is

brutal.

47.   Still to be worked out is how exactly these interpretations may be "read off" the adjunction site.

48.   Belletti (1990), like Pollock (1989), assumes that IP consists of two functional projections AgrP and T(ense)P. Unlike Pollock, however, Belletti has positioned AgrP above TP, deriving the surface order of tense and agreement affixes by head-to-head movement of the verb stem.

49.   There is a potential problem with the idea of A° selecting NP, given the intervening functional material. Assuming some sort of *extended projection*, in the sense of Grimshaw (1991), allows us a way out of the problem, since both the lexical NP projection and the functional XPs are projections of the same N head.

        Another way of looking at this, pointed out to me by Richard Kayne, is to appeal to Chomsky's (1986a, 1991) notion of Full Interpretation. In order to compute the reference interpretation of the NP, number must be specified. This is achieved when the N° merges with Num°.

50.   Italian generally disallows elliptical nominal constructions with the definite article. See chapter 3, section 3.4 for further discussion.

51.   As we will see later, this relationship between A° and NP will not necessarily preclude other A° adjectives from intervening.

52.   I will assume that *numeroso* is a quantifier, akin to *molto* ('many') and *poco* ('few'), a class of elements I have not been able to address in this work (see Cardianaletti and Giusti 1990, Giusti 1991, 1992a, and Crisma 1990, among others, for more on quantifiers).

53.   *La figlia sola di Gianni* is only good with the interpretation 'John's lonely daughter'.

54.   As far as I can tell, nothing may intervene between the determiner and *solo*. This supports treating *il solo* as a complex head.

55.   According to Cardinaletti and Giusti (1990), and Raffaella Zanuttini (p.c.), there seems to be a difference in interpretation between the prenominal and postnominal position that I don't quite grasp. Apparently, (129)b is only grammatical with the meaning 'very important' (Cardinaletti and Giusti, fn. 2).

56.   Recall that there is no partitive clitic in Spanish.

57.   Enric Vallduví (p.c.) has pointed out that given the proper context, prenominal modification in Spanish becomes possible for some speakers (examples due to Enric Vallduví):
(i)Sp: La fecha crítica se acercaba, pero el muy pobre hombre no sabía que hacer.

'The critical date neared, but <u>the very pitiable man</u> didn't know what to do.'

(ii)Sp: Tenemos hoy aqui <u>un muy gran representante</u> de las letras españolas.

'We have here today <u>a very great representative</u> of Spanish letters.'

Without appropriate context, however, the constructions would be rather marked, if not ungrammatical.

Several Italian speakers have told me that modification of these prenominal adjectives is simply not possible in Italian.

58. I don't have an explanation for the impossibility of the French example in (153). In other respects, however, the adjective *certain* mimics the behavior of the other adjectives in (151)-(154).

59. Richard Larson once asked me if there were any adjectives that were "three-way ambiguous". I am happy to report that indeed there is evidence indicating that certain adjectives may be A° heads, or adjoined to a higher or lower XP, yielding a restrictive or nonrestrictive interpretation:

(i)It: a. la gran casa
'the great house'
b. la grande casa
'the big house' (nonrestrictive)
c. la casa grande
'the big house' (restrictive)

60. Enric Vallduví (p.c.) provides these additional examples:

(i)Ca: a. És un llibre de contingut (molt) divers.
b. *És un llibre de divers contingut.
'It's a book of (very) varied content.'
(ii)Ca: a. He comprat diversos llibres.
'I bought several books.'
b. He comprat els diversos llibres que m'havies encarregat.
'I bought the various books you asked me to buy.'

61. Crisma has glossed *diverso* in these examples as 'different', but notes that it implies "different from one another, or from something cited before, and does not necessarily indicate a conspicuous number" (p.156). I might gloss this interpretation as 'distinct' or 'varied', as I have indicated in the main text next to Crisma's gloss.

62. A question raised here is what XP the pre-*modal* APs are adjoined to, since in my structure A° adjectives are above NumP. An obvious possibility, of course, is that they are adjoined to AP.

63. The otherwise unexpected judgment for (169)f may be explained by Ronat's observation (p.101, fn. 16) that *sacré* may modify an adjective as an adverb (example Ronat's):

(i)Fr: une sacrée longue guerre   (i.e., une guerre sacrément longue)
'a darned long war'

64.   Both speakers are from France. It will be interesting to see how other speakers' judgments pattern.

65.   Modal auxiliaries in English, however, unlike the normal situation with A° adjectives in Romance, may appear in VP ellipsis constructions:
(i)   a.   Betty will go uptown and Bob will too.
        b.   Francesca should quit her job and Mary should too.
There may, however, be evidence for a Romance counterpart with A° adjectives (see section 2.3.3.)

66.   This seems to be true for English as well:
(i)   a great big mess
        'a really big mess'

67.   This is one of the properties attributed to functional heads in Fukui and Speas (1986).

68.   Richard Kayne (p.c.) has pointed out the following example:
(i)   a very poor soul
Here, the 'pitiable' interpretation of the adjective seems to be favored, even though the adjective may be modified with *very*. I would say that here, the [adjective+noun] combination is an idiom, and has this fixed interpretation. Consider the following examples:
(ii)   I gave money to a poor man that I know.
(iii)   I gave money to a poor soul that I know.
In (ii), the 'impoverished' interpretation is favored, since the sentence makes reference to money. In (iii), even with the reference to money, I find that the adjective is still to be interpreted as 'pitiable'.

69.   It seems to me that the A° head may be modified in the following example:
(i)   a very certain someone   (where *certain* = 'particular')

70.   The surface order in (177)c should be unavailable in Romance, since the N would always raise over an NP-adjoined adjective.

71.   It appears that the adjectival element *mere* may be modified in the following example:
(i)   The very mere fact that she came...
This, of course, would be problematic for the analysis, because I have claimed that the A° adjectives may not be modified. However, if we look more closely at this example, we see that *very* is not modifying *mere*, but rather, the noun *fact*. Compare (ii), where *very* functions as an intensifier for the adjective:
(ii)   The very large hammer we need is in the closet.
By eliminating *mere* from (i), we can see that the general sense of the phrase is unaffected:
(iii)   The very fact that she came...

Without the adjective *large* in (ii), on the other hand, we have an example where *very* is modifying the N directly, paralleling (iii):

(iv)   The very hammer we need...

I would claim that *very* in (i), and therefore in (iii) and (iv), forms a complex element with the definite article (parallel to what I proposed for *il-solo* in Italian in section 2.2.4.). This idea is supported by the fact that *very*, unlike the A° adjectives (including those from Bolinger in note 72), may not appear without a determiner:

(v)   a.   *(The) very hammers we need are in the closet.

        b.   *(The) very facts of the case are in question.

(vi)   a.   (The) great men and women of our time...

        b.   (The) true poets recite from memory.

72.   Bolinger (1967:18) provides examples of other adjectives that I would classify as heads. These are given in the (a) examples below. In the (b) examples, I have constructed my own examples displaying the interpretation of the corresponding adjoined adjective:

(i)   a.   He is a true poet.   *The poet is true.

        b.   That is a true statement.   The statement is true.

(ii)   a.   He is a regular champion.   *The champion is regular.

        b.   He has (ir)regular mood swings.   His mood swings are (ir)regular.

(iii)   a.   He is a sheer fraud.   *The fraud is sheer.

        b.   She is wearing sheer stockings.   Her stockings are sheer.

73.   I suggest in the next chapter that *other* incorporates with D.

74.   Richard Kayne (p.c.) points out the following kinds of examples:

(i)   a.   No person that tall should sit in the middle seat.

        b.   Any woman that intelligent should look for a better man.

These examples do not pattern with the examples *like someone good*, and so should not receive the same account. First, the examples in (i) become ungrammatical without the intensifier:

(ii)   a.   *no person tall...

        b.   *any woman intelligent...

Second, [*that*+adjective] in (i) may not occupy a position between the quantifier and the noun:

(iii)   a.   *No that tall person should...

        b.   *Any that intelligent woman should...

I will assume that the [N+*that*+adjective] sequences in (i) are related to so-called reduced relatives. I return to this general topic in section 2.4.1.

75.   These examples are somewhat odd as S-structure forms, but can arguably serve as legitimate D-structures.

76.   It is interesting to note that English *else* seems to be a semantic equivalent of *other*, and appears in the contexts where *other* is excluded as an adjective:

(i)   somewhere else/*other   (cf. somewhere other than here)

(ii)   something else/*other   (cf. something other than that)
(iii)   no one else/*other   (cf. no one other than my friend)
It is tempting to think of *else* as an adjoined AP equivalent for A° *other*. This leaves open the question of why *else* has such a limited distribution.

77.   Thanks to Yves-Charles Morin for pointing these facts out to me.

78.   Morin and Kaye (1982:319,fn.11) state that the liaison patterns displayed in (192) do not hold in all varieties of French, and that they are "more indicative of a trend than of a steady state."

79.   See chapter 3 for an analysis of elliptical constructions.

80.   Richard Larson (p.c.) points out that the absence of complements with prenominal adjectives may be due to an adjacency requirement for case-licensing/marking between adjective and noun.

81.   Adverbs, typically considered to be adjuncts, generally don't take complements. For the rare cases where they do (e.g. *differently from*), a structure similar to the one proposed for the adjectives would be assumed.

82.   This leads me to the conclusion that licit examples like the following in Dutch involve raising of the adjective and its complement to the left of the N (example from van Riemsdijk 1991):
(i)Du: de op zijn zoon trotse vader
            'the of his son proud father'
This recalls Kayne's (1993b) analysis of complement raising in German and Dutch clauses.

83.   See chapter 4 for the special status of Walloon adjectives and nouns.

84.   Kayne (1993b) would be forced to this conclusion anyway, since (traditional) Spec positions are not licensed in his system.

Chapter 3

Null Nominal Constructions in Romance

A well-known fact about Romance languages is that they more freely allow constructions like (1) and (2) than English does:

(1) Sp: a.   uno peqeño
     It: b.   uno piccolo
               'a small (one)'

(2) Sp: a.   el pequeño
     Ca: b.   el petit
               'the small (one)'

(3)   a.   *a small
           b.   *the small

A possible explanation may be found by exploring the notion "richness of morphological agreement" which arguably characterizes Romance but not English. As it stands, however,

this descriptive notion is too vague to provide an explanation for the licensing of the constructions in question, in the same way that it cannot, without further refinement, explain the licensing of *pro* in pro-drop languages.[1] More to the point, the idea of "richness of agreement" cannot explain why the indefinite constructions in (1) are, to the best of my knowledge, productive across Romance, whereas the definite construction found in (2) is not productive in Italian, a language with a relatively rich agreement system.

In this chapter, I argue that the Romance indefinite null nominal constructions are not licensed by rich morphological agreement per se, but rather, by the licensing properties of nominal morphology in languages like Spanish and Italian. The analysis is detailed in section 3.1.

Catalan employs a slightly different strategy in these indefinite constructions. In this language, a null nominal construction is formed with the indefinite pronoun plus the prepositional-looking element *de* followed by an adjective. In section 3.2, I will examine the Catalan version of the construction and argue that this strategy is syntactically parallel to the Italian/Spanish strategy.

Also relevant to the general topic of indefinite null nominal constructions in Romance is the distribution of the so-called partitive clitic, which I address in section 3.3. I will focus specifically on those contexts where the clitic co-occurs with an adjective. A natural explanation for these examples is provided by integrating the analysis of null nominal constructions and several ideas from the previous chapter.

In section 3.4, I focus on the definite construction in (2). I argue that this definite construction is not to be equated with the indefinite one, but instead should be grouped with two other constructions that conform to the general pattern [definite article+XP]. The claim

is that the definite article in many Romance languages is a subordinator for predicative XPs other than NP, such as AP, relative clause CP, and PP. In the example in (2), I claim that the definite article turns an otherwise predicative AP into an argument.

In the appendix, I briefly discuss a construction in French that consists of [*de* + adjective], and compare it to the equivalent Catalan and Italian patterns.

3.1 The *-o* Strategy (Spanish/Italian)

Nominals in Romance languages such as Spanish and Italian exhibit a construction involving an indefinite determiner-like element, an adjective, and a null noun, illustrated by the Spanish and Italian examples in (4) and (5). Note the impossibility of the English equivalent:[2]

(4)   Sp: Uno grande está encima de la mesa.   (cf. Un libro grande...)
               'A big (one) is on the table'   'a big book...'

(5)   It: Uno grande è sulla tavola.   (cf. Un libro grande...)
               'A big (one) is on the table'   'a big book...'

(6)   *A big is on the table

It is tempting to try to link the examples in (4)-(5) to the null subject parameter, since Spanish and Italian are null subject languages. This approach was actually taken in work by Torrego (1987) for examples like *el grande* ('the big one') in Spanish (see section 3.4).

There are two problems with assimilating the paradigm above to the null subject parameter. One problem is that French exhibits a construction parallel to (4)-(5) above (to be discussed in section 3.1.4), yet modern French does not allow null subjects. If the possibility of null nominal constructions correlated with the possibility of null subjects, then we would predict French to admit both or neither. This is not, however, what we find.

The second problem with fitting null nominal constructions within the scope of the null subject parameter concerns the unexpected presence of an overt determiner-like element (both Spanish and Italian employ a pronominal element *uno*, a form related to the indefinite article). Small *pro* is arguably of category D, as originally suggested by Postal (1966) for overt pronouns in English.

Instead, we could follow Torrego (1987:107) and assume that the *pro* here is of category N. But if these examples could, after all, be explained simply by appealing to this modified notion of *pro*, then a lexical noun should be able to be freely inserted in examples like (4) and (5). As the following examples show, however, an overt noun renders these examples ungrammatical (Brucart and Gràcia 1986 demonstrate with pronouns):

(7) Sp: *Un*o* libro grande está encima de la mesa.   (cf. Un libro grande...)
          'A big book is on the table.'

(8) It: *Un*o* libro grande è sulla tavola.   (cf. Un libro grande...)
          'A big book is on the table.'

What, then, is the proper characterization of these constructions in Spanish and Italian? The analysis detailed in the next few sections develops several ideas. First, I argue that the underlying form of the indefinite article in both Spanish and Italian is *un*, the *o* affix forming what I will call a pronominal element. The *o* affix (*word marker*, in Harris's 1991 terms) is generated independently as the head of a functional projection and substitutes into D° as a result of Head Movement. Adapting Valois' (1991b) proposal for definite articles, I assume that the indefinite article raises from SpecNumP and adjoins to the left of the word marker in D°. Support for a raising analysis for the word marker is provided by the distribution of adjectives in these elliptical nominal constructions. (The claim of the previous chapter, namely that two types of adjectives must be distinguished, is once again relevant

here.) The role of the word marker in these constructions is to license the null NP projection via head government, or alternatively, via antecedent government by an empty N that has incorporated with the word marker. The structural case assigning properties of the verb are apparently insufficient to license null NP projections.

Although French does not display this robust system of terminal vowels, it does exhibit null nominal constructions. I will claim that the analysis proposed for Spanish and Italian may generalize to French as well.

In the other subsections of section 3.1, I will address several other issues that are relevant to the general analysis of these indefinite null nominal constructions in Spanish and Italian.

3.1.1 Phonological Considerations

In Rizzi (1979), Vanelli (1979), and Burzio (1989), the assumption has been that Italian determiner elements, such as those in (9), contain a final *o* underlyingly. In (10), the final vowel would have truncated, due (under Burzio's 1989 analysis) to the syntactic unit formed by the [determiner+N], or (under Rizzi's 1979 analysis) to the adjacency obtaining between determiner and noun.[3]

(9)　It:　a.　un*o*
　　　　　　　'a'

　　　　b.　nessun*o*
　　　　　　　'no'

　　　　c.　alcun*o*
　　　　　　　'some'

(10)　It:　a.　un libro
　　　　　　　'a book'

b.   nessun soldato
'no soldier'

c.   alcun tempo
'some time'

The truncation rule is sensitive to the first segment of the following word (Rizzi 1979:170), and hence would not apply in examples like (11) where the first segment of the following noun is a dental affricate:[4]

(11)   It: a.   un*o* z*ì*o ·
'an uncle'

               b.   un*o* studente
'a student'

As far as I know, the underlying form of the indefinite article in Spanish is taken to be *un*. Like Italian, Spanish exhibits no terminal vowel in the equivalents of (10):

(12)   Sp: a.   un libro

               b.   ningun soldado

               c.   algun tiempo

Unlike Italian, however, Spanish exhibits no determiner-final vowel in the following examples, which correspond to the Italian ones from (11):

(13)   Sp: a.   un zapato
'a shoe'

               b.   un estudiante[5]
'a student'

In fact, the only context in which the the determiner elements in Spanish exhibit a final vowel is in null nominal constructions:

(14)   Sp: a.   un*o* rojo
'a red (one)'

    b.   uno italiano
           'an Italian (one)'

Rather than assume two different underlying forms for the indefinite article in Spanish and Italian (*un* and *uno*, respectively), I propose a more uniform characterization, that is, that *un* is the underlying form of the (masculine singular) indefinite article in both Italian and Spanish, as well as in Catalan and French. Positing *un* as the underlying form in standard Italian is supported by the fact that in the Veneto dialect of Italian, the form of the indefinite article is always *un*, even in cases corresponding to those of Italian illustrated above in (11):[6]

(15)   Ve: a.   un studente
                  'a student'

              b.   un zìo
                  'an uncle'

Furthermore, Veneto exhibits the determiner element *uno* we saw in both Spanish and Italian.

Further evidence that (11) is a case of epenthesis of the vowel (and not absence of truncation) comes from the distribution of the definite article in Italian:

(16)   It: a.   il ragazzo
                  'the boy'

              b.   lo studente
                  'the student'

The underlying form of the definite article may be taken to be *il* (or simply *l*, see Harris 1991:54-55), and epenthesis is responsible for the form we see in (16)b. The underlying form could not be taken to be *lo*, because then, following Rizzi, we would expect this form to be the one that appears with his postnominal adjectives. As (17) shows, this is not what we find:[7]

(17) It: a.   il rosso
            b.   *lo rosso
                'the red'

These facts support the claim that the Italian examples in (11) consist of the indefinite article *un* with the addition of an epenthetic *o* that is inserted via a language-specific phonological rule for purposes of syllabification.[8] The assumption that the underlying forms of indefinite determiners in Italian and Spanish are identical allows for a uniform account of the null nominal constructions illustrated in (4)-(5), as well as an explanation for the impossibility of examples like (7)-(8). I return to these examples in section 3.1.3.

3.1.2 Word Markers

Harris (1991) argues for the autonomy of biological sex, grammatical gender, and form (declension class) in Spanish, where nouns typically end in final *o* or *a*. These declension class markers (henceforth *word markers*, following Harris) signal the end of a derivationally and inflectionally complete word. The only suffix that may follow the final vowel is the plural *s* marker. Harris (p.28) states: "Sex is a matter of semantics and/or biology, gender is involved in syntax-dependent concord, and form class is a matter of the morphophonology of individual lexical items." I review two of Harris's arguments for the independence of gender and declension class, as well as ideas about underspecification in lexical entries. (I will ignore the issue of biological sex which is irrelevant to the present discussion.) I then diverge from Harris and suggest that form class, in addition to being an "autonomous domain of linguistic generalization" (p. 29), does have syntactic relevance.

Harris's distinction between gender and form is supported by at least two facts. First, gender, not declension class, is involved in agreement:

(18) Sp: a. el programa (m.)   (los programas)
               'the program'

          b. la mano (f.)   (las manos)
               'the hand'

In (18)a, word marker *a*, the form typically associated with feminine gender, appears on a masculine stem (gender indicated by the form of the accompanying article). In (18)b, word marker *o*, typically associated with masculine gender, appears on a feminine stem.

A second argument for distinguishing gender from form is that adverbs may also display word markers, and yet gender can never be associated with these elements (see section 3.1.8):

(19) Sp: a. dentro
               'inside'

          b. fuera
               'outside'

With Harris's *inner core* nouns, form and gender will converge, with *o* representing unmarked masculine and *a* unmarked feminine:[9]

(20) Sp: a. hijo
               'son'

          b. hija
               'daughter'

(21) Sp: a. muchacho
               'boy'

          b. muchacha
               'girl'

Harris claims that in examples like and (20)a and (21)a, a N-stem unspecified in the lexicon for gender and declension class will exhibit the default for both features--word marker:*o*, gender:masculine. In (20)b and (21)b, the N-stem will be marked in the lexicon for gender

(here, fem.) and the absence of specification about declension class will result in the default

form, *a*.

Harris's *outer core* nouns will not contain word markers, but still have lexical gender

(examples from Harris's (6)):

(22)   Sp: a.   madre (f.)
                   'mother'

       b.   col (f.)
            'cabbage'

(23)   Sp: a.   padre (m.)
                   'father'

       b.   sol (m.)
            'sun'

(The final vowels in (22)a and (23)a are necessary for reasons of syllabification and are not

considered word markers by Harris.)

The marked cases are contained in Harris's *residue*.   The residue contains

idiosyncratic items like (24)a, as well as the fairly large class of masculine nouns with word

marker *a* (24)b:

(24)   Sp: a.   tribu (f.)
                   'tribe'

       b.   programa (m.)
            'program'

Although the class corresponding to (24)b is fairly large (Harris estimates the number to be

approximately 600), there exists only one guaranteed example of a feminine word with word

marker *o*:

(25)   Sp: a.   mano (f.)[10]
                   'hand'

This fact supports the idea that the default word marker is *o*, since nouns marked *feminine*

will virtually never exhibit this word marker.

In Harris's system of underspecification, lexical entries bear no information about gender or declension class if these features are to be realized as (default) "masculine"/ "*o*". Sample lexical entries are given below (Harris's (23)):[11]

(26) Sample Lexical Entries

---

libro (m.)	libra (f.)	libre
'book'	'pound'	'free'
/libr/	/libr/	/libr/
N	N	A
	f	
		]∅

The N-stem /libr/, when unspecified for gender and word marker, yields the masculine noun *libro* ('book') with default word marker *o*. The same stem, when specified for gender (i.e., feminine) will receive the default word marker setting for feminine, yielding *libra* ('pound'). The adjective *libre* is also formed from the stem /libr/. Adjectives inherit gender through agreement with a noun, and so have no inherent gender. The "]∅" marking blocks word marker realization in this lexical entry. (Recall that final *e* is inserted for reasons of syllabification.)

Harris's Marker Realization Rule forms the X° level of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs.[12] Harris (p.56) assumes that all stems, roots, and affixes are bound morphemes in Spanish, the word marker being necessary for the formation of a complete prosodic word.

Although Harris's proposal may easily be extended to pronouns and determiners,[13] I see no way to form the determiner pronominal from a lexical entry. Recall that these elements never appear with an overt noun (examples repeated from section 3.1):

(27) Sp: a. Un*o* grande está encima de la mesa.
          'A big (one) is on the table.'

      b. *Un*o* libro grande está encima de la mesa.
          'A big book is on the table.'

These facts strongly suggest that the formation of this pronominal must be, at least in part, syntactic. This will hold true for all the pronominal elements discussed in section 3.1, as well as the neuters discussed briefly in note 4.

The distribution of terminal vowels in Italian also lends support to the notion that word markers have syntactic import. As Richard Kayne has noted in class lectures,[14] Italian (more so even than Spanish), has very few words ending in a consonant, the exceptions being determiners, infinitives in some contexts, and truncated prenominal adjectives. The absence of a final vowel, and by extension, a word marker, is generally associated with functional heads. Since word markers are usually present with lexical items, this suggests that word markers have syntactic relevance, in that they license a lexical category.[15]

Although I follow Harris's insight that gender and form class are separable entities, I assume that there is a close relationship between the two. Specifically, I assume that word markers are the spell-out of gender. In a language like Spanish, gender is consistently spelled out in the form of overt word markers. In German, on the other hand, what I assume to be inherent gender is not spelled out on nouns.

Assuming Harris's work to be on the right track for Spanish, I would like to briefly explore how his analysis extends to the Italian system. For singular nouns, adjectives, and determiners, gender marking and word markers pattern in the way described for Spanish. In Italian, then, gender and declension class will converge for inner core nouns, as in (28)a and (29)a. The pattern for plurals, however, does not match the Spanish one. Plural nouns

in Italian exhibit the final vowels *e* (f.pl) and *i* (m.pl.) (unlike the invariable Spanish plural

marker *s*):

(28) It: a. ragazza
             'girl'

          b. ragazze
             'girls'

(29) It: a. ragazzo
             'boy'

          b. ragazzi
             'boys'

These facts may be interpreted in several ways. One possibility is that the terminal

vowel (*e* or *i*) appearing on a plural noun in Italian is formed by a merger of word marker

plus plural marker. This raises the question of why a merger would be necessary in the first

place, since word-final [*o*+*i*], although somewhat restricted, is not excluded by the

phonological rules of Italian:[16]

(30) It: a. vuoi
             'want-2sg.'

          b. poi
             'then'

          c. noi, voi
             'we', 'you'

          d. buoi   (cf. bue, 'ox')
             'oxen'

Noun-final sequences of [*a*+*e*], on the other hand, are completely absent in Italian, as far

as I know. There is a class of verbs, however, that exhibit [*a*+*e*] in 3rd person singular in

the present tense (the "trarre" verbs):

(31) It: a. trarre, trae
             'to pull', 'pulls (3rd sg.)'

    b.   attrarre, atrae
              'to attract', 'attracts (3rd sg.)'

    c.   contrarre, contrae
              'to contract', 'contracts (3rd sg.)'

So, the absence of final $[a+e]$ with nouns cannot be due to purely phonological constraints. I will therefore not consider the relative absence of $[o+i]$ and $[a+e]$ to be a result of morphological merger, since both sequences are found in the language.

Another possibility is that word markers a and o are not spelled out with plural forms, (i.e., their realization is blocked by lexical feature, recall Harris's "]0"), and that the terminal vowels e and i appearing in the plural are number markers (akin to Spanish plural s), corresponding to the head of the functional projection Num(ber) P(hrase). I will assume that something along the lines of this second alternative accounts for the relative absence of noun-final $[o+i]$ and $[a+e]$ in Italian.

3.1.3 Nominal Enclitics

In this section I propose a syntactic derivation for what I have labelled *determiner pronominals*. One crucial step I take is to transport the spell-out of Harris's lexical entries (recall (26)) to the syntax, claiming that word markers, as functional heads, project to the XP level. (Recall that I assume that gender is spelled out in Romance in the form of word markers.[17]) I propose the expanded DP structure below (WMP=Word Marker Phrase), where I have provided the derivation of the noun *libros* 'books':[18,19]

(32)

```
        DP
       /\
      D  NumP
      |   /\
     los Num WMP
         |   /\
    libr·]o·]s WM  NP
              /\   |
            t· t·  N
                   |
                   t·
```
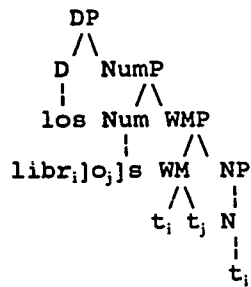
The N-stem (*libr-*) is inserted into the N° position at D-structure. This N° (or N⁻¹) stem then raises to WM° where it merges with its word marker, (yielding *libro*). This derived X° then raises to Num° and incorporates with number specification (yielding *libros*). Each step in the derivation will conform to the Head Movement Constraint, and by the Government Transparency Corollary (Baker 1988),[20] intervening maximal projections will become transparent, allowing traces to be properly governed by their antecedents.

We may assume for English, on the other hand, that nouns are inserted as N° elements. For one thing, English exhibits no strategy for closing off lexical elements and English nouns are not associated with inherent gender. English would not, therefore, contain the XP projection I have labelled WMP.[21,22]

If Romance and English may be distinguished by (at least) the presence vs. absence of WMP, then we would like to find other reflexes of this in their grammars. I will claim, in fact, that the presence of WMP in Romance plays a role in the licensing of null nominal constructions. I explain below how the presence of word markers, rather than rich morphological agreement per se, allows for null nominal constructions in Romance.

For the indefinite determiner pronominals, I propose a derivation parallel to the one we saw in (32) with a lexical N. The underlying representation I assume is given below:

(33)

```
        DP
       /\
      D  NumP
      |   /\
     un Num WMP
         |   /\
      [-plur] WM NP
              |   |
             -o   N
                  |
                  e
```
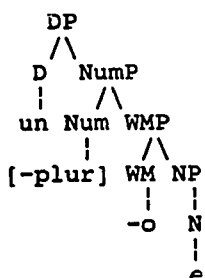
An independent word marker is generated in WM°, although no overt noun stem will be generated in the N° position. Morphologicial theory requires all affixes to merge with stems in order to be licensed and phonologically realized.[23] Since no noun stem is available to merge with the word marker, and word markers are transparent to category (Harris, p.45), the word marker itself, as a (phonologically) enclitic element, raises to the next highest head (respecting Minimality) to Num°, and merges with number inflection. But Num° is not a legitimate final landing site for the word marker, simply because number marking is also affixal in nature. So the [word marker+number] amalgam raises and adjoins to the next functional head, D°. The determiner, a legitimate stem, is able to host [word marker+number], yielding the pronominal *uno*. The derivation, as detailed so far, is illustrated below:

(34)

```
          DP
         /\
        D  NumP
        |    /\
  un]o,]∅, Num  WMP
            /\   /\
          t'ᵢ tⱼ WM  NP
                 |    |
                 tᵢ   N
                      |
                      e
```
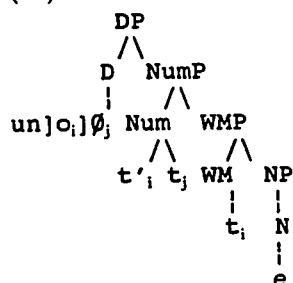
As we saw in (32), each step in the above derivation obeys the Head Movement Constraint.

An important issue here concerns the licensing of the empty NP in (34). One

possibility is to say that the word marker is able to head-govern, and thereby license, the empty NP projection. This was the approach taken in Bernstein (to appear), and also that taken in work on ellipsis in, for example, Zagona (1988) and Lobeck (1991).

Alternatively, we can look at the structure in (34) in terms of antecedent government. Chomsky (1992:9,14) argues, in fact, that the properties that have been attributed to head government are to be rethought of in terms of c-command and barriers.[24] In the structure in (34), then, we can assume that the null head of NP raises and incorporates with the word marker in WM° (similar to Pesetsky's 1991 proposal, see his chapter 10, for incorporation of a null C° with a governing non-null V° element), from which position the trace of N is c-commanded. Each trace in the X° chain would be licensed in this way.

Notice that in (34) I have repesented the indefinite article as a base-generated D° element. In the next section, I will revise this characterization, adapting an idea of Valois' (1991b).

This analysis provides an explanation for why a lexical noun in an example like (35)a is prohibited:

(35) Sp: a. *Quiero uno libro grande.
            'I want a big book.'

     b. Quiero uno grande.
            'I want a big (one).'

In order to derive this example, the WM° slot would have to be doubly filled at D-structure. In the grammatical (35)b, only one word marker is generated.

3.1.3.1 The Syntactic Status of *un(o)*

So far, I have treated the indefinite article as a determiner. Instead, we might think of this element as a reduced form of the numeral *uno* ('one') (following Perlmutter's 1970 work on English). Quantificational elements, including numerals, have been treated as heads of a distinct functional category (QP) in work by Contreras (1989), Giusti (1991), Shlonsky (1991) and others (unlike Abney 1987 who considers these elements to be in the Spec of NP). Treating numerals as quantificational heads is supported by the fact that in many Romance languages, and even in English, numerals are apparently able to license null nominal constructions, or constructions involving NP trace:[25]

(36) Sp: a. Quiero dos.

It: b. Ne voglio due.
'(cl) I want two (of them).'

(37)   I want two

Unlike numerals, however, indefinite articles always require an overt noun:

(38) Sp: a. *Quiero un (grande).   (cf. Quiero un libro grande.)

It: b. *Ne voglio un (grande).   (cf. Voglio un libro grande.)

'(cl) I want a (big)'   ('I want a big book')

This suggests that indefinite articles and numerals are not identical.

Yet there is also evidence against the idea that the indefinite article is parallel to the definite article. Although the definite article may cooccur with numerals, the indefinite article may not:[26,27]

(39) Sp: a. los dos coches
'the two cars'

Fr: b. les deux femmes
'the two women'

(40) Sp: a.   *un un coche[28]
                'a one car'

Fr: b.   *une deux femmes
                'a two women'

If the distribution of the indefinite article does not match that of either the numerals or the definite article, how is the indefinite article to be represented? Following Giusti's (1991,1992a) recent work, I will asume that quantifiers are of two types--those that are syntactic heads projecting to QP (e.g. *all*, *every*, *many*, numerals), and those that are adjectival-like modifiers (e.g. *many*, numerals), with many of these elements belonging to both groups. Indefinites may now be distinguished from numerals in the following manner. Numerals are potentially ambiguous between Q°s projecting to QP and adjectival elements, whereas indefinite articles are invariably adjectival.

Valois (1991b:87) suggests that the definite article is base-generated in the SpecNumP position and then cliticizes to D°.[29] Although I will not adopt this proposal for the definite article, which I take to be base-generated D element, I will adopt it for the indefinite article.[30,31] Valois claims that this derivation provides a natural explanation for determiner-noun agreement in Romance, since a lexical noun in Num° and the article are in a Spec-head configuration.[32]

The two relevant derivations are given below. (I have relabelled Valois' "DetP" as "QP", in order to convey the relationship between numerals and the indefinite article.)

(41) Sp/It

```
            DP
           /\
          D   NumP
          |    /\
         un  Spec  Num'
         ↑   Δ      /\
             QP  Num    WMP
             |    |     /\
            |librᵢ-oⱼ  WM  NP
            |          |   |
             Q         tⱼ  N
            |              |
            └──            tᵢ
```

                'a book'

(42) Sp/It

```
            DP
           /\
          D   \NumP
          |    /\
     un-oⱼ]∅ₖ Spec  Num'
        ↑   Δ      /\
            QP  Num    WMP
            |   /\     /\
            Q  t'ⱼ tₖ WM  NP
                      |   |
                      tⱼ  N
                          |
                          e
```
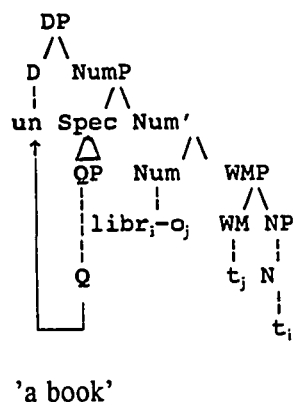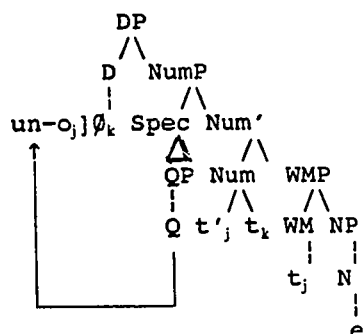
In (41), the indefinite article agrees with the lexical noun and subsequently cliticizes onto $D°$.

In (42), the determiner pronominal is formed by the movement of the word marker through $Num°$ to $D°$, followed by cliticization of the indefinite article to the left of the word marker. From this point on, I assume these derivations for *un* and *uno*, but for convenience I do not always illustrate the cliticization of *un* to $D°$.[33]

One remaining question deserves further attention: Is (indefinite) "determiner pronominal" perhaps a misnomer? Perhaps these pronominal elements are really pro-"nouns" instead of pro-"determiners". The following examples clearly support the idea that the pronominals (at S-structure) are D rather than N elements (cf. the grammatical English

glosses):

(43)   Sp: a.   *el uno pobre   (cf. uno pobre)
             b.   *el pobre uno
                  'the poor one'

       c.   *el uno que veo...
            'the one that I see...'

If *uno* were a pro-"noun", we would expect it to be able to cooccur with the definite article.

This is not the case, as the above examples show.

One apparent counterexample to the above generalization is the following fixed

expression (also found in French and Catalan):

(44)   Sp: a.   El uno es grande y el otro es chico.
                  'One is big and the other is small.'

       It: b.   l'uno......l'altro
                  'one.......the other'

This instance of *uno* is most likely an N° (akin to English *one*, see section 3.1.3.3).

Treating *uno* as in N° in this particular construction is supported by the following

examples:[34]

(45)   It: gli uni e gli altre
             'the ones and the others'

(46)   Fr: les uns et les autres

Although Italian and French exhibit no plural form morphologically related to the singular

indefinite article (cf. Spanish *unos, unas*), a plural form of Italian *uno*/French *un* does exist

in this particular construction. Since *uno/un* may be pluralized here, it (like *altre/autres*, see

chapter 2) must be an N in this context.[35]

To summarize the discussion so far, I have adopted Harris's claim that grammatical

gender and declension class are autonomous entities. Unlike Harris, who has represented

both form and gender in the lexicon, I have argued that form has syntactic import and should thus be represented in the syntax. To this end, I have proposed that Harris's word markers are X° elements that project to the XP level, and that they may be inserted at D-structure independent of an overt noun stem. I have proposed a syntactic derivation for "determiner pronominals" which involves the raising of a word marker through Num° to D°. The indefinite article, which is generated in SpecNumP, cliticizes to the left of enclitic o, forming the pronominal determiner uno. Although I have limited the examples to Spanish, for ease of exposition, the analysis will extend straightforwardly to Italian.

3.1.3.2   Determining the *Head of a Word*

Williams's (1981:248) Righthand Head Rule (RHR) states that the head of a morphologically complex word must always be the righthand member of that word. In this section, I consider if and how the RHR would apply to syntactically derived words, such as nouns and determiner pronominals.

Since I have assumed that N-stems and indefinite articles merge with inflectional morphology in the syntax, Williams's RHR should apply to these forms as well. Kayne (1991:648-649) claims that adjunction of Romance object clitics is invariably to the left, appealing to the RHR to account for the absence of right-adjunction. In other words, the head of the syntactically derived complex element (e.g. cl+I) is the righthand member of the complex (i.e., I°), which determines its category type.

As I mentioned before, word markers are unspecified for category (Harris 1991:45), so that the category of a lexical stem (noun, adjective, or adverb) adjoined to a word marker will determine the category of the complex [stem + word marker].

If Williams's RHR is relevant for these syntactically derived words, as I have been assuming, there is a potential problem. Although the word marker does not alter the categorial status of the determiner stem, it may not be considered the word's head either. The stem portion of the complex [stem + word marker] must be the head of the word, since this is what determines categorial status. Does the proposed derivation for lexical X°s violate the RHR or does the RHR need to be revised?

In Di Sciullo and Williams (1987:25-28), several problems are raised with the notion *head of a word*. One particularly relevant problem is discussed by them, the observation attributed to Jaeggli (1980). In Spanish, the diminutive suffix *ito* attaches to words of several category types (Di Sciullo and Williams's (9)):[36]

(47) a. adjective: poco   poquita
                   'little'

     b. noun: chica   chiquita
                   'girl'

     c. adverb: ahora   ahorita
                   'now'

As with the lexical items discussed above, the suffix in these examples does not determine category type, although it occupies the rightmost position in the word. In fact, the diminutive suffix, just like Harris's word marker, is unspecified for category.[37] What then, is the head of these words, given the RHR?

Based on examples such as those in (47) above, Di Sciullo and Williams propose that the notion *head of a word* must be relativized.[38] Simply put, the head of the word is the rightmost element of the word that is defined for category. In the examples in (47), the rightmost elements defined for category are adjective (47)a, noun (47)b, and adverb (47)c. Since the diminutive suffix /it/ and the word marker are unspecified for category, they play

no role in determining the head of the morphologically complex word. Their distribution is easily accommodated within this relativized notion of *head of a word*.

How does this revised formulation of the RHR apply to the (indefinite) determiner pronominals? As I discussed in the last section, determiner pronominals, at least at S-structure, are D elements. The rightmost position in the determiner pronominal *uno* is the word marker, which is unspecified for category. The head of the word must therefore be *un*, which has become a D by adjoining to the word marker in D°. This account of the determiner pronominal therefore obeys the RHR.[39]

In this section, I have shown how the derivation I have proposed for the determiner pronominal obeys the RHR and conforms to Kayne's generalization about the leftwardness of clitic incorporation in Romance. Although Williams's (1981) RHR seems to be violated by the fact that the rightmost element of the determiner pronominal, the word marker, is not the head of the complex word, a solution to the problem is available. If we adopt Di Sciullo and Williams's (1987) notion of *relativized head of a word*, the head of the word will be the rightmost element that has categorial status. Thus, the head of the determiner pronominal is the determiner element *un*, the word marker playing no role in determining category status.

3.1.3.3   A Comparative Note: Spanish/Italian vs. English

Example (43) was meant to support the idea that *determiner pronominals* in Spanish and Italian are D, rather than N, elements. Consider now the following English examples and compare them with the Spanish ones:

(48)   a.   the red one(s)

     b.   the one(s) that I see

(49)　Sp:　a.　*el uno rojo
　　　　　　　　'the red one'

　　　　　　b.　*el uno que veo
　　　　　　　　'the one that I see'

Unlike the ungrammatical Spanish examples in (49), definite articles are perfectly acceptable

with the pronominal element *one* in English. This is because the pronominal form in

English, unlike Spanish, is inserted as an independent N° element at D-structure. That the

English form is an N° element is supported by the fact it may be pluralized (see (48)).

Now consider an example like the following, which, in chapter 2, I took to be a case

of N-to-D raising of *one*:

(50)　　　　some-one$_i$ rich t$_i$

No lexical noun may appear, since the N° position will contain a trace of the raised nominal

one:

(51)　　　　*[$_{DP}$ some-one$_i$ [$_{NP}$ rich [$_{NP}$ man t$_i$]]]

Assuming that *some* is a D° element, as I did in chapter 2, I would have to claim that

the N° *one* had right-adjoined to D°.[40] Although I have not specifically argued against the

possibility of right-adjunction in English (and neither did Kayne in his 1991 article), it would

be interesting to see if an example like the one in (50) may be reanalyzed as a case of left-

adjunction of the quantifier *some* to the N° element, thus conforming to Kayne's (1993b)

prohibition against rightward adjunction.

We will see that the analysis I proposed for the Romance pronominal element *uno*

extends quite naturally to what I take to be a parallel English construction. Recall Giusti's

(1991, 1992a) claim that quantifiers may be either syntactic heads projecting to QP or

adjectival modifiers. Next, recall that I considered the indefinite article to be a Q element,

belonging to the class of adjectival modifiers (unlike true numerals, which are ambiguous between the two groups).

It now becomes apparent that *some* may be taken to be ambiguous between the two classes of quantifiers. In the example in (50), *some* is adjectival. In an example like the following, it is a Q° projecting to QP:

(52)   I have some

The derivation for *someone* in example (50) will now resemble the one proposed for Romance *uno*, that is, the Q element left-adjoins to raised *one* in D° (assuming that WMP is absent in English):

(53)

```
                DP
               /\
           D      NumP
           |     /\
         on<sub>i</sub>   QP   Num'
       ↑      |    /\
       |      Q   Num   NP
       |      |    |   /\
       |    some  t'<sub>i</sub>  AP   NP
       |            |    |
       |           rich  N
       |_____|         |
                          t<sub>i</sub>
```
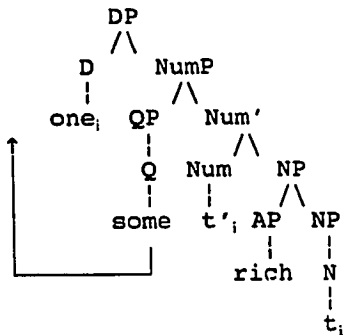
The data discussed in this section support the idea that English *one*, unlike Romance *uno*, is an N° element. I have also suggested that complex forms consisting of [Q+*one*] (e.g. *everyone*, *someone*, *anyone*)[41] are parallel to the Romance examples in that they are derived by N-to-D movement of *one*, followed by the left-adjuncton of the Q° head of SpecNumP to *one*.

3.1.3.4   The Dual Nature of Una

So far, I have discussed the determiner pronominal *uno* and distinguished it from the indefinite article *un*. What of the feminine equivalents for these forms?

In both Spanish and Italian, the feminine form of the indefinite article is *una*:

(54) Sp: a.   una chica

It: b.   una ragazza
            'a girl'

The form of the determiner pronominal is homophonous with the indefinite article:

(55) Sp: a.   una grande

It: b.   una grande
            'a big (one)'

Although these two forms are identical on the surface, the account developed will attribute different derivations to the indefinite article and the determiner pronominal. In the case of the indefinite article (54), agreement between the article in SpecNumP and the raised noun in Num° takes place. Then, the indefinite article cliticizes onto D°. The derivation would be as follows:

(56) Sp/It
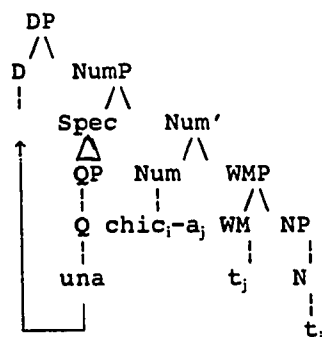
For the determiner pronominals in (55), the word marker *a* is generated independent

of a lexical stem and raises through Num° to D°. The underlying form of the indefinite article in SpecNumP, *un*, subsequently raises to D°, adjoining to the left of the word marker. The derivation for the feminine determiner pronominal would be as follows:

(57) Sp/It

```
        DP
       /\
      D  NumP
      |    /\
 un-a_j]∅_k Spec Num'
           Δ    /\
          QP Num  WMP
          |   /\   /\
          Q t'_j t_k WM NP
          |         |  |
                    t_j N
                        |
                        e
```
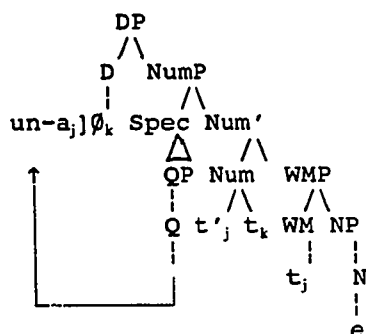
One last question remains: How is the form (*o* vs. *a*) of the independently generated word markers determined? Since these forms are pronominal in nature, a discourse referent for the pronoun must be assumed. If the word marker that appears is *o*, then the noun it corresponds to must be masculine, even if empty (e.g. Sp: *el libro* 'the book', *el programa* 'the program'). If the word marker is *a*, then the empty noun must be feminine (e.g. Sp: *la chica* 'the girl', *la mano* 'the hand'). In both cases, the word marker agrees with the antecedent.

3.1.4 Generalizing the Analysis to French

French does not exhibit the robust system of terminal vowels that characterize Spanish and Italian. Like nouns in all Romance languages, French nouns have inherent gender, but they do not exhibit the declension class markers we observed for Italian and Spanish. In fact, with several notable exceptions (see below),[42] French nouns resemble their English counterparts: Their morphological appearance is rather varied and plurality is indicated by

word-final -*s*, phonetic realization being limited to contexts of liaison (see chapter 4 for a discussion of plural marking in French vs. Walloon).

Like Italian and Spanish, however, and unlike English, French admits (indefinite) null nominal constructions:[43]

(58)Fr: a.   Un cube rouge est sur le coin gauche de cette table, un bleu est sur le coin droit.
'A red cube is on the left corner of this table, a blue (one) is on the right corner.'

        b.   Un très gros chien vit dans cette maison. Un petit vit dans celle d'à côté.
'A very big dog lives in this house. A small (one) lives in that one next door.'

Recall that in the last section I suggested that the presence of word markers in a (Romance) languagae was correlated with the possibility of null nominal constructions. Is there any evidence, then, that French has word markers?

Although French nouns do not exhibit word markers in the robust Spanish/Italian manner, there are masculine/feminine alternations in the language which do not seem to be the result of derivational processes. Consider (59), where I assume that the masculine/feminine alternations involve inflectional morphology:

(59)   Fr: a.   voisin - voisine
'neighbor'

            b.   cousin - cousine
'cousin'

            c.   chat - chatte
'cat'

Similarly, many adjectives exhibit these alternations:

(60)   Fr: a.   petit - petite
'small'

b. grand - grande
    'big'

c. mignon - mignonne
    'cute'

For each (noun) pair in (59), the first member is the masculine one, characterized by a phonetically unrealized final consonant.[44] With the second of each pair, the final vowel (*e*), which is not pronounced, seems to be able to "protect" the final consonant from deletion (Schane 1968:6). It is plausible to think of these final vowels as evidence of word markers in French, even though they appear less systematically than Spanish-type word markers.

A similar and yet more regular pattern is displayed in Catalan. In Catalan, masculine nouns and adjectives generally end in consonants (except for epenthetic vowels before plural *s*), and feminine nouns and adjectives generally end in *a* (pronounced as *schwa* in many Catalan dialects):

(61)Ca: a. el promès
        'the fiancé'

     b. el mercat
         'the market'

(62)Ca: a. la promesa
        'the fiancée

     b. la llibreta
         'the notebook'

Comparing Catalan to French, we can account for the difference in the masculine forms by positing a language-specific PF rule in French which deletes the final consonant of masculine nouns.[45] In both French and Catalan, the final vowel of the feminine form corresponds to the word marker, although the only overt reflex of the vowel in French is the realization of the preceding consonant. In the majority of cases in French, the word marker

must be taken to be abstract, whereas in Catalan the appearance of an overt vowel is completely regular.

Absence of information about word marker class (yielding default masculine, in Harris's system) is spelled out as [Ø] in Catalan and French (cf. Spanish/Italian [o]).

I will assume, therefore, that lexical nouns in French (and Catalan) do contain (abstract) word markers and their corresponding functional projection WMP.

Returning now to the examples in (58) in French, we see that, unlike Italian and Spanish which overtly exhibit the *un/uno* alternation between indefinite article and determiner pronominal (63), the invariable French form *un* is ambiguous between the two forms (64):

(63) It: a. uno rosso
          'a red (one)'

      b. un libro
          'a book'

(64) Fr: a. un rouge
          'a red (one)'

      b. un livre
          'a book'

The examples in (58) will correspond to (64)a and their account will be identical to the ones given for Italian. In both cases, WM° head-governs the empty-headed NP projection, thereby licensing it. The same result is achieved by assuming that the null N merges with the abstract word marker and antecedent governs the trace of N.

3.1.5 Determiner Pronominals and Adjective Selection

In chapter 2, I proposed that two types of adjectives must be distinguished. This proposal will be relevant again here, and provides additional support for the syntactic derivation for (indefinite) determiner pronominals.

Recall that when an adjective is adjoined to NP,[46] the postnominal surface position is derived when the noun stem undergoes obligatory movement from $N°$, through $WM°$, to $Num°$ (structure revised to include WMP):

(65)   Sp:

```
                DP
               /\
              D  NumP
              |   /\
             un Num WMP
                  |  · /\
            libr|]o|  WM    NP
                     /\    /\
                   t| t| AP  NP
                        |    |
                      rojo  N
                            |
                           t|
```

            'a red book'
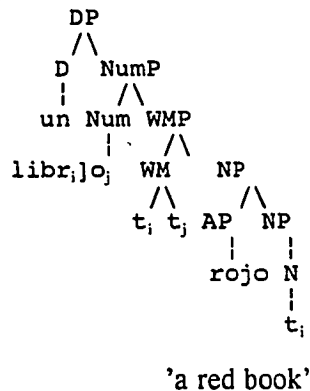
The second type of adjective that I have argued for is an $X°$ element that projects to the XP level and takes NP (in the "extended" sense) as an obligatory complement. The structure I assumed for these adjectives was as follows (structure revised to include WMP):

(66)   Sp:

```
        DP
       /\
      D  AP
      |  /\
     un A  NumP
        |   /\
      mero Num  WMP
           |    /\
   accidente₁]∅ⱼ  WM   NP
                 /\   |
               tᵢ tⱼ  N
                      |
                      tᵢ
```
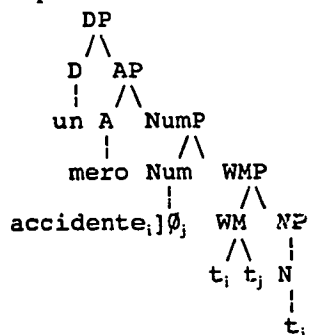
Now let's examine the distribution of determiner pronominals and adjectives. In the following Spanish and Italian pairs, the (a) examples contain overt nouns with adjectives of the adjoined type, while the (b) examples consist of the equivalent constructions with determiner pronominals:

(67)   Sp: a.   un libro rojo
                   'a red book'

             b.   uno rojo
                   'a red (one)'

(68)   It: a.   un libro piccolo
                   'a small book'

             b.   uno piccolo
                   'a small (one)'

I assume that the dervations provided in (65) above for the lexical nouns will extend to the (b) examples in (67) and (68) with the determiner pronominals. In other words, the dervation for examples like (67)b and (68)b would be the following:

(69)   Sp:

```
                 DP
                /\
               D  NumP
               |   /\
           un-oᵢ]∅ⱼ Num  WMP
                   |    /\
                  tᵢ]tⱼ WM   NP
                       |    /\
                      tᵢ   AP NP
                           |   |
                         rojo  N
                               |
                               e
```
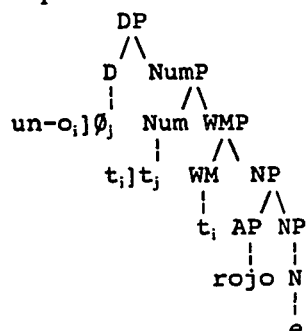
The word marker is generated independently in WM°. Since the adjective is adjoined to an

XP, here NP, the word marker may raise across the adjective through each successive X°

position until it reaches its D° host. (For simplicity, I have not illustrated the cliticization

of *un* from SpecNumP to D° in example (69).)

Now consider the following examples:

(70)   Sp: a.   un mero accidente
               b.   *un accidente mero
                     'a mere accident'

(71)   Sp: *uno mero[47]
                      'a mere one'

Recall that (70)b is excluded by Minimality or the HMC--the adjective, as an X° element,

prevents movement of the N° across it, since this raised noun could not properly govern its

trace due to the intervening A°. Similarly, the word marker in (71) could not raise from

Num° to D° because of the intervening adjectival head. The relevant (illicit) derivation

would be as follows:

(72) Sp:

```
    *   DP
       /\
      D  AP
      |  /\
     un A  NumP
        |    /\
   ↑ mero Num WMP
          |    /\
         -oᵢ WM  NP
             |   |
             tᵢ  N
                 |
                 e
```
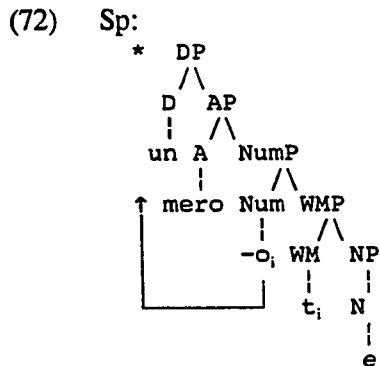
One further piece of evidence supports the derivations in (69) for determiner pronominals. Recall from chapter 2 that certain adjectives are structurally ambiguous--they are either adjoined to XPs or they are X° elements. A representative Italian example is the following:

(73) It: a.   un pover'uomo
                   'a pitiable man'

      b.   un uomo povero
            'a poor man'

I have claimed that in the (a) example *povero* is a head, since with the interpretation 'pitiable' it may neither appear predicatively nor be modified. In the (b) example it is adjoined to XP, exhibiting the expected properties.

Now consider the following:

(74) It: a.   uno povero
                   'a poor one' / *'a pitiable one'

The only possible interpretation for this example is the one corresponding to the one in (73)b. In other words, the adjective is adjoined to NP (or WMP), allowing the word marker to raise via head movement to D°. The other reading (i.e., 'pitiable') is excluded because the structural representation for this adjective would correspond to the one for *mero* in (72). In both cases, the adjective is an X° element, blocking movement of the word marker across

it.

In summary, I have shown that the analysis proposed for the determiner pronominals in section 3.1.3 receives support from the distribution of adjectives. The determiner pronominal may only appear with adjectives that I have argued to be adjoined to XPs. Adjectival heads may not appear with determiner pronominals because their X° status prevents the word marker from raising to its D° landing site.

3.1.6 Deadjectival Nouns and Word Markers

In Romance languages, certain adjectival elements behave like regular nouns. Several examples in Spanish and Italian are provided below:

(75) Sp: a. un pobre
                a poor   ('a pauper')

          b. un viejo
                an old   ('an old person')

          c. un joven
                a young   ('a youth')

(76) It: a. un povero
                a poor   ('a pauper')

          b. un vecchio
                an old   ('an old person')

          c. un giovane
                a young   ('a youth')

Let's study these examples more carefully.

First of all, these elements may not be modified with typical adjectival intensifiers:

(77) Sp: a. *un muy pobre   (cf. un hombre muy pobre)
                'a very poor'   'a very poor man'

	b.	*un muy viejo	(cf. un hombre muy viejo)
		'a very old'	'a very old man'
	c.	*un muy joven	(cf. un hombre muy joven)
		'a very young'	'a very young man'

(78) It: a. *un molto povoro (cf. un uomo molto povero)
'a very poor' 'a very poor man'

     b. *un molto vecchio (cf. un uomo molto vecchio)
'a very old' 'a very old man'

     c. *un molto giovane (cf. un uomo molto giovane)
'a very young' 'a very young man'

If these were true adjectives, the above examples should not be ungrammatical.

Second is the fact that these elements can be pluralized, and even counted, just like nouns:

(79) Sp: a. dos pobres
'two paupers'

     b. dos viejos
'two old men'

     c. dos jóvenes
'two youths'

(80) It: a. due poveri
'two paupers'

     b. due vecchi
'two old men'

     c. due giovani
'two youths'

Finally, these adjectival elements occur in argument position:

(81) Sp: Vi a un pobre/un viejo que andaba por la calle.
'I saw a pauper/an old person walking down the street.'

(82) It: Ho visto un povero/un vecchio che camminava per la strada.
'I saw a pauper/an old person walking down the street.'

This array of facts argues that adjectival elements like those in (75) and (76) should be considered nouns in the contexts discussed above. Descriptively, I shall refer to these elements as *deadjectival nouns*.

Interestingly, when the (indefinite) determiner pronominal, rather than a simple indefinite article, is employed with these elements, the adjectival reading is forced:[48]

(83) Sp: a. Veo (a) uno pobre.
'I see an poor one.'   (*'I see a pauper.')

b. Veo (a) uno viejo.
'I see an old one.'   (*'I see an old man.')

c. Veo (a) uno joven.
'I see a young one.'   (*'I see a youth.')

(84) It: a. Vedo uno pòvero.
'I see a poor one.'   (*'I see a pauper.')

b. Vedo uno vecchio.
'I see an old one.'   (*'I see an old man.')

c. Vedo uno giovane.
'I see a young one'   (*'I see a youth.')

We can be certain that what we have here are adjectives, since adjectival modification is now permitted:

(85) Sp: a. Veo (a) uno muy pobre.

b. Veo (a) uno muy viejo.

c. Veo (a) uno muy joven.

(86) It: a. Vedo uno molto povero.

b. Vedo uno molto vecchio.

c. Vedo uno molto giovane.

An explanation for these facts is provided by my analysis of the determiner

pronominals. In (83)-(84), an independent word marker *o* is generated in WM°. A lexical (or deadjectival) noun is prohibited, since it could never merge with a (second) word marker. In other words, the ungrammatical glosses for the examples in (83) and (84) would require WM° to be doubly filled at D-structure. This explanation is identical to the one from section 3.1.3 that accounted for the prohibition against co-occcurrence of lexical nouns and determiner pronominals (recall *uno libro*).

In sum, the distribution of *deadjectival nouns* and their homophonous adjectival counterparts provides further support for the analysis of determiner pronominals.

3.1.7 Demonstrative Elements and Word Markers

The analysis proposed for indefinite pronominals will also apply to null nominal constructions formed with demonstratives.[49] Giusti (1992a) argues, in fact, based on facts from Romanian, that demonstratives in Romance cannot be considered to be heads of category D. To mention just one of her arguments here, demonstratives and definite articles cooccur in many languages, including several Romance ones. Giusti proposes that demonstratives are generated in the highest SpecXP below DP, which she labels "AgrP". This is reminiscent of what I have proposed for the indefinite article/(indefinite) determiner pronominal in Romance. Putting aside the question of the appropriate labelling of the functional XP in question, I will follow Giusti's basic proposal.

In order to derive the surface position of both the adjectival demonstratives (i.e., those addressed by Giusti) and the pronominal demonstratives (the ones of direct interest here), I will assume that the demonstrative is base-generated in SpecXP. When adjectival, the noun raises over the demonstrative, deriving the postnominal position in Spanish,

Catalan, and Romanian (Romanian examples from Giusti 1992a, her (23)):[50]

(87) Sp: a.   la casa esta
                 the house this
                 'this house'

      Ca: b.   el país aquest
                 the country this
                 'this country'

      Ro: c.   bàitul acesta
                 boy-the this
                 'this boy'

When the demonstrative is pronominal, or appears with a lexical noun, the head of

SpecXP raises and cliticizes to D°, yielding the following:[51]

(88) Sp: a.   esta (casa)
                 'this (house)'

      Ca: b.   aquest (país)
                 'this (country)'

      Ro: c.   acest bàiat, acesta
                 'this boy', 'this (m.sg.)'

This derivation for the examples in (88) is parallel to the one given for the examples with

indefinite articles.[52]

The account of null nominal constructions with demonstratives in Romance will now

resemble the account formed with the (indefinite) determiner pronominal. I illustrate with

Italian examples in order to highlight the morphological alternations.[53]

With lexical nouns, the demonstrative appears without a word marker:

(89) It: quel libro grande
             'that big book'

An epenthetic o will appear before dental affricates:

(90) It: quello studente
             'that student'

Without an overt noun, the demonstrative form must have the word marker:[54]

(91) It: quello grande (cf. *quello libro grande)
             'the big (one)'

Now compare the facts above with the distribution of the other Italian demonstrative

element:

(92) It: questo libro grande
             'this big book'

(93) It: questo grande
             'the big (one)'

Given what I have said, we wouldn't expect to find a word marker in the example in (92)

with a lexical noun. This is only an apparent problem, however. In that example, the o is

independently needed for phonological reasons (cf. (90)). That o is epenthetic in (92) is

supported by the following example:

(94) It: quest'estate
             'this summer'

Here, the demonstrative is syllabifiable with the following vowel-initial noun.

Finally, as we saw for Italian and Spanish *una* (in section 3.1.3.4), the feminine

forms are amibiguous between the demonstrative adjectival and pronominal form:

(95) It: a.   questa/quella ragazza
                   'this/that girl'

      b.   questa/quella intelligente
            'the smart (one)'

I have shown here how the analysis proposed for the (indefinite) determiner

pronominals extends quite straightforwardly to equivalent constructions formed with

demonstrative elements.

3.1.8 So-Called Adverbs and Word Markers

As I mentioned in section 3.1.2, Harris considers Spanish so-called adverbs like

dentro ('inside) and *fuera* ('outside') to contain word markers and to argue for the

independence of gender and form, since these elements may not be associated with gender.

Plann (1985) examines these elements, which in traditional grammars have been

considered to be either adverbs or prepositions.[55] She argues against both characterizations

and suggests instead that these elements belong to a neutralized [+N] syntactic category she

labels *substantive*, a category sharing properties with both nouns and adjectives, but not with

prepositions.[56]

One property distinguishing the prepositions from nouns (N), adjectives (A), and

substantives (S) is that only the prepositions (P) may assign case (Plann 1985:123, her (5)a-

(8)a):

(96)　Sp:　la defensa *(de) la ciudad　(N)
　　　　　 the defense of the city

(97)　Sp:　contento *(de) sus notas　　　(A)
　　　　　 content of his grades

(98)　Sp:　lejos *(de) su hogar　(S)
　　　　　 far from his home

(99)　Sp:　muchos saludos para (*de) toda la familia　(P)
　　　　　 many greetings for of all the family

Plann (p.124) shows that the substantives can also receive case, unlike prepositions

(her (10)a and (11)a):

(100)Sp:　las casas *(de) alrededor　(S)
　　　　　 the houses of around

(101)Sp:　tu preoccupación (*de) por el dinero　(P)
　　　　　 your preoccupation of for the money

Another argument against considering her substantives to be prepositions is that, unlike true prepositions, they can be intransitive, just like Ns and As (p. 129, Plann's (22)a-(25)a):

(102)Sp: El libro estaba sobre/bajo *(la mesa).
'The book was on top/under the table.'

(103)Sp: El libro estaba encima/debajo (de la mesa).
'The book was on top of/under the table.'

(104)Sp: Juanita presentó su análisis (de las construcciones causativas).
'Juanita presented her analysis of the causative constructions.'

(105)Sp: Elena estaba contenta (de su nuevo trabajo).
'Elena was happy with her new job.'

Other properties of substantives are characteristic of either nouns or adjectives, but not both. For example, substantives may be objects of prepositions, just like nouns, but unlike adjectives. Like adjectives and unlike nouns, however, substantives may be modified with adverbial elements (e.g. *muy lejos* 'very far').

One property distinguishing these *substantives* from both nouns and adjectives, not mentioned by Plann, is absence of gender. But given the fact that these elements exhibit word markers, it is not surprising that their distribution patterns with nouns and/or adjectives, and not (true) prepositions. Most importantly, Plann's characterization of the substantives has the desirable result of permitting this class of elements to be more closely linked with nouns and adjectives than we might expect from Harris's brief discussion of them. The appropriate generalization seems to be that word markers appear with elements that may be classified as [+N], as I already mentioned was suggested to me by Richard Kayne.

3.2 The *de* strategy (Catalan)

Catalan, a language with a fairly robust word marker system, does not exhibit determiner pronominals of the type illustrated for Italian and Spanish:

(106)Ca: * Un vermell és millor que un blau.
             'A red (one) is better than a blue (one).'

The ungrammaticality of this example suggests that in Catalan, unlike French, abstract word markers are not sufficient in these constructions (recall that the French equivalent for the above would be grammatical).

Instead, Catalan employs another strategy in this context. The element *de* appears between the indefinite article and the adjective:[57]

(107)Ca: Un de vermell és millor que un de blau.
             'A red one is better than a blue one.'

In the next few sections, I argue that the above construction is parallel to the Spanish/Italian one and develop the idea that *de* is the spell-out of an abstract word marker. The distribution of adjectives and deadjectival nouns with *de*, parallel to that of Spanish and Italian with an overt word marker, support the general analysis. Some striking facts about the complementary distribution of *de* and an overt word marker provide further support.

3.2.1 Abstract Word Marker Spell-Out

One obvious way to characterize the difference between the Spanish *o* strategy and the Catalan *de* strategy, and the one I will adopt, is to take the prepositional-looking element *de* to be the spell-out of an abstract word marker. The intuition behind this proposal is that word markers in Catalan may not remain abstract in the absence of a lexical noun. The Catalan example in (108)a will now receive the representation in (108)b:

(108)Ca: a. un de vermell
'a red (one)'

b.

```
        DP
       /\
      D   NumP
      |    /\
     un  Num WMP
      ↑   |   /\
     de   ↑  WM  NP
      |___|   |  /\
          |___|  AP NP
              |  |  |
           vermell N
                   |
                   e
```
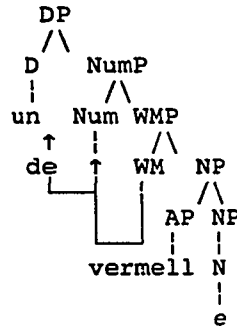
As with the overt *o* of Italian and Spanish, the abstract word marker in Catalan raises through Num° to D° in the syntax and then becomes spelled out as *de* at PF. (I assume that the indefinite article has cliticized onto D° from SpecNumP, as I proposed in section 3.1.3.1.) Since adjectives may be adjoined to XPs between DP and NP, the assumption that *de* is the spell-out of the abstract word marker in D° derives the fact that adjoined adjectives will always appear to the right of *de*.

The ungrammaticality of the following example now receives the same account as that assumed for Spanish/Italian *uno libro*:

(109)Ca: a. *un gos de vermell

b. *un de gos vermell
'a dog (of) red'

In other words, in order to derive either of these examples, WM would have to be doubly filled at D-structure, one (abstract) word marker merging with the N-stem *gos*, and the other corresponding to the independently generated one (spelled out at PF as *de*).

Now consider the following example, where *de* appears without an (overt) D element:[58]

(110)Ca: N'he vist de vermells.
              'cl I have seen red (ones).'

I would like to suggest that in this example the abstract word marker has incorporated with the verb, since the abstract word marker alone, as an affixal element, may not be licensed as a D° element.[59] If _de_ itself were licensed as a D, then it would be able to appear in sentential subject position. As the following example shows, bare [_de_ + adjective] may not appear as a sentential subject:

(111)Ca: *De vermells són millor que de blaus.
              'Red ones are better than blue ones.'

The example in (110) is also possible with an indefinite article:

(112)Ca: N'he vist uns de vermells.
              'cl I have seen some red (ones).'

In this example with _un_, the abstract word marker does not incorporate with the verb, since the indefinite article raises and licenses the word marker in D°. Considering [_un_ + _de_] to be a (complex) D element accounts for the fact that it may appear as sentential subject (as we already saw in (107)).

Note that the indefinite article in Catalan is unambiguous, that is, it does not double as a pronominal element. This contrasts with French _un_, which is ambiguous between the indefinite article and the determiner element (recall discussion in section 3.1.3.4).

3.2.2 Adjective Selection

If the *de* strategy of Catalan is parallel to the *o* strategy of Spanish/Italian, then we expect the distribution of adjectives to match the one displayed with the derived (indefinite) determiner pronominal of Spanish and Italian. This is exactly what we find. In other words, with the adjectives that I have claimed to be adjoined to XPs, [*de* + adjective] is always possible:

(113)Ca: a. un de vermell
'a red (one)'

b. un de petit
'a small (one)'

The adjectives that I have claimed to be heads, on the other hand, may not appear in this construction:

(114)Ca: a. *un de mer
'a mere one'

b. *un d'altre   (cf. un altre)[60]
'another one'

In these examples, the abstract word marker could not raise to the left of an A° adjective.

The following example, however, is possible:

(115)Ca: un altre de vermell
'another red (one)'

I could not claim that *altre* is an N here, due to the presence of *de*. One posssibility that comes to mind is to say that [*altre* + word marker] has incorporated with *un* in D°. There are two potential problems with this. First, *altre* here is an X° adjective, and so it should require a lexical NP. Second, this construction is impossible with other X° adjectives.

We have already seen that *altre* (cf. English *other*) is special in several respects. I would like to suggest that another special property of this adjective is that it is able to raise

to D° in the syntax. In (115), *altre* raises to D°, followed by the incorporation of the indefinite article to D.

This proposal for the Catalan example is supported by the pattern found in Spanish:[61]

(116)Sp: a.   otro rojo
           b.   *un otro rojo (cf. el otro rojo)
               'another red (one)'

In Spanish, *otro* is able to substitute for the determiner element, accounting for why it may serve as a sentential subject. As (116)b shows, the indefinite article is barred in this context.[62]

As predicted, the interpretation of adjectives that are potentially ambiguous between the adjoined type and X° type will only be grammatical with the interpretation of the adjective that corresponds to the postnominal one:

(117)Ca: a.   un de pobre
                'an impoverished one'

           b.   *un de pobre
                'a pitiable one'

3.2.3 Deadjectival Nouns (and *de*)

Catalan exhibits a class of deadjectival nouns, akin to the Spanish/Italian data of section 3.1.6:

(118)Ca: a.   un vell   (una vella)
                'an old person'

           b.   un pobre   (una pobre)
                'a pauper'

           c.   un jove   (una jove)
                'a youth'

Like their Spanish/Italian counterparts, these elements in Catalan are arguably nouns. They may not be modified with adjectival degree words, they may be counted or pluralized like nouns, and they appear in argument position.

Recall that in Spanish and Italian, the equivalents for the above forms are also interpreted as nouns. In those examples, the presence of the word marker with *un* forced the adjectival interpretation:

(119)Sp: a.   un joven
                            'a youth'

                 b.   uno joven
                            'a young one'

In Catalan, the adjectival interpretation of the examples in (118) is derived with *de*:

(120)Ca: a.   un de vell
                            'an old one'

                 b.   un de pobre
                            'a poor one'

                 c.   un de jove
                            'a young one'

In these examples, the independently generated word marker (spelled out as *de*) is generated in WM^c, barring the co-occurrence of a lexical noun, which would have to merge with its (abstract or overt) word marker in $WM°$.

These facts lend additional support to the claim that the null nominal strategies of Spanish/Italian and Catalan deserve a unified analysis.

3.2.4 The Uniform Nature of *una*

Recall that in section 3.1.3.4 I have shown that the element *una* in Italian and Spanish is ambiguous between the determiner pronominal and indefinite article. In this section, I

examine the Catalan equivalent of this form.

The Catalan form of the indefinite article is identical to the Spanish/Italian one:

(121)Ca: una noia
             'a girl'

However, unlike the Spanish/Italian element, the Catalan form is not able to license a null

nominal construction:

(122)Ca: *una vermella
             'a red (one)'

In order to have a legitimate pronominal form, the element *de* must appear:

(123)Ca: una de vermella
             'a red (one)'

These examples show that the Catalan form *una* corresponds to the indefinite article

and may not generally (but see below) serve as a pronominal element.

3.2.4.1   Reanalysis of *-a* as Word Marker

Alternations between abstract word marker spelled out as *de* and an overt word

marker *a* support the analysis I have proposed for Catalan indefinite null nominal

construtions.

Enric Vallduví (p.c.) points out that, at least for some speakers, the ungrammatical

status of the *de*-less example improves in the feminine counterpart. In other words, although

an example like (50)a would be ungrammatical for all speakers, the status of (50)b improves

for some speakers:

(124)Ca: a.   *un vermell

             b.   (*)una vermella
                  'a red one'

It is therefore plausible that the relative acceptability of (124)b is a result of the final vowel

of the indefinite article being reanalyzed as an independently generated word marker for those

speakers. The fact that (124)b is possible for some, supports the general idea that word

markers are the licensers in these constructions, as well as the claim that *de* is the spell-out

of an abstract word marker.

Even stronger support for the idea that *de* is the spell-out of an abstract word marker

comes from the complementary distribution between overt word marker and *de* in the

following examples (facts pointed out to me by Enric Vallduví, *fred* = m.sg., *calor* = f.sg.):

(125)Ca: a.   *fa molt fred

             b.   fa molt de fred
                  makes a lot of cold
                  'it's very cold'

(126)Ca: a.   fa molta calor

             b.   *fa molta de calor
                  makes a lot of heat
                  'it's very hot'

In these examples, either *de* or an overt marker, but not both, are necessary. This, of

course, supports the claim that overt *a* and *de* both correspond to WM°, since the two

elements do not cooccur.

3.2.5 Demonstratives in Catalan

Unlike the indefinite constructions that require *de*, constructions with demonstrative elements are of two types:

(127) Ca: a. aquest gros

    b. aquest de gros
      'that big one'

As Enric Vallduví points out (p.c.), both sorts of constructions, although grammatical, are not extremely productive, unlike the Italian equivalents we saw earlier (recall discussion in section 3.1.7). In fact, he notes that the more natural way to express the meaning conveyed in (127) is with one of the following constructions (see section 3.4 for discussion of examples like (128)a):

(128) Ca: a. el gros
      'the big one'

    b. el gros aquell
      the big that
      'that big one'

Given sufficient context, however, it is possible to have examples like those in (127). How do these examples fit in with what I have claimed so far about null nominal constructions?

Enric Vallduví also notes that the structure with the indefinite article (i.e., *un de vermell*) is to be compared with (127)b, and not (127)a. In other words, the interpretations of both the indefinite and the demonstrative constructions with *de* involve picking out members of a larger set. *Aquest de gros* in (127)b picks out that particular big one out of a set of big ones, in the same way that *un de vermell* picks out a red one out of the set of red ones.

The structures for the indefinite and demonstrative constructions with *de* may now

receive parallel derivations. In both constructions, the abstract word marker raises to D and is spelled out as *de*, and the indefinite article or demonstrative head raises from SpecNumP and adjoins to the left of the word marker in D. Recall that in Spanish and Italian, both the indefinite and demonstrative constructions exhibited overt word markers, rather than spell-out of an abstract word marker.

Returning now to (127)a in Catalan, we must ask why *de* isn't required here. Enric Vallduví notes that the interpretation of the *de*-less example is distinct from that with *de*. The interpretation for (127)a is paraphraseable as 'that BIG one', or 'that one, and that one happens to be big'. He would group the *de*-less demonstrative constructions with the definite article construction in (128)a. As I will discuss in section 3.4, I assign a different representation to the null nominal constructions formed with the definite article.

In conclusion, the Catalan demonstrative construction formed with *de* receives the same account proposed for the indefinite constructions. For both the demonstrative and indefinite constructions, I take *de* to be the spell-out of an abstract word marker. Italian and Spanish indefinite and demonstrative constructions, on the other hand, are formed with an overt word marker.

3.3   *Ne*-Cliticization and Null Nominal Constructions

Another context in which the Italian *o* strategy and Catalan *de* strategy are relevant is with the so-called partitive clitic (absent in Spanish):

(129)It: Ne ho visto uno rosso.
            'cl I have seen a red (one).'

(130)Ca: N'he vist un de vermell.
            'cl I have seen a red (one).'

Following recent work by Cinque (1990a) and Cardinaletti and Giusti (1990), I assume that the empty category linked to *ne* is an NP.[63] Unlike Cinque (1990a), however, I do not take (129) to involve a reduced relative, but rather, I will claim that the (attributive) adjective in this example is adjoined to an XP within DP, with the NP itself cliticized by *ne*.

Cinque's representation for the example in (131)a is given in (131)b (Cinque's (23),(24)):

(131)It: a.   Ne ho comperata una grande.
                'cl I have bought a big one.'

           b.   Ne$_i$ ho comperata [$_{DP}$ una [$_{NP}$]$_i$ [$_{XP red}$ grande]]

One of Cinque's arguments against a structure that assumed *grande* to be an attributive adjective in an example like (131)a is the fact that an adjective like *principale*, which may only be attributive and never predicative (recall discussion in chapter 2, section 2.4.1), may not appear stranded by *ne* (Cinque's (27)):

(132)It: *Di ragioni, Gianni ne ha due principali per non accetare quel posto.
              of reasons, John cl has two main for not accepting that job

Cinque takes this sort of example as an indication that only predicative adjectives may appear stranded by *ne*. As I have mentioned in chapter 2, it is not clear to me how to characterize an adjective like *prinicpale*.

Another argument in favor of Cinque's position comes from Dutch, where a morphological distinction is made between attributive and predicative adjectives. When an adjective is stranded by the Dutch equivalent of *ne* (= *er*), the so-called predicative form of the adjective is employed. Cinque takes this as support for the idea that the adjective stranded by *ne* in Italian is also a predicative form. Unfortunately, I am unable to evaluate the significance of the Dutch data here. As Debbie Mandelbaum has pointed out to me

though, the adjectival endings in Dutch are arguably case-marking of some sort.

There is at least one argument against the position that the structure involved is that of a reduced relative clause. Recall from chapter 2 (section 2.4.2) that I presented several of Ronat's (1974) tests for distinguishing *complex* adjectives and relative clauses (which pattern together) from those that are generated within NP. Recall that the possessive pronouns were only possible with the *simple*, not the *complex* adjectives or relative clauses. This is also true for Italian (Italian examples due to Raffaella Zanuttini):

(133)It: a.   Ti darò i miei libri rossi.

            b.   *Ti darò i miei libri che sono rossi.
                  'I will give you my books (that are) red.'

This pair of examples suggests that adjectives like *rosso* and *grande* (i.e., Ronat's "simple" adjectives, which I have argued to be adjoined to XP) do not appear in (reduced) relative clause constructions.

Similarly, recall that Ronat showed that *les seuls* in French guarantees a restrictive reading. In Italian, the *simple* adjectives (those that I have argued to be adjoined to XP) may not appear with *i soli*, whereas the *complex* adjectives may (with or without an overt relativizer):

(134)It: a.   (*)I soli libri grandi sono là.

            b.   (*)I soli libri che sono grandi sono là.
                  'The only books (that are) big are there.'

(135)It: a.   I soli studenti capaci di soddisfarti sono questi.

            b.   I soli studenti che sono capaci di soddisfarti sono questi.
                  'The only students (that are) able to please you are these.'

Although speakers did not entirely agree on the judgments for (134), all found (134)a to be rather unnatural. In order to improve its status, it was necessary to add context that

facilitated restricting the scope of *books*. Judgments were similarly inconsistent for (134)b. The examples in (135), on the other hand, were considered good by all the informants.

These sorts of constructions argue that examples like (129) and (130) with "simple" adjectives, do not correspond to (reduced) relative structures. Instead, I will assume that the adjectives are adjoined to XPs within DP.[64]

As for *ne*, I will follow Kayne (1989a) and assume that the NP has raised through the relevant Spec position (i.e., SpecAgrO), triggering past participle agreement (at least in Italian), and then cliticized to a functional $X°$:

(136)It: Ne ho comprati due piccoli. (cf. Fr: j'en ai acheté deux petits)
'cl I have bought two small (ones).'

Consider now the derivation of an example with a simple finite verb (details of derivation of *uno* suppressed):

(137)It: a. Ne ho uno grande.
'cl I have a big (one).'

b.
```
        IP
       /\
      I   VP
      |   /\
  ne_j-ho_v  V   DP
          |   /\
          t_v  D   NumP
              |    /\
         un-o_i-Ø_k  Num  WMP
                  |    /\
               t_i-t_k  WM  NP
                        |   /\
                        t_i  AP  NP
                             |    |
                          grande  t_j
```
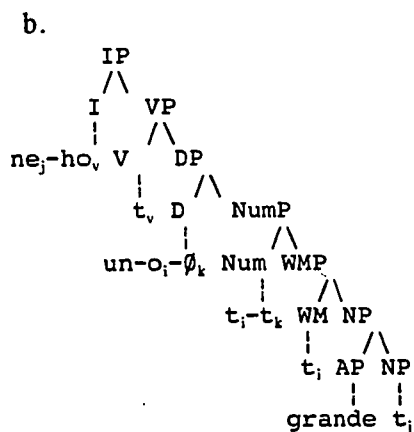
The derivation is fairly straightforward: *ne* raises as an NP through Spec positions and eventually cliticizes with matrix $I°$ (TP/AgrP distinction aside).[65,66] The word marker *o* head-governs the NP projection that contains a trace (or alternatively the "zero" N

incorporates with the word marker in WM°), and then raises through Num° and cliticizes onto D°. For Catalan, the derivation would be identical, except that an abstract word marker would head-govern the NP projection (or the null N would incorporate with the abstract word marker) and then raise through Num° to D°, and be spelled out as *de* at PF.[67]

The examples in (129) and (130) become ungrammatical without the word marker (in Italian) or *de* (in Catalan):[68]

(138)It: *Ne ho visto un rosso.

(139)Ca: *N'he vist un vermell.

In these examples, the absence of a word marker arguably results in the failure of head government of the NP projection. Alternatively, in terms of antecedent government, the NP projection may be antecedent-governed by *ne*, but the absence of an overt word marker or *de* (which I have taken to be the spell-out of an abstract word marker) violates the morphological requirements of the N-stem, which must always be generated with a word marker in Romance languages.

Although I have not explicitly discussed the equivalent French examples, I assume that what I have claimed about Italian and Catalan generalizes to French as well.

3.3.1 *Ne* and A° Adjectives

Needless to say, A° adjectives may not occur in these constructions:

(140)It: a.   *Ne ho visto uno mero.

             b.   *Ne ho visto uno povero. (with 'pitiable' interpretation)

(141)Ca: *N'he vist un de mer.

As we have already seen, in sections 3.1.5 and 3.2.2, the ungrammaticality of these examples

has to do with the fact that the X° adjectives require overt nouns. Another problem in these examples is that the A° adjectives block movement of the (abstract or overt) word marker.

Now consider the following Italian examples:

(142)It: a. Ne ho un altro.
          'cl I have another.'

          b. Ne ho altri (rossi).
          'cl I have other (pl) (red)'

Once again, *altro* does not pattern with the other A° adjectives. For this example, I will appeal to the proposal I made in section 3.2.2, that in these cases the adjective has raised to D°. This will also apply in the equivalent Catalan and French examples:

(143)Ca: N'he vist un altre (de vermell).
          'cl I have seen another (red).'

(144)Fr: J'en ai un autre.
          'I cl have another.'

3.3.2 *Ne* and Denominal Adjectives

As I illustrated in chapter 2, *ne*-cliticization is not possible with ethnic adjectives (examples repeated from section 2.4.1):

(145)It: *Ne ho vista una [$_{NP}$ tedesca [$_{N'}e$]] (della Polonia)
          'cl I have seen a German *e*'

The ungrammaticality of this example is easily explained if we assume that the adjective occupies SpecNP and that *ne* must be linked to an NP.

Recall that when ethnic adjectives do not bear a theta-role, *ne*-cliticization is possible:

(146)It: Ne ho letto uno tedesco.
          (speaking of books...) 'cl I have read a German one.'

In this sort of example, we can assume that *tedesco* is adjoined to XP, just like the other

attributive adjectives.

As I discussed in chapter 2, several other adjectives seem to pattern, in all relevant respects, like the ones in (145) (they cannot appear prenominally or be stranded by *ne*, but can appear with a pronominal element):

(147)It: a.   una rotazione solare
          b.   *una solare rotazione
              'a solar rotation'

          c.   quella solare
              'the solar (one)'

          d.   *Ne hanno fotografata una solare.
              'cl They photographed a solar (one)' (with time-lapsed photography)

As I suggested in chapter 2, these adjectives can be grouped with the one in (145). Therefore, we can assume that *solare* also occupies SpecNP in this context, accounting for the ungrammaticality of the (d) example.

Predictably, if *solare* does not express an argument of the noun, then example (147)d becomes grammatical:

(148)It: Ne ho comprato uno solare.
             (speaking of heaters...) 'cl I bought a solar (one).'

In this example, the adjective is adjoined to XP. This, of course, is reminiscent of the facts with the ethnic adjective in (146).

3.3.3 Adjunction and Segments

In claiming that adjectives can be adjoined to NP, and by assuming that *ne* is linked to an NP, I have allowed for a situation in which only a segment of NP (the part cliticized by *ne*) may be extracted. This is potentially problematic in light of recent work in Kayne (1993b:9-10).[69] Kayne's claim is that a segment could never be antecedent governed, since

a segment, unlike a category, cannot be c-commanded.

In order to avoid this potential problem, I will assume that although theta-bearing adjectives may be generated in SpecNP, adjectives may not be adjoined to NP, but only to higher XPs within DP. Since I have argued that the N-stem raises in the syntax in the major Romance languages, the postnominal surface position is still easily derived. In Walloon, where N-raising is relatively absent, the attributive adjective will always appear prenominally (see chapter 4).

It is interesting to note that a consequence of the claim that adjectives do not adjoin to NP in Romance is that adjunction is now restricted to functional XPs within DP (NumP, WMP, etc.). I will leave exploration of the possible significance of this for future study.

3.4 The Definite Article in Elliptical Constructions

To the best of my knowledge, elliptical nominal constructions with indefinites are widespread and productive across Romance. At first glance, the elliptical constructions with the definite article are parallel to those with indefinite one (Sardinian example from Jones 1990, his (114)c):

(149) Po: o vermelho
      Sp: el rojo
      Ca: el vermell
      Fr: le rouge
      It: il rosso
           'the red (one)'
      Sa: ...appo mandicatu sa minore
           '...I ate the small (one)'

This definite construction has been taken to involve either *pro* (Torrego 1987, writing about *el rojo*) or an empty N (Brucart and Gràcia 1986, who claim that the analysis extends

to cases with other determiners, including indefinites).[70] Torrego argues that in cases like

(149), there is a small *pro* as the head of NP:

(150)   [DP el [NP pro]]

(Recall that I have already argued against the small *pro* idea for the indefinite construction.)

I will claim that a different structure is relevant here. Although I also assume the

presence of *pro* in this construction, I will suggest that this *pro* occupies SpecXP. The

proposal will allow me to maintain the idea that *pro* always corresponds to a DP and must

be licensed in a Spec-head configuration. This characterization of *pro* will now match

assumptions about sentential *pro* (see Rizzi 1982, 1986, Borer 1986, Chomsky 1992, among

others).

3.4.1 Distinguishing Definite from Indefinite Constructions

One of my basic assumptions will be that the definite construction in (149) and the

indefinite constructions I discussed in the previous sections are not parallel. There are at

least four arguments for this assumption.

First, recall that Catalan employs the *de* strategy with indefinites:

(151)Ca: a.   un de vermell

         b.   *un vermell
              'a red (one)'

With the definite article, however, *de* is impossible:

(152)Ca: a.   *el de vermell

         b.   el vermell

Another (probably related) argument against equating the two types of constructions

is that an (overt or abstract) word marker was necessary in the indefinite construction. In the examples in (149), however, no (independently generated) word marker appears, and there is no evidence that an (independently generated) abstract word marker is present.

The third relevant fact here is that although the Italian example in (149) is acceptable, the construction is not at all productive, as the following examples illustrate:[71]

(153)It: a.   *il grande
                 'the large (one)'

          b.   *il piccolo
                 'the small (one)'

(Recall that the indefinite construction discussed in section 3.1 is completely productive in Italian.)   In fact, the possibility of [*il*+A] in Italian is limited to examples with those adjectives that easily admit a nominal interpretation:[72]

(154)It: il rosso
            'the redhead' or 'the color red'

(My claim was that this sort of example involved a simple case of [D+N], see section 3.1.6.) In the other languages in (149), the construction is quite productive. In other words, if these two constructions were structurally parallel, it is not clear why one should be more productive than the other in Italian, but not in the other Romance languages in (149).

Finally, there is the fact that the indefinite pronominal *uno*, like the demonstrative, is pronominal with or without an accompanying adjective, whereas the definite article requires an adjective (or preposition or relativizer, see next section) for the pronominal interpretation:

(155)Sp: a.   uno (grande)
                 '(a big) one'

          b.   el *(grande)
                 'the (big) one'

Since I will assume that the indefinite construction is not parallel to the definite one, the question arises as to what prevents the derivation of *lo grande parallel to uno grande in Italian.[73] I have assumed (along with Giusti (1992b)) that the definite article, unlike demonstratives and quantifiers, is base-generated as a D element. This idea is consistent with recent ideas about pronominal clitics. Recall that I have proposed that in indefinite constructions (and with demonstratives) the word marker raises to D and the quantifier (or demonstrative) head raises and left-adjoins to the word marker. Now, if definite articles are base-generated D elements, then the only way to derive lo would be to have the word marker right-adjoin to the definite article. But I have assumed throughout this work that rightward adjunction is not allowed. So the absence of lo grande reduces to the absence of rightward adjunction.

3.4.2 Constructions Related to [el + A]

There are two other elliptical constructions with the definite article that are presumably related to (149) (as noted in both Torrego 1987 and Brucart and Gràcia 1986). One construction contains the definite article plus the preposition de (but not semantically "contentful" prepositions)[74] and the other involves the definite article plus a relative pronoun. I illustrate for Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, and Sardinian (Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan examples from Torrego 1987:95-96 and fn.51, Sardinian examples from Jones 1990:48, his (114)a,d):

(156)Po: a.   o de Durero
                   'the (one) by Durer'

            b.   Lin os cortos co-os que te divertistes tanto.
                   'I will read the short (ones) with which you enjoyed so much.'

(157)Sp: a.   El de las Meninas no está en este museo.
'The (one) of the Meninas is not in this museum.'

          b.   Hablé con el que estabas.
'I spoke to the (one) that you were with.'

(158)Ca: a.   el de Durer
'the (one) by Durer'

          b.   Vaig llegir els curts amb els que tant t'havies divertit.
'I read (pst.) the short (ones) with which you enjoyed so much.'

(159)Sa: a.   Cudda mákkina est prus manna de sa de Juanne.
'That car is bigger than the (one) of John's.'

          b.   Custo vinu est medzus de su k'appo comporatu eris.
'This wine is better than the (one) that I bought yesterday.'

Interestingly, Italian exhibits neither the [il+P] construction nor the [il+relative] construction (examples from Brucart and Gràcia 1986:13, their (31)b,d):

(160)It: a.   *La decisione del preside non ci piace, ma la del ministro è peggio.
'We don't like the decision of the dean, but the (one) of the minister is worse.'

          b.   *Il panino che ho mangiato in treno e il che mi hanno dato in aereo erano ugualmente schifosi.
'The sandwich that I ate in the train and the (one) that they gave me in the plane were equally bad.'

This further supports the idea that the general prohibition of [il+A] in Italian should be related to the impossibility of the examples in (160).

In French, on the other hand, these three constructions do not pattern together. Although the [le+A] construction is rather productive, the other two constructions under discussion are unavailable ((161)b from Ronat 1974:68, her (41)):[75]

(161)Fr: a.   *le de Durer

            b.   *Montrez-moi les qui sont rouges.
                    'Show me the (ones) that are red.'

I will consider the French pattern to be essentially like the Italian one for now, and provide

further refinement below.

3.4.3 Previous Accounts

One account of the Spanish/Catalan vs. Italian contrast illustrated above was proposed

in Brucart and Gràcia (1986:14). They argued (p.18, their principle (34)) that the definite

article must cliticize to a category that is [+N] (following work by Ronat 1977 on

French),[76] accounting for the grammaticality of [el+A] in Spanish, Catalan, and Italian

(assuming adjective is [+V,+N]).[77] Left open under this account, however, is the question

of why the construction [il+A] is not productive in Italian, an observation not appearing in

their work.

In order to account for the variation with the relative pronoun, they generalize an idea

of Kayne's (1976) for French to Italian, and assume that in Italian the relative pronoun has

the status of a complementizer (i.e., [-N]), whereas the Spanish equivalent is a relative

pronoun (i.e., [+N]), and therefore only in a language like Spanish may the relativizer

appear in a construction with the definite article.[78]

For the prepositions (standardly taken to be [-V,-N]), they suggest that Spanish and

Catalan *de* is not a true preposition, but rather an element that is case-related and transparent

to category, allowing it to appear with *el*. To account for Italian, then, they admit that they

would be forced to say that *di* is different (i.e., a "true" preposition), accounting for the

impossibility of [il+di] in Italian.

Instead, Brucart and Gràcia propose (p. 18) that another principle is required in Italian (in addition to their (34)), namely, that *il* in Italian must cliticize to a phonologically "strong" adjacent element within the noun phrase (their principle (40)), i.e. that the first maximal projection (X' or XP in their paper) of the element is dominated by the trait [+N].[79] Their principle (40) now allows them to rule out [*il+di*] in Italian, *di* being phonologically "weak", without having to claim that Italian *di* is a different sort of preposition than its Spanish equivalent.

Brucart and Gràcia's proposal, however, would still not account for why [*il*+A] is not productive in Italian, since adjectives for them are [+N] heads of AP within the noun phrase and are also phonologically "strong". A more general statement of the problem is that they are forced to propose a separate explanation for the impossibility of each of the three constructions in Italian. If the three constructions are all truly related, there should be a more general account of their exclusion in Italian.

Torrego (1987) suggests that the cross-linguistic differences reduce to a more basic distinction, namely that the definite article in certain languages (e.g. Spanish and Catalan) is "stronger" than the definite article in Italian. More specifically, she suggests (p. 99) that the definite article in Spanish, unlike Italian, is able to retain the person, number, and gender features necessary to license (via government) what she considers to be an NP *pro* (recall (150)). Torrego suggests that although the Spanish definite article itself does not contain person features (which she assumes, following Borer 1986, are necessary for *pro*), the modifiers appearing in the construction (i.e., adjective, *que*, or *de*) are [+N] and that [+N] modifiers contain person features.[80] She further suggests that these person features are located in SpecDP. The Italian definite article differs from the Spanish one in that its

features are generally too "weak" to license *pro*, except (according to Torrego) in the case of adjectives, which she assumes contain a default (3rd sg.) person feature.

3.4.4 The Definite Article as Subordinator

Although I agree with Torrego that the account of the cross-linguistic variation is reducible to a difference in the nature of the definite article, I see no evidence for assuming that D agreement is significantly different in Spanish and Italian. I will suggest instead that the examples in (149) and (156)-(159) are not simple cases of [D+*pro*] (i.e., unlike (150)), but rather that the D there is really a subordinator of an XP other than NP, adapting a slightly different idea of Szabolcsi's (1992).[81] The basic idea will be that the definite article in the Romance languages admitting [*el*+A/P/C] is able to bind an open position (in the sense of Higginbotham 1987) and therefore create an argument out of a (otherwise) predicative category. In Italian (and English), on the other hand, *il* (and *the*) may only be a subordinator for NP and CP (assuming Kayne's 1993b relative clause structure).[82]

Let's see how these ideas may be applied to the constructions under discussion. First, the structure I will propose for examples like (149) is based on Chomsky's (1992:12, his (4), based on Stowell 1983, Burzio 1986, among others) structure for predicate adjectives (substituting DP for his NP):[83]

(162)
```
        AgrP
        /\
    Spec  Agr'
          /\
       Agr_A AP
           /\
        Spec  A'     --> I consider [John [intelligent]]
          |    |
         DP    A     --> John_i is [t_i [ intelligent]]
          |    |
        John intelligent
```
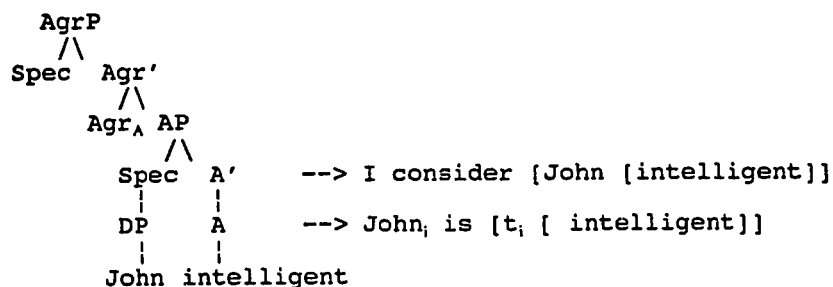
Following Chomsky, I assume that DP raises to SpecAgrP and the A to Agr$_A$, where the agreement relationship between DP and the adjective is established.

The claim that D° in Spanish, Catalan, etc. can be a subordinator yields the following structure for definite [D+AP] constructions in Romance (AgrP omitted for simplification):

(163)
```
      DP
     / \
    D   AP
    |   / \
    el Spec  A'
        |    |
        DP   A
        |    |
       pro  fácil
```
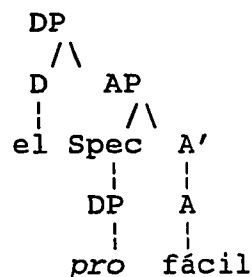
The D subordinator turns the predicate AP of (162) into an argument, and therefore the structure in (163) may no longer appear as a small clause complement of *consider*:

(164)Sp: *Considero el *pro* fácil.
          'I consider the *pro* easy.'

If Torrego's structure in (150) were correct, there would be no way to rule out (164), since [*el examen*] as well as [*el pro*], should be able to occupy SpecAP in (162). This supports the idea that [*el examen*], but not [*el pro*], should be treated as a constituent. The following examples would correspond to the structure in (162), with [*el examen*] occupying SpecAP before raising:[84]

(165)Sp: a.   Considero el examen fácil.
                 'I consider the exam easy.'

          b.   El examen es fácil.
                 'The exam is easy.'

Following Chomsky (1992:12), I assume that the DP in SpecAP of predicative AP in (162) (and (165)a) must raise to SpecAgrO at LF in order to receive (or check) accusative case. Alternatively, as the predicate of *be*, the DP in SpecAP raises to SpecAgrS for

nominative case (deriving *John is intelligent* and (165)b).

The structure in (163) with a D subordinator must be an argument. If the structure in (163) functions as a sentential subject, as in (166)a, then the entire [D+AP] argument raises to SpecAgrS, where (nominative) case and agreement relations are established or checked. Alternatively, the entire [D+AP] raises to SpecAgrO for accusative case, deriving an example like (166)b.

(166)Sp: a.   El fácil está en la página cuarenta.
                  the easy (e.g. *crossword puzzle*) is on page forty

              b.   Prefiero hacer el fácil (el lunes).
                  I prefer doing the easy (on Monday)

Given the structures I have assumed, the question arises as to why *pro* may not appear as the Spec of predicative AP, deriving the following example (which corresponds to the general representation in (162)):

(167)Sp: *Considero *pro* fácil.
              I consider *pro* easy

Note that the example is grammatical with an accusative clitic:

(168)Sp: Lo$_i$ considero t$_i$ fácil.
              cl I consider easy

As the complement of *be*, however, assuming *pro* to occupy SpecAP in (162) derives a grammatical result:

(169)Sp: *pro* es fácil.
              pro is easy

Here, the DP in SpecAP contains the *pro* subject that will raise (ultimately) to SpecAgrS, parallel to Chomsky's example with *John is intelligent*. I have no explanation for the impossibility of (167), but note that this is a general problem for the predicative AP

structure, and not for the structure I have proposed in (163).

The structures assumed therefore distinguish between the following two types of examples:

(170)Sp: a.   Hizo [$_{DP}$ el [$_{NP}$ examen$_i$ facil t_i]]
                did (3rd sg.) the easy exam
                'S/he did the easy exam.'

           b.   Hizo [$_{DP}$ el [$_{AP}$ *pro* [$_{A'}$ facil]]]
                did (3rd sg.) the easy
                'S/he did the easy (one).'

The example in (170)a corresponds to a standard case of $N°$-movement over an adjoined AP (see chapter 2 for detail) and (170)b corresponds to the structure represented in (163).

Returning to the equivalent Italian examples, we see that the absence of the [D+AP] construction is not related to the licensing of *pro*, which should be licensed in SpecAP with or without the D subordinator. The problem with the Italian examples is that D may not be a subordinator for AP, but only for NP.[85]

In French, on the other hand, the definite article may take AP as a complement, accounting for the relative productivity of examples like (149) in French.

3.4.5 Further Issues

Francisco Ordoñez (p.c.) points out the grammaticality of an example like the following:

(171)Sp: Considero a los inteligentes poco preparados.
           'I consider the intelligent (ones) poorly prepared.'

I would have to attribute the following structure to (the small clause complement of) this example:

(172)Sp:

```
              AP
             /\
        Spec    A'
         |      |
        DP      A
        / \     |
       D   AP  (poco) preparados
       |   / \
     los Spec  A'
          |    |
         pro   A
               |
          inteligentes
```
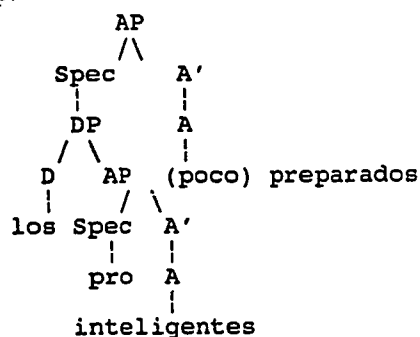
In other words, I would not take the initial D to be a subordinator, because then the entire

complement of *considerar* would no longer be predicative (recall (164)). And although the

(entire) Spec of predicative AP could not be *pro* (recall (167)), the structure in (172) has *pro*

as only a subpart of the Spec.

Contreras (1987:225, his (1)b) provides an example of a small clause with the verb

dejar (where I have reversed his predicate + subject order):

(173)Sp: Dejamos los cubiertos limpios.
             'We left the silverware clean.'

The structure of the small clause would be the one represented in (162). Note that when

dejar takes a regular direct object (i.e. [D+NP]), a slightly different interpretation of the

verb results:

(174)Sp: Dejamos [$_{DP}$ los [$_{NP}$ cubiertos]]
             'We left (behind) the silverware.'

In fact, the example in (173) is ambiguous between the small clause interpretation and 'We

left (behind) the clean silverware'. The small clause interpretation corresponds to the

structure in (162) and the regular direct object interpretation to the structure in (170)a.

Consider next an example where [D+AP] must also be considered a direct object,

given the interpretation of the verb:

(175)Sp: Dejamos los limpios.
           'We left (behind) the clean (ones).'

In other words, *dejar* in (175) takes an argument; therefore, the structure of the argument must be the one in (163). This structure could not appear as a small clause predicate, so that (175) could never have the small clause reading. In other words, the following structure is barred as the small clause complement of *dejar*$_{SC}$:

(176)Sp: dejamos [$_{DP}$ los [$_{AP}$ *pro* [$_{A'}$ limpios]]]

Recall that Torrego's original idea for an example like *los limpios* would yield [*los pro*] in SpecAP and [*limpios*] as head of AP. This would leave us with no explanation for why *los limpios* cannot appear as a small clause predicate.

The structure proposed for the indefinite construction (recall section 3.1) predicts that it, unlike the definite construction, should correspond to the example in (173) i.e. that it should be ambiguous between the small clause interpretation and the direct object interpretation. This is exactly what we find:[86]

(177)Sp: Dejamos unos limpios.
           'We left some clean.' (and some others dirty) <u>or</u>
           'We left (behind) some clean ones.'

This lends further support to the claim that the indefinite and definite constructions should be distinguished.

One potential problem with this general approach to [D+AP] is that it offers no immediate explanation for the impossibility of the following, where I have substituted an overt DP for *pro*:

(178)

```
       DP
      /\
     D   AP
     |   /\
    el Spec  A'
        |    |
    el examen A
              |
            fácil
```
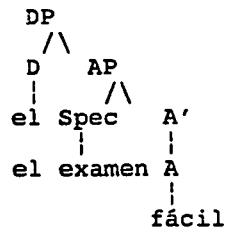
Haplology could explain the nonoccurrence of *el+el* (see Szabolcsi 1992:128 for an appeal to haplology to prevent sequences of [D Det] or [D D] in Hungarian). Elimination of one instance of *el* leaves *el examen fácil*, which may conform to the general [D+NP] configuration illustrated in (170)a. But may it also conform to the structure in (179) (assuming haplology eliminates the second occurrence of *el* at PF)?

(179)

```
       DP
      /\
     D    AP
     |    /\
    el Spec  A'
         |    |
    ₫l examen A
               |
             fácil
```
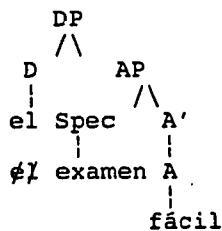
I will have to leave this question open for now.[87]

In sum, I have proposed that there are several arguments against treating the indefinite and definite null nominal constructions identically. I have proposed that the definite construction consists of an overt D that takes AP as a complement. The definite article in many Romance languages (but not Italian), has the property of being able to turn a predicative AP into an argument. Support for this analysis is provided by the the distribution of the definite and indefinite constructions in small clause contexts.

Recall that I have claimed that the account of two other constructions, [D+CP] and [D+PP], should be related to [D+AP]. Further work is needed to determine exactly which structures to attribute to these other constructions.

Appendix

[*de* + adjective] - French, Catalan, and Italian Compared

I have argued that the indefinite construction discussed in this chapter is formed with an overt word marker in Italian and Spanish, an abstract word marker in French, and an abstract word marker spelled out as *de* in Catalan.

French does admit a [*de* + adjective] construction that resembles the pattern described for Catalan. Compare (a) and (b) in the following examples:

(180)Fr: a.   J'en ai vu un bon.
                'I cl have seen a good (one).'

           b.   J'en ai vu un de bon.
                'I cl have seen one good (one).' (i.e., among bad ones)

As Azoulay-Vicente (1985:31) notes, the (a) and (b) examples do not have the same interpretation. The contrast created in the (b) example with [*de* + adjective] is not present in the (a) example. The interpretation of the (a) example corresponds to that of the construction type I have been discussing in this chapter.

Besides the interpretational difference between (180)a and (180)b, there are distributional arguments against equating Catalan and French [*de* + adjective]. Unlike Catalan, French permits [*de* + adjective] in the following environments (French examples from Azoulay-Vicente 1985):

(181)Fr: J'ai lu DEUX livres d'intéressants (pas trois).   <u>focus</u>
             I have read TWO books (of) interesting (not three)

(182)Fr: Je n'ai qu'un livre d'intéressant.   <u>ne...que</u>
I NEG have only one book (of) interesting

(183)Fr: Je connais quelqu'un d'intelligent.   <u>indef. pronoun</u>
I know someone (of) intelligent

(184)Fr: Il y a une place de libre.   <u>existential</u>
there is a seat of free

Azouley-Vicente's proposal for French is that [*de* + adjective] defines the range of a variable

created at LF (see also Hulk and Verheugd 1992, Kupferman 1980).

Compare the French examples above with the Catalan equivalents, all of which are

ungrammatical unless dislocated (examples due to Enric Vallduví):[88]

(185)Ca: a.   *Jo n'he llegit DOS de llibres interessants.

           b.   Jo n'he llegit DOS, de llibres interessants.
I cl have read TWO of interesting books

(186)Ca: a.   *Només tinc (que) un llibre d'interessant.

           b.   Només tinc (que) un llibre, d'interressant.
I NEG only have one book of interesting

(187)Ca: a.   ??Conec algú de força intel.ligent.

           b.   Conec algú força intel.ligent.
I know someone (of) fairly intelligent

(188)Ca: a.   *Hi ha un seient de buit.

           b.   Hi ha un seient buit.
there is a seat (of) free

Interestingly, Italian, which employs the *-o* strategy in null nominal constructions,

permits [*di* + adjective] in restrictive environments (Italian examples due to Raffaella

Zanuttini):

(189)It: Non ne ho che di rosse.
NEG cl I have only (of) red
'I only have red ones.'

However, with overt nouns or indefinite pronouns, [*di* + adjective] is prohibited, parallel

to the Catalan, but not the French, examples:

(190)It: a.   *Ho letto DUE libri di interessanti.

            b.   ?*Ho letto DUE libri, di interessanti.
                I have read TWO books of interesting

(191)It: a.   *Non ho che un libro di interessante.

            b.   ?*Non ho che un libro, di interessante.
                NEG I have only one book of interesting

(192)It: a.   *C'è qualcuno di competente.

            b.   ?C'è qualcuno, di competente.
                there is someone of competent

(193)It: a.   *C'è un posto di libero.

            b.   C'è un posto libero.
                there is a seat (of) free

(Note that Catalan and Italian do not pattern together in the (b) examples with

dislocation.)

Given this distribution of facts in Catalan and Italian, I think it is safe to say that an

analysis proposed for French [*de* + adjective] does not automatically extend to Italian and

Spanish. It would be interesting, however, to contrast the French facts with the patterns we

saw above for Catalan and Italian.

The important point for the relevant sections of this chapter is that the Catalan *de*

strategy (excluding dislocation contexts) is parallel to the Spanish/Italian -*o* strategy. I have

argued that the French strategy is parallel as well, although in French there is no phonetic

realiziation of what I have taken to be an astract word marker.

Notes to chapter 3

1.   Borer (1986), for example, has claimed that person features are necessary to license *pro*.

2.   English examples like the one in (6) become quite acceptable with color adjectives, given sufficient context:

        salesperson: Would you prefer the red umbrella or the blue one?
        customer: I'll take the red, please.

3.   Rizzi (1979) directly addresses only the indefinite article, but his account may naturally be extended to the demonstratives, as Vanelli (1979) has done. Burzio's (1989) analysis is applied more generally.

4.   Although the discussion of determiner pronominals in this and subsequent sections will be confined, for ease of exposition, to the pronominal *uno*, the facts and conclusions will generalize to the other determiner elements exemplified in (9) and (10). See section 3.1.7 for an extension of the analysis to demonstrative elements.

        Conspicuously absent from this list is the group of determiner-like elements in Spanish traditionally referred to as "neuter". Like Harris (1991), I will not assume that this closed class of lexical items constitutes a third gender. It is interesting to note, though, that these "neuter" items (underlined in the examples below), like all determiner elements with final *o*, preclude the presence of a lexical noun (Spanish examples in (i)a,(ii)a from Klein (1988)).

(i)Sp: a.   <u>Esto</u> es un anillo.
               'This is a ring.'
      b.   *<u>Esto</u> libro cuesta mucho. (cf. Este (libro) cuesta mucho.)
               'This book costs a lot.'   'This (book) costs a lot.
(ii)Sp: a.   Nos queda poco tiempo, y por <u>esto</u> estamos impacientes.
               'We have little time left, and for this we're impatient.'
      b.   *Nos queda poco tiempo, y por <u>esto</u> hecho estamos impacientes.
               'We have little time, and for this fact we're impatient.'

This pattern indicates that the analysis to be developed for the determiner pronominals in section 3.1.3 may be extended to these so-called *neuter pronominals*. I will leave the precise characterization of the *neuter pronominals* for future research.

5.   Note that Spanish employs an independent syllabification strategy: Unlike the final vowel on the end of the determiner in Italian (which I assume is phonolgically conditioned), epenthesis has been lexicalized in Spanish. Nouns beginning with [*s* + consonant] exhibit a lexicalized epenthetic *e* word-initially:

(i)   a.   un *e*studiante
              'a student'
     b.   un *e*scudo

     'a shield'

  c.   un *e*sposo

     'a husband'

  d.   un *e*sfuerzo

     'an effort'

The equivalent lexical items in Italian will exhibit the phonologically conditioned epenthetic vowel on the determiner:

(ii) a.   un*o* studente

     'a student'

  b.   un*o* scudo

     'a shield'

  c.   un*o* sposo

     'a bridegroom' ·

  d.   un*o* sforzo

     'an effort'

6.   This was pointed out to me by Richard Kayne and confirmed by Cecilia Poletto.

7.   In fact, examples like (17)a in Italian (with the definite article) are quite restricted (see section 3.4). The point of this example is merely to show that *lo*, and correspondingly *uno*, should not be taken to be the underlying forms of the definite and indefinite articles.

8.   One question that arises under the assumption that the final vowel of *uno* (and *lo*) is epenthetic is, why is the vowel that appears *o* rather than some other one? Apparently, the epenthesis is sensitive to the gender of the accompanying nouns, which in these cases, is masculine.

9.   Harris shows (p.43) that masculine is the unmarked gender in Spanish (Harris's (20)):

(i)   Sp: a.   Tienes demasiados (m.pl.) "paras" in ese párrafo;

          'You have too many "paras" in that paragraph;'

        b.   por ejemplo, mira: este (m.sg.) "para" está de más.

          'for example, look: this "para" is superfluous.'

The word *para* ('for') has no gender to transfer, yet the quantifier *demasiado(s)* ('too many') in (i)a and the demonstrative *este* ('this') in (i)b must appear in the masculine. (Note that the quantifier in (i)a and the demonstrative in (i)b also display the singular/plural value of *para(s)*.)

10.   We know that the noun *mano* is feminine and *programa* is masculine by the form of the accompanying determiner and adjective(s):

(i)   a.   la mano   (cf. *el mano)

         'the (f.) hand'

    b.   la mano derecha

         'the right (f.) hand'

(ii)   a.   el programa   (cf. *la programa)

'the (m.) program'
b.   el programa largo
       'the long (m.) program'

11.   In addition to Harris's feature values for gender and word marker, I would add a feature slot for number, with [pl] as the marked value.

12.   Marker Realization Rule (Harris 1991, his (22))
       To form the X° level of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, insert suffixal /a/ if the stem is marked]a; otherwise, insert suffixal /o/.

13.   Harris posits that the definite article is /l/ underlyingly. The three surface forms are created by the addition of word markers: *a* in the case of feminine yields *la*. Absence of gender or form class values yields default *o* and *lo*. In order to derive the masculine singular *el*, a special rule of epenthesis inserts *e*, making the liquid syllabifiable. The symbol "]Ø" will block marker realization on *el* (Harris 1991:54-55).
       This treatment of the definite article has the advantage of offering an straightforward account of preposition+determiner "contractions", traditionally derived as follows:
(i)   a + el --> al   'to the'
(ii) de + el --> del   'of/from the'
The traditional derivation requires some sort of deletion rule to remove article-initial *e-*. If the definite article is simply /l/ underlyingly, however, then the forms in (i) and (ii) may be derived straightforwardly without further stipulation:
(iii) a + l --> al
(iv) de + l --> del
The /l/ is now syllabifiable without the epenthesis rule, which will no longer apply.

14.   Many observations about Italian were made by Richard Kayne during his syntax seminar held at CUNY during the fall semester of 1990.

15.   I believe that there is a relationship between word markers and case. In particular, word markers are displayed on those lexical items (such as nouns, adjectives, and some adverbs) that are arguably case-marked. I plan to explore this topic in future work.

16.   It is interesting to note that the terminal *i* of the Italian examples in (30) will always be realized as final *s* in Spanish, although plurality may only be associated with (30)c,d and (i)c,d:
(i)Sp: a.   quieres
               'want-2 sg.'
        b.   pues
               'then'
        c.   nos(otros), vos(otros)
               'we, you-pl.'
        d.   bueyes

'oxen'

These facts, then, argue that Italian final *i*, like Spanish final *s*, is not to be taken as a word marker (cf. Delfitto and Schroten 1991:167, where the claim is made that word-final *o, a, as, os* in Spanish and *o, a, i, e* in Italian are word markers). Instead, in examples like (30)c,d, I take *i* to correspond to Num°, akin to Spanish *s* in (i)c,d.

At first glance, it is tempting to think of the *o+i* sequences in (30)c,d as exceptional cases of the overt sequence [word marker+number] in Italian. If this were true, however, we would expect that stripping away the plural marker would yield the singular form. This is not what we find in either case.

The only potential case of an overt [word marker+number] sequence in Italian that I am aware of is the following:

(ii)It: a.   tuo, suo
         'your' (sg.)
    b.   tuoi, suoi
         'your' (pl.)

17.   Ritter (1993) argues against the idea that gender is represented as a syntactic head (see Picallo 1991, who argues for a projection corresponding to Gender, her GenP). Instead, she claims that certain nominal patterns in Romance and Hebrew argue that gender is a feature on Num in Romance and N in Hebrew. Pending further clarification about the nature of this feature and how it becomes associated with Num or N, I continue to assume that gender is specified in the lexical entry, following Harris (1991) (see note 22).

18.   This structure is essentially the one assumed in Picallo (1991) for Catalan, with one crucial difference: Picallo has proposed a Gender Phrase in place of my Word Marker Phrase. I will continue to assume that gender is specified in the lexicon, and is spelled out in the form of the word marker with inner core nouns.

This assumption is admittedly simplistic. Left open is the question of how gender is actually expressed on the noun and how gender concord (which must be a syntactic mechanism) is triggered. I hope to address these questions in future research.

19.   I have left the category "NP" intact. Given what I have said and what I am about to say, however, perhaps this XP would be more accurately represented by some other label (e.g., StemPhrase). For ease of exposition, I will follow the convention (like that for "VP") and continue to use "NP" as the label.

20.   Baker's Government Transparency Corollary states:
        A lexical category which has an item incorporated into it governs
        everything which the incorporated item governed in its original
        structural position.   (Baker 1988:64, his (65))

21.   A related question is whether English contains the functional projection NumP. Delfitto and Schroten (1991) clearly assume that it does, and claim, in fact, that English N-stems raise to Num°, where they merge with either default number (in the case of singular) or plural -*s* (Delfitto and Schroten:170). They derive the fact that English

allows bare (subject) plurals, while Italian/Spanish disallows them, from the differences between the N-stems, which they claim (p. 157) are N°s in English and N^{-1}s in Italian.

If English N-stems raise to Num° in English, it is not obvious how to derive the adjective position facts, unless adjectives are never adjoined to NP (see section 3.3.3). Another possibility for English (as I suggested in the last chapter) is to assume that NumP is present, and that the noun is inserted in the lexicon with its plural marker (extending Chomsky's 1992 proposal for verbs to nouns). No movement takes place in the syntax, but N° raises to Num° at LF for morphological checking. Syntactic N-raising in Romance languages (but see chapter 4) derives the postnominal position of adjectives.

22. German patterns like English in that adjectives are characteristically prenominal, suggesting that Noun Movement is relatively absent in German. On the other hand, German nouns, unlike English ones, have inherent gender. How can this combination of facts be accommodated within the present proposal?

The fact that German nouns have gender does not necessarily imply N-raising. Recall that I have been assuming that Romance word markers are the spell-out gender, which I have assumed to be specified in the lexicon. The Romance N-stem raises to WM° and merges with its terminal vowel and gender is spelled out.

German does not exhibit a system of terminal vowels. In fact, a noun's phonological appearance provides no indication of its gender. I therefore assume that although gender is inherent in German, it is not spelled out.

These German facts actually argue against the idea of assuming a syntactic category corresponding to gender. In other words, if gender were represented in the syntax, German N-stems should raise to merge with gender, deriving a postnominal position for adjectives. This is not what we find.

23. I have left open the issue of levels here. In the situation under discussion, the affix meets its requirements in the syntax. In the next chapter, I will discuss the case of Walloon, arguing that the nominal plural affix remains unassociated at S-structure, yet always has a phonological host by PF. So the correct generalization may be that an affix must have a phonological host by PF.

24. In Kayne (1993b), the position moved to must asymmetrically c-command the position moved from, otherwise no linear ordering can be assigned to the terminal elements (and the phrase marker would therefore be inadmissible). Within Kayne's theory, I am not sure how to prevent a head from "skipping" heads, since the raised head would asymmetrically c-command the vacated position from, say, two heads up. Kayne does not address this particular issue in his paper.

25. Elimination of head-government as an available notion (e.g. Chomsky 1992) again raises the question of how the empty category here would be licensed. The answer can plausibly be developed in terms of selection and antecedent government (i.e., c-command by a coindexed incorporated "zero" element).

26. I have only mentioned one of the most obvious distributional differences between definite and indefinite articles in Romance (also relevant for English). See section 3.4 for

an analysis of definite null nominal constructions.

27.   It is interesting to note that Romance languages do not permit the sequence [def.article + 'one' + noun]. This sequence is fine in English:
(i)   The one bicycle I liked was sold before I could buy it.

28.   Interestingly, the plural form may co-occur with numerals in the following context:
(i)Sp: a.   unos 2,000 habitantes
                 'some (approximately) 2,000 inhabitants'
         b.   unos diez de los estudiantes
                 'some ten of the students'

29.   Valois (1991b:207) proposes that numerals are overt Q° heads that take DP complements with a null D head. In the case of *des* in French, the Q° head is null and *des* occupies the D° head.

30.   I will maintain that definite articles are base-generated D elements, on a par with proposals about verbal pronominal clitics (Torrego 1990, Uriagareka 1988,1992). This assumption about definite articles is also made in work by Giusti (1992a).

31.   Considering *un* to start out in SpecNumP is similar to the proposal in Lobeck (1991:96) (based on an idea of Contreras 1989) that English *every* is in SpecNP, since this is the only quantifier that does not properly govern an ellipsis. Quantifiers that can license elliptical nominal projections (e.g. *both, all, each*), on the other hand, are functional heads.

32.   Considering this relationship to be of the type obtaining between a specifier and a head is potentially problematic. Agreement between a subject and a verb, for example, is triggered by the subject, not the verb (although case assignment is necessarily from head to Spec, assuming this configuration to be the appropriate one for case assignment). Translating this to the case at hand, the indefinite article would trigger agreement on the noun. Yet it's the article that agrees (in number and gender) with the noun, not the other way around.

33.   In an earlier version of this work (Bernstein 1991a), I had assumed that the indefinite article is base-generated as a D° element, and I claimed that the independently generated word marker raises through Num° and cliticizes to the *right* of the X° element. This analysis had at least one potential problem.
        Kayne (1991) argues that adjunction of object clitics in Romance languages is uniformly to the left, and always to a functional head (Kayne 1991:648-649). If Kayne is correct about the directionality of adjunction in Romance (see Uriagereka 1988,1989 arguing for rightward incorporation of determiners to verbs in Galician Portuguese), and if his generalization also holds for the determiner pronominals I have been discussing here, then the earlier version of my analysis was inconsistent with his generalization. The revised analysis, which incorporates the proposal for the derivation of indefinite articles in

Romance, does not run into this difficulty. The indefinite article is now assumed to cliticize to the *left* of the word marker which has raised to D°.

In Kayne (1993b), the (even) stronger claim is made that rightward adjunction is unavailable. In chapter 2 I have followed Abney's (1987) original idea that a complex element like English *someone* involves rightward adjunction (of *one* to *some*). See section 3.1.3.3 for a slightly different derivation that will no longer involve rightward adjunction.

34.   Thanks to Cecilia Poletto for pointing out the Italian case.

35.   There is yet another instance of *uno* in Spanish and Italian that I have not discussed. This is the impersonal pronoun (example from Ramsey 1956:191):
(i)Sp: No está uno siempre preparado a improvisar un discurso.
       'One is not always prepared to make an impromptu speech.'
Although I am not sure how to characterize this instance of *uno*, I will assume that it is distinct from the others I have been discussing. This is supported by the fact that in French, the form used for the impersonal pronoun is *on*, not *un*, the latter being the form expected if the indefinite pronoun and the (indefinite) determiner pronominal were parallel:
(ii)Fr: On ne sait pas.
        'One doesn't know.'

36.   As Richard Kayne (p.c.) observes, *ito* appears with [+N] categories. This observation is straightforward for adjectives and nouns, but not for adverbs. See section 3.1.8 for a discussion of adverbs and word markers.

37.   In light of previous discussion, it might be more consistent to think of the diminutive suffix /it/ as being attached to the stem in the lexicon. The complex [stem + /it/] then amalgamates with its word marker in the syntax.

38.   The revised definition of *head* is as follows (Di Sciullo and Williams, p.26, their (10)):

>   Definition of *head*$_F$ (read: head with respect to the feature F):
>   The head$_F$ of a word is the rightmost element of the word marked
>   for the feature F.

39.   Note that this revised definition of the RHR is independently necessary to exclude the plural marker from being the head of a word. Like a word marker, the plural marker is category neutral (although arguably [+N]), and so would not determine the head of the word.

40.   The RHR would predict that *one* is the head of the word, since it has categorial status and is the righthand member of the complex word *someone*.

41.   This also extends to complex indefinites with *-body*, *-thing* (e.g. *everybody*, *something*).

42.　The gender of several classes of nouns is rather systematic. For example, nouns ending in -ion are always feminine, and those ending in -amme (of Greek origin) are always masculine. The gender of most French nouns, however, is not transparent, although inherent gender must be assumed given the agreeing form of an accompanying determiner or adjective.

43.　See section 3.4 for a discussion of the definite construction (e.g. *le grand* 'the big (one)').

44.　In the case of word-final *n*, the preceding vowel is nasalized, signaling the presence of the consonant.

45.　In some cases, word-final consonant deletion has been lexicalized in Catalan, as with word-final -n (in the French equivalents, final -n would be phonetically unrealized and the preceding vowel would be nasalized):
(i)Ca:　　　el pa　　　(cf. Fr: le pain, Sp: el pan)
　　　　　　'the bread'
(ii)Ca:　　　la lliço　　　(cf. Fr: la leçon, Sp: la lección)
　　　　　　'the lesson'
(iii)Ca:　　　l'estació　　　(cf. Fr: la station, Sp: la estación)
　　　　　　'the station'
This *n* may resurface in the plural:
(iv)Ca:　　　els pans

46.　In section 3.3.3, I take up the issue of possible adjunction sites for AP. *Ne*-cliticization facts suggest that NP may not be a potential adjunction site for the adjective. This would not interfere with the significance the facts to be discussed here.

47.　Note that this example (that is, the gloss of (71)) is ungrammatical in English as well. Since *one* does not undergo syntactic movement here, what accounts for the ungrammaticality?

　　　One, unlike other English pronominal elements perhaps (see Hestvik 1992), is arguably an X° element, specifically N° (as I discussed in section 3.1.3.3). Let us suppose that this N° must raise to D° at LF. In the gloss of (71), the presence of the A°, *mere*, blocks LF movement of the N°.

　　　Support for the idea of LF raising of the N° pronominal in English is provided by examples like the following, which I have argued involve syntactic raising of *one* to D°:
(i)　　a.　　some-one$_i$ intelligent t$_i$
　　　b.　　any-one$_i$ capable t$_i$

48.　Whether or not the Spanish "personal *a*" is needed in (83) is not clear cut (judgments due to Francisco Ordoñez). Assuming that the referent of *uno pobre* is [+human], *a* is possible, but perhaps not obligatory:
(i)　　Speaker A:　　Todos los americanos son ricos.
　　　　　　　　　　'All Americans are rich.'
　　　Speaker B:　　Pero no. Encontré a uno pobre.

'But no. I met a poor one.'

An adjective like *viejo* is not limited to humans, so we can see a contrast:

(ii)   a.   (speaking of books)   Compré uno viejo.
                                                    'I bought an old (one).'

        b.   (speaking of men)   Encontré a uno viejo.
                                                    'I met an old one.'

Again, *a* may not be obligatory even in the [+human] cases above.

Franciso Ordoñez (p.c.) points out the following sort of example, in which the referent in both the (a) and (b) examples must be [+human]:

(iii)   a.   Vi una persona.
        b.   Vi a una persona.
               'I saw a person.'

He notes a distinction in interpretation between the (a) and (b) examples: In (iii)a, the interpretation is nonspecific. In (iii)b, it is specific. For further discussion and analysis of the Spanish "personal *a*" see de Jong (1992).

49.   It is interesting to note that English demonstrative elements may also function as pronouns:

(i)   a.   these (men)
       b.   those (women)

In English, however, adjectives generally don't appear with the pronominal forms:

(ii)   a.   these round *(ones)
       b.   those expensive *(ones)

These are parallel to the facts with quantifier elements:

(iii)   a.   many (men)
       b.   several (women)

(iv)   a.   many expensive *(ones)
       b.   several large *(ones)

50.   In the Romanian examples that Giusti (1992a) was addressing, N-to-D movement straightforwardly derived the postnominal position of the demonstrative in (87)c. In Spanish and Catalan, there is no evidence supporting (syntactic) N-to-D movement, so either the N must raise to a functional head between Num° and D°, or the demonstrative occupies a lower Spec in these languages.

51.   The fact that the Romanian demonstrative precedes the noun in this example (cf. (87)c) supports the idea that the demonstrative (and not the noun) cliticizes to D.

52.   To derive the prenominal form of the demonstrative, Giusti (1992a:11) proposes that the demonstrative raises to SpecDP. In order to exclude the co-occurrence of (prenominal) demonstrative and definite article in DP, Giusti propses a filter akin to the *doubly filled Comp filter*. Since I am assuming that the demonstrative cliticizes onto D°, the problem of accounting for the absence of the definite article does not arise.

53.   I have not included any Spanish examples in the main text. Although Spanish demonstratives basically pattern like the Italian forms, the Spanish paradigm is

complicated by the presence of the so-called neuter forms:
(i)   a.   aquel libro
              'that book'
        b.   aquél
              'that (one)'
        c.   aquello
              'that' neuter
(ii)   a.   este libro
              'this book'
        b.   este
              'that (one)'
        c.   esto
              'that' neuter

The feminine forms, however, behave just like the Italian ones:
(iii) a.   aquella/esta casa
              'that/this house'
        b.   aquella/esta
              'that/this (one)'

54.   Vanelli (1979) points out that the interpretation of the demonstrative in the absence of a lexical noun is that of the definite article, rather than a deictic. Vanelli's observations are reflected in the English glosses.

55.   Plann (1985:136,note 1) provides the following list of items belonging to her category *substantive*: *alrededor* ('around'), *dentro* ('inside'), *fuera* ('outside'), *enfrente* ('in front'), *delante* ('in front'), *detrás* (behind). She also provides a list of postpositions, which she claims assign case to the left: *arriba* ('up'), *abajo* ('down'), *adentro* ('inside'), *afuera* ('out'), *adelante* ('forward'), *atrás* ('back').

56.   Plann (1985:122) states that she will not specifically address the traditional analysis that considers these elements to be adverbs, but that the evidence for the special *substantive* status of these elements "refutes the hypothesis that these words are adverbs."

57.   Catalan employs this strategy with other indefinites (recall discussion for Spanish/Italian, examples (9)-(10), (12)):
(i)Ca: No en vaig veure cap de petit.
       'I didn't see any small (ones).'

58.   See section 3.3 for discussion of the relevance of *ne* in these constructions.

59.   It is not clear at this point how this incorporation conforms to the prohibition against rightward adjunction.

60.   As I discussed in the previous chapter, I take this instance of *altre* to be a noun.

61.   Similarly, English *another* seems to provide evidence for the movement to D°
idea:
(i)   a.   a-nother
        b.   an-otter
The *n* of the indefinite article in (i)a is syllabified with *other*. In (i)b, however, the
syllable break is between *an* and *otter*.

62.   The fact that Catalan employs the indefinite article here and Spanish doesn't is
probably related to the fact that the Spanish form has a word marker. In fact, we may
think of Spanish *otr-* as having merged with the word marker in D°, in the same way that
un does.

63.   A partitive PP may appear as a second argument of the quantifier (Cardinaletti and
Giusti 1990:1).

64.   Cinque (1993, note 12) is more precise about what he considers to be a reduced
relative. He says that these reduced relatives are AgrPs with AP in predicate position
generated to the right of (the complement of) N. I am still unclear as to whether he
assumes this AgrP to be right-adjoined to NP, or to be related perhaps to a small clause
structure (see Stowell 1983, Burzio 1986, and Chomsky 1992, among others).
        Although I would not consider the adjectives in the indefinite constructions (with
or without *ne*) to be right-adjoined to NP or the heads of small clause APs, I will argue
for a small clause structure for the definite constructions I discuss in section 3.4.

65.   As Richard Kayne (p.c.) has pointed out, it is not clear how best to characterize
the triggering mechanism for past participle agreement. Instead of looking at it as a
relationship between an agreement position and a Spec (the approach taken in Kayne
1989a), we may consider the relationship to be one that obtains from adjunction to the
agreement position.

66.   Note that the following example is grammatical:
(i)Fr: J'en ai deux de Rembrandt.
        If Picallo's (1991) and Valois' (1991b) work are on the right track, then
Rembrandt, an argument of the (pronominalized) noun, would be generated in a SpecXP
position internal to DP. This raises the question of how *ne/en* could raise as an XP
through Spec positions. I will have to leave this question open.

67.   One potential problem with this structure is that only a segment of NP has been
cliticized, since I have represented the adjective as adjoined to NP. See section 3.3.3 for
discussion of the issue.

68.   This analysis predicts the ungrammaticality of the following example in Italian:
(i)It: *Ne ho uno di rosso.
        'cl I have one of red.'
In other words, *uno* and *di* should not co-occur since this would require the head of
WMP to be doubly filled at D-structure.

Native speakers have confirmed that this example is impossible in Italian (unless there is a comma between *uno* and *di*). Anna Cardinaletti (p.c.), however, has informed me that this example is fine for her. I am not sure what to say about this. One possibility that comes to mind is that a grammatical judgment for this example is to be compared to the following French example (discussed briefly in the appendix):

(ii)Fr: J'en ai un de rouge.

          I cl have one of red (i.e., among blue ones)

Interestingly, there seems to be a contrast between the example in (i) and the following:

(iii)It: (*)Ne ho comprate due di piccole.

          cl I bought two of small

Unfortunately, I have not obtained consistent judgments for this example. One speaker found (iii) to be fine. Another speaker found (iii) to be ungrammatical, and yet found the following example to be relatively better:

(iv)It: ?Ne ho comprati due di grandi e tre di piccoli.

          cl I have bought two of big and three of small

I am unable to say anything further about these examples at present.

69.   This recalls the idea that VP preposing in English is not possible with VP-adjoined adverbs, although I find clear examples difficult to construct.

70.   I am not concerned here with the possible nominal interpretation for the adjectives in (149), but only in the adjectival one.

71.   The (licit) examples cited in the literature contain color adjectives. The fact that the construction is otherwise quite restricted has not, to my knowledge, been pointed out. A grammatical equivalent for the examples in (153) is formed with the demonstrative, i.e. *quello grande*, etc. (see Vanelli 1979).

72.   This generalization is also true for English:

(i)   the blond

(ii)   *the big

73.   Note that *lo* does exist as an independent pronominal form in Spanish (as a neuter). I will have no proposal to make for the neuter elements.

74.   It is interesting to note that although the definite article may not appear adjacent to "contentful" prepositions, other sorts of determiners may do so (example from Torrego 1987:97, her (104), addition of *unos* mine):

(i)   a.   También acaban de salir estos/unos sobre anatomía.

         b.   *También acaban de salir los sobre anatomía.

             'There also just appeared these/some/the (ones) about anatomy.'

This again supports distinguishing the constructions with indefinites (and demonstratives) from those with the definite article.

75.   Ronat (1974:68) points out that the following is possible in *français familier*:
(i)Fr: J'en ai <u>du</u> qui est bien rouge.
         I cl have of the that is very red

76.   Unlike Ronat, however, Brucart and Gràcia do not assume elision of the noun due
to contrasts like the following, which they take as evidence for an empty category in
(i)b,(ii)a (their examples from Rizzi 1979 and Vanelli 1979, respectively; see sections 3.1
and 3.3 for an alternative analysis of these facts):
(i)It: a.   Hanno sentito un/*uno rumore fortissimo.
         b.   Ne hanno sentito uno/*un [$_N$ e] fortissimo.
                 '(cl) I heard a loud (noise).'
(ii)It: a.   Dammi lo sgabello, quello alto.
         b.   *Dammi lo sgabello, quell'alto.
                 'Give me the stool, the high (one).'

77.   Brucart and Gràcia's generalization is given below, their (34):
                 L'articolo deve cliticizzarsi ad un'altra categoria che abbia
                 il tratto categoriale [+N].

78.   I will not consider [*el+que*] to be a constituent. As Brucart (1992:117) notes, in
certain contexts (e.g. sentences with nonrestrictive relatives) material (e.g. *mismo* 'same',
único 'only') may intervene between definite article and complementizer.

79.   Brucart and Gràcia's (40):
                 L'articolo determinativo in italiano deve cliticizzarsi sempre,
                 entro il SN, ad un elemento tonico adiacente.

80.   Torrego's justification for assuming *de* to be [+N] is essentially parallel to that of
Brucart and Gràcia, discussed above in the main text. As far as *que*-relatives go, she
assumes an (NP or DP, therefore [+N]) operator in SpecCP which agrees via Spec-head
agreement with its *que*-relative head.

81.   Szabolcsi (1992) distinguishes between Hungarian determiners that are clause-type
indicators and those that are subordinators. The latter, she claims (p. 124), allow the
noun phrase to bear a theta-role. I extend this general idea and claim that the definite
article may (in at least some languages) allow not only NPs, but also APs, CPs, and PPs,
to bear theta-roles.

82.   I will assume that relative clause CP, unlike complement CP, is not an argument.
For discussion about the predicative status of relative clauses see, for example, Bolinger
1972. This view of relative clauses is represented, in traditional structure, as adjunction
to NP (e.g. in Chomsky 1981).
        As Richard Kayne points out (p.c.), it is not clear that CP is the complement of D
in relative clauses. The NP that raises in his raising analysis may actually raise to a Spec
position higher than CP, requiring another XP between DP and CP.

83.   I will follow Burzio (1986) and others who have claimed that many so-called reduced relatives are not derived from relative clauses (see chapter 2, section 2.4.2 for further discussion about relatives and reduced relatives), but involve a small clause structure.

84.   In addition to the word order exhibited in (165) (i.e. DP-A), the order A-DP is also possible, and even preferred (judgments due to Franciso Ordoñez; see also Contreras 1987:227, fn.2):

(i)Sp: a.   Considero fácil el examen.
              'I consider the exam easy.'
        b.   Dejamos limpios los cubiertos.
              'We left the silverware clean.'

I will assume that the underlying order in Spanish (and English) is DP-A, and that the Spanish examples in (i) above are derived by raising the A° over the AP subject in Spec.
       Interestingly, the unmarked word order in Italian follows the English pattern, although the other order is also possible, particularly in focus constructions (judgments due to Raffaella Zanuttini and Vieri Samek):

(ii)It: a.   Considero l'esame facile.
        b.   Considero facile l'esame.
              'I consider the exam easy.'
(iii)It: a.   Lasciamo le posate pulite.
        b.   Lasciamo pulite le posate.
              'We leave the silverware clean.'

85.   Richard Kayne (p.c.) points out the grammaticality of *il mio* (the my, 'mine') in Italian. Although I am not sure how to classify the possessive pronoun, I would not consider it to be an adjective. Since it seems to pattern with [D+AP] constructions I have been discussing, I would assume the relevant structure to be parallel to the the one I proposed for [D+AP]. Apparently, the Italian definite article is able to be a subordinator for this XP, whatever it turns out to be:

(i)

```
        DP
       /\
      D   XP
      |   /\
     il Spec  X'
         |    |
        pro   X
              |
             mio
```
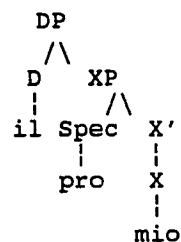
86.   A difference in stress may facilitate the two readings.

87.   An phonetically unrealized definite article is also assumed in Kayne (1993a:4). His proposal for English possessives involves the following structure (his (1)):
(i) [$_{DP}$ Spec D° [$_{AgrP}$ DP$_{poss}$ [Agr° QP/NP]]]
For an example like *John's sister*, Kayne proposes that *John* occupies DP$_{poss}$ (i.e., SpecAgrP), that *'s* occupies Agr°, and that a definite D° is necessary to license the

DP$_{poss}$. This definite article is never spelled out, except as *of* in the case when QP/NP raises to SpecDP, deriving, for example, *a sister of John's*.

88.   Compare (187) with the following:

(i)Ca: En conec algun d'intel.ligent.

      cl I know some intelligent

Interestingly, *algun* in the above example corresponds to Spanish *alguno* ('some', with word marker).   The indefinite in (187) corresponds to Spanish *alguien* ('someone'), without a word marker.

Chapter 4

Nominal Structure in Walloon

In this chapter, I examine several intriguing characteristics of Walloon noun phrases. Although Walloon resembles standard French in many ways, the patterns I will be discussing significantly distinguish Walloon from its linguisitc "neighbor". The first aspect of Walloon nominal structure I examine is nominal plural marking. I interpret the fact that Walloon nouns never show plural marking to indicate that a N-stem does not merge with a plural affix in this language. The distribution of an independent plural marker argues that it is generated as the head of a functional XP corresponding to number. Facts concerning the distribution of adjectives in Walloon, briefly discussed in chapter 2, support the idea that Noun Movement is relatively absent in this language, accounting for why a noun does not merge

with its plural marker. Several other relevant issues and consequences of the proposals will be discussed, and important cross-dialectal variation will be examined.

In section 4.1 I provide some background on Romance dialects in Belgium and the status of Walloon. Then, in section 4.2, I review several proposals arguing for a functional projection between the determiner and the noun, and argue that the distribution of a plural marker in Walloon provides independent evidence for the functional category correponding to number inflection. In section 4.3 I discuss the significance of surface word order in Walloon DPs and argue that Noun Movement is relatively absent in this language. Several Walloon patterns that are potentially problematic for the general proposal are the focus of section 4.4. In section 4.5 I discuss two important consequences of the proposal. In the appendix, I describe several relevant cross-dialectal differences among Walloon dialects, and propose an account of the variation within the minimalist framework of Chomksy (1992). At the end of the chapter I have included two maps, the first a map of the provinces of Romance Belgium, and the second a dialect map of Romance Belgium.

4.1   Introduction: Romance Varieties in Belgium

The Romance-speaking portion of Belgium, *Wallonie*, covers roughly the southern half of the country. Formerly, the language varieties spoken in *Wallonie* were regional dialects of Walloon. A common misconception, even among Belgians, is that Walloon is a substandard variety of French. This is completely false. Both Walloon and French date back to a common Romance ancestor, which is assumed to have diverged at the beginning of the 13th century (Francard 1989:fn.2).

Today's Wallonians are generally monolingual in the local variety of standard

French,[1] although Walloon may still be employed by some as a second language, or in code-switching contexts. The language continues to be promoted by cultural organizations, government-funded projects, and the local media.

The dwindling population of native Walloon speakers is made up of individuals who are generally at least seventy years old. These older Walloon speakers are for the most part bilingual, competent in both Walloon and the local French variety. There are virtually no monolingual speakers of Walloon remaining, since even the oldest have some level of French competence (see Francard 1989, who has written about the situation of diglossia in the Ardenne).

Although it is increasingly difficult to locate native speakers of Walloon, many varieties are documented and preserved in written works, such as dictionaries, grammars, books of poetry, and scholarly journals. My first contact with Walloon was in the New York Public Library, which holds an important collection of Walloon reference materials. The most comprehensive Walloon reference available to me was Louis Remacle's (1952-1960) *Syntaxe du parler wallon de La Gleize*, a comprehensive three-volume grammar which documents, in particular, the variety spoken in La Gleize, as well as the more general Liégeois dialect area. The data in sections 4.2 - 4.5 are largely from Remacle (1952, tome 1), in addition to several other sources cited.

During my trip to Belgium during the summer of 1992, I interviewed native Walloon speakers from Bastogne, Tenneville, Dinant, and Liège (see dialect map at the end of the chapter). Note that both Liégeois and Namurois (the dialectal region that includes Dinant) are within the "true" Walloon dialectal zone. The varieties spoken in Tenneville and Bastogne are located within the transitional region of Wallo-Lorrain.

In sections 4.2 - 4.5, I label most of the Walloon examples *Wa*. In the appendix, where differences among Walloon varieties become relevant, I distinguish among varieties of the following localities: *Ba* (Bastogne), *Di* (Dinant), *Li* (Liège), *Te* (Tenneville), *Gl* (La Gleize), *Na* (Namur).

4.2 The Functional Projection Num(ber)P: Evidence from Walloon

I begin this section by examining several proposals for the syntactic representation of aspects of nominal inflection. First, I briefly review Szabolcsi's (1983) proposal for Infl in the Hungarian noun phrase and Ritter's (1991) proposal for Num(ber)P in the Hebrew noun phrase. I also mention Picallo's (1991) and Valois' (1991a,b) extension of the notion of NumP to Romance.

4.2.1 Proposals for a Functional Projection of the Noun[2]

Szabolsci (1983, see also 1987, 1989) was among the first to suggest that proposals for functional projections of the verb, here *Infl*, be generalized to the noun phrase. She shows how the agreement in Hungarian noun phrases is parallel to what is found in clauses (Szabolsci's 1983 (3) and (4)):

(1)Hu: (a) Mari-0 vendég-e-0
       the Mary-nom guest-poss-3sg
       'Mary's guest'

(2)Hu: Mari-0   alud-t-0
      Mary-nom sleep-past-3sg
      'Mary slept'

In the above examples, the possessive, person, and number features on the noun *vendég-e* ('guest') occupy the same slot as the tense, person, and number features found on the verb

alud-t ('slept'). Szabolcsi claims that Hungarian NPs have the equivalent of Infl ($\approx poss$), an idea supported by the fact that this agreement is able to govern the subject and assign it nominative case, as well as license pro-drop (Szabolcsi's (27)):

(3)Hu: az *pro* asztal-a-∅
       'the *pro* table-poss-3sg'

Ritter (1991, see also her 1988 paper), claims that Num(ber)P, not NP, is the complement of the D in Modern Hebrew, and contains the noun's number specification. Evidence for DP is based on her analysis of the construct state (CS) noun phrase construction, and evidence for NumP is based on her analysis of the free state (FS) noun phrase construction.

In CS noun phrases, the head noun precedes the genitive phrase and no determiner appears (Ritter's (1)a):

(4)He: parat ikar
       cow farmer
       'a farmer's cow'

Based on binding facts, Ritter shows how in examples with two arguments, the subject asymmetrically c-commands the object, arguing that the NSO surface order is derived by movement. The structure she proposes for CS noun phrases is the following (her (4)):

(5)

```
    DP
   /\
  D   NP
↑    /\
|  subj  N'
|      /\
|     N   obj
|_____|
```
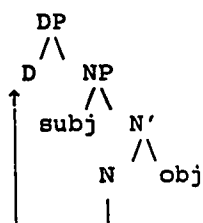
The N must move to D (which is phonetically null) in order for D to be identified and be able to assign genitive case to the subject.

In FS noun phrases, a definite article appears, and yet the word order is still NSO (Ritter's (11a)):[3]

(6) He: ha-bayit shel ha-mora
       the-house of the-teacher
       'the teacher's house'

Binding facts again show that the subject asymmetrically c-commands the object, arguing that the surface order is derived by Noun Movement. Given the structure in (5), there is no way to derive the examples in (6), since the D position is filled with the overt determiner. Ritter proposes the structure in (7)b for FS noun phrases like (7)a (her (13)):

(7) He: a.   ha-axila shel Dan et ha tapuax
              the eating of Dan of the apple
              'Dan's eating of the apple'

b.
```
       DP
      /\
    D     NumP
   ha    /\
       Num    NP
     ↑      /\
     |   Subj    N'
     | shel Dan /\
     |         N     obj
     |       axila et ha-tapuax
     |_____|
```
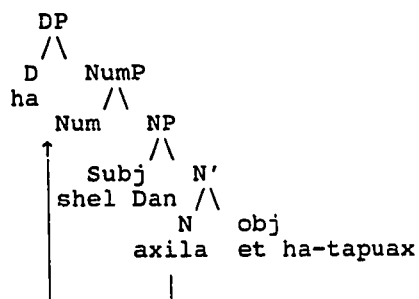
The distrubution of adjectives in both the CS and FS noun phrases argues that NumP may be assumed for both construction types.

NumP is also assumed in recent work on Catalan in Picallo (1991), and French and English in Valois (1991a,b). Both Picallo and Valois have assumed that the number specification of nouns projects to a functional XP, in the spirit of work by Szabolcsi and Ritter, as well as proposals about verbal inflection.

4.2.2 Nominal Plural Marking in Walloon

Although nominal plural marking in Walloon is represented orthographically by final

s, this plural marker is never phonetically realized. Plurality is signaled instead by the plural

form of an accompanying article (examples from Remacle 1952):

(8)Wa: a.   one cote
                    'a dress'

              b.   dès cotes⁴
                    'dresses'

(9)Wa: a.   lu pan
                    'the (loaf of) bread'

              b.   lès pans
                    'the (loaves of) bread'

These facts, so far, seem to match the French pattern:

(10)Fr: a.   une robe
                    'a dress'

              b.   des robes
                    'dresses'

(11)Fr: a.   le pain
                    'the (loaf of) bread'

              b.   les pains
                    'the (loaves of) bread'

Another characteristic of Walloon is that a so-called plural noun will never undergo

liaison with a following vowel-initial element (Remacle 1952:74).⁵ Some examples are

provided by Léonard (1972:24) in Namurois:

(12)Wa: a.   les djins èrvont
                    'the people return'

               b.   des èfants abituwès a l'vile
                    'children accustomed to the city'

    c.   les tch'faus̸ a vapeûr
           'horse-power'

This is also true of colloquial French varieties, with the exception of fixed expressions like

the following:[6]

(13)Fr: a.   les État-z-Unis
                  'the United States'

              b.   les Nation-z-Unies
                  'the United Nations'

In literary French, however, we may still find liaison between plural nouns and following

adjectives or other elements:[7]

(14)Fr: a.   les voiture-z-officielles
                  'the official cars'

              b.   Les parent-z-aussi ont du retard
                  'The parents also are (running) late'

       What I will argue is that both colloquial and literary French nouns are syntactically

marked for plural, the difference being that the marking is no longer phonetically realized

in colloquial French in contexts of liaison. Walloon nouns, on the other hand, are never

syntactically marked for plural. There is evidence to support distinguishing colloquial and

standard French from Walloon.

       Both colloquial and standard French exhibit a class of nouns whose singular/plural

distinction is characterized by an *al/aux* alternation:[8]

(15)Fr: a.   un mal
                  'an ache'

              b.   des maux
                  'aches'

(16)Fr: a.   quel cheval
                  'what a/which horse!?'

b.   que! chevaux
'whaι/which horses!?'

I also group the following more irregular example with the sort illustrated above:

(17)Fr: a.   un oeil rouge
          'a red eye'

         b.   des yeux rouges
          'red eyes'

These examples support the idea that nouns in both colloquial and standard French are syntactically marked for plural.

This *al/aux* alternation, however, is completely absent in Walloon (Warnant 1969:625). Consequently, the equivalents of (15)-(17) are invariable, plurality signaled by the form of the determiner accompanying the noun (example (18) from Remacle 1952:74, (19) from Warnant 1969:631, and (20) from Duraffour 1939:142):

(18)Wa: a.   on mâ

         b.   dès mâš

(19)Wa: a.   [ke: dzva:]

         b.   [ke: dzva:]

(20)Wa: a.   on rotché oûy

         b.   dès rodjé-z-oûy

I conclude from these examples and the previous discussion that Walloon is characterized by the complete absence of plural marking on nouns. Individual varieties of French may differ as to the extent of phonetically realized plural marking in contexts of liaison, but all varieties will contain at least the overt singular/plural distinction in the *al/aux* forms. I will assume, then, that all nouns in French are syntactically marked for plural. A phonological rule will result in *s* being phonetically unrealized word-finally and before a

consonant (see Schane 1968). Appealing to a phonological rule here is actually quite natural, since unrealized final orthorgraphic *s* is found throughout the language:

(21)Fr: a.   le*s* filles   (determiner)
               'the girls'

        b.   dan*s* la maison   (preposition)
               'in(side) the house'

        c.   trè*s* belle   (intensifier)
               'very pretty

        d.   Tu parle*s* très bien.   (verb)
               'You speak very well.'

In contexts of liaison between noun and following element, then, this phonological rule will continue to operate in colloquial French varieties, but not in literary French. Distinguishing between liaison in colloquial and elevated French is also relevant in other contexts of liaison. According to Morin and Kaye (1982:295), liaison after a determiner is always required (22)a, but liaison in other contexts, although perhaps systematic, cannot be considered obligatory (example (22)b from Morin and Kaye, p.295).

(22)Fr: a.   le-z-amis/ *le*s* amis
               'the friends'

        b.   dan-z-une heure / dan*s* une heure
               'in an hour'

        c.   trè-z-intéressant / trè*s* intéressant
               'very interesting'

Recall that in chapter 2, I assumed that a noun stem (in French) becomes amalgamated with its plural affix by raising from the N° to Num° position. In the case of the *al/aux* plurals discussed above, I assume that N°-Num° merger is necessary to derive these forms.[9]

Delfitto and Schroten (1991), in their work on the licensing of bare plurals in

Romance and Germanic languages, draw different conclusions about plural marking in French. They claim that bare plurals are licensed at LF by raising of the Num° affix to the D° position. In English (and Dutch), they argue, the noun stem is an X° element that raises to Num° in the syntax. The subsequent raising of the Num plural affix (an X^{-1} element) at LF is possible, since the raised affix would antecedent govern its trace from the D° position. Appealing to Harris's notion of *word marker* for languages like Spanish and Italian, they argue that the noun stem, as well as the plural affix, are X^{-1} elements in these languages. Raising the Num^{-1} affix to D° at LF would result in a Minimality violation, since there is a closer potential antecedent governor, namely the N^{-1} stem (Delfitto and Schroten, p.164).

They argue that the reason that French does not admit bare plurals in subject position is a result of the absence of plural marking in Num°.[10] In their view, the phonetic realization of plural *s* displayed in liaision contexts in fixed expressions and literaray varieties is not evidence for a syntactic process of plural formation. At LF, then, there is no Num° affix available to raise to D° and license a bare plural.

Several questions are raised by their analysis. First, under their assumption that Dutch and English noun stems (as N°s) raise to Num° in the syntax, there is no way to derive the difference in (unmarked) word order between Germanic (i.e., A+N) and Romance (i.e., N+A) languages. In other words, we would expect both language groups to exhibit postnominal adjectives in the unmarked case.[11]

Second, if number marking is necessarily absent in French, it is difficult to see what would force N to raise in the first place, yet such movement is independently required in order to derive the postnominal position of the adjective.

Furthermore, if I am correct in my claim that the Walloon *ès* marker corresponds to

Num° (see next section), then we would expect Walloon to allow bare plurals. This Num[-1] affix should be able to raise to D° at LF, and no N[-1] stem would be available to block antecedent government of the trace. As far as I can tell, this prediction is not borne out by the data. Walloon, like French, allows bare plurals in certain restricted environments, such as direct complements of verbs and prepositions (Remacle 1952:102-103).[12] I have found no instances, however, of bare plurals in subject position.

Delfitto and Schroten also address the issue of "irregular" plurals in French. They state that these plural forms, whether listed or derived in the lexicon, provide no evidence for syntactic plural formation (p.178). This leaves them no obvious way to distinguish plural marking in French from plural marking in Walloon. Moreover, I am not sure the French *al/aux* alternation is to be characterized as "irregular", since it was found to be rather productive with, at least, deadjectival nouns (see note 8).

4.2.3 Distribution and Relevance of the *ès* Marker

Walloon nouns never show overt plural marking, yet prenominal adjectives are associated with a special ending (*ès*) in feminine plural DPs.[13,14] This marker is realized as an unstressed vowel *ès* before consonant initial words (23) and as unstressed *è-z* before vowel initial words (24) (examples from Remacle 1952:139-140, Morin 1986a, his (2î)):[15]

(23)Wa: a. lès grossès pîres
         'the big stones'

      b. dès bèlès mâhons
         'nice houses'

(24)Wa: a. dès vètè-z-ouhs
         'green doors'

b.   dès neûr*è*-z-amonnes
       'black berries'

Following Morin (1986a), I will assume that the *ès* marker is not a marker of adjectival

agreement at all. I provide four arguments for this assumption (the last three from Morin

1986a).[16]

Although Walloon is characterized by prenominal adjectives, postnominal adjectives

do appear in the language as borrowings from French (Remacle, pp.155-156). When an

adjective appears postnominally, no *ès* marker appears with the adjective (Remacle, p.140):

(25)Wa: dès afêr*éé* parèy*éé*
            'similar affairs'

Second, *ès* does not appear with predicative adjectives. Note that the predicative

adjective *neûr* 'black' in (26)a (from Morin 1986a:211) and predicative adjectival phrase *totes*

pitites 'very little' in (26)b (from Remacle 1952:49) are invariably unmarked:[17]

(26)Wa: a.   {Il est, i sont, èlle est, èle sont} neûr[18]
                   '{He is, they are-masc., she is, they are-fem.} black'

            b.   èle sont tot*éé* pitit*éé*   (cf. dès tot*èé* p'tit*èé* crompîr*éé*)[19]
                   'They are very little'   'some very little potatoes'

The examples in (25) and (26), then, argue against treating *ès* as an adjectival agreement

marker, since not all occurrences of adjectives modifying feminine plural nouns will manifest

it.[20]

A third indication that *ès* is not an adjectival agreement marker is that only the second

adjective in a coordinated adjective construction will manifest it (example from Morin

1986a:213):

(27)Wa: dès bèl*éé* èt boun*èé* bièss*éé* (cf. *dès bel*èé* èt boun*èé* bièss*éé*)
            'nice and good animals'

Once again, this does not match the pattern typical of Romance, which is for all adjectives in a coordinated construction to agree with the noun.

A final reason not to consider *ès* to be an adjective marker is that the affix appears on elements that would never exhibit agreement morphology in French (although a *wh*-element like the one in (28)d would agree with the noun in number and gender in, for example, Spanish and Italian). In (28)a, we find *ès* with a quantifier, in (28)b with a cardinal number, in (28)c with an adverb, and (28)d with a *wh*-word (examples (28)a,b,c from Morin (p.219), example (28)d from Fabry 1951:59).[21,22]

(28)Wa: a.   pluzieûrès poyes
                   'several hens'

             b.   trazès piceûres
                   'thirteen pinches'

             c.   dès fwèrès bravès djins
                   'very nice people'

             d.   qwantès fèyes?
                   'how many times?'

Although the evidence does not support considering *ès* to be an adjectival marker, it does support treating the morpheme as a nominal plural marker.[23] The *ès* marker only appears when an overt noun is present, although the noun itself will be unmarked for plural. If *ès* is a nominal plural marker, it arguably should not appear in elliptical nominal constructions. Note the contrast between (29),(30)a and (30)b (example (29) from Morin (p.213) and (30) from Fabry (pp.56-58):[24]

(29)Wa: a.   C'è dès bèlès.
             b.   *C'è dès bèlès.
                   'Those are good (ones).'

(30)Wa: a.   Dès quéléś volez-ve djåser?
                 of what want-you to talk
                 'What do you want to talk about?'

           b.   quélèś bèlèś poyeś
                 'what beautiful hens'

With an overt noun, the example in (29)a would require the *ès* morpheme to appear with the adjective (cf. (23)b). In (30)b, a lexical noun is expressed and *ès* is associated with the *wh-*element.

In this section, I have reviewed Morin's reasons (and one of my own) against considering *ès* to be an adjectival agreement marker. The arguments were: 1) The marker does not appear with (borrowed) occurrences of postnominal adjectives; 2) No marker appears with predicative adjectives; 3) In coordinated adjective constructions, only one instance of *ès* is found; 4) The marker appears with elements that do not typically agree with nouns. I have suggested, instead, that the *ès* marker is a nominal plural marker, supported by the fact that no marker appears when the noun is null. I will appeal to these conclusions in section 4.3.2, where I propose a structure for Walloon DPs.

4.2.3.1   The Status of *ès*: proclitic or enclitic?[25]

Although *ès* is orthographically respresented as part of the preceding adjectival element, phonological evidence supports the conclusion that it does not form a phonological unit with this element. Morin (1986a) shows that several phenomena argue that *ès* is actually proclitic on the following noun.

One of Morin's (p. 217) central arguments concerns the stress patterns of Walloon. Like French stress, Walloon stress is characteristically word-final. The *ès* morpheme, recall,

is unstressed. If *ès* were attached to the adjective, it would create a violation of the stress

pattern of the language and constitute the only word-final affix without stress. Morin states

that historically, all affixes in Walloon that were traditionally unstressed have either attracted

preceding stress (31) (historically unstressed verb suffix *-ent* is stressed [ɛ] in Liège Walloon)

or lost their unstressed vowel (32) (examples Morin's):

(31)Wa: i tchantèt
            'they sing'

(32)Wa: a.   lokez-me   (Old Walloon)
            b.   loukez-m'   (Liège Walloon)
                'look (you-pl) at me'

Another reason Morin (p.216) provides against treating *ès* as an enclitic morpheme

concerns sandhi phenomena in Walloon. Word internal sandhi patterns in Liège Walloon

(33)a contrast with external ones (33)b (examples Morin's):[26]

(33)Wa: a.   grandeûr
                'size'

            b.   grande amice   [grãt amis]
                'good friend' (fem sg)

In other words, final consonant devoicing applies word-finally in (33)b, but does not apply

to the same morpheme word-internally in (33)a. If [adjective + *ès*] were lexically inserted

at D-structure or derived in the syntax by a raising operation, then we would expect the

internal sandhi pattern displayed in (33)a. What we find, however, is that this internal sandhi

pattern is impossible with [adjective + *ès*] (34)a. The pattern found in (34)b matches the

external sandhi pattern of (33)b:

(34)Wa: a.   *grandès fèyes

            b.   grantès fèyes
                'big girls'

The examples in (34), then, indicate that [adjective + *ès*] is not a unit, and that something resembling a word boundary must intervene.[27]

Third, Morin (p.218) claims that the proclitic status of *ès* is supported by evidence concerning vowel harmony in Gondecourt Picard (described in Cochet 1933), which only occurs when the triggering vowel is part of the same lexical word as the vowel undergoing the change. In Gondecourt Picard, *ès* triggers this harmony, indicating that it is phonologically attached to the following noun, and not enclitic on the adjective.[28]

The fact that native speaker do not feel *ès* to be enclitic is also suggestive. Morin (p.217) states that in many dialects *ès* is homophonous with the conjunction *et* 'and' or preposition *en* 'in'. Native speakers will write *ès* as a proclitic conjunction or preposition.

To summarize, I have reviewed Morin's arguments against treating *ès* as enclitic element. Instead, as Morin claims, the phonological behavior of *ès* supports the idea that it is proclitic on the following noun.

One question that comes to mind is why a plural marker should be proclitic in the first place. Usually, inflectional affixes, including plural affixes, are phonologically enclitic in Romance. However, these affixes are only enclitic when they are amalgamated with a lexical stem. If we look at functional heads not corresponding to inflectional morphology, such as determiners, complementizers, and negative markers (that is, *ne* in (37)), these are all proclitic (phonologically speaking) on the following element:

(35)Fr: a.   l'amie
                  'the friend'

            b.   les-amies
                  'the friends'

(36)Fr: Je sais qu'elle est venue.
            'I know that she came.'

(37)Fr: Il n'a pas parlé.
            'He hasn't spoken.'

Since the Walloon plural marker does not incorporate with its selected N-stem, it may be

grouped with the functional elements described above. Then, the fact that it appears as a

proclitic at PF is quite natural.[29]

4.3   The Internal Structure of DP

In the following subsections, I integrate the conclusions from section 4.2 and the

Walloon word order facts. The internal structure I propose for DP distinguishes between

French, a language exhibiting syntactic Noun Movement, and Walloon, a language where

Noun Movement is arguably absent. Several issues relevant to the proposed structure will

also be addressed.

4.3.1   Significance of Word Order in Walloon DPs

In chapter 2, I argued that the unmarked postnominal position for adjectives in

Romance was a result of Noun Movement of the N° across the adjectives. Recall that this

required assuming that adjectives are underlyingly prenominal in Romance, and that Noun

Movement is an obligatory mechanism.

As I briefly mentioned in section 2.1.2.1, adjectives in Walloon, unlike the other

major Romance languages, are overwhelmingly prenominal. The following examples were

given in chapter 2 (from Remacle 1952:146-147):[30]

(38)Wa: a. dès streûtèś cotes
    'tight dresses'

    b. on neûr tchapê
    'a black hat'

    c. on-étrandjîr nom
    'a strange name'

    d. du l'corante êwe
    'running water'

    e. on djinnant bokèt
    'an annoying kid'

    f. lès cûts pans
    'the well-baked bread'

    g. on mouyi pîre
    'a wet stone'

The examples in (39) are the French equivalents. Note that in all the French examples, the adjective follows the noun:

(39)Fr: a. des robes étroites

    b. un chapeau noir

    c. un nom étranger

    d. de l'eau courante

    e. un enfant gênant

    f. les pains (bien) cuits

    g. une pierre mouillée

If the proposals about Noun Movement in Romance DPs in chapter 2 are correct, then, as I have already suggested, the (unmarked) word order displayed in Walloon must represent the underlying order for Romance. This is what I continue to assume.

4.3.2 Proposed Structure

The conclusions and observations of the previous sections support the following structures for Walloon and French:[31]

(40) a. Walloon:

```
        DP
       /\
      D  NumP
      |   /\
     lès AP   NumP
      |    /\
    grand Num  NP
      ↓    |   |
     [t]  ès   N
               |
              fèy
```

b. French:

```
        DP
       /\
      D  NumP
      |   /\
     les AP   ÑumP
      |    /\
   grandes Num  NP
            |   |
        fille|-s N
                |
                t|
```
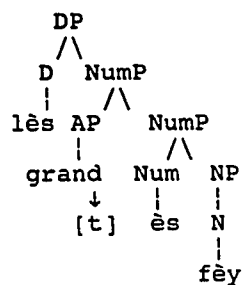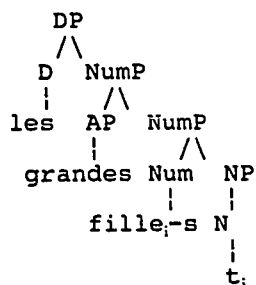
First consider the Walloon structure (40)a. Recall that I have argued that the *ès* marker is not an adjectival agreement marker, but rather, a nominal plural marker. More specifically, I claim that *ès*, the plural marker of the noun *fèy*, is represented syntactically as the head of the functional projection NumP. Noun Movement does not take place in Walloon, so that the plural marker remains unattached at S-structure. At this level, then, it is not phonologically part of the preceding adjective. Why doesn't *ès* become enclitic on the adjective after S-structure? As I discussed in section 4.2.3.1, an unstressed enclitic element would violate the stress pattern of the language. (Recall that historically unstressed elements

have either attracted a preceding stress or lost their unstressed vowel.[32]) Instead, the affix becomes proclitic on the following noun after S-structure, satisfying its morphological and phonological requirements.[33] This situation, then, allows final consonant devoicing to apply to the prenominal adjective *grand*.

Alternatively, it might be argued that the noun stem raises to Num° incorporating to the *right* of the nominal plural marker.[34] Although this will derive the correct surface order (i.e., affix + noun stem), there are several arguments against such an analysis. First of all, this sort of analysis would set a precedent for incorporation to the right of inflectional morphology in Romance, an idea specifically argued against in Kayne (1991, 1993b). Another shortcoming of this idea is that adopting it would eliminate the natural explanation of the prenominal (surface) position of adjectives and of the stem liaison facts (to be discussed in section 4.5.2) that are available under my proposal. On the basis of these two considerations, I will put this alternative aside.

Now compare the French structure in (40)b to the Walloon one. In French, Noun Movement of the N-stem *fille* to Num° takes place, causing a merger between the N° and the plural marker. In accordance with the Head Movement Constraint, the trace of the movement is antecedent governed by the raised stem. In the case of the *al/aux* plurals in French (discussed in section 4.2.2), I assume that N°-Num° merger is necessary to derive these forms as well.[35,36]

The derivation I have given above for Walloon will account for the facts in examples containing [adjective + noun] constructions, where the interpretation of the DP may be understood to be feminine plural.

4.3.2.1   Marking Masculine Plural

Until now, I have focussed on the *ès* marker associated with feminine plural adjectives. I have argued that *ès* is not an adjectival agreement marker at all, and suggested instead that it is a nominal plural marker.

What about masculine plural? Do the conclusions for feminine plural forms from the previous sections extend to masculine plural forms? The data clearly show that they do.

When the DP is interpreted as masculine plural and the noun is consonant-initial, no overt morpheme is realized in the presence of an accompanying prenominal adjectival element (41). In contexts of liaison, however, the morpheme is realized as [z] (42) (examples (41) and (42)a are Morin's 1986a (2b) and (2c), example (42)b is from Remacle 1952:37):[37]

(41) Wa: dès neûrš tchivès
           'black hair'

(42) Wa: a.   dès neûr-z-ouy
               'black eyes'

          b.   dès grand-z-âbes [dè grã:z a:p]
               'big trees'

We may assume, therefore, that there is an underlyingly *s* in (41) realized only in contexts of liaison. This assumption was also necessary for the feminine plural forms.

The distribution of *s* shows that it cannot be an adjectival agreement marker either. Instead, like *ès*, it must be a nominal plural marker. As predicted, there is no marker on postnominal adjectives or in elliptical nominal constructions. In constructions of coordinated adjectives, only the second adjective will display *s* (examples in Walloon of Bastogne and Tenneville due to Michel Francard):

(43)Ba: dès grands èt fwart-z-afants
                'big and strong children'

(44)Te: dès grands èt fwart-z-èfants

This matches the pattern discussed in section 4.2.3 for feminine plurals. In addition, *s*

appears with elements that would not normally agree with nouns in French (examples in

Namurois from Léonard (1972:23) and from several Liègeois dialects from Remacle

(1952:273, fn.2)):

(45)Na: a.   tél-z-ovrîs
                     'such workers'

             b.   saqwant-z-èfants
                     'several children'

(46)Wa: a.   lès cwate-z-omes
                     'the four men'

             b.   lès noûv-z-ôtes
                     'the nine others'

             c.   avou cénquante-z-ôtes
                     'with 100 others'

             d.   vét-z-omes
                     'twenty men'

There is no reason not to assume that the [z] that appears in contexts of liaison is not

phonologically part of the following word (here. a noun), the conclusion reached in section

4.2.3.1, and the standard assumption in work on liaison in French (see, e.g., Tranel 1986,

1990; Morin and Kaye 1982).[38]

Something further may be said about the feminine and masculine plural markers (*ès*

and *s*, respectively). The distribution of these markers argues that they are generated as

complete units, and not complex morphemes. In the case of the masculine, this is

unproblematic, since we are dealing with a single phoneme. With the feminine form,

however, it is not obvious that the affix is not morphologically complex, that is, *è* representing word marker and *s* representing number. If this were true though, we might expect to find *è* as a gender marker in the presence of a feminine singular noun. In the following example, a feminine singular DP preceded by an adjective exhibits no marking (Morin's (2d)):[39]

(47)Wa: li neûr sipène
              'the black thorn'

Certain adjectives, however, do display a gender alternation (examples from Remacle 1952:151):

(48)Wa: a.   on bê tchin
                      'a nice dog'

              b.   one bèle fleûr
                      'a pretty flower'

Perhaps we can consider the feminine form of the adjective to be formed with the noun's word marker, that is, with *e*.

Things are not that simple. Walloon nouns, like the adjectives illustrated above, may also display masculine/feminine alternations. We find the following patterns (examples in Walloon of Bastogne due to Michel Francard):

(49)Ba: a.   ou bê vwazin
              b.   oune bèle vwazine
                      'a nice neighbor' (m.,f.)

The *e* on the adjective in (49)b could not be the noun's word marker, because the noun already appears to have one. So, I continue to assume that the feminine form of the adjective is formed via an agreement relation with the noun, and not by association with the noun's word marker.

Now, however, given what I have said so far about the absence of Noun Movement

in Walloon, there is a problem. How can the noun exhibit a masculine/feminine alternation

if it has not merged with a word marker? More intriguing still are examples like the

following (examples in Walloon of Tenneville due to Michel Francard):

(50)Te: lès bèlès vwèzines
           'the nice neighbors'

In this example, the noun, the plural marker (i.e., ès), and the adjective all display gender.

How can this be accounted for?

As a first step, I will suggest that Walloon nouns undergo partial N-raising, to WM°,

where the N-stem amalgamates with a word marker.[40] The revised structure would now

be as follows (where *wm* = abstract word marker):

(51)   Walloon:

```
    DP
   /\
  D   NumP
  |   /\
 lès AP   NumP
     |    /\
   grand Num  WMP
     ↓    |   /\
    [t]  ès  WM   NP
              |    |
           fèyᵢ-wm  N
                    |
                    tᵢ
```
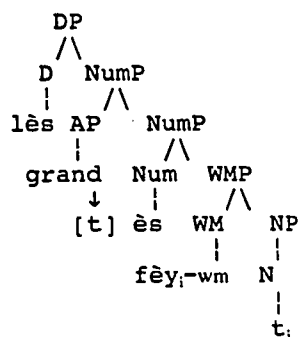
If adjectives may not be adjoined to NP, as I suggested earlier, then this derives the fact that

adjectives in Walloon will not appear postnominally (see sections 4.4.2 and the appendix for

some apparent counterexamples to this generalization).

The gender agreement exhibited on adjectives like those in (49) must be the result of

gender concord. I will discuss several alternatives for adjective agreement in section 4.5.1.

I continue to treat the plural marker as an undecomposable element.

4.3.2.2　　　Adjective-less DPs

A potentially serious problem for the analysis as detailed so far involves simple noun phrases consisting of [determiner + noun]:

(52)Wa:　　a.　　lès fèyéś
　　　　　　b.　　*lès èś-fèy
　　　　　　　　　'the girls'

Given what has been said so far about the internal structure of DPs in Walloon, I have provided no apparent way of excluding (52)b. With an overt noun, a plural marker must be generated in the head of NumP and should be able to appear as a proclitic (at PF) on the noun it precedes, paralleling the examples in section 4.2.3.1. I address the issue of *adjective-less DPs* in this section.

The underlying representation for (52)a would have to be as follows:

(53)

```
    DP
   /\
  D   NumP
  |    /\
 lès Num  WMP
      |    /\
     ès  WM  NP
          |   |
       fèyᵢ-wm  N
                |
                tᵢ
```
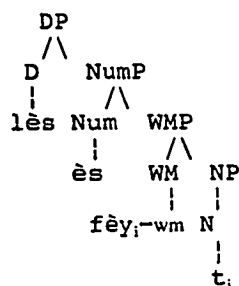
The only difference between the above example and the ones in section 4.2.3.1 is the absence of an adjectival element in the former. Since I have concluded that the plural marker becomes metrically attached to the noun at PF, the absence of an adjective in (53) should play no direct role in prohibiting *ès* from appearing on the surface.

I will claim, instead, that the absence of the adjective plays an indirect role in licensing *ès*. I suggest that the direct role of the adjective in the previous examples is to

"lexically support" (an idea in Uriagereka (1988:402)) the determiner element. In example (53), however, the article receives no lexical support (by the noun) due to the presence at S-structure of the intervening inflectional affix in Num°. In the other major Romance languages, the N-stem raises through WM° to Num°, so that Num° is filled at S-structure with the amalgamated [N°+WM°+Num°] complex. The determiner, therefore, receives lexical support via the inflected (lexical) noun.

The notion "lexically supported" may, in fact, be related to Chomsky's (1991) notion of Full Interpretation. Pursuing this idea, we can say that the definite article in (53) is not properly licensed at S-strucure or PF due to the intervening functional X°. Since Num° contains the offending material (i.e., *ès*), its contents delete at PF. This is parallel to Chomsky's proposal for deletion of Agr-trace (but not V-trace) at LF, since no interpretation can be assigned to this trace. Note that there is a crucial difference between Chomsky's proposal for LF deletion and my proposal for PF deletion. In Chomsky's example, it is the unlicensed material itself (e.g. Agr-trace) that deletes at LF. In my example, the deletion of *ès* at PF permits the potentially unlicensed definite article to be licensed (by the noun). Alternatively, an overt adjective may license the definite article and *ès* does not delete. These differences are presumably related to intrinsic differences between the LF and PF interfaces.

Deletion of unlicensed material at PF may appear to be a case of deletion of redundant phonological material. Chomsky's notion of Full Interpretation applied at the level of PF may therefore account for certain cases described as instances of the phonological phenomenon of *haplology* (defined and illustrated, for example, in Grevisse (1986:313)).[41] The descriptive idea behind the phenomenon is that a language tends to reduce phonological

redundancy. This is illustrated in the following French examples, where identical consecutive sounds will only be pronounced once (examples from Grevisse, p. 313):

(54)Fr: a. Je le lui dirai. ---> Je lui dirai.
            I it to-him would tell
            'I would tell it to him.'

         b. J'y irai. ---> J'irai.
            I there would go
            'I would go there.'

For these particular examples, I see no obvious way to attribute the deletion to improper licensing. But I believe that certain cases of supposed phonological rudundancy can be recast in terms of Full Interpretation.

Another example of haplology (more closely related to the Walloon example under discussion) is the one described for Hungarian in Szabolcsi (1992:128). Szabolcsi distinguishes between elements of category D (e.g. $a(z)$ 'the') and those of category Det (e.g. *minden* 'every'). D and Det may co-occur only if they are separated by lexical material. She claims that "contiguous strings of the type D Det or D D are ungrammatical" (e.g. *a *minden fiú* 'the every boy'). A potentially ungrammatical sequence can be saved either by deletion of the (first) D at PF (e.g. *minden fiú* 'every boy'), or by movement of the constituent containing either the (second) D or the Det (e.g. *minden* [*fiú-nak*]$_i$ a t_i *kalap-ja* 'every boy's hat', where *fiú-nak* has moved to SpecDP).[42]

In this Hungarian case, it seems plausible that the deletion and movement strategies are necessary in order for the D element to be properly licensed at PF. Expressed in terms of Full Interpretation, it is not the phonetic similarity of the elements, but the inability of the definite article to be licensed, that results in deletion of *ès* at PF.

There is, in fact, independent evidence that the determiner is sensitive to the category

that follows it. Ronat (1977:155, fn.1) shows that the obligatory liaison in French between the definite article and the noun *oranges* in an example like (55)a becomes optional when the lexical noun is suppressed in (55)b:

(55)Fr: a.   Je veux manger le-z-oranges.
                        'I want to eat the oranges.'

             b.   Elle veut acheter les fruits rouges, et lui, les/oranges.
                        'She wants to buy the red fruit, and him, the orange.'

For Ronat, these facts argue for an empty category (or trace) between the determiner and the adjective in (55)b. The proposal I made in the last chapter for definite elliptical constructions would assign the following structure to *les oranges* in (55)b:

(56)

```
      DP
      /\
    D    AP
    |    /\
   les  DP  A'
        |   |
       pro  A
            |
          oranges
```
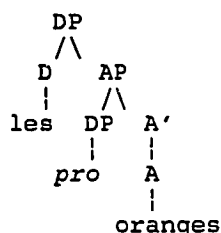
In this structure, the *pro* in SpecAP blocks liaison between the determiner and the adjective.

In conclusion, I have proposed that the underlying structure of Walloon and French DPs is identical. The surface differences are a result of the presence (in French) vs. relative absence (in Walloon) of Noun Movement. Since the noun does not amalgamate with its number marker in Walloon, the affix remains stranded in Num° at S-structure, and subsequently becomes phonologically attached, as a proclitic element, to the following noun. The presence of an *adjectival* element (adjective, quantifier, cardinal number, *wh*-word, or adverb, recall example (28)) is apparently necessary to provide lexical support for the determiner in Walloon. Additionally, this analysis provides direct evidence for the presence of an XP containing the noun's number specification.

4.3.2.3 [adjective + noun] Compounds

French and Walloon exhibit idiomatic noun compounds consisting of an adjective plus

a noun (examples in Walloon of Tenneville due to Rodolphe Dedoyard):

(57)Fr: des [belles fleurs]
           (litt. pretty flowers)
           '(variety of) apples'

(58)Te: dès [bèlés fleûrs]
           '(variety of) apples'

Notice that in the Walloon example in (58), no *ès* marker appears between the adjective and

the noun, although the compound noun is feminine. This suggests that the [adjective+noun]

compound is inserted as a unit at D-structure.

Now contrast (57) and (58) with (59) and (60):

(59)Fr: de belles fleurs (dans le jardin)
           'pretty flowers (in the garden)'

(60)Te: dès belès fleûrs
           'pretty flowers'

Although French exhibits no phonological contrast (except in the form of the article) between

a compound like (57) and a simple adjective-noun construction in (59), Walloon does show

a distinction: *ès* appears in the adjective-noun construction (60), but not in the compound

(58).[43] In the example from Tenneville in (60), the *ès* marker that appears is the nominal

plural marker. No marker appears between adjective and noun in (58), because these

compounds are derived in the lexicon and inserted as N°s.[44]

The analysis makes the following prediction: An adjective preceding the Walloon

compound in (58) should be followed by the (compound) noun's plural marker. This

prediction is borne out by the data:

(61)Te: dès p'titès [bèlès fleûrs]
'small apples'

A simple adjective-noun sequence should exhibit *ès* after both *p'tite* and *bèle*, since both are

functioning as attributive adjectives. This is exactly what we find:[45]

(62)Te: dès p'titès bèlès fleûrs
'small pretty flowers'

This contrast between (61) and (62) is also found in the Walloon of Liège (examples

due to Paul Francy):

(63)Li: a.   dès grossès [bèlès fleûrs]
'big apples'

              b.   dès grandès bèlès fleûrs
'big pretty flowers'

These morphological distinctions between [adjective+noun] compounds and simple

adjective-noun constructions in Walloon receive a natural explanation under the analysis

proposed in section 4.3.2. To summarize a bit, the *ès* plural marker for the compound,

generated in Num°, will delete at PF (as in (58)) unless preceded by an *adjectival* element

that may lexically support the determiner (as in (61)). This pattern is distinguished from the

simple adjective-noun constructions (as in (60)), where a simple noun's plural marker is

associated with a prenominal *adjectival* element.

4.3.2.4   Elliptical Nominal Constructions

I have shown that (single) adjectives in elliptical nominal constructions are not

associated with the *ès* marker. Recall example (29)a, repeated here:

(64)Wa: C'è dès bèlès.
'Those are some good (ones).'

For this example, it is natural to say that inflectional material is absent due to the

absence of a lexical noun. Yet things are not that straightforward. Specifically, what is the

internal structure of an example like (64)? And may this type of construction be accounted

for by the general DP structure I have proposed in (40)a for noun phrases with overt nouns

and adjectives? Furthermore, how does this Walloon construction compare with the null

nominal constructions of the last chapter? The following discussion will address these issues.

One of two possible representations for (64) is the following:

(65)

```
        DP
        /\
       D   NumP
       |    /\
      dès  AP   NumP
           |     /\
          bèl  Num   WMP
                |     /\
              (ès)   WM   NP
                      |    |
                      wm   N
                      ↑    |
                      |    e
                      |____|
```
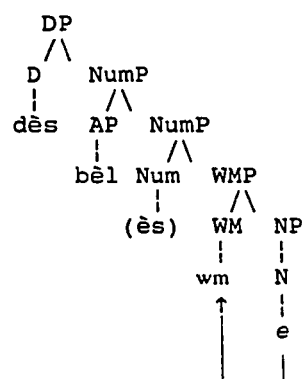
The structure above presupposes that WMP and NumP must be projected whenever NP is,

regardless of whether or not the noun is overt (recall that I have employed the symbol *wm*

to represent an abstract word marker).[46] As I discussed in the previous chapter, I assume

either that the (abstract) word marker head-governs the null NP projection, or that the null

N raises and merges with the (abstract) word marker in WM° and antecedent governs its

trace.

With this basic structure in mind, another question that arises is whether or not *ès* is

generated in Num° when the noun is null. If Num° were empty, then this would explain

why no plural marker is realized with the adjective in (64).

If, on the other hand, *ès* is generated in a structure like (65), we need an explanation

for why it does not appear on the surface. Notice that in (65) there is no overt noun

available to phonologically license the marker, and so even if *ès* is generated in Num°, it will delete at PF.[47] I will provide evidence below supporting the idea that the presence of *ès* must be assumed.

An example like (65) in a language like Spanish will receive a slightly different account. Recall that for Spanish I have claimed that either the (overt) word marker head governs NP or that the null N merges with the word marker and antecedent governs its trace. This is so far identical to what I have proposed above for Walloon. In Spanish, however, raising of the word marker proceeds through Num° to D° (forming *uno*). Recall that I have proposed that overt N-stems in Walloon only raise as far as WM°, and there is no reason to assume that the situation is any different with a null N. So the (relative) absence of N-raising in Walloon again accounts for the stranding of the plural marker in WM° (followed by deletion at PF).

The other possible structure for elliptical nominal constructions is the following:

(66)

```
        DP
       /\
      D    NP
      |   /\
     dès  AP   NP
          |    |
         bèl   N
               |
               e
```

This structure presupposes that NumP and WMP are only projected with an overt noun. Assuming this structure, we would have an immediate explanation for why *ès* does not appear in null nominal constructions, namely, because there is no projection in which it may be generated.[48]

There are several arguments, however, in favor of adopting (65) (with *ès* generated) over (66) as the correct characterization for null nominal constructions. One reason is related

to Chomsky's notion of Full Interpretation at LF. A contentful NumP is necessary for the interpretation of number specification corresponding to the null nominal in (64).

A second argument in favor of (65) is that a contentful NumP is necessary to trigger agreement on, for example, a cooccurring D element.

Another reason to adopt (65) as the correct structure comes from the following sorts of examples (from Remacle 1952:117,143):[49]

(67)Wa: a. (En) volà dès grantès djônès.
     (cl) see-there big young' (e.g. animals)
     'There are big young ones.'

    b. (En) volà dès bellès fwètès.
     (cl) see-there nice strong
     'There are nice strong ones.'

In these null nominal constructions, *ès* appears between the two adjectives (see section 4.4.1 for further discussion of the phenomenon). If Walloon adjectives, as I have argued, contain no plural marking of their own, the only source for the overt *ès* in these examples must be the NumP associated with the (null) N.

A final reason to reject (66) in favor of (65) is that (66) is completely incompatible with everything that I have claimed in the preceding chapter. Recall that in chapter 3 I claimed that WM° was necessary to license a null NP. As I discussed, the masculine/feminine alternations of nouns in Walloon argue that Walloon nouns contain word markers. I suggested that partial N-raising in Walloon results in a merger of the N-stem with its word marker. In the example in (65), therefore, the null noun arguably merges with an abstract word marker, and the trace is antecedent governed by the incorporated null noun.

In conclusion, I have provided two possible structures for null nominal constructions in Walloon. Theoretical considerations and relevant data argue that the structure illustrated

in (65), where both WMP and (contentful) NumP are projected, is the only appropriate one.

4.4 Further Issues

In the following subsections, I address several issues that are not immediately accounted for in the analysis I have proposed. In subsection 4.4.1, I examine Walloon constructions exhibiting multiple occurrences of the *ès* plural marker. Then, in section 4.4.2, I examine the distribution of ethnic adjectives in Walloon, and consider several alternative accounts. Finally, in section 4.4.3, I will address the issue of the adjunction site of adjectives and suggest a modification of the structure I have been assuming until now.

4.4.1 Multiple Adjectives: Coordination vs. Juxtaposition

My treatment of the *ès* plural marker has so far been limited to constructions with an overt noun and a single *adjectival* element. In this section, I examine the distribution of *ès* in multiple adjective constructions in Walloon.

In the Walloon of La Gleize, all the adjectives in a multiple adjective construction will exhibit the phonetically realized feminine plural affix (Remacle 1952:143):

(68)Wa: dès bèlès fwètès djônès fèyès
        'nice strong young girls'

Given the account I have proposed for the plural marker, I would predict only one affix to appear per noun, associated (orthographically) with the adjective immediately preceding the noun. The expected pattern is found, in fact, in Boulogne Picard, where only the last adjective will exhibit the inflectional ending (example from Morin 1986a:213):

(69)Pi: deux bell'grandès femmès
        'two nice big women'

What might be the explanation for the multiple occurrences of *ès* found in an example like (68)?

A partial solution to the problem is found in Remacle's (1952:154) discussion of juxtaposition vs. coordination of adjectives in Walloon. Remacle claims that the adjectives in (70), for example, are not juxtaposed, but rather, conjoined:

(70)Wa: dès bèlès bounès bièssès
               (i.e., dès bèlès èt bounès bièssès)
               'some nice (and) good animals'

In many dialects of Walloon, the conjunction *èt* 'and' is homophonous with inflectional *ès*, making it difficult to distinguish between juxtaposition and coordination. Remacle demonstrates that by looking at the singular form of (70), given in (71), we may disambiguate between a structure of conjoined adjectives (71)a and one of juxtaposed adjectives (71)b:[50,51]

(71)Wa: a.   one bèl èt boun bièsse
                     'a nice and good animal'

            b.   *one bèl boun bièsse

Since juxtaposition is impossible in the singular, we may conclude that the example in (70) is really a case of coordination. This type of example fits in nicely with what I have proposed in the previous section; that is, only one plural marker appears per noun.

Unfortunately, not all multiple adjective constructions may be analyzed as cases of coordination. In fact, Remacle states (p.178) that coordination is quite exceptional. The only possibility for the singular counterpart of the multiple adjective construction in (72)a, given in (72)b, is a series of juxtaposed adjectives:

(72)Wa: a.   dès bèlès grozès bièssès
                     'some nice big animals'

b.   one bèlé grossé bièssé
'a nice big animal'

There is yet a third type of example involving multiple prenominal adjectives. With these, it is difficult to determine whether we have a case of juxtaposition or coordination, given both possibilities in the singular (Remacle:154):[52]

(73)Wa: a.   deûs djônès fwètès djinś
'two young (and) strong people'

         b.   one djôné fwèté djin

         c.   one djôné èt fwèté djin
'a young (and) strong person'

How, then, may I account for the appearance of more than one plural marker in a noun phrase (assuming a case of juxtaposition and not coordination)?

One possibility is that, in Walloon, multiple adjectives are adjoined to iterated NumPs, each containing an *ès* agreement marker.[53] The stucture would be essentially the following:

(74)
```
NumP
  /\
AP   NumP
      /\
    Num   NumP
           /\
         AP   NumP
               /\
             Num   WMP
                    /\
                  WM   NP
                        |
                        N
```
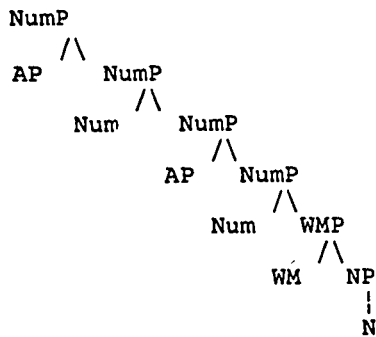
In Boulogne Picard (recall example (69)), on the other hand, only one NumP is projected, accounting for the single occurrence of *ès* in multiple adjective constructions. For coordinated adjective constructions, only one *ès* need appear, since these adjectives form part of a single (larger) constituent.

Alternatively, we might think of the multiple occurrence of *ès* as involving phonological spreading, whereby the the phonetic character of the affix is spread to the left until a nonlexical element is reached. Remacle (p.141), in fact, considers the phenomenon a sort of *harmonie phonetique*. In the case of Boulogne Picard, spreading would not be available. I am unaware, however, of any other potential cases of spreading in Walloon.

Also relevant to the discussion are the multiple adjective constructions with a pronominalized NP:

(75) Wa: a.   (En) volà dès grantès djônès.
                    (cl) see-there big young (e.g. 'animals')
                    'There are big young ones.'

            b.   (En) volà dès bellès fwètès.
                    (cl) see-there nice strong
                    'There are nice strong ones.'

The explanation for these examples would match whatever turns out to be the correct characterization of the juxtaposed multiple adjective constructions discussed in this section. The only difference here is that the rightmost instance of *ès* would have to delete (or remain unrealized) at PF, due to the absence of an overt noun for the plural marker to be proclitic on. Alternatively, the final adjective in an example like (75)a could be considered to be a noun (see chapter 3, section 3.1.6), so that the presence of only one *ès* would be expected.

4.4.2 Ethnic Adjectives

One apparent exception to the predilection for prenominal adjectives in Walloon is found in the class of nationality adjectives (Remacle 1952:154-55):

(76)Wa: a.   lu peûpe italyin
               'the Italian people'

          b.   in-êr lîdjwès
               'a Liegois air'

          c.   l'ârmé alemande
               'the German army'

          d.   one clé anglèse
               'an English key'

The Walloon pattern mimics the pattern found in the other Romance languages, illustrated here by French:

(77)Fr: a.   le peuple italien

          b.   un air liégeois

          c.   l'armée alemande

          d.   une clef anglaise

How is the postnominal position of ethnic adjectives to be accounted for?

One sort of solution to this problem was appealed to in Bernstein (1991b). This was to assume that ethnic adjectives are generated postnominally in accordance with Giorgi and Longobardi's (1991) *Head-Subject Parameter*. Another solution would be to adopt the ideas that Walloon nouns undergo partial raising to WM$^\circ$ (already suggested in section 4.3.2.1 and also suggested in Cinque 1992) and Cinque's (1992, 1993) idea that ethnic adjectives in Romance are always generated pre-nominally (in SpecNP). Both of these approaches will be detailed below.

The *Head-Subject Parameter* (Giorgi and Longobardi 1991:162) is defined as follows:

(78)   Head-Subject Parameter

External semantic functions (of the noun) are licensed
at D-structure on the right in Romance but on the left
in Germanic.

In other words, Giorgi and Longobardi claim that all external arguments selected by the

nominal head--possessors, agents, and APs licensed as predicative modifiers of the noun--are

generated postnominally as external functions in Romance and then optionally move to

prenominal position.   The intuition behind the Head Subject Parameter is that theta-role

assignment varies parametrically, external semantic functions being licensed at D-structure

on the right in Romance (79) and on the left in Germanic (80):

(79)It: il libro di Gianni
        the book of Gianni
        'Gianni's book'

(80)   John's book

Internal arguments (such as theme), on the other hand, are licensed to the right in

both Romance (81) and Germanic (82), in accordance with their *Head-Complement*

Parameter (83) (Giorgi and Longobardi 1991:162):

(81)It: la descrizione di Maria
        'the description of Maria' (theme/agent)

(82)   the description of Maria (theme)

(83)   Head-Complement Parameter

Internal arguments (of the noun) are projected to the
right both in Romance and Germanic.

The Head Subject Parameter would correctly account for the postnominal position of

ethnic adjectives in Romance.   In addition, it predicts that genitives will be postnominal in

both French and Walloon. This is indeed what we find, as shown in (84) for French and (85) for Walloon (examles from Remacle 1952:352-353):

(84)Fr: a.   la fille du meunier
                    'the miller's daughter'

            b.   les fils de Fontine
                    'Fontine's sons'

(85)Wa: a.   lu fèy do mounî

            b.   lès fis d-à Fontine

Giorgi and Longobardi's Head-Subject Parameter accurately predicts that ethnic adjectives and genitives will appear postnominally in Romance. However, I have already argued (in chapter 2) against such an analysis for regular descriptive adjectives, because it depends on a mechanism of adjective raising to derive the optional prenominal position for adjectives.

Another reason not to extend the Head-Subject Paramater to descriptive adjectives involves the *ès* facts from Walloon. A Giorgi and Longobardi type approach leaves no way to link the position of adjectives in Walloon to the various properties of *ès* which receive a natural explanation under the assumption that Noun Movement is relatively absent in Walloon, unlike French. Let's see how the Head-Subject Parameter applies to the ethnic adjectives.

Extending Kayne's (1984:139) account of thematic APs in English, Giorgi and Longobardi predict that these adjectives will never surface prenominally in Romance, because they could never bind an argument trace from this position (Giorgi and Longobardi (1991:177). This is illustrated below (their (22a,b)):[54]

(86)It: a.   l'invasione italiana dell'Albania
              'the Italian invasion of Albania'

b.   *l'italiana invasione dell'Albania
      'the Italian invasion of Albania'

If the so-called ethnic adjectives are indeed generated postnominally in Romance, falling

under the Head-Subject Parameter, and assuming leftward adjective movement is unavailable,

then the distribution of these adjectives in Walloon (recall (76)) is automatically accounted

for.

Another approach to the relative ordering of ethnic adjective and noun has been

advocated in Cinque (1992, 1993). Cinque assumes that the ethnic adjectives occupy SpecNP

at D-structure, on a par with proposals about external arguments of the noun (see chapter 2

for discussion). One argument in favor of this analysis over an analysis like Giorgi and

Longobardi's (where the ethnic adjectives are generated postnominally), is provided by the

distribution of ethnic adjectives relative to noun complements in Italian. The following

examples illustrate the pattern for Italian (examples are from Cinque (1992), his (1)):

(87)It: a.   *L'italiana invasione dell'Albania

         b.   L'invasione italiana dell'Albania

         c.   *L'invasione dell'Albania italiana
               'the Italian invasion of Albania'

As (87)a shows, the (theta-bearing) ethnic adjective may not appear prenominally at S-

structure, unlike several other classes of Romance adjectives we have seen in chapter 2.

Example (87)b represents the only possible ordering. Example (87)c shows that the

complement may not appear (on the surface) between the N° and the ethnic adjective. Yet,

this is just the order we would expect if we were to adopt the Giorgi/Longobardi Head-

Subject Parameter to account for the positioning of ethnic adjectives, since both the internal

(noun complement) and external arguments (including ethnic adjectives) would both be

generated to the right of the noun, the internal argument being generated as sister to the N°. Adopting the Giorgi and Longobardi approach, the only way to derive the correct surface string from the D-structure order would be by lowering the noun complement, as illustrated below (Cinque's (1992) (6b)):

(88) [$_{DP}$ L' [$_{NP}$ [$_{N'}$ invasione dell'Albania] italiana]]
       |_____↑

This would raise two questions: 1) What position are we lowering to? and 2) How would the trace left be governed by a non c-commanding antecedent?

In order to derive the correct surface order in (87)b, Cinque (1992) proposes the following derivation (his (6a)):

(89) [$_{DP}$ L' [$_{NP}$ italiana [$_{N'}$ invasione dell'Albania]]]
       ↑_____|

In this derivation, the ethnic adjective *italiana*, as an external argument, is generated in SpecNP and the noun complement as sister to N°. Noun-raising of the N° *invasione* derives the correct surface order, and constitutes a core case of head-to-head movement, obeying the HMC.[55]

Recall that Giorgi and Longobardi's Head Subject Parameter would have had the advantage of being able to account for the postnominal position of both the ethnic adjectives and the gentives in Romance. We have already seen that the postnominal position of ethnic adjectives receives a natural explanation within a Noun Movement framework. May a Noun Movement framework also accommodate genitives (recall examples (79), (84), and (85))?

There have already been several proposals arguing that external arguments, including genitives, are base-generated in SpecNP, and that N-raising across the argument derives the postnominal surface order. Among them we find the proposal in Dobrovie-Sorin (1987) for Romanian, in Ritter (1991) for Hebrew (recall Ritter's Hebrew example in (7)) and in Picallo

(1991) for Catalan. Cinque (1992, 1993) has also cited these studies. Cinque's proposal about ethnic adjectives is completely compatible with the idea that genitives are generated in SpecXP. Still to be examined is the role of the preposition *de* as a case licenser in Romance. I will only focus here on the ethnic adjectives.

Assuming Cinque to be correct about the derivation of the postnominal surface position of the ethnic adjectives, I must now determine how Cinque's general analysis may be applied to Walloon. Cinque (1992, 1993) suggests that Walloon exhibits partial Noun Movement, deriving the postnominal position of the ethnic adjectives. I have followed this idea in section 4.3.2.1 and suggested that N-stems in Walloon raise as far as WM°. This partial raising would correctly derive the postnominal surface position of ethnic adjectives.

Although Cinque's proposal might correctly account for the Walloon ethnic adjective facts as I described them in my (1991b) article, I have found the situation to be more complex than what I had originally described. Let's reexamine the status of the ethnic adjectives in Walloon.

First, it is important to note that there is a sense on the part of native speakers that these adjectives, when they do appear, are French borrowings (as already expressed by Remacle 1952:154). When asked for the Walloon equivalents for the French forms containing ethnic adjectives, the informants supplied the following (examples in Walloon of Bastogne due to Georges Pasau, and in Walloon of Liège due to Paul Francy):

(90)Ba: a.   lu peûpe italyin
                 'the Italian people'

            b.   l'êr lîdjwès
                 'the Liégeois air'

            c.   ou patwa d'après Namur   /   ou patwa namurois
                 'a patois from Namur'   /   'a Namur patois'

(91)Li: a.   li peûpe d'Itâlîye   (cf. in-itâliyin)
                  'the people of/from Italy'   'an Italian'

            b.   in-êr di Lîdje
                  'an air of/from Liège'

            c.   l'ârmé d'Al'magne   (cf. l'ârmé amerikin)
                  'the army of/from Germany'

            d.   on pantalon itâlyin
                  'an Italian pant'

There was clearly some resistance (particularly on the part of the Liège informant) to use the adjectival forms.

Delaite (1895:28) has distinguished between nationality expressed as an adjective (92), and origin expressed as a country name preceded by a preposition (93):

(92)Wa: a.   on baron russe
                  'a Russian baron'

            b.   on piote hollandais
                  'a Dutch foot soldier'

(93)Wa: a.   on sôdard di Prusse
                  'a Prussian soldier'

            b.   dè vinaigue di France
                  'French vinegar'

I am not sure whether this distinction characterizes my informants' responses, yet it does highlight the fact that there is less of a tendency to use adjectival forms in Walloon.

The reluctance to employ ethnic adjectives is even more apparent in event nominal constructions, where the informants avoided the adjectival form entirely (examples in Walloon of Bastogne supplied by Michel Francard):

(94)Ba: l'invâzion dol Bèljike pa lès-Almands
            'the invasion of Belgium by the Germans'

The following example (without an event nominal), on the other hand, was possible with an

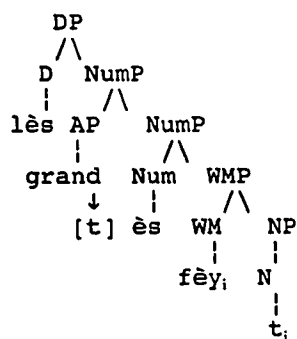ethnic adjective (essentially of the type illustrated in (92)):

(95)Ba: lès sôldârs almands da Hitlêr
'Hitler's German soldiers'

Needless to say, the ethnic adjective facts in Walloon are rather complex and merit additional investigation. A working hypothesis would be that terms of national origin used as adjectives in Walloon are base-generated in SpecNP, the postnominal (surface) position derived by N-raising to WM°. As Richard Kayne has pointed out, the fact that these adjectives never appear prenominally is also significant. Still left open is the question of what accounts for the fact that ethnic adjectives are relatively marked in Walloon.

4.4.3 Adjunction Sites for Adjectives

The representation in (40)a from section 4.3.2 (repeated below with WMP added) would seem to prohibit having an AP adjoined to NP or WMP in Walloon, since this would result in the *ès* being generated to the left of the adjective:

(96)   Walloon:

```
     DP
    /\
   D  NumP
   |   /\
  lès AP   NumP
      |     /\
    grand  Num  WMP
      ↓    |    /\
    [t]   ès  WM   NP
               |    |
             fèyᵢ   N
                    |
                    tᵢ
```
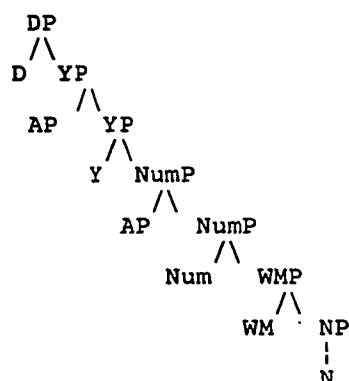
Recall, however, that I have already suggested that NP may not be a possible adjunction site for adjectives in Romance.

Another possibility (suggested to me by Richard Kayne) is that an additional

functional category (YP) intervenes between DP and NumP:

(97)

```
        DP
        /\
      D  YP
          /\
        AP  YP
            /\
          Y   NumP
              /\
            AP   NumP
                 /\
               Num   WMP
                     /\
                   WM · NP
                        ¦
                        N
```

Rottet (1993), for example, proposes *PossP* (for my YP), the projection of demonstratives

and possessive pronouns in Mauritian Creole. Adjectives in both French and Walloon may

be adjoined to NumP and/or YP, or perhaps the other functional XPs that will be

undoubtedly be proposed. In Walloon, the N-stem only raises as high as WM° so that

adjectives will precede both *ès* (in Num°) and the noun (in N°) at S-structure. In French,

the noun would move through WM° and Num° to (at least) Y°, allowing for both pre- and

postnominal adjectives.

4.5 Some Consequences of the Proposal

In this chapter, the claim that Noun Movement is relatively absent in Walloon has

been related to the distribution of the *ès* marker and adjective position.

There are other differences between Walloon and French DPs which I take to be

related to the relative absence or presence of Noun Movement. These differences will be the

focus of the next two subsections. First, I briefly discuss the significance of adjective

agreement in Romance. Then, I show that the relative presence (in French) vs. absence (in

Walloon) of Noun Movement accounts for differences in stem liaison between French and Walloon.

4.5.1 Adjective Agreement (revisited)

One consequence of the claim that the Walloon *ès* marker associated with adjectives is really the noun's plural marker, is that adjectives themselves do not agree in number with the head noun.
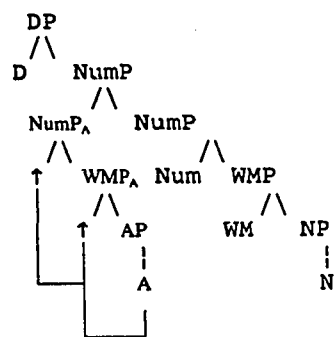
A natural way to characterize this, as suggested to me by Richard Kayne, would be to say that an adjective may not merge with a number affix if a noun doesn't. This generalization would then distinguish between Walloon, which displays no number agreement with adjectives and nouns, and French and the other major Romance languages, which display number agreement with both adjectives and nouns, even if only in contexts of liaison in French.

Although nouns do not merge with number affixes in Walloon, they arguably do merge with word markers. And as I suggested in chapter 3, we might think of gender as being spelled out as word markers. Since Walloon nouns do have inherent gender, the fact that adjectives also exhibit gender alternations is unproblematic.

Still missing, however, is a specific proposal for number and gender concord. As I mentioned in chapter 2, I see two possible approaches. One is to adopt the plausible assumption that agreement involves raising, so that adjectives, like nouns, acquire agreement morphology by A°-raising to (adjectival) inflectional heads. Another possibility is that adjectival agreement is triggered in a Spec-head relationship (or a relationship between AP adjoined to XP and the X head).

A combination of the two ideas would yield the following structure:

(98)

```
        DP
       / \
      D   NumP
          / \
      NumP_A  NumP
       / \     / \
      ↑  WMP_A Num WMP
         / \      / \
        ↑  AP    WM  NP
           |         |
           A         N
```

In this structure, the adjective adjoined to NumP raises and merges with its own inflectional affixes in WM$_A$ and Num$_A$. In Walloon, it could be the case that *ès* is generated in Num$_A$, and that the adjective (parallel to the noun) never raises that high. This *ès* may correspond to the "extra" *ès* we find in multiple adjective constructions. With only one adjective, however, *ès* would delete at PF, just as the noun's plural marker does in adjective-less DPs.

Although I have made several suggestions about the process of adjective agreement in Romance, much work is still needed in order to develop a comprehensive theory.

4.5.2 Stem Liaison

The analysis I have proposed may also account for the absence in Walloon of stem liaison (as discussed in Morin 1986b:190). In French, stem liaison (that is, liaison between the final consonant of the stem and a following vowel-initial word) is the general rule between prenominal adjective and noun:

(99)Fr: a.   un gro-z-arbre
              'a big tree'

           b.   un peti-t-enfant
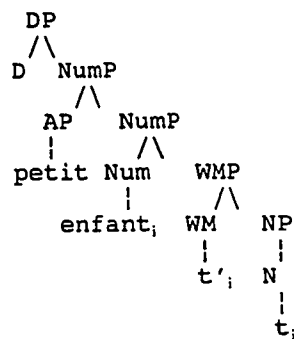   'a small child'

In Walloon, on the other hand, stem liaison is absent in this context (examples from Morin 1986a:218):

(100)Wa: a.   on groś abe   Liège Walloon

             b.   on groś abe   Goundecourt Picard
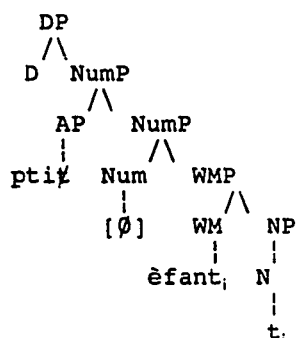
             c.   on ptił èfant

Morin (1986b:190) claims that stem liaison is absent in the languages that are characterized by prenominal adjectives.

A natural explanation for this phenomenon is offered by the general analysis proposed in this chapter. If, as I have argued, Noun Movement is relatively absent in Walloon, then the NumP projection will always intervene between an adjoined adjective and the noun head that has raised to WM°. In other words, we have the following situation at S-structure:

(101) a. French

```
        DP
        /\
      D   NumP
           /\
         AP   NumP
         |     /\
       petit Num   WMP
              |     /\
           enfantᵢ WM   NP
                   |    |
                   t'ᵢ  N
                        |
                        tᵢ
```

b.   Walloon

```
        DP
       /\
      D   NumP
          /\
        AP    NumP
         !     /\
       ptiɫ  Num    WMP
              !       /\
            [∅]     WM    NP
                     !     !
                   èfantᵢ  N
                           !
                           tᵢ
```

In French, liaison between adjective and noun may take place after the stem raises to the Num° position. In Walloon, the noun is literally *too far away* from the adjective due to the intervening NumP projection, barring stem liaison.

This analysis offers an explanation for Morin's observation that stem liaison correlates with the predilection for prenominal adjectives. The prenominal position of adjectives (at S-structure) in Walloon signals the relative absence of Noun Movement, accounting for the absence of stem liaison.[56]

Appendix

Variation in Walloon from a Minimalist Perspective

1   Introduction

Throughout this thesis, I have been assuming a framework that assumes that N-stems (on a par with V-stems) raise through functional heads (e.g. $WM°$ and $Num°$) and pick up inflectional affixes corresponding to form class and number. This provided for some interesting results, particularly in the account of indefinite null nominal constructions I proposed in chapter 3, and for the analysis of the Walloon plural marker that I proposed in this chapter.

In this appendix, I would like to briefly explore the consequences of extending Chomksy's (1992) checking framework to the DP, where N-raising to functional heads would be motivated by morphological checking requirements of the N-stem. Specifically, I show that this framework allows for an analysis of cross-dialectal variation in word order and agreement patterns that I have found otherwise difficult to account for.

At this point, however, I am unable to definitively argue for the adoption of one framework over the other. Such a determination must be postponed until further investigation proves one framework to be empirically more sound than the other. In the meantime, it is my goal here to contribute to a greater understanding of the issues.

In section 2, I take Chomsky's basic proposal (extended to the DP) one step further and suggest that N-stems raise to $D°$ in order to license the definite article. This extra step

takes place in the overt syntax in a language like Romanian, where the definite article appears postnominally on the surface. In languages like French, Spanish, and Catlan, I assume that raising to $D°$ takes place at LF.

In the third and fourth sections of this appendix, I examine Walloon cross-dialectal variation within a checking framework. I argue that the definite article in Walloon is licensed by the raising of the number feature in $Num°$ at LF. In these sections, I appeal to the notions "strong" and "weak" gender and number, and show what the consequences of these notions are within the syntax of several Walloon dialects. My proposal will differ from Chomsky's original formulation in that a "strong" feature may survive to PF without resulting in a "clash".

In section 5, I discuss Ranrupt French, which differs in an interesting way from the Walloon dialects, and show how the basic proposal extends to the facts of this dialect.

2   Morphological Checking and the Definite Article

Chomsky claims that a verb is inserted in the syntax with its inflectional features and that morphological checking requirements force V-raising to inflectional heads. In a language with "strong" agreement, like French, a verb's tense and agreement features are checked in the syntax as the verb passes through the relevant functional heads. If the features on the verb match those in the relevant functional head, the head features disappear and the derivation "converges" at the interface level PF. A conflict of features leads to a feature clash, and the derivation "crashes" at PF. In "weak" agreement systems, as in English, a verb checks its tense and agreement features at LF. "Weak" agreement features are invisible at PF, so the derivation "converges". Also part of Chomsky's system is the idea that LF

movement is "cheaper" than overt movement. "In English-type languages, overt raising is not forced for convergence; therefore, it is barred by economy principles." (p.43)

The checking framework proposed by Chomsky generalizes straightforwardly to the DP, where the N-stem raises to WM° to check its gender feature, and then to Num° to check its number feature.[57] I further claim that properties of the definite article force raising of the N-stem further, to D°, in order for the definite article to check its morphological features. This last step, taking place at LF in most of the Romance languages, but in the overt syntax in Romanian, will be required by properties of the determiner, rather than by morphological requirements of the N-stem, akin to Chomsky's idea (p.40) of an independent mechanism forcing V-to-C raising. The number and gender features of the determiner will be checked against the incorporated noun in D°.

Assuming N-to-D movement in Romanian is supported by the fact that the definite article appears postnominally in this language, unlike the pre-nominal position generally found in Romance. The derivation of (102)a would be as in (102)b, ignoring NumP and WMP for now:
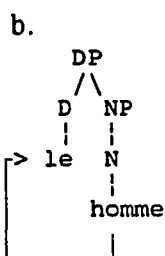
(102)Ro: a.   omul
                   man-the
                   'the man'

        b.

```
        DP
       /\
      D  NP
      |   |
   om_i-ul N
           |
          t_i
```
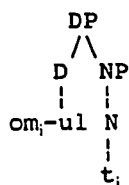
In a language like French, I will argue that raising to D° for morphological checking takes place at LF. LF movement is represented by the arrow in (103)b:

(103)Fr: a.   l'homme
                    'the man'

b.

```
        DP
       /\
      D   NP
      |   |
  ┌─> le  N
  │       |
  │      homme
  │       
  └───────┘
```

What still remains to be explained is why the movement takes place in the syntax in Romanian, and at LF in the other major Romance languages. I suggest that this difference is related to another intrinsic difference between Romanian and the other Romance languages, namely that overt case morphology is found in Romanian, but not in the other Romance languages.

Another recent proposal for N-to-D movement has been made by Longobardi (1992a,1993). Longobardi proposes that proper names, as inherently referential, substitute into $D°$ in the syntax in Italian and at LF in English in order to be licensed as arguments. Pronouns, he assumes, are base-generated in D. Common nouns, on the other hand, will only be licensed as arguments when introduced by an overt D. Raising of the N to the D position will be barred, therefore, when the movement is a case of substitution. Raising of N to D, in this account, is permitted as long as the D is not obliterated, that is, in cases of adjunction. Nothing that I will propose here is inconsistent with Longobardi's proposal.

Another proposal for $X°$ movement to $D°$ has been made in Delfitto and Schroten's (1991) work on bare plurals. Their claim is that bare plurals are licensed in the languages that allow the number specification of $Num°$ to raise to $D°$ at LF. They argue that this would be possible in a language like English, where the Num specification is an X^{-1} element
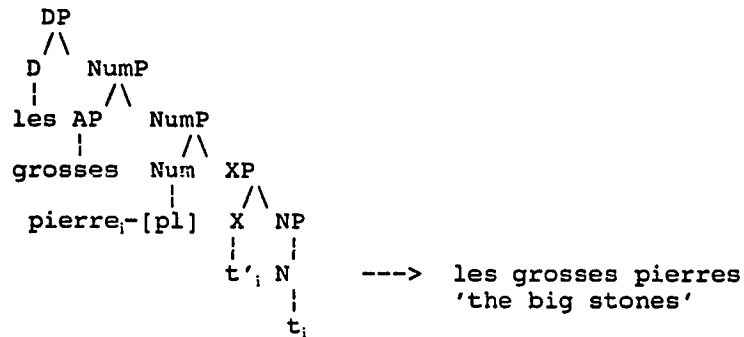
and the N is an X° element. In a language like Spanish or Italian, the N-stem is arguably an X^{-1} element, so that the trace of the raised Num^{-1} could not be properly governed due to the closer intervening X^{-1} element, the N-stem.
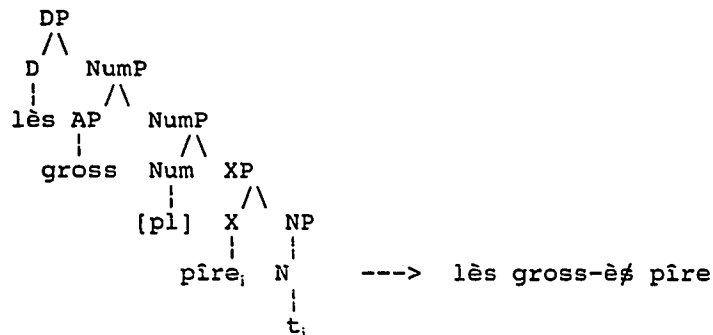
3   Checking in Walloon

Recall that the claim that nouns do not raise to Num° in Walloon was supported by two facts: 1) Adjectives appear prenominally; and 2) Nouns do not exhibit overt plural marking. I would like to suggest that the absence of movement to Num° in Walloon is due to the absence of a feature corresponding to number on the N-stem. Since the DP can have a plural interpretation (and display plural morphology), I assume that Num° contains a feature for plural. This [pl] feature is spelled out as a plural marker at PF. Recall, however, that the position of ethnic adjectives in Walloon argued that Walloon exhibits at least partial N-raising. I will assume that this raising is to a functional head lower than WMP for reasons that become clear below.

French and Walloon may now be distinguished as follows (WMP suppressed for now):

(104) French

```
        DP
       /\
      D   NumP
      |   /\
     les AP   NumP
         |    /\
       grosses Num  XP
               |    /\
          pierreᵢ-[pl]  X   NP
                        |   |
                       t'ᵢ  N      ---> les grosses pierres
                            |           'the big stones'
                            tᵢ
```

(105) Walloon

```
        DP
       /\
      D   NumP
      |   /\
     lès AP   NumP
         |    /\
       gross Num  XP
             |    /\
            [pl]  X   NP
                  |   |
                pîreᵢ  N      ---> lès gross-è⁄ pîre
                       |
                       tᵢ
```

In French, the N-stem raises through X° to Num in the syntax and then raises one step further, to D, at LF (recall (102)b). But if the N-stem in Walloon does not raise (through Num°) to D°, as I have proposed, how will the definite article be licensed?

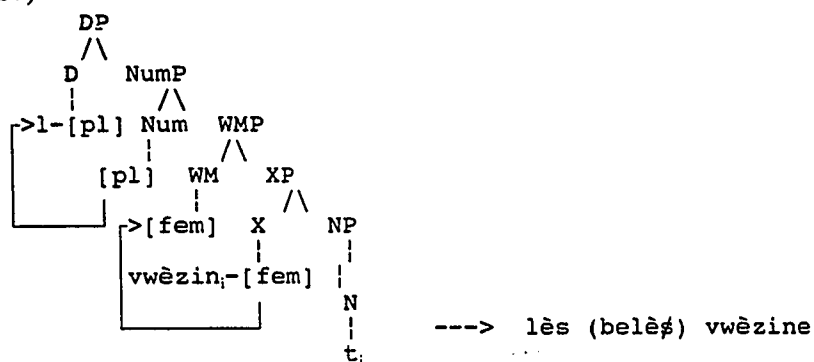First, recall that although Walloon nouns do not display a singular/plural alternation, they do display a masculine/feminine alternation:

(106) Wa: a.   cuzin, cuzène
                   'cousin' (m.,f.)

             b.   vwèzin, vwèzine
                   'neighbor' (m.,f.)

Given the structure I provided in (105), these facts argue that Walloon nouns raise to WM° to check a feature for gender. (With Harris 1991 and Bonet 1991, I assume that masculine

really amounts to the absence of a feature specification for gender and that feminine [fem] is a privative feature.) Since adjectives appear prenominally in Walloon, I will assume that movement to WM° takes place at LF. In other words, the structure in (105) should be as follows:

(107)
```
        DP
       /\
      D   NumP
      |    /\
  ->l-[pl] Num  WMP
      |    |    /\
      |   [pl]  WM   XP
      |    |    |    /\
      |   ->[fem] X   NP
      |    |    |     |
      |  vwēzin;-[fem] |
      |_____|
                       N
                       |    ---> lès (belè$) vwēzine
                       t;
```

The partial syntactic movement to X° derives the postnominal position of the ethnic adjectives. At LF the N-stem raises to WM° in order to check its gender feature. The N-stem cannot raise further, that is, to Num°, because there is no number feature on the N-stem. Instead, I propose that the feature [pl] in Num° raises to D° at LF in order to license the definite article by checking its number feature. (The arrows above represent raising at LF.)

I propose that number is "strong" in Walloon, and so must be spelled out at PF, yielding the ès/s markers we saw in examples like the following:

(108)Wa: a.   lès grossè$ pîres
              'the big stones'

        b.   dès vètè-z-ouhs
              'green doors'

(109)Wa: a.   dès neûrś tchivès
                  'black hair'

          b.   dès neûr-z-ouy
                  'black eyes'

Since there can be no clash of number features (compare the [pl] feature in Num° with the absence of a number feature on the N-stem), the derivation will not "crash" at PF.[58]

I have not yet accounted for the fem./masc. alternation in the surface form of the plural marker. I would like to propose that in the dialects of Walloon that display the alternation (but see below), number is "strong", gender is "weak". We know that number is "strong" because a [pl] feature will be spelled out at PF. The claim that gender is "weak" is supported by the following: 1) The (singular) definite article is unmarked for gender; and 2) syntactic N-raising to WM° is arguably absent, as later facts will show (akin to absence of syntactic V-raising in English), accounting for the prenominal position of adjectives.

The representation in (107) yields the following string of features at S-structure (not necessarily corresponding to linear order):

(110)   l-[pl] bèl [pl] [fem] vwèzin-[fem] --> lès bèlèś vwèzine

At PF, the [fem] feature to the right of [pl] becomes spelled out as *ès*, conforming to the Romance pattern of number outside of gender, due to some sort of "readjustment" (Bonet 1991, Noyer 1992).

With masculine nouns, the relevant string at S-structure would be as follows (incorporating Harris' idea that masculine gender is to be thought of as the absence of a feature value for gender, i.e. [0]):

(111)   l-[pl] bê [pl] [0] vwèzin-[0] --> lès bêś vwèzin

In this case, the [pl] feature is spelled out as [s] at PF, since there is no "adjacent" gender

value. Notice that in both cases, the Num° [pl] feature itself is what raises to D° at LF (as I have indicated in (107)).

4   Variation Among Walloon Dialects

So far, I have dealt with properties of Walloon that are, to the best of my knowledge, common to all the dialects (except the *ès/s* alternation, see below). In the next few sections I describe several interesting differences among Walloon dialects. First, I discuss variation in adjective position, followed by variation in the form of what I have claimed to be the plural marker. Then, I discuss variation in the form of the singular definite article. This variation will be relevant for the dialects of Walloon spoken in the southeastern regions, that is, south of Bastogne (in Wallo-Lorrain), and including Neufchâteau and Virton.

Although adjectives are overwhelmingly prenominal in all Walloon dialects, it seems that the tendency is strongest in the northeastern dialects, particularly in the Liégeois zone. In particular, it is in these northern dialects that participial adjectives are prenominal (examples in Walloon of La Gleize from Remacle 1952, and in Walloon of Liège from Bertrand and Duchesne N.D.):

(112)Gl: a.   on pièrdou tins   (Fr: un temps perdu)
                  'a lost time'

            b.   do rassis pan   (Fr: du pain rassis)
                  'stale bread'

            c.   do cramé/turbiné lècê (Fr: du lait écrémé)
                  'skimmed milk'

(113)Li: a.   on poûri tins
                  'rotten weather'

            b.   in poûrèye pome
                  'a rotten apple'

c. dè boulou lècê
    'boiled milk'

In Bastogne, note that these participial adjectives are postnominal (examples due to Georges Pasau):

(114)Ba: a. on tins pièrdou

          b. do pwin rassîs

          c. de lacê turbiné

These facts argue that the N raises one step further in the dialects with postnominal participial adjectives.

Also relevant in the southeastern dialects is the fact that the form of the plural marker (that I have claimed is the spell-out of Num°) is invariably *s*, that is, there is no masculine/feminine alternation. Phonetic realization is limited to contexts of liaison (examples due to Georges Pasau):

feminine DPs:
(115)Ba: a. dès bèléś mwêjons
              'nice houses'

          b. dès fwatéś djins
              'strong people'

(116)Ba: a. dès nich-z-afêres
              'dirty affairs'

          b. dès ptité-z-avon.nes
              'small oats'

masculine DPs:
(117)Ba: a. dès grandś tchfôs
              'big horses'

          b. lès blandś tchins
              'the white dogs'

(118)Ba: a.   dès grand-z-imbeciles
                  'big imbeciles'

            b.   dès ptif-z-afants
                  'small children'

Another property is correlated with the absence of a masculine/feminine alternation for the plural marker (see *Atlas Linguistique de la Wallonie* tome 2, map 1 "La" and map 11 "Qualificatif"). In the southeastern dialects, which lack *ès* as the spell-out of the plural marker, the singular definite article shows a masculine/feminine alternation:

(119)Ba: a.   lu tchfô
                  'the horse' (m.)

            b.   la bièsse
                  'the animal' (f.)

In the northeastern dialects, the singular definite article is invariable:

(120)Gl: a.   lu mére
                  'the mother'

            b.   lu pére
                  'the father'

(121)Te: a.   li mohon
                  'the house' (f.)

            b.   li viadje
                  'the village' (m.)

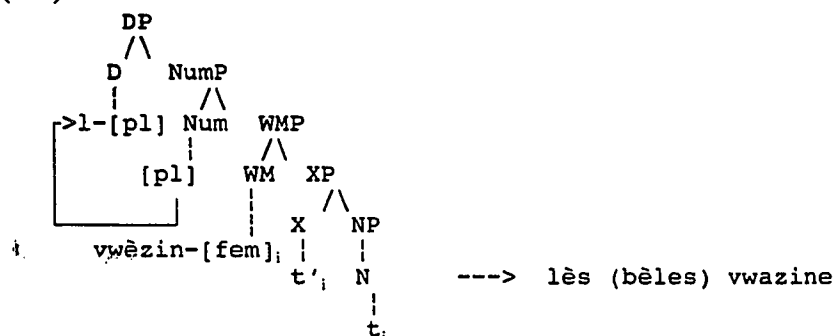[Note that Tenneville exhibits the expected *ès*:

(122)Te: dès bèlès mâhons
            'nice houses'

This supports the claim that the presence of *ès* correlates with absence of gender alternation on the sing. def. article.]

What I would like to claim is that, first of all, gender is "strong" in these southern dialects, exemplified here by the Walloon of Bastogne. This is supported by the fact that the

definite article shows a gender alternation. First, I propose that the N-stem raises (through

X°) to WM° in the overt syntax in these dialects, deriving the postnominal surface position

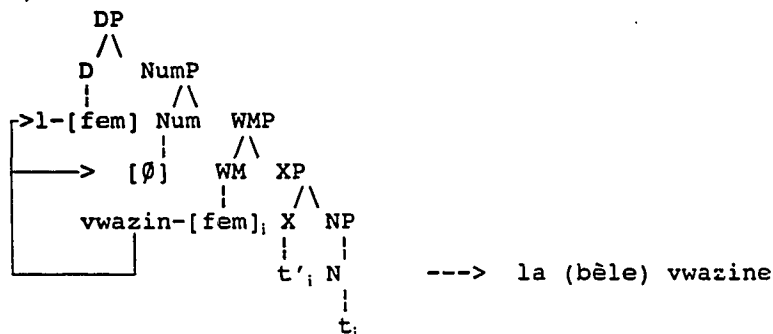of the participial adjectives:

(123)Ba:
```
            DP
           /\
          D   NumP
          |    /\
     ->1-[pl] Num   WMP
     |        |    /\
     |      [pl]  WM   XP
     |       |    /\
     |       |   X   NP
     |       |   |   |
     vwêzin-[fem]i |   |
                 t'i  N        ---> lès (bèles) vwazine
                      |
                      ti
```

Note that with overt N-raising to WM°, the [fem] feature in WM° is checked with the

gender feature of the N-stem, and since there is a match, it disappears from Num° (following

Chomsky 1992). In these dialects there is no independent [fem] feature that may survive to

PF, explaining why [pl] in Num° is invariably spelled out as s. As in the dialects of

Walloon we looked at before, the [pl] feature in Num° raises to D° at LF in order to check

the [pl] feature of the determiner. This LF movement is represented in (123) by the

arrow.[59]

The singular cases are somewhat more complex. Recall that in dialects like the one

spoken in Bastogne, there is a masculine/feminine alternation in the singular definite article.

How is the gender feature (i.e., [fem]) of D° going to be checked if the noun does not raise

as far as Num° in the syntax? Recall that the [pl] feature in Num° is unmarked for gender.

There is no reason to think that the case is different for singular.

What I propose is that in these southern dialects the N-stem can raise at LF through

Num°, which lacks a feature value (so no clash), to D°, where the gender of the definite

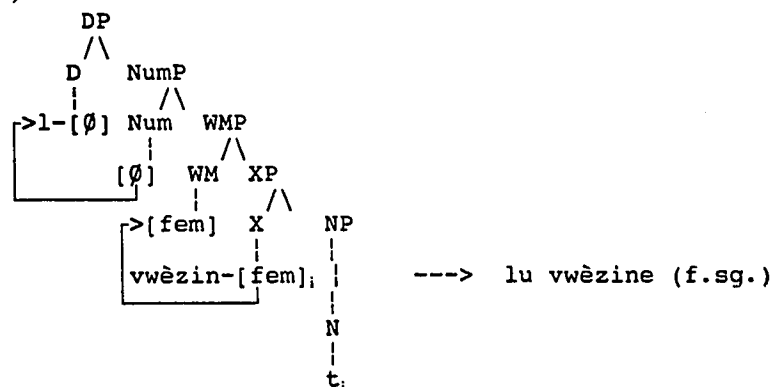article is checked. The relevant derivation would be as follows, arrows representing LF movement:

(124)Ba:

```
        DP
        /\
       D   NumP
       |    /\
 ->1-[fem] Num  WMP
       |    /\
 ----> [∅]  WM   XP
       |    |    /\
   vwazin-[fem]ᵢ X   NP
       |        |    |
               t'ᵢ  N      ---> la (bèle) vwazine
                    |
                    tᵢ
```

In the plural DPs (recall examples (107) and (123)), movement of the N-stem through Num° would be barred. This is because the presence of the feature [pl] in Num would clash with the absence of a feature on the N-stem. In these cases, the [pl] feature in Num° raises to D° to check the definite article.

What of the singular DPs in the northeastern dialects of Walloon? What prevents the N-stem from raising through Num° to D° in these dialects? Recall the basic structure I have proposed:

(125)Li:

```
        DP
        /\
       D   NumP
       |    /\
 ->1-[∅]  Num  WMP
       |    /\
      [∅]  WM   XP
       |    |    /\
    ->[fem]  X   NP
       |     |    |
   vwèzin-[fem]ᵢ  |     ---> lu vwèzine (f.sg.)
                  |
                  N
                  |
                  tᵢ
```

One possibility is that the absence of gender specification on the determiner is unable to force raising of the N-stem, which only raises (at LF) as far as WM° in this dialect. Since raising

is not forced by features of the D, it is barred by economy principles (Chomsky 1992:43). In this case, the gender-less determiner does not force (LF) raising of the N-stem.

5   A Consequence of the Proposal

So far, we have seen two types of dialects. In Liège Walloon, I have claimed that syntactic number is "strong" and that syntactic gender is "weak". "Strong" number is spelled out at PF as *ès* or *s*. "Weak" gender results in LF movement of the N-stem to WM°. In Bastogne Walloon, gender and number are both "strong". "Strong" number is spelled out at PF (as *s*). "Strong" gender forces overt raising of the N-stem to WM°, deriving the postnominal position of participial adjectives. In both dialects, the [pl] feature in Num° raises to D° at LF in order to license the plural definite article. In Bastogne Walloon, the N-stem in a singular DP must raise through Num° (which lacks feature specification) to D° at LF, in order to check the gender feature of the definite article.

For both types of dialects we have seen that number is "strong". What would happen in a dialect where number is "weak"? This is arguably the case in Ranrupt.

The French dialect of Ranrupt (Bas-Rhin) resembles Bastogne Walloon in all relevant respects except one, which I return to below (all examples from Aub-Büscher 1962).

In Ranrupt French, adjectives are prenominal:[60]

(126)Ra: a.   dó ruj vī
                  'red wine'

          b.   en b'yâch chèt
                  'a white cat'

Nouns are unmarked for number:

(127)Ra: a.   lo tchwǎ
                   'the horse'

            b.   ii tchwǎ
                   'the horses'

Nouns display masculine/feminine forms:

(128)Ra: a.   lo bǎl'yè
                   'the carnival man'

            b.   le bǎl'yèr
                   'the carnival woman'
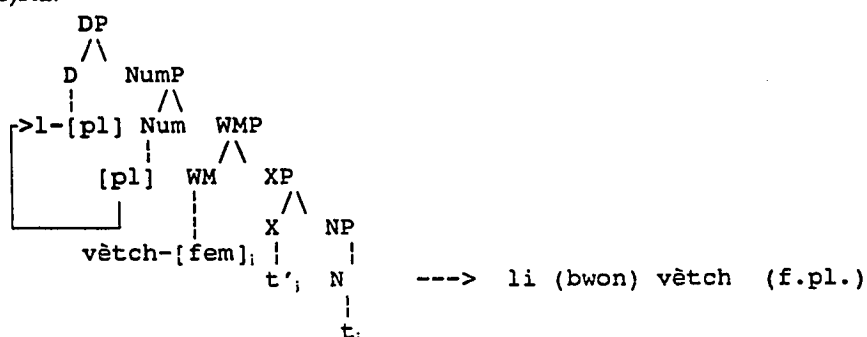
Singular definite articles show a gender alternation:

(129)Ra: a.   lo bu
                   'the beef/steer' (m.)

            b.   le vètch
                   'the cow' (f.)

Unlike the Walloon varieties, however, a plural marker does not appear between the adjective and the noun, although we know that the DP is plural by the form of the accompanying article:

(130)Ra: a.   lo bū
                   'the steer'

            b.   li bū
                   'the steers'

I will assume that gender is "strong" in this dialect, as proposed for Bastogne Walloon. Unlike all varieties of Walloon, however, the dialect of Ranrupt is characterized by "weak" number. In other words, the feature [pl] that occupies the Num° position will not be spelled out at PF, although it will still raise to D° at LF to check the plural feature of the definite article. The relevant derivation would be as follows:

(131)Ra:

```
        DP
       /\
      D    NumP
      |    /\
 >l-[pl] Num   WMP
      |   /\
     [pl]  WM    XP
      |    |    /\
      |    |   X   NP
 vètch-[fem]ᵢ |   |
            t'ᵢ  N      ---> li (bwon) vètch (f.pl.)
                 |
                 tᵢ
```

In the singular, the derivation would be indentical to what we saw in the Bastogne equivalent in (124), that is, the N-stem raises through Num° to D° at LF in order to check the gender feature of the definite article:

(132)Ra:

```
        DP
       /\
      D    NumP
      |    /\
 >l-[fem] Num   WMP
      |    /\
  --> [∅]  WM    XP
      |    |    /\
 vètch-[fem]ᵢ X   NP
            |   |
           t'ᵢ  N      ---> le (bwon) vètch (f.sg.)
                 |
                 tᵢ
```
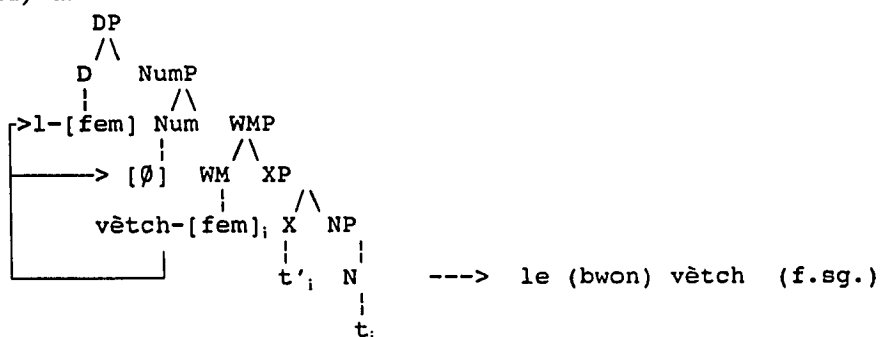
6   Summary

In this appendix, I have examined several aspects of Walloon DPs within a checking framework and made the following proposals:

a) Morphological requirements of the definite article force raising of the N-stem from Num° to D°. This movement takes place in the overt syntax in Romanian and at LF in the other major Romance languages. In Walloon, where N-raising is relatively absent, the feature contents of Num° raise to D at LF.

b) Walloon cross-dialectal differences may be accounted for by appealing to the notions of

"strong" and "weak" number and gender.

Following is a summary of cross-dialectal variation in morphological features and how these features are realized:

a. Liège Walloon -   number "strong"   --> *ès/s* spelled out at PF

                  gender "weak"   --> N° raises to WM° at LF

b. Bastogne Walloon - number "strong"   --> *s* spelled out at PF

                  gender "strong"   --> N° raises to WM° overtly

c. Ranrupt -   number "weak"   --> no spell-out

                  gender "strong"   --> N° raises to WM° overtly

As I mentioned at the outset of the appendix, it is not yet clear whether the checking framework I discuss here, or the syntactic affixation framework I have assumed in the rest of the thesis, will turn out to be superior.

Maps

from *Atlas Linguistique de la Wallonie* (1953) tome 1, p.63.

PROVINCES ET ARRONDISSEMENTS DE LA BELGIQUE ROMANE
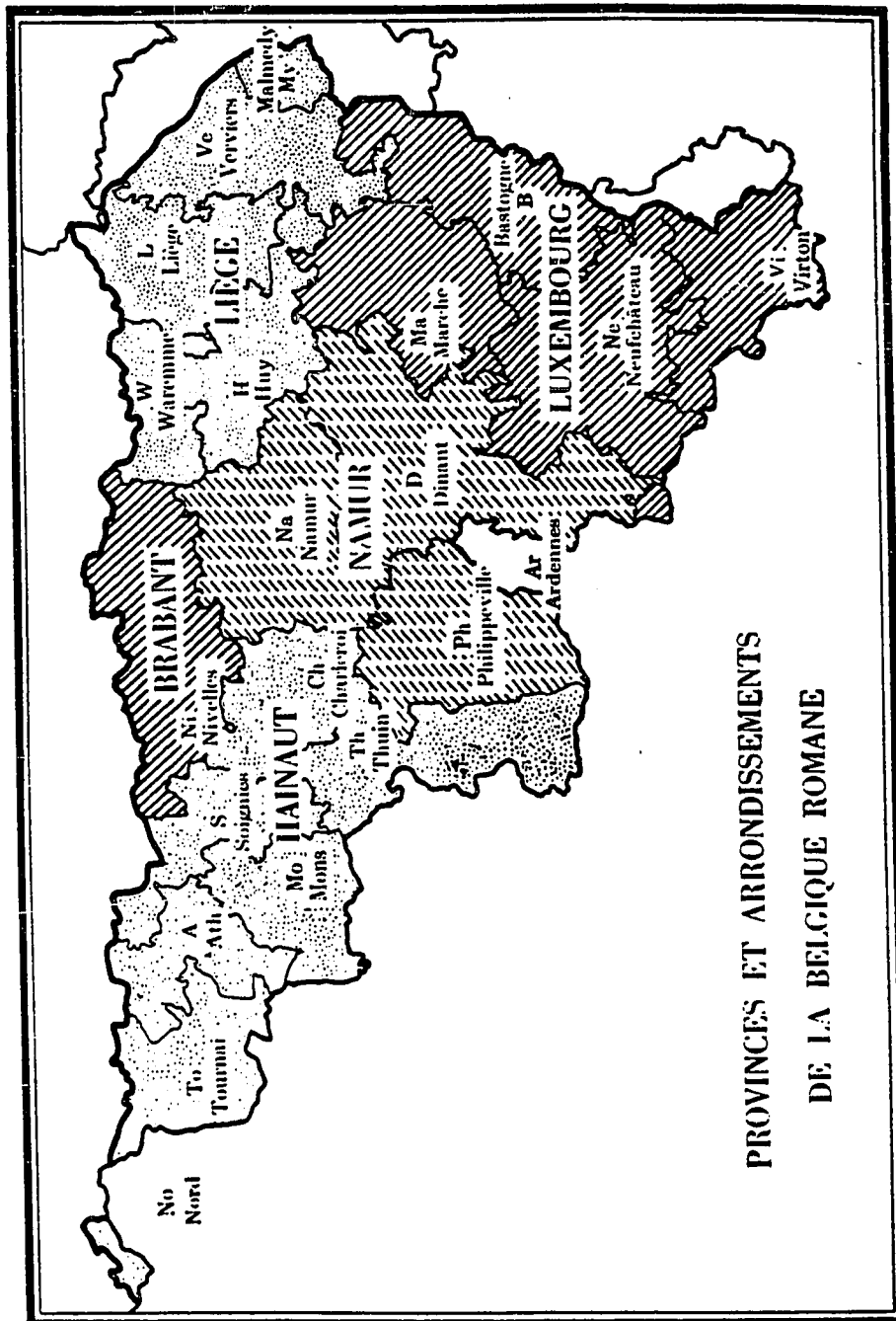
Maps - (continued)

from Francard, M. (1986), p.229 (from L. Remacle, *La Géographie dialectale de la Belgique romane*, in *Les dialectes de France au moyen âge et aujourd'hui*, Paris, 1972)
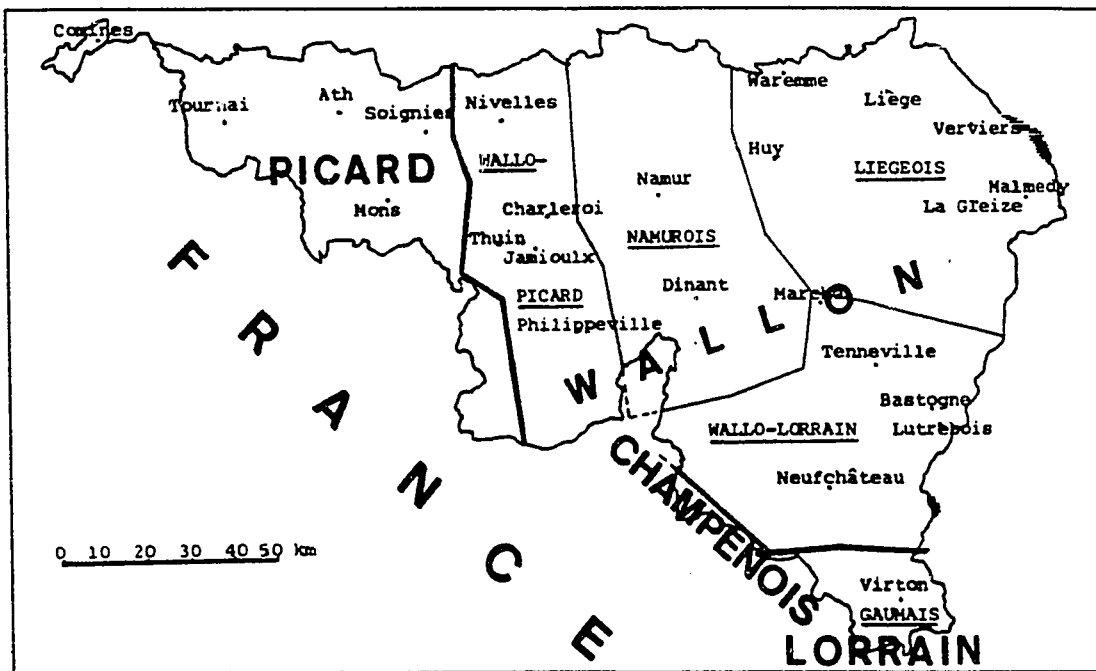
Notes to chapter 4

1.   Differences between Belgian French and the standard variety of France have been noted by Frei (1929), Wind (1947), Nyrop (1925), and Grevisse (1986), among others.

2.   I consider the projection of the determiner to be DP (following Abney 1987).

3.   Another difference between the CS and FS is that the morphological form of the head noun may vary (Ritter's 1991 (6a) and (11a)):
(i)   a.   beyt ha-mora
            house the teacher
            'the teacher's house'
       b.   ha-bayit shel ha-mora
            the-house of the-teacher
            'the teacher's house'

4.   I employ the overstrike convention to represent elements that are not phonetically realized.

5.   I do not mean to imply that liaison is completely absent in Walloon. Liaison between plural determiners and nouns, for instance, matches the French pattern. In addition, there is liaison between "plural prenominal adjectives" and nouns. For the special status of these constructions, and for an analysis of the data, see section 4.2.3.

6.   Michel Francard (p.c.) informs me that the Walloon equivalents have been borrowed from French (examples in Walloon of Bastogne due to Michel Francard):
(i) État-z-unis
(ii) Nâcion-z-unis

7.   Thanks to Michel Francard for these examples.

8.   De Kock (1968) discusses the frequency of the *al/aux* alternation in French. He lists thirty-one true common nouns that exhibit the alternation. Twenty-four other common nouns are invariable. They display *al* in the singular and plural. Five others are almost always invariable. De Kock says that the inventory of common nouns exhibiting the *al/aux* alternation is not increasing.
       The inventory of adjectives displaying the alternation is quite large (de Kock estimates about 300) and the number continues to grow. The number of adjectives failing to show the alternation is only approximately between three and six. Interestingly, many of these adjectives function quite easily as nouns, some almost exclusively (de Kock, p.25):
(i)   radical
(ii)   éditorial
(iii) occidental

These facts about the *al/aux* alternation support the idea of assuming plural marking on French nouns (and adjectives), and distinguishing French from Walloon.

9.   English irregular plurals are quite few in number and rather unsystematic. I would not equate English irregular plurals with the more systematic French *al/aux* alternation.

10.   Delfitto and Schroten (1991) account for the possibility of bare plurals in object position in Spanish and Italian by a process of verb incorporation (p.4). They claim that incorporation requires number specification on the N. In French, "number specifications are arguably absent." (p.179)

11.   They might avoid this potential problem by appealing to an affix-lowering strategy in English and Dutch and then generalize Chomsky's (1991) notion of LF raising of the [V+infl] complex to the DP domain. Given the structure they have adopted, however, Delfitto and Schroten must assume the N° raises to Num° in the syntax, since they assume a base-generated slot as a landing site. The structure they assume is as follows (their (12)):

(i)   NbrP
        /   \
     Nbr°   NP
     /   \ |
   N_i Nbr^{-1} t_i
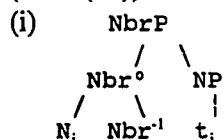
12.   Several other exceptions to the absence of bare plurals in Walloon are proverbs, fixed expressions, and lists (Remacle:102-103). These exceptions essentially match the French ones.

13.   Recall that adjectives are overwhelmingly prenominal in Walloon. The significance of the word order facts will be discussed in section 4.3.1.

14.   Although the noun itself is often unmarked (overtly) for gender and never marked for number, the form of certain determiner elements provides an indication of gender and number information. In example (i), gender is conveyed via the form of the preposition *â/à* plus the absence or presence of the article, and in example (ii) by the form of the indefinite article. Note that the definite article is invariable (in La Gleize) in the singular (iii) (Remacle 1952:71-72) (see the appendix for a discussion of variation in the form of the definite article):

(i)Wa: a.   â pére   (Fr: au père)
                  'to the father'
           b.   à l'mére   (Fr: à la mère)
                  'to the mother'
(ii)Wa: a.   on [õ] pére   (Fr: un père)
                  'a father'
           b.   one [òn] mére   (Fr: une mère)
                  'a mother'
(iii)Wa: a.   lu pére   (Fr: le père)

'the father'
    b.   lu mére   (Fr: la mère)
         'the mother'

Number is conveyed by the form of the determiner accompanying the noun. In example (iv), the definite article displays number, and in (v) it is the indefinite article that conveys the information (examples from Remacle, p.74):

(iv)Wa: a.   L'oûhê tchante.   (Fr: L'oiseau chante.)
            'The bird is singing.'
        b.   Lès-oûhês tchantèt. (Fr: Les oiseaux chantent)
            'The birds are singing.'
(v)Wa: a.   one bèle bièsse   (Fr: une belle bête)
            'a nice animal'
        b.   dès bèlès bièsses (Fr: de belles bêtes)
            'nice animals'

So, even though the N itself is not obviously fem.pl., the entire DP may be so interpreted.

15.   In many dialects, the pronunciation of *ès* is identical to that of the conjunction *èt* ('and').

16.   Morin has employed these data to argue that *ès* is phonologically not a suffix on the preceding adjective. I will follow Morin on this, but then my account of the facts will depart significantly from his, namely, by offering a syntactic explanation for the facts (see section 4.3.2).

17.   I am ignoring here the fact that many adjectives in both French and Walloon exhibit a feminine form distinct from the masculine one. Examples are given for French (i) and Walloon (ii) (Walloon examples from Remacle:151):

(i)Fr: a.   un très beau garçon
            'a very handsome boy'
        b.   une très belle fille
            'a very pretty girl'
(ii)Wa: a.   on bê p'tit gros tchin
            'a nice little fat dog'
         b.   one bèle grande fleûr
            'a nice big flower'

18.   The *al/aux* alternation is completely absent with Walloon adjectives (Warnant 1969:628).

19.   Interestingly, *ès* is absent when *totes* is followed by an article or demonstrative (Legros 1981:166):
(i)Wa: totes lès djins
         'all the people'
(ii)Wa: totes cès djins-là

'all those people'

This provides further support for the claim (see below in the main text) that *ès* corresponds to the noun's plural marker. In section 4.3.2, I argue that *ès* occupies Num° and never becomes amalgamated with the N-stem due to the relative absence of Noun Movement in Walloon. An adjective (or quantifier, adverbial, cardinal, etc., see (28)) adjoined above NumP will become associated with a following *ès*.

The distinction between *totès* (adverbial) and *totes* (quantifier) now becomes straightforward--The adverbial is generated within DP, in a position above NumP (perhaps adjoined to NumP). The quantifier is generated above DP, whether as QP adjoined to DP or as QP (Q° projecting to QP) taking a DP complement. In other words, *totes* as quantifier is "too high up" to become associated with *ès*.

20.   Although adjectives in French do not always exhibit overt number marking, prenominal plural adjectives will exhibit [z] in contexts of liaison:
(i)   les belle-z-images
       'the pretty pictures'
In addition, the *al/aux* alternation is found on French adjectives (see note 8).

21.   Some additional examples indicate how general the phenomenon is:
From informants:
(i)Li: a.   dès totès bèlès grantès feumes
                    'very nice big/great women'
              b.   sacwantès poyes
                    'several hens'
(ii)Te: a.   trassès pikeûres
                    'thirteen pinches'
              b.   dès fwatès brafès djins
                    'very honest/good people'
              c.   dès totès petitès crompîres
                    'very small potatoes'
              d.   lès cwatès royes
                    'the four wheels'
              e.   lès sètè-z-èglîjes
                    'the seven churches'
              f.   milès djins
                    '(a) thousand people'
(examples in (i) due to Paul Francy, and in (ii) to Rodolphe Dedoyard)
From texts:
(iii)Li: a.   télès feumes
                    'such women'
              b.   quéquès feumes
                    'some women'
              c.   saqwantès fèyes
                    'several times'
(iv)Na: a.   quènès bèlès marayes!
                    'what nice young girls!'

b.   N'impôrte lèsquénèś feumes bèrdègnut leûs-omes.
      'No matter which women reprimand their husbands.'
(examples in (iii) from (Fabry 1951:60) and in (iv) from Léonard:1972:23)

22.   Although *ès* is associated with many elements that do not typically agree (with the noun), we cannot take its appearance to be obligatory. Although Remacle (1952:273, fn.2) says that *ès* appears "sporadically" with cardinal numbers, I have found it to be quite productive. These observations extend to the masculine plural cases I discuss in section 4.3.2.1.

23.   Morin (p.216) actually suggests that *ès* is "an internal noun phrase marker".

24.   The examples in (29) and (30)a must be examined along side of the following example from Remacle (1952:143):
(i)Wa: Volà dès bellèś fwètéś
         'there are nice strong (ones)'
This example would seem to contradict what I have said about the appearance of *ès* being tied to the presence of an overt noun. I will take up this problem in section 4.4.1, where I discuss multiple adjective constructions.

25.   I use the terms *proclitic* and *enclitic* in a strictly phonological sense.

26.   Word-final obstruent devoicing is common in Walloon (Francard and Morin 1986:459). Two other examples of internal ((i)a,(ii)a) and external ((i)b,(ii)b) sandhi are given below (examples from Francard and Morin 1986:458,464):
(i)Wa: a.   lêdeûr   [d]
                 'ugliness'
           b.   oune lêde avon.ne [t]
                 'ugly oats'
(ii)Wa: a.   rudeûr   [d]
                 'roughness'
           b.   rude   [t]
                 'rough'

27.   As Richard Kayne (p.c.) points out, the internal sandhi pattern displayed in example (33)a involves derivational morphology; therefore, it is not clear that the cases of interest here, which involve inflectional morphology, may be identically explained.
       Actually, there is evidence showing that the internal sandhi pattern is also displayed in cases of verbal inflectional suffixes. Francard and Morin (1986:460) show how the external pattern is found in an example like (i)a and the internal pattern ("in a similarly structured word") in an example like (i)b:
(i)Wa: a.   wåde-lu   [t]
                 'keep it'
           b.   wåd'lier   [d]
                 'to support mine walls with billets'
(Relevant here, of course, is the internal structure assumed. For (i)a we can easily

imagine that the V-stem has raised to C° and the clitic remains adjoined to I° (see Rivero 1988, Rooryck 1992), details aside. Devoicing would then apply at PF because a boundary intervenes between the two elements. In (i)b, we can assume either lexical insertion of the (complete) infinitival form, or derivation via syntactic incorporation. Either way, the entire infinitival will occupy one X° by S-structure.)

Another example of the phenomenon in Walloon of Dinant illustrates the general pattern (example due to Victor George):

(ii)Di: a.   dimande   [t]
                   'ask'
            b.   dimander   [d]
                   'to ask'

28.   As Morin demonstrates (p. 218), the two allomorphs of /i/ are [i] (triggered by a preceding front vowel) and [ɪ] (triggered by a preceding back vowel):

(i)Pi: a.   [lœ fil]
                  'their daughter'
           b.   [vu fɪl]
                  'your daughter'

This harmony is only triggered by a proclitic element or an element that is part of the lexical word. So, the fact that a prenominal adjective does not trigger the harmony (ii)a, and ès does (ii)b, argues that ès is proclitic on the following noun.

(ii)Pi: a.   [œ̃ bɛ|l fɪl]
                   'a beautiful girl'
            b.   [de bɛ|l e fil]
                   'beautiful girls'

29.   In Mauritian Creole, the plural marker has the status of an independent word (Rottet 1993).

30.   The examples in (38) are from the dialect spoken in La Gleize, Remacle's native dialect. Some important and interesting differences in word order between La Gleize and the other dialects will be discussed later in the appendix.

31.   WMP have been suppressed for simplicity.

32.   In light of the discussion of historical stress facts in Walloon, one might reasonably wonder why an association of [adjective + ès] could not lead to an eventual stress shift (i.e., stress attraction), paralleling the i tchantèt example in (31). In that example, the affix bears a syntactic relationship to the stem it is amalgamated with. If I am correct in my claim that ès represents the unamalgamated plural marker of the noun, there is no direct syntactic relationship between it and a preceding adjective, barring enclisis (as suggested to me by Richard Kayne.)

33.   Association of the ès with a preceding adjective, then, is merely an orthographic convention and not an accurate reflection of the phonological structure.

34.   This possibility was suggested to me by Eleanore Brandner.

35.   The representations in (40) would seem to prohibit having an AP adjoined to NP or WMP in Walloon, since this would result in the *ès* being generated to the left of the adjective. I have already suggested in chapter 3 (section 3.3.3) that NP might not be an available adjunction site for adjectives. See section 4.4.3 for further discussion of adjunction sites of adjectives.

36.   I will address adjective agreement in section 4.5.1.

37.   If the *z* of liaison is phonologically part of the following noun, as I have assumed here and argued for in the previous section, one may wonder why the final *d* of *grand* is not realized as a devoiced obstruent (i.e., [*t*]), as seen previously for feminine forms in example (33)b, repeated below in (i)b.
        With the feminine form of the adjective *grande*, the final consonant is always realized, even when the following noun is consonant-initial:

(i)Wa: a.   one grande mâhon   [òn grã:t ma:hõ.]
                     'a great/big house'
               b.   grande amice   [grãt amis]
                     'great friend'

In the masculine forms, on the other hand, the final consonant is never realized:

(ii)Wa: a.   on grand tchans   [õ grã Cã.]
                     'a great field'
               b.   on grand âbe   [õ grã a:p]
                     'a big tree'

So the fact that final *d* is unrealized in example (41)b is unproblematic. We may assume, however, that there is an underlying /d/ in (ii)a,b and (41)b due to the following type of example, seen earlier:

(iii)Wa: grandeûr
               'size'

        The absence of stem liaison in examples like (ii)b will be discussed, and an explanation offered, in section 4.5.2.
(Examples (i)a, (ii)a,b are from Remacle (1952:137), and examples (i)b, (iii) are from Morin (1986a:216).)

38.   Morin (1986a:212) also assumes that an account of the feminine plural marker can apply to masculine plural [z].

39.   In this example, there is no clue as to the gender, since the definite article (in this dialect) is invariable. The form of the indefinite article, however, is sensitive to gender. In this example, the form of the indefinite article would be *one* ('a', f.sg.).

40.   Cinque (1992) has also suggested partial N-raising for Walloon, based on my (1991b) ethnic adjective facts (see section 4.4.2 for a more extensive survey of the relevant data).

41.   Thanks to Michel Francard for pointing out the relevance of haplology here.

42.   Szabolcsi cites a similar case described in Abney (1987) for Papago, where the second element of the string, and not the first, is deleted. This case would more closely resemble what I have described for Walloon.

43.   This general phenomenon is discussed in Remacle (1952:143) for the variety spoken in La Gleize. Remacle's examples differ from mine.

44.   The discussion from the previous section is relevant here in order to account for why no *ès* appears between the determiner and the (compound) noun.

45.   See sections 4.3.2.4 and 4.4.1 for a discussion of DPs displaying more than one instance of *ès*.

46.   In the spirit of *extended projection*, as formulated in Grimshaw (1991), or Full Interpretation (Chomsky 1991).

47.   The question arises as to why the inflectional material may not appear as a proclitic on a following verb. One apparent explanation would be that the verb is "too far away" from the affix. Alternatively, *ès* may only be proclitic on an element it is "related" to, the noun.

48.   The structure in (66) could possibly account for the fact that in English null nominal constructions, no plural marker may appear (examples pointed out to me by Richard Kayne):
(i)   a.   the first three books
       b.   the first three (*-s)
(ii)   a.   three books
       b.   three (*-s)
An account that would be more consistent with the Romance structure I will adopt, however, would be to say that even if the plural markers are generated in Num° in English in the (b) examples above, they are not phonologically realized. If we take English inflection to be "weak" (following Chomsky 1992), an unamalgamated plural feature that survives to PF will not cause the derivation to "crash". Furthermore, it can be argued that the plural feature is necessary for Full Interpretation at LF.

49.   The French equivalents would require the clitic *en*. This is also true for many Walloon dialects (e.g. in the Walloon of Bastogne and of Liège). Remacle (1952:249) claims that in the Walloon of La Gleize *en* is more frequently not expressed.
      In certain dialects, the postverbal position of the clitic in the equivalent of French *en voilà* is the clitic position found with imperatives (example due to Rodolphe Dedoyard in Walloon of Tenneville):
(i)Te: vo'nnè la dès bèlès fwates
        'see cl there some nice strong (ones)'
      Walloon exhibits a greater number of morphological variants of *en* than French, which only has two variants (i.e., [ã] and [ãn]; see Remacle 1952:246-247 and Francard

1986 for discussion of the Walloon variants). For simplicity, I have represented the Walloon clitic abstractly as *en* in (67).

I return to this sort of example in the next section.

50. Warnant (1969:646, fn.2) asserts that the difference in *unités de rythme* 'rhythm units' between examples like (70) and (72)a also supports distinguishing between conjoined and juxtaposed adjectives.

51. As Richard Larson (p.c.) points out, a structural difference should should result in a difference in meaning. This is exactly what we find. Remacle (1952:153-154) states that in the case of juxtaposition, the quality expressed by one adjective merges with that of the next. In the case of coordination, on the other hand, the quality expressed by one adjective is simply added to that of the next.

52. For this ambiguous type of example, it would be useful to appeal to Warnant's notion of *unités de rythme* (see note 50).

53. This idea was suggested to me by Richard Kayne.

54. Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) note that ethnic adjectives are generally employed *referentially* (their term). They distinguish predicative from referential adjectives by appealing to the observation that predicative adjectives allow modification, while referential ones do not (Giorgi and Longobardi:178, their (24a,b)):

(i)It: a.   un'invasione molto rapida/*italiana dell'Albania
                  'a very quick/Italian invasion of Albania'
        b.   un'invasione più rapida/*italiana della precedente
                  'an invasion more quick/Italian that the previous one'

When these ethinic adjectives are interpreted predicatively, they may be modified (ii) (their (26a,b)) and they may even appear prenominally (iii) (their (27)):

(ii)It: a.   un comportamento italianissimo
                  'a very Italian behavior'
        b.   un comportamento più italiano di quanto mi aspettassi
                  'a behavior more Italian than I expected'
(iii)It: quel suo tedeschissimo comportamento
               'that very German behavior of his'

Giorgi and Longobardi claim that the trace in an example like (iii) is not a *referential* one. I were to adopting their general characteriazation of ethnic adjectives, I would claim that in this context, the ethnic adjective is generated prenominally (adjoined to XP, see chapter 2 for detail); hence, no trace is involved.

55. Cinque (1992) does not label landing sites on the handout. I have merely reproduced his structures here.

56. Morin (1992) claims that the bound form (i.e., the one appearing in liaison contexts, e.g. [grã-t]) of masculine singular adjectives in French cannot be related to the free form (i.e., [grã]) by rules of allomorpy. Evidence for this claim comes from the fact

that when native speakers are forced to use an unfamiliar bound form of an adjective, they are not consistent about which form they use, some using the free form and some creating a new (bound) form (but none employing the feminine form). Instead, Morin claims, the bound form is derived from the free form by the addition of a suffix (p.246).

In order to accommodate Morin's ideas in the present proposal, I would say that Walloon masculine adjectives don't have a bound form at all. This is because the Walloon forms can never be truly bound (again, they are *too far away* from the noun), due to the intervening NumP projection.

This, of course, leaves open the question of the source of the [d] in *grandeûr* ('size') in Walloon. In other words, if Walloon adjectives don't have bound forms, how does *grandeûr* acquire its [d]?

57.   I still assume that gender is spelled out in the word marker, although it seems that in a checking framework it is the gender feature, rather than the word marker itself, that would be checked.   Picallo (1991) has already proposed the functional projection Gen(der)P.

58.   In Chomsky's examples, both the stem and the $X°$ had the same feature, so that there was the potential for a feature "clash". This is unlike the case at hand where I have claimed that the N-stem lacks a feature for number.

59.   A relevant question is: Why is there no [fem] feature on plural definite article? Here, I will follow Noyer 1992, and assume that there is impoverishment of gender in the plural in these dialects (also standard French). Noyer proposes a delinking rule:

$$\begin{array}{c} pl \\ \neq \\ f \end{array}$$

and a filter: *[pl f]

60.   I have had to do some improvising on the diacritics included in Aub-Büscher's transcriptions.

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