# Table of contents


Preface xi

CHAPTER 1

Introduction 1

1. Introduction 1
2. Basic proposal 6
3. Assumptions and their motivation 12
   - 3.1 The structure of the DP 12
   - 3.2 Concord and movement inside the DP 22
4. Overview of the chapters 25
   - 4.1 Chapter 2 25
   - 4.2 Chapter 3 27
   - 4.3 Chapter 4 28

CHAPTER 2

The syntactic distribution of determiners 31

1. Introduction 31
2. Word order possibilities of demonstratives and articles in Early Scandinavian 33
   - 2.1 Proto-Scandinavian 34
   - 2.2 Common Scandinavian 35
   - 2.3 Old Norse 36
   - 2.4 Schematic summary 37
3. Formalizing the development of the suffixed article 38
   - 3.1 Demonstratives are phrases 38
   - 3.2 Three options to derive the order N-dem 40
   - 3.3 Reanalysis from demonstrative to article 44
   - 3.4 Some immediate consequences 47
4. Unifying the different determiner systems 48
   - 4.1 Demonstratives in different positions 49
   - 4.2 "Split" demonstratives 51

5. "Split" articles in the Scandinavian languages 52
5.1 The basic data 52
5.2 The semantic and syntactic relations of the two determiners 54
5.2.1 Semantic differences overtly reflected 54
5.2.2 The syntactic relation 60
5.2.3 "Split" determiners 65
5.3 Induced agreement domains 67
5.3.1 Assumptions 67
5.3.1.1 The suffixal determiner 67
5.3.1.2 The free-standing determiner 71
5.3.2 Modified DP 74
5.3.3 Unmodified DP 76
5.3.4 "Violations" of the double definiteness effect 76
5.4 Summary 77
6. An alternative proposal: Julien (2002 [2005]) 78
7. Conclusion 80

CHAPTER 3
**The syntax and semantics of non-/restrictive modifiers** 83
1. Introduction 83
2. The syntax and semantics of restrictive modifiers 85
2.1 Derivation of the restrictive reading 87
2.2 Syntactic consequences: Scandinavian relative clauses 90
3. The syntax and semantics of non-restrictive modifiers 97
3.1 Derivation of the non-restrictive reading 102
3.2 Syntactic consequences: more on Scandinavian relative clauses 106
4. Extension to Romance adjectives 107
5. Some further issues 111
5.1 Summary of the syntax of modifiers 111
5.2 Some differences and idiosyncracies 112
5.3 Some restrictions on the "free" interpretation of the determiner 113
6. Conclusion 116

CHAPTER 4
**The strong and weak alternation in German** 117
1. Introduction 117
2. The strong and weak inflections: The traditional endings 120
3. The problem: Determiners with different endings 123
3.1 The definite article 123
3.2 The indefinite article 125

4. The proposal: Weak and strong null endings more generally 130
5. Null endings as no endings: The new inflections 133
6. Distribution of inflections: The traditional picture 134
7. The new picture 139
8. The strong and weak alternation as a reflex of Impoverishment 145
9. Basic derivations 151
   9.1 The stereotypical cases 151
   9.2 The genitive masculine and neuter 157
10. Special cases 160
   10.1 Split-NPs 160
   10.2 Indefinite pronoun constructions 162
   10.3 Lexically ambiguous elements 163
      10.3.1 Determiner-like pronouns 166
      10.3.2 Determiner-like adjectives 167
      10.3.3 Determiner-like intensifiers 169
         10.3.3.1 Alle 169
         10.3.3.2 Ein 170
   10.4 Summary and feature realization 172
11. Conclusion 175

CHAPTER 5
**Conclusion** 177

**References** 179

**Language index** 193

**Subject index** 195