

# Contents

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Preface .....   | xvii |
| Aim of the book .....                                     | xvii |
| Syntax of nominal projections and syntax of clauses ..... | xvii |
| Organization of the book .....                            | xx   |
| Acknowledgements .....                                    | xxi  |

## Part I

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Introduction .....   | 1  |
| 1. Some parallelisms between clauses and nominal projections ..... | 2  |
| 1.1. Subjects and genitives .....                                  | 2  |
| 1.2. Functional structure: the DP hypothesis .....                 | 3  |
| 1.3. Survey of this book .....                                     | 5  |
| 2. The theoretical framework .....                                 | 6  |
| 2.1. Levels of representation .....                                | 7  |
| 2.2. Syntactic structure: the X-bar format .....                   | 11 |
| 2.3. Lexical categories and functional categories .....            | 12 |
| 2.4. Lexical categories and argument structure .....               | 17 |
| 2.4.1. Verbs and arguments .....                                   | 17 |
| 2.4.2. Decomposing the VP .....                                    | 19 |
| 2.4.2.1. Ditransitive verbs and binary branching .....             | 19 |
| 2.4.2.2. Extending the proposal .....                              | 21 |
| 2.4.3. Nouns and arguments .....                                   | 22 |
| 2.5. Functional projections .....                                  | 23 |
| 2.5.1. Evidence for functional projections .....                   | 23 |
| 2.5.2. Functional projections, movement and agreement .....        | 31 |
| 2.5.2.1. Features and agreement .....                              | 31 |
| 2.5.2.2. Types of movement .....                                   | 33 |
| 2.5.2.3. Features and movement in the nominal projection .....     | 35 |
| 2.5.3. Challenging functional projections .....                    | 35 |
| 2.5.3.1. AgrP .....  | 35 |
| 2.5.3.2. Multiple specifiers .....                                 | 37 |

|          |  |    |
|----------|--|----|
| 2.6.     | Deriving variations in linear order .....        | 38 |
| 2.6.1.   | Cross-linguistic variation in linear order ..... | 38 |
| 2.6.2.   | Antisymmetry and linear order .....              | 41 |
| 2.6.2.1. | Antisymmetry .....                               | 42 |
| 2.6.2.2. | Deriving OV-orders.....                          | 42 |
| 2.6.3.3. | Snowballing in the nominal projection? .....     | 49 |
| 3.       | <b>Summary</b> .....                             | 50 |

**Part II****The functional make up of the Noun Phrase** ..... 51**Chapter 1****The emergence and the structure of DP. Articles and demonstratives** 53

|        |  |     |
|--------|--|-----|
| 1.     | <b>Introduction</b> .....  | 53  |
| 2.     | <b>The role(s) of the article</b> .....  | 55  |
| 2.1.   | “Definiteness”.....  | 56  |
| 2.2.   | The article as a subordinator .....  | 62  |
| 2.3.   | The article and the concept of referentiality .....                                      | 66  |
| 2.4.   | Summary: the functions of the definite article .....                                     | 70  |
| 2.5.   | The article as a grammatical morpheme.....   | 71  |
| 3.     | <b>The DP hypothesis</b> .....   | 79  |
| 3.1.   | Motivating ‘DP’ .....  | 79  |
| 3.1.1. | Phrasal movement inside the nominal projection .....                                     | 79  |
| 3.1.2. | PRO and the nominal projection.....  | 84  |
| 3.1.3. | Head movement inside the nominal projection.....   | 85  |
| 3.1.4. | DP and the concept of definiteness .....   | 87  |
| 3.2.   | Some challenges for the DP-Hypothesis.....   | 89  |
| 3.2.1. | N incorporation .....  | 89  |
| 3.2.2. | D incorporation to N .....   | 90  |
| 3.2.3. | Agreement in the extended projection of N .....  | 92  |
| 4.     | <b>Determiners, demonstratives and DP</b> .....  | 93  |
| 4.1.   | The interpretation of demonstratives.....  | 93  |
| 4.1.1. | A note on the historical connection between demonstratives and the definite article..... | 96  |
| 4.1.2. | The deictic interpretation of demonstratives .....                                       | 98  |
| 4.1.3. | The anaphoric use of demonstratives .....  | 104 |
| 4.2.   | The syntactic representation of demonstratives .....                                     | 105 |
| 4.2.1. | Demonstratives as maximal projections .....  | 105 |

|           |   |            |
|-----------|---|------------|
| 4.2.2.    | Articles in D; demonstratives in SpecDP .....   | 108        |
| 4.2.3.    | A lower position for demonstratives .....   | 109        |
| 4.2.4.    | An alternative proposal: head movement and demonstratives ..                          | 116        |
| 4.2.5.    | Reinforcers as empirical evidence for a lower position .....                          | 117        |
| 4.3.      | Interpreting the positions of the demonstrative in the DP.<br>The case of Greek ..... | 120        |
| 4.4.      | Splitting the DP .....  | 127        |
| <b>5.</b> | <b>DP and CP .....</b>  | <b>130</b> |
| 5.1.      | DP as parallel to CP .....  | 131        |
| 5.2.      | DP as a VP-like category: DP-shells .....   | 137        |
| 5.3.      | Topic Phrase and Focus Phrase in the DP: some proposals ..                            | 140        |
| <b>6.</b> | <b>The category D and Case .....</b>  | <b>151</b> |
| <b>7.</b> | <b>Summary of the chapter .....</b>   | <b>156</b> |

## Chapter 2

|           |   |            |
|-----------|---|------------|
|           | <b>Determinerless Noun Phrases .....</b>  | <b>159</b> |
| <b>1.</b> | <b>Introduction: D across languages .....</b>                                     | <b>159</b> |
| 1.1.      | Languages without (definite) articles .....                                       | 159        |
| 1.2.      | The distribution of the definite article in languages that<br>have one .....      | 163        |
| <b>2.</b> | <b>The functional head D and the configurationality of<br/>noun phrases .....</b> | <b>165</b> |
| 2.1.      | Setting the scene .....   | 165        |
| 2.2.      | Gil 1987, Loebel 1989 .....   | 166        |
| 2.3.      | Bare Plurals, Mass nouns, Proper nouns and Generic nouns ..                       | 172        |
| 2.3.1.    | The interpretation of bare plurals in English .....                               | 172        |
| 2.3.2.    | Mass Nouns .....  | 180        |
| 2.3.3.    | Proper names .....  | 183        |
| 2.3.4.    | A note on the expletive article .....   | 185        |
| 2.4.      | Summary .....   | 189        |
| <b>3.</b> | <b>Noun phrases as arguments and as predicates .....</b>                          | <b>190</b> |
| 3.1.      | A typological parameter: Chierchia (1998b) .....                                  | 190        |
| 3.1.1.    | General presentation .....  | 190        |
| 3.1.2.    | The Nominal Mapping Parameter .....   | 191        |
| 3.1.3.    | Some applications .....   | 192        |
| 3.1.4.    | Chinese NPs .....   | 196        |
| 3.1.5.    | Summary .....   | 201        |
| 3.2.      | Longobardi and N-to-D-Movement .....  | 203        |
| 3.2.1.    | Bare Ns in Italian and null D .....   | 203        |

|           |   |            |
|-----------|---|------------|
| 3.2.2.    | Proper Nouns in Italian and N to D movement .....     | 206        |
| 3.2.3.    | Proper names in English and parametric variation..... | 211        |
| 3.2.4.    | Bare common nouns in English .....                    | 213        |
| 3.2.4.1.  | Bare indefinites .....                                | 213        |
| 3.2.4.2.  | Bare generics.....                                    | 214        |
| 3.2.4.3.  | The role of morphological marking.....                | 216        |
| 3.2.4.4.  | Summary .....   | 217        |
| 3.3.      | The syntax of determinerless languages.....           | 218        |
| 3.3.1.    | Evidence for an empty D .....                         | 218        |
| 3.3.2.    | Extraction and determinerless languages .....         | 220        |
| <b>4.</b> | <b>Further developments .....</b>                     | <b>223</b> |
| <b>5.</b> | <b>Conclusion .....</b>                               | <b>225</b> |

**Chapter 3****DP-internal functional projections .....** 227

|           |  |            |
|-----------|--|------------|
| <b>1.</b> | <b>Introductory remarks .....</b>                                  | <b>227</b> |
| <b>2.</b> | <b>Number and NumP .....</b>                                       | <b>229</b> |
| <b>3.</b> | <b>Gender, Word Marker and ‘Gender Phrase’.....</b>                | <b>235</b> |
| 3.1.      | What determines Gender? .....                                      | 235        |
| 3.2.      | Gender in the syntax? .....  | 239        |
| 3.3.      | Summary: Gender and syntax .....                                   | 246        |
| <b>4.</b> | <b>Distributional evidence for functional projections .....</b>    | <b>246</b> |
| 4.1.      | Noun Movement I: The construct state .....                         | 247        |
| 4.2.      | Noun Movement II: N-to-D movement .....                            | 253        |
| 4.3.      | How morphology comes into play .....                               | 256        |
| 4.3.1.    | Nominal agreement .....  | 256        |
| 4.3.2.    | Gender as trigger for N-movement (Bernstein 1993) .....            | 258        |
| 4.4.      | The Germanic languages .....                                       | 261        |
| 4.4.1.    | German .....   | 261        |
| 4.4.2.    | West Flemish .....   | 262        |
| 4.5.      | Greek.....   | 265        |
| 4.6.      | Conclusion: Terminal vowels, N-movement and Ellipsis .....         | 272        |
| <b>5.</b> | <b>Speculations on other functional categories in the DP .....</b> | <b>273</b> |
| 5.1.      | Voice and Aspect .....   | 273        |
| 5.2.      | Tense .....  | 275        |
| 5.2.1.    | Semantic considerations .....                                      | 275        |
| 5.2.2.    | Morphological considerations.....                                  | 276        |
| 5.2.3.    | Nominal tense and possessors.....                                  | 279        |
| <b>6.</b> | <b>Summary .....</b>   | <b>281</b> |

**Part III****Modification relations inside the DP..... 283****Chapter 1****Adjectives in the DP. Problems of distribution and interpretation . 284**

|           |   |     |
|-----------|---|-----|
| <b>1.</b> | <b>Introduction .....</b>   | 284 |
| 1.1.      | Scope and organization of the chapter .....   | 284 |
| 1.2.      | Setting the scene: Cross-linguistic asymmetries.....  | 286 |
| <b>2.</b> | <b>DP-internal adjectives in English .....</b>  | 289 |
| 2.1.      | The problem .....   | 289 |
| 2.2.      | The attributive-predicative dichotomy .....   | 290 |
| 2.3.      | The reductionist view .....   | 292 |
| 2.3.1.    | Introducing the reductionist hypothesis .....   | 292 |
| 2.3.2.    | Some complications for the reductionist view .....  | 295 |
| 2.4.      | Interpretive contrasts between prenominal and postnominal<br>adjectives .....                     | 296 |
| 2.5.      | One more dichotomy: intensional-extensional, or<br>intersective-non-intersective adjectives ..... | 299 |
| 2.6.      | Non-intersective adjectives and deverbal nouns.....   | 302 |
| 2.7.      | Semantic classes and syntactic positions .....  | 305 |
| 2.8.      | Evidence from other languages.....  | 306 |
| <b>3.</b> | <b>Sequencing of adjectives .....</b>   | 310 |
| 3.1.      | Hierarchical orders.....  | 310 |
| 3.2.      | Absolute vs. non-absolute [or objective vs. subjective]<br>adjectives .....                       | 313 |
| 3.3.      | Classifying adjectives .....  | 318 |
| 3.4.      | Patterns of adjectival modification.....  | 320 |
| 3.4.1.    | Direct vs. indirect modification .....  | 320 |
| 3.4.2.    | Parallel vs. hierarchical modification .....  | 322 |
| 3.5.      | Hierarchical orders involving a finer subclassification<br>of adjectives .....                    | 324 |
| <b>4.</b> | <b>On the syntax of DP-internal adjectives.....</b>   | 326 |
| 4.1.      | General remarks .....   | 326 |
| 4.2.      | Post and pre-nominal adjective meaning contrasts in the<br>Romance languages.....                 | 328 |
| 4.2.1.    | The distinction restrictive – non-restrictive adjectives.....                                     | 334 |
| 4.2.2.    | Summary .....   | 336 |
| 4.3.      | N-movement as a means of deriving the postnominal<br>position of the adjective .....              | 338 |

|            |   |            |
|------------|---|------------|
| 4.4.       | Problems for the N-movement hypothesis .....                          | 340        |
| 4.5.       | The adjective-as-head hypothesis.....                                 | 348        |
| <b>5.</b>  | <b>The clausal hypothesis .....</b>                                   | <b>354</b> |
| 5.1.       | The determiner complementation, or Relative Clause<br>Hypothesis..... | 354        |
| 5.1.1.     | Kayne 1994 .....  | 355        |
| 5.2.       | N- and D-shells 358   |            |
| 5.3.       | Demonte 1999.....   | 361        |
| <b>6.</b>  | <b>More on DP-internal phrasal movement .....</b>                     | <b>364</b> |
| 6.1.       | D-complementation and Greek polydefinite DPs.....                     | 364        |
| 6.1.1.     | Interpretive differences between a monadic DP and DS                  | 366        |
| 6.1.2.     | Deriving the DS effects .....   | 369        |
| 6.2.       | Greek DS and adjectives in Romance .....                              | 373        |
| <b>7.</b>  | <b>Snowballing movement .....</b>                                     | <b>377</b> |
| 7.1.       | Noun-initial DPs and the directionality parameter.....                | 377        |
| 7.2.       | Antisymmetry and mirror image word order in the DP.....               | 379        |
| <b>8.</b>  | <b>'Separationism' .....</b>  | <b>383</b> |
| <b>9.</b>  | <b>Tying together the lines of inquiry.....</b>                       | <b>387</b> |
| 9.1.       | A mixed approach to pre-and postnominal adjectives .....              | 388        |
| 9.2.       | A note on classifying adjectives .....                                | 390        |
| <b>10.</b> | <b>Summary .....</b>  | <b>393</b> |

## Chapter 2

|  |  |            |
|--|--|------------|
| <b>Chapter 2</b>   |  |            |
| <b>Semi-functional categories: The <i>N-of-N</i> Construction and<br/>the <i>Pseudo-Partitive</i> construction .....</b> | <b>395</b>   |            |
| <b>1.</b>  | <b>Introduction: the data .....</b>  | <b>395</b> |
| <b>2.</b>  | <b>The Pseudopartitive Construction: cross-linguistic variation</b>            | <b>400</b> |
| 2.1.   | Basic properties of the construction.....                                      | 402        |
| 2.1.1.   | N1 .....   | 402        |
| 2.1.2.   | N2 and the relationship between N1 and N2 .....                                | 403        |
| 2.1.3.   | The relational character of N1.....  | 405        |
| 2.2.   | An excursus to the older accounts of <i>PsP</i> .....                          | 406        |
| 2.3.   | Juxtaposed pseudopartitives and the Monoprojectional<br>analysis.....          | 409        |
| 2.3.1.   | Measure/Classifier phrases are like simplex Qs .....                           | 410        |
| 2.3.2.   | The <i>PsP</i> is a unitary nominal projection with a single<br>referent ..... | 414        |
| 2.3.2.1.   | Determiners, quantifiers and relative clauses<br>in the <i>PsP</i> .....       | 414        |

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| 2.3.2.2. Adjectival modification in the <i>PsP</i> .....                                      | 417        |
| 2.3.2.3. Selection in the <i>PsP</i> .....  | 422        |
| 2.3.2.4. Number agreement in the <i>PsP</i> .....   | 423        |
| 2.4. The syntax of the juxtaposed <i>PsP</i> .....  | 425        |
| 2.4.1. <i>PsP</i> is not a DP .....   | 425        |
| 2.4.2. Properties of the <i>PsP</i> construction .....  | 431        |
| 2.5. N1: head or phrase?.....   | 434        |
| <b>3. The Predicational approach to the <i>PsP</i> .....</b>                                  | <b>436</b> |
| 3.1. Evidence for the predicative relationship between N1 and N2 .                            | 436        |
| 3.2. Similarities with the <i>NoN</i> construction .....                                      | 438        |
| <b>4. The <i>NoN</i> construction: the category <i>PredP</i> in the noun phrase .....</b>     | <b>439</b> |
| 4.1. The Predicational analysis: a sketch .....   | 439        |
| 4.2. A-Properties of Predicate Inversion.....   | 441        |
| 4.2.1. Raising .....  | 442        |
| 4.2.2. Extraction and quantification restrictions.....  | 442        |
| 4.2.3. The Spell-Out of the copula.....   | 443        |
| 4.3. The <i>NoN</i> construction as an inverted predicative construction .                    | 444        |
| 4.3.1. Extraction.....  | 444        |
| 4.3.2. Predicate Inversion and the Spell-Out of the copula .....                              | 445        |
| 4.3.3. 'Nominal copulas' and cross-linguistic differences in DP .....                         | 449        |
| 4.4. Conclusion .....   | 449        |
| <b>5. The Predicate Inversion analysis of the English-type <i>PsP</i> ..</b>                  | <b>450</b> |
| 5.1. The basic proposal .....   | 450        |
| 5.1.1. The bar level of N1 in the non-juxtaposed <i>PsP</i> .....                             | 452        |
| 5.1.2. The Spell-Out of linking morphemes and the juxtaposed <i>PsP</i> .                     | 455        |
| 5.2. A Predicational analysis of juxtaposed <i>PsP</i> .....                                  | 458        |
| <b>6. Comparing the Monoprojectional and the Predicational approaches to <i>PsP</i> .....</b> | <b>460</b> |
| 6.1. Summary of the discussion .....  | 460        |
| 6.2. The container reading .....  | 461        |
| 6.2.1. The ambiguity of the <i>PsP</i> .....  | 461        |
| 6.2.2. The container reading and the Predicational approach .....                             | 462        |
| 6.2.3. The container reading and the Monoprojectional approach....                            | 465        |
| 6.2.4. Fully lexical nouns and DP projections .....   | 467        |
| <b>7. Summary and discussion .....</b>  | <b>472</b> |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>Part IV</b>  |     |
| <b>DP-Internal Arguments .....</b>  | 477 |
| <b>Chapter 1</b>  |     |
| <b>Argument Structure in Nominals .....</b>   | 477 |
| 1. <b>Introduction.....</b>   | 477 |
| 2. <b>Lexical vs. syntactic approaches to deverbal nouns.....</b>                                 | 479 |
| 2.1. Williams (1981) .....  | 484 |
| 2.2. Giorgi & Longobardi (1991).....  | 486 |
| 2.3. Thematic inheritance .....   | 488 |
| 2.4. Distributed Morphology and Nominalization .....  | 491 |
| 3. <b>An ambiguity in the nominal system: Complex Event Nominals versus Result Nominals .....</b> | 495 |
| 3.1. Complex event nominals vs. result nominals .....   | 497 |
| 3.2. Simple event nouns .....   | 501 |
| 3.3. Grimshaw's analysis of deverbal nouns .....  | 503 |
| 3.4. Syntactic approaches to complex event nominals and event structure .....                     | 507 |
| 3.4.1. Arguments for the presence of a VP in deverbal nouns .....                                 | 507 |
| 3.4.2. Syntactic representations .....  | 515 |
| 3.4.2.1. The [DP [NP [VP]]] approach.....   | 515 |
| 3.4.2.2. van Hout & Roeper (1998) .....   | 519 |
| 3.4.2.3. Items lacking category specification as input to nominalization .....                    | 524 |
| 4. <b>Case assignment in derived nominals .....</b>   | 541 |
| 5. <b>Summary .....</b>   | 546 |
| <b>Chapter 2</b>  |     |
| <b>Possessors and Genitives .....</b>   | 547 |
| 1. <b>Introduction: aim and organization of this chapter.....</b>                                 | 547 |
| 2. <b>Possessor genitives and thematic complements .....</b>                                      | 551 |
| 2.1. Alienable and inalienable possession .....   | 551 |
| 2.2. Possessors: complements or subjects? .....   | 552 |
| 2.2.1. Possessors as complements? .....   | 552 |
| 2.2.2. Possessors as subjects .....   | 556 |
| 3. <b>The base position of the possessor .....</b>  | 560 |
| 3.1. Light v and light n .....  | 560 |
| 3.2. Two alternative proposals .....  | 563 |

|  |  |     |
|--|--|-----|
| <b>4.</b>                                    | <b>Derived positions for possessors in the DP .....</b>                    | 565 |
| 4.1.   | Lexical possessors and DP.....   | 565 |
| 4.2.   | Pronominal possessors .....  | 566 |
| 4.2.1.                                       | Cross-linguistic variation .....   | 566 |
| 4.2.2.                                       | The typology of possessive pronouns .....                                  | 568 |
| 4.3.   | DP-internal positions for possessors.....                                  | 570 |
| <b>5.</b>                                    | <b>Possessor extraction .....</b>  | 576 |
| 5.1.   | Possessors in SpecDP .....   | 576 |
| 5.2.   | Genitive extraction in Greek and the periphery of DP .....                 | 580 |
| 5.3.   | Possessor extraction and the thematic hierarchy: comparative data .....    | 583 |
| 5.4.   | Individual denotation vs. property denotation and extraction from DP ..... | 591 |
| <b>6.</b>                                    | <b>The possessor doubling construction.....</b>                            | 593 |
| 6.1.   | The data .....   | 594 |
| 6.2.   | Possessor doubling and possessor extraction.....                           | 596 |
| 6.2.1.                                       | Extraction from a doubling construction? .....                             | 596 |
| 6.2.2.                                       | Arguments against a movement analysis for WF .....                         | 599 |
| 6.2.2.1.                                     | Extraction from subject.....   | 599 |
| 6.2.2.2.                                     | <i>Er</i> -insertion and indefinite subjects .....                         | 600 |
| 6.2.2.3.                                     | <i>Wh</i> -islands.....  | 603 |
| 6.2.2.4.                                     | Summary .....  | 604 |
| 6.3.   | Remote possessors and resumptive pronouns .....                            | 605 |
| <b>7.</b>                                    | <b>More positions for possessors: some speculative remarks ..</b>          | 608 |
| 7.1.   | Against a left dislocation analysis for WF possessor doubling ..           | 608 |
| 7.2.   | A split DP .....   | 609 |
| <b>8.</b>                                    | <b>Summary .....</b>   | 613 |
| <b>Appendix. Inalienable possessors.....</b> |  | 613 |
| 1.   | Types of inalienable constructions.....                                    | 613 |
| 2.   | Inalienable possessors as arguments.....                                   | 615 |
| <b>Bibliography .....</b>                    |  | 617 |
| <b>Subject index .....</b>                   |  | 657 |
| <b>Language index .....</b>                  |  | 663 |
| <b>The authors .....</b>                     |  | 665 |