Workshop on **Clausal and Nominal Parallels**

November 20-21, 2009, University of Aarhus, Denmark

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Arranged by the research project
"Similarities and Differences between Clauses and Nominals"
Department of English - Department of French - Department of German
Institute of Language, Literature & Culture
University of Aarhus

Conference venue:
Building 1451, Nobelsalen (Ground floor)
Jens Chr. Skous Vej 3
University of Aarhus

DOWNLOAD: pdf-file with programme and abstracts

Friday, November 20, 2009			
09:30-10:15	**Giuliana Giusti** (Venice)	***Imperfect Parallels Between Nominal Expressions and Clauses***	abstract
10:30-11:15	**Steffen Krogh** (Aarhus)	***The Present Participle in Written Eastern European Yiddish - Its Formation and Use***	abstract
11:30-12:15	**Jürg Fleischer** (Marburg)	***Yiddish and German Noun Phrases - A Contrastive Approach***	abstract
13:30-14:15	**Eva Engels** (Aarhus)	***Wh and NEG in clauses and nominals***	abstract
14:30-15:15	**Katrine Planque Tafteberg** (Aarhus)	***Object pronouns in French and Danish***	abstract
15:30-16:15	**Mads Bøttcher Jønsson** (Aarhus)	***The adnominal completive clause - propositional value, modality and grammaticalisation***	abstract
16:30-17:15	**Henning Nølke** (Aarhus)	***The valency structure of clauses and noun phrases - similarities and differences between French and Danish***	abstract

Saturday, November 21, 2009			
09:30-10:15	**Norbert Corver** (Utrecht)	*Inflected Numerals and Spec-Head Agreement*	abstract
10:30-11:15	**Jan Rijkhoff** (Aarhus)	*NP/Clause Parallels: Functional Categories*	abstract
11:30-12:15	**Johanna Wood** (Aarhus)	*Linking and Juxtaposed Pseudopartitives: A Diachronic Approach*	abstract
13:30-14:15	**Björn Lundquist** (Aarhus/Tromsø)	*On Noun-Verb Conversion*	abstract
14:30-15:15	**Torben Thrane** (Aarhus)	*Nominalization and Functional Heads*	abstract
15:30-16:15	**Sten Vikner** (Aarhus)	*Agreement with predicative adjectives, with non-finite verbs, and with predicative nominals*	abstract

Participation is free and open to everybody interested. If you have the intention of attending the workshop, please help make sure that there are enough hand-outs (and coffee and cookies) by sending an e-mail to Sten Vikner.

Organizers: Steffen Krogh, Henning Nølke, Sten Vikner & Johanna Wood

The workshop is financed by the research project
Similarities and Differences between Clauses and Nominals - Comparative Syntax across Theoretical Approaches
(which is itself financed by **FKK**, The Danish Council for Independent Research in the Humanities)

Participants

In addition to the thirteen speakers listed above, the following will participate in the workshop:

Anita Kjær Andersen
Lars Becher
Merete Birkelund
Charlotte Bille Brahe
Per Bærentzen
Ken Ramshøj Christensen
Mads Bødker Lynggaard Christiansen
Anne Cæcilie Gjørup Eskildsen
Susana Silvia Fernández
Stella Bach Guldager
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This document is http://www.hum.au.dk/engelsk/engsv/clauses-nominals /worksh09.htm

First posted: October 2009 - **Last modified:** November 19, 2009
Comments and suggestions to Sten Vikner

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Inflected Numerals and Spec-head Agreement
Norbert Corver
Utrecht Institute of Linguistics-OTS, Utrecht University

In generative-syntactic research, the Spec-Head configuration has been identified as a structural environment which is often associated with rich morphological expression. To give an example from the clausal domain: The phenomenon of past participle agreement in Romance languages (cf. Kayne 1989), as illustrated in (1b) for French, has been interpreted as a consequence of a nominal element (typically a direct object) passing through the spec-position of the past participle projection. As indicated by (1a), no agreement morphology is present on the participle, when the direct object remains in its base position, i.e. complement to V.

(1)   a.   Il a conduit(*es) [combien de voitures]?
        b.   Combien de voitures a-t-il conduit**es**?

In this talk, I will investigate this relationship between the Spec-head configuration and rich morphological expression in the context of the noun phrase. More specifically, I will investigate the phenomenon of inflected numerals in Dutch, by taking a micro-comparative perspective on the morphosyntax of numerals in a variety of Dutch dialects. The dialectal data that we will consider are collected as part of the DiDDD-project (Diversity in Dutch DP Design), which is carried out at Utrecht University (cf. Corver et al. 2007) and aims at laying bare the dimensions of micro-diversity in the Dutch nominal domain.

As shown in (2a) for Ouddorp Dutch, a numeral must remain morphologically bare when it is followed by an overt noun. Example (2b), however, shows that –e (i.e., schwa) appears after the numeral, when the latter is not followed by a lexical (i.e. overt) noun. Arguably, there is an empty noun ('a trace') following the numeral as a result of subextraction of the quantitative R-pronoun *er* (there, 'of them'); cf. Kranendonk (2009), Corver & Kranendonk (2008), Corver, Van Koppen & Kranendonk (2009). It will be argued that displacement of the R-pronoun to the Spec-position of the numeral triggers the appearance of the bound morpheme –e.

(2)   a.   Teun heet vuuf(*-e) boeken ekocht   (Ouddorp Dutch)
                Teun has five(-e) books bought
                'Teun bought five books.'
        b.   Teun heet-er vuuf*(-e) ekocht
                Teun has-there five(-e) bought
                'Teun bought five of them.'

As shown in (3), -*e* also shows up in so-called numeric-quantifier constructions:

(3)   ik he bie [alle vuuf**e** de zusjes van Jen] op school ezeten   (Ouddorp Dutch)
        I have with all five-e the sisters of Jen at school been
        'I was in the same class as all five sisters of Jen's.'

Taking the appearance of –e to be a diagnostic sign for the application of displacement to a Spec-position (yielding a spec-head agreement configuration triggering the appearance of -e), I will argue that the derivation of numeric quantifier constructions also involves a DP-internal displacement process.

_Wh_ and NEG in clauses and nominals
Eva Engels, University of Aarhus

Both *wh*-phrases and negative phrases are usually taken to bear features–[+*wh*] and [+NEG], respectively–, which need to be licensed by specifier-head agreement (*wh*-Criterion, NEG-Criterion; cf. Rizzi 1996, Haegeman & Zanuttini 1991). Languages vary as to the point in the derivation at which licensing of [+*wh*] and [+NEG] takes place. For instance, *wh*-phrases and negative phrases may occur *in situ* (i.e., to the right of the main verb) in French whereas both types of phrases must undergo overt movement in Danish (and German). In English, in contrast, licensing of [+*wh*] but not licensing of [+NEG] takes place in overt syntax.

(1)   a.   Tu as rencontré **qui**?   [Fr]
      b.   Je n'ai rencontré **personne**.

(2)   a.   **Who** have you met t_{wh}?   [En]
      b.   I have met **nobody**.

(3)   a.   **Hvem** har du mødt t_{wh}?   [Da]
      b.   Jeg har **ingen** mødt t_{NEG}.

Moreover, there are asymmetries as to the distribution of *wh*-phrases and negative phrases that are more deeply embedded within DP. For instance, in Danish a *wh*-phrase can be extracted out of a DP, stranding a preposition, whereas this is not possible for a negative phrase. The negative phrase may only occur as preposed genitive (if possible at all), an option that is also available for the *wh*-phrases.

(4)   a.   **Hvilket barn** har du mødt [faren til t_{wh}]?   [Da]
           which child have you met father-the of
      b.   *Jeg har **ingen børn** mødt [faren til t_{NEG}].
           I have no children met father-the of

(5)   a.   **Hvilket barns far** mødte du t_{wh}?   [Da]
           which child's father met you
      b.   Jeg mødte **intet barns far**.
           I met no child's father

In French, a DP with embedded negative phrase may appear in object position but not in subject position.

(6)   a.   Je n'ai rencontré **le père de personne**.   [Fr]
           I NEG have met the father of nobody
      b.   ***Le père de personne** n'est arrive.
           the father of nobody NEG is arrived

These and other asymmetries will be accounted for by differences as to the point in the derivation at which licensing takes place (overt vs. covert movement) and the kind of material which can undergo pied-piping.

References
Rizzi, Luigi. 1996. Residual Verb Second and the Wh Criterion. In *Parameters and Functional Heads*, Adriana Belletti & Luigi Rizzi (eds.), 63-90. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Haegeman, Liliane & Zanuttini, Rafaella. 1991. Negative Heads and the NEG-Criterion. *The Linguistic Review* 8, 233–251.

Jürg Fleischer (Marburg):

Yiddish and German noun phrases: a contrastive approach

Although Yiddish and German are closely related, there are important syntactic differences between the two languages, of which the position of the verb is probably most prominent. In my paper I will present a contrastive approach to Yiddish and German by highlighting differences between noun phrase structures, which also display many differences. Most remarkably from a comparative point of view, Yiddish has given up the difference between "strong" and "weak" adjectives typical of Germanic languages (to the exception of the neuter):

(1)a *der/a guter man* (Yiddish)
     the/a good man
(1)b *der gute   Mann / ein guter   Mann* (German)
     the good:STRONG   man   the good:WEAK man

Then, in Yiddish noun phrases there are many constructions that are ungrammatical or atypical in German (and other West Germanic languages). For instance, the determiner position in Yiddish can be filled by more than one element, e.g. by a numeral plus article:

(2)a *in eynem a tog* (Yiddish)
(2)b **in einem ein Tag* (German)
     in one a day
     'in one day'

Also, in Yiddish but not in German possessive pronouns can appear to the right of the noun:

(3)a *der khaver mayner* (Yiddish)
(3)b **der Freund meiner* (German)
     the friend mine
     'my friend'

The same is even possible with attributive adjectives; however, if an attributive adjective is postponed, it must be accompanied by an article. Again, this structure is ungrammatical in German:

(4)a *di oygn di grine* (Yiddish)
(4)b **die Augen die grünen* (German)
     the eyes the green
     'the green eyes'

In my paper I will focus on such differences between Yiddish and German noun phrases. As a starting point I will use Standard Yiddish and Standard German, but I will also include different verities from both languages. The goal of the paper is to account for the differences in a diachronic as well as in a structural manner.

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Imperfect Parallels between Nominal Expressions and clauses

In this paper I reconsider a number of phenomena distinguishing nominal expressions from clauses against the many parallels that have been uncovered in the course of the last decades. I will call these partial parallelisms "imperfect parallels":

a. Both nominal expressions and clauses project an argument structure BUT in nominal expressions argument structure appears "less" obligatory or even optional.

b. Both nominal expressions and clauses have a "subject" which must respect the hierarchy of the theta grid BUT in nominal expressions the subject can be missing *tout court*.

c. Both nominal expressions and clauses can be claimed to have three layers all of which are split according to a universal hierarchy BUT nominal expressions display a simpler structure.

d. In both nominal expressions and clauses, we find structural Case BUT in sentences we typically find two (nominative and accusative) in nominals we typically find one (genitive) if any.

e. In both nominal expressions and clauses, we find discourse driven displacements BUT the left periphery of nominal expressions is much more difficult to detect.

I want to reduce these differences to a unique property that distinguishes nominal expressions from clauses, namely nominal individual reference against clausal temporal reference.

I assume the structure of extended projections (among which nominal and clausal ones) to display three layers: a lexical layer in which the argument structure is projected, an inflectional layer in which the modifiers undergo concord for formal features, and a complementation layer which closes the extended projection and checks its semantic/thematic role and all the formal features related to it. All the heads of the extended projection are coindexed and share features (à la Grimshaw). Against this perfect parallelism the following crucial differences can be observed:

a. Clauses typically have Force or Truth value. Noun phrases typically have (object /individual) reference.

b. Truth value or Force requires settings for temporal reference intersected with the individual reference of the subject. Individual reference *per se* requires settings for Person.

c. Finiteness, Mood, Aspect are features related to temporal reference and are typically found in clauses. Phi-features are related to person and typically found in nominal expressions.

d. Argument nominals typically need Case. Argument clauses typically escape Case (Stowell 1982). Case is therefore a formal property of individual reference and can only be combined with phi-features and Person features.

I conclude that each layer complies with different requirements. The vP singles out a subject for Truth value or Force to be checked while the nP may but does not have to. The clausal intermediate layer projects Finiteness, Mood and Aspect to intersect with the person features of the subject, while the nominal intermediate layer deletes the uninterpretable phi-features of adjectival modifiers if present, and/or licences possessors phrases if present. The clausal complementation layer closes the clausal phase and sends the semantic features of Force and Truth value to the interpretive component, while the nominal complementation layer closes the nominal phase and sends the individual reference and its semantic/thematic role to the interpretive component.

The adnominal completive clause - propositional value, modality and grammaticalisation.
Mads Jønsson (University of Aarhus, Denmark)

The adnominal completive clause has not been the object of many studies in linguistics, apart from a few scattered remarks concerning the status and function of the conjunction/complementizer - i.e. whether it functions like a relative pronoun or differently. Certain combinations of semantically bleached nouns like *fact* and *idea* and an adnominal completive clause have also been treated within the theories of grammaticalization.
Among the interesting questions concerning the adnominal completive phrase is the difference between this structrure and a nominal group with an adnominal prepositional group - two constructions that by some have been viewed as practically equivalent :

(1)   a.   The idea <u>that George W. Bush conquered Iraq</u>
            b.   The idea <u>of George W. Bush's conquest of Iraq</u>

It seems, though, that there is a series of differences between these structures, and I will try to explain these differences systematically within the theoretical framework of the modular approach (Nølke 1994). My point of departure is the hypothesis that there is a semantic correlation linked to the propositionality of the noun as well as the adnominal completive clause.

Selected references
Ballier, N. (2008): "La relation argumentale de la complétive du nom en *fact*". In Faits de Langues, #31-32. 277-287.
Chevalier, G. & J.-M. Léard (1996): "La subordination nominale : classes, sous-classes, et types sémantiques". In Muller, C. (éd.): *Dépendance et intégration syntaxique*. Tübingen : Max Niemeyer. 53-65.
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Le Goffic, P. (1992): "*Que* en francais : essai de vue d'ensemble". Travaux linguistiques du CERLICO, #5. 43-71.
Muller, C. (1996) *La subordination en français*. Paris: Armand Colin.
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Abstract

Steffen Krogh (Aarhus)

'The Present Participle in Written Eastern European Yiddish. Its Formation and Use'

My talk attempts to sketch the formation and use of the present participle in written Eastern European Yiddish from the beginning of the 19th century, when the first longish texts in this variety of Yiddish were published, to the present day - a subject which was hitherto almost completely neglected within the field of Yiddish studies. The relevance of participles to the present project on Similarities and Differences between Clauses and Nominals emerges from their well-known Janus-faced inflectional and syntactic position, which is partly clausal and partly nominal. Examples for the study are drawn from selected prose works from the entire period.

In Eastern European Yiddish the original suffix employed for forming the present participle is -(*e*)*ndik*, e.g. *rejxerndik* from *rejxern* 'to smoke' and *zayendik* from *zayn* 'to be'. By the middle of the 19th century, however, another formant, -(*e*)*nd*, a borrowing from modern German, was introduced in written Yiddish. It gained immediate popularity and swiftly confined the older suffix -(*e*)*ndik* to a limited number of syntactic functions. The most significant of these was the use of the present participle as an adverbial comparable to subordinate clauses expressing time, cause or manner. -(*e*)*nd*, for its part, took over the other prominent syntactic function of a Yiddish participle, that of an attributive adjective. This remained the state of affairs in written Eastern European Yiddish until the outbreak of the First World War. In the subsequent decades -(*e*)*nd* started losing ground to the older suffix -(*e*)*ndik* which had, during the entire period, been the sole possible formant in spoken Yiddish. On the eve of the Second World War the borrowed suffix -(*e*)*nd* occurred only in participal adjectives - mostly of German origin - like *badaytnd* 'important', *folgnd* 'following' and *mosgebnd* 'decisive', and the syntactic functions of 'real', i.e. verbal, participles were taken over by participles formed by means of the older suffix -(*e*)*ndik*. In Eastern European Yiddish writings from after 1945, the formant -(*e*)*nd* was to disappear almost completely. One significant exception is the variety of Yiddish written by the Satmar Hasidim, the largest and most important faction of modern ultraorthodox Jews. Written Satmar Yiddish rather consistently features the syntactic distribution of -(*e*)*ndik* and -(*e*)*nd* that is typical of secular Yiddish writings from the period 1860 - 1920.

On noun-verb conversion   Björn Lundquist (AU, UiT, NORMS)

In many languages, including Swedish, there exist homophonous verb-noun pairs that seem to be related to the same underlying concept, as exemplified below for Swedish:

(1)   a.   pussa$_{verb}$ - en puss$_{noun}$ ('kiss') (Impact)
      b.   cykla$_{verb}$ - en cykel$_{noun}$ ('bike') (Instrument)
      c.   kvittra$_{verb}$ - (ett) kvitter$_{noun}$ ('chirp') (Sound)
      d.   stapla$_{verb}$ - stapla$_{noun}$ ('pile') (Result)
      e.   misshandla$_{verb}$ - misshandel$_{noun}$ ('manhandle/assault') (Event)

This talk investigates noun-verb-conversion in Swedish, with focus on the following questions:

1. What are the possible semantic relations between the verb and the corresponding noun, and to what extent is the interpretation of the noun predictable given the meaning and syntactic behavior of the verb?

2. To what extent is noun-verb conversion a productive process? (here focusing mainly on Swedish)

3. What is the division of labour between the lexicon and the syntax, i.e., could verb-noun-conversion be captured as (i) a lexical process, (ii) a syntactic process, or (iii) should we treat sense-related, homophonous verbs and nouns as independent lexical entries with no formal relation between them.

I argue for the following answers:

1. The semantic relation between the verb and corresponding noun is in most cases transparent and predictable, taking the argument/event structure of the verb as the starting point.

2. Noun-verb conversion is a somewhat productive process in Swedish, though there is always some process of "coining" involved, or more specifically - morphosyntactic and/or semantic features must be added to an already existing root: either information about gender/declension class is added to verbal root, or event/argument structure information is added to a nominal root. In other words, lexical items that can surface either as nouns or verbs, need to carry explicit marking about this in the lexicon.

3. One and the same lexical entry can be targeted in both nominal and verbal contexts. Lexical entries contain a set of features of which only a subset need to enter the syntax.

I will in the talk also lay out the basics of the so called Nanosyntax program, as been developed during the last years at the University of Tromsø/CASTL (instigated by M. Starke). I will show that Nanosyntax provides better tools for explaining the nature of noun-verb conversion (and different types of either valency or category changing operation in general) than other theories dealing with similar issues (I will explicitly discuss Distributed Morphology, Pustejovsky's Generative Lexicon and Hale and Keyser's writings on the relations between lexical category and argument structure).

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Aarhus Workshop   Abstract   Henning Nølke
on Clausal and Nominal Parallels   Aarhus University, SLK, French
(20-21 November 2009)   Henning@Nolke.dk

The Valency Structure of Clauses and Noun phrases

Similarities and Differences between French and Danish

As lexical categories, verbs and nouns carry valency structure from the lexicon which they expand when they are realized as clauses and noun phrases, respectively.

According to the Danish Valency model developed by Michael Herslund and his colleagues, each verb brings information from lexicon concerning:

> ➢ How many arguments (valency complements) it takes
> ➢ The semantic roles attached to these arguments
> ➢ The syntactic roles of these arguments (when they are realized in "standard active" clauses)
> ➢ The form (constituent type) of these arguments

Thus, the verb *eat* carries the following information:

> ➢ Two arguments: *Eat (a_1, a_2)* (The verb is **divalent**)
> ➢ a_1 is Agent, a_2 is Patient
> ➢ a_1 is Subject, a_2 is Object
> ➢ Both arguments are realized as nominals

In principle, the same information is attached to nouns. However, due to structural differences between clauses and noun phrases the realization conditions are different. This means that, conceptually, the valency structure is the same, but there are different semantic and syntactic constraints.

In this paper I will focus on :

1. The fundamental structures of clauses and noun phrases and their formal realizations due to different constraints, also across languages.

2. The incorporation process of certain valency complements that we find in both structures but with different manifestations across languages. Thus, typically incorporation is indicated in French by loss of the otherwise obligatory article or by word class shift:

(1) (*Des nuages passent*) ➔ *le passage des nuages* ➔ *un passage **de nuages** -->un passage **nuageux***

> *[Clouds pass ➔ a passing of clouds]*

whereas Danish applies morphological and/or prosodic means:

(2) (*Han køber et hus*) ➔ *Han køber **hus*** ➔ (*Hans køben hus*) ➔ *Hans **hus**køb*
> *[He buys a house ➔ His buying a house]*

NP/Clause parallels: functional categories - JAN RIJKHOFF (AARHUS UNIVERSITY)

1. In cross-linguistic research (typology, grammatical theory) categories should basically be defined in functional terms (FUNCTIONAL SAMENESS). Within these functional categories, formal and semantic criteria may then be used to define categories containing members that are similar enough to be compared across-languages (FORMAL / SEMANTIC SIMILARITY):

| FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY: ADNOMINAL QUALIFYING MODIFIER			
SEMANTIC SUBCATEGORIES:	FORMAL SUBCATEGORIES:		
	• ADJECTIVE	• PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE	• REL. CLAUSE • ...
• SIZE	*short N*	*N of short stature*	*N that was rather small*
• VALUE / QUALITY	*expensive N*	*N of great value*	…
• AGE	*young N*	*N under age 16*	…
• COLOR	*red N*	*N of incredible redness*	…
• …	…	…	…

2. NPs and clauses can be analyzed in terms of the same functional modifier categories (up to a point):

MODIFIERS IN THE NOUN PHRASE   **MODIFIERS IN THE SENTENCE**

MODIFIERS IN THE SENTENCE
6. ILLOCUTIONARY MODIFIERS
5. PROPOSITION MODIFIERS

4. DISCOURSE-REFERENTIAL modifiers   **4.** DISCOURSE-REFERENTIAL modifiers
3. LOCALIZING modifiers   **3.** LOCALIZING modifiers
2. QUANTIFYING modifiers   **2.** QUANTIFYING modifiers
1. QUALIFYING modifiers   **1.** QUALIFYING modifiers
0. CLASSIFYING modifiers   **0.** CLASSIFYING modifiers

scope increase
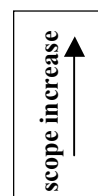
3. Functional categories make it possible to capture
- grammatical *differences* between members of the *same* form class (e.g. Dutch Prepositional Phrases with *van* 'of')
- grammatical *similarities* between members of *different* form classes (e.g. Dutch Adj & PPs with *van* 'of'):

FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY / FORMAL CATEG.	*MODIFICATION*	*PREDICATION*	*REFERENCE*
LOCALIZING MODIFIER / **PP** *de fiets van mijn vader* 'the bike of my father'	+	+	+ *(reference to an entity)*
QUALIFYING MODIFIER / **PP** *beelden van **grote** kwaliteit* 'statues of **great** quality'	++	+	+ *(reference to a property)*
QUALIFYING MODIFIER / **PP&ADJ** *een kroon van goud* 'a crown of gold' *de dure kroon* 'an expensive crown'	+	+	—
CLASSIFYING MODIFIER / **PP** *een man van gezag* 'a man of authority' *een man van **vele** gezichten* 'a man of **many** faces'	+ ++	—	—
CLASSIFYING MODIFIER / **PP&ADJ** *een presidentiële verkiezing* 'a presidential election' *een man van de wereld* 'a man of the world'	—	—	—

(++ = internal modifier obligatory, as in: *een oudere man van **geringe** lengte* 'an elderly man of **short** stature')

Rijkhoff, Jan. 2008a. Layers, levels and contexts in Functional Discourse Grammar. In Daniel García Velasco and Jan Rijkhoff (eds.), *The Noun Phrase in Functional Discourse Grammar*, 63-115. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Rijkhoff, Jan. 2008b. Layering and iconicity in the noun phrase: descriptive and interpersonal modifiers. *Linguistics* 46-4, 789–829.

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Aarhus Workshop on Clausal and Nominal Parallels
(20-21. November 2009)

Katrine Planque Tafteberg (Aarhus): <u>Object pronouns in French and Danish:</u>

The syntax of weak pronouns has been the object of much linguistic research, and is well accounted for in both French and Danish respectively. Several parallels have been pointed out, especially in the Germanic literature on the subject (Josefsson 1992, Holmberg 1999 and others). However, there would seem to be no agreement as yet as to the Danish object pronoun, i.e. whether weak Danish object pronouns should be analysed as cliticisation on a par with French clitics. It therefore seems relevant to look deeper into this issue in order to establish to which extent the two phenomena are comparable, and how closely they are related. Cf. the following examples for illustration of the object positions in French and Danish:

(1) Marie   elsker   stadig sin kat.
(2) Marie   elsker <u>den</u> stadig.

(3) Marie   aime   toujours son chat.
(4) Marie <u>l'</u>aime   toujours.

The object pronouns *den/l'* differ syntactically from the position of the corresponding full noun *sin kat/son chat*. Both pronouns seek a position close to the verbal predicate. Besides syntactic incorporation, the French pronouns also undergoes phonological incorporation, as *le* is reduced to *l'* in contraction with the verb *aime*. In spoken language, *den* is usually reduced to syllabic *n* in Danish but, contrary to French, the phonological reduction of *den* is optional.

A very fundamental force in the general organisation of information structure tends to place weak object pronouns further left than full nouns. This is particular to pronouns in many languages. However, if this is an underlying force common to both French and Danish pronominal syntax, then which language-specific factors determine the position of French pronouns as generally proclitic whereas Danish pronouns are enclitic? A number of other puzzling parallels may be drawn between the phonological, morphological and syntactic behavior of these pronouns in French and Danish. The main focus of my presentation will be to compare and discuss some of these similarities and differences.

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Nominalization and Functional Heads

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Abstract

One of the key historical documents behind the search for structural parallels between Clauses and Nominals is Chomsky's 1970 treatise *Remarks on Nominalization*. Three types of nominals were distinguished, Gerundive (1a), Derived (b) and 'mixed' (c):

1. a. John's refusing the offer

   b. John's refusal of the offer

   c. John's refusing of the offer

A 'Transformationalist' (i.e. productively morpho-syntactic) account was considered feasible for (a), a 'Lexicalist' (i.e. a non-productive and largely idiosyncratic) account for (b) and, perhaps, (c). The treatise, as a whole, was a plea for a 'Lexicalist' position as far as possible, a position more or less tacitly adopted in various developments of generative grammar since then.

I'll be concentrating here on Derived Nominals (type 1b), and I want to address two points:

- Why should Clauses and (Derived) Nominals be assumed to be structurally parallel?

- Granted that the assumption is justified, what kind of functional heads could, or should, be assumed in order to secure such parallelism?

The first question is generally answered with reference to facilitation of language acquisition. If there is only one 'deep' structural pattern, then – all else being equal – this would be easier to acquire than two competing ones. This might threaten to relegate whatever superficial differences there might be between them to a matter of language use – a position otherwise scorned in generative theory. This argument cannot be dismissed on empirical grounds. However, it does not say much about the reason why such parallelism should exist. This reason, obviously, is semantic in nature. Although both Clauses and Derived Nominals have propositional content, the denotations of Clauses – in Austin's terms – are *historical* situations (i.e., they carry truth values), whereas for Derived Nominals they are situation *types* (i.e., they carry factual presuppositions).

Since Abney (1987), the second question has been answered with reference to the functional structure of Clauses and Nominals, leading to DP analyses of the latter, and to the introduction of a variety of functional heads to handle inflexional morphology in both. I'll explore the possibility of shifting some of the burden of explanation to the area of derivational morphology, arguing that standard categorial labels like N, V, A, etc., are in fact labels for *functional* heads, merged from 'sub-syntactic' processes of derivation, and that the notion of *lexical* head properly belongs to (derivational) morphology.

Agreement with predicative adjectives, with non-finite verbs, and with predicative nominals

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Among the Germanic and Romance languages, the languages that lack predicative adjective agreement without lacking attributive adjective agreement are all SOV-languages (including Yiddish). I propose to link this to the OV/VO-difference by suggesting that languages with head-final VPs (i.e. OV-languages) also have head-final Adjective Phrases (AdjPs).

I will start out by noting how unexpected it is that a language with so much agreement morphology as German completely lacks predicative adjective agreement, (1a) when predicative adjective agreement is found in languages with very little agreement morphology, like Danish or French, (1b,c). My analysis resolves this paradox, setting the lack of predicative adjective agreement in the OV-languages apart from other kinds of lack of (or loss of) agreement, by attributing it to a particular structural cause, head-finality in the AdjP.

(1)	a.	Ge.	Die Häuser	sind	grün__
	b.	Da.	Husene	er	grøn**ne**
	c.	Fr.	Les maisons	sont	vert**es**
			The houses	*are*	*green*

I will then draw some parallels from adjectival agreement to verbal and nominal agreement.

Distinguishing between finite and non-finite verb agreement, I assume finite verb agreement to take place not in the VP but in IP, and therefore I will focus on non-finite verb agreement, examining to which extent it is parallel to predicative adjective agreement.

Agreement with nominals is a completely different story, and I will argue that the only agreement found here is agreement with a predicative DP. This is very different from the agreement types described above, in that it is agreement **between** phrases, not **inside** a phrase, and therefore it is not surprising that predicative nominal agreement is very different from predicative adjective agreement in that the former is also found in the Germanic SOV-languages, (2a), whereas the latter is not, (1a).

(2)	a.	Ge.	Die Häuser	sind	dänisch**e** Ferienh**ä**us**er**
	b.	Da.	Husene	er	dansk**e** sommerhus**e**
	c.	Fr.	Les maisons	sont	des maison**s** de campagne danois**es**
			The houses	*are*	*Danish holiday cottages*

Linking and juxtaposed pseudopartitives: a diachronic approach

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The syntactic and semantic differences between partitives as in (1)a and pseudopartitives as in (1)b are well known (cf. Jackendoff 1977).

(1) En.   a.   a slice of that cake   (restricted set: partitive)
          b.   a slice of cake   (unrestricted set: pseudopartitive)

Both constructions superficially appear to consist of two nominals, which are usually designated N_1 and N_2. In English, both partitive and pseudopartitive constructions are formed with the preposition *of*. However other languages, e.g. Danish, Swedish, Dutch, and German employ different strategies for each, a linking morpheme for the partitive as in (2),and juxtaposition for the pseudopartitive as in (3) (Hankamer and Mikkelsen 2008:318):

(2) Da.   en   gruppe   af   turisterne   (partitive)
          one   group   of   tourists-DEF
          '*one group of the tourists*'

(3) Da.   en   gruppe   turister   (pseudopartitive)
          one   group   tourists
          '*a group of tourists*'

It is not clear why closely related languages would employ different strategies. Alexiadou, Hageman and Stavrou (2007:457) speculate that "a fruitful avenue for future research" is that languages with overt case morphology use juxtaposition and languages without nominal case morphology have a linking morpheme. This would seem to be supported by data from earlier English as in (4) below, where juxtaposition is sometimes employed, (but not supported by the data in (2) and (3) above):

(4) I bequethe to Marie Tendall, my goddoughter, <u>my peir bedys</u> of calcidenys gaudied with siluer and gilt. ...(1482 copy of will of Margaret Paston)

In this paper I investigate the difference between the two pseudopartitive constructions by tracing the diachronic development of the pseudopartitive in English. Particular attention will be paid to the differences in the restricted sets of nouns that can be N_1, but which behave differently, genuine quantifiers (*dozen, pound)* and "ordinary nouns that are temporarily used as quantifiers" (Delsing 1993: 203) (*box, bottle*).

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