Similarities and Differences between Clauses and Nominals Comparative Syntax across Theoretical Approaches

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Split IPs (separate handout)

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1 Structural parallels between clauses and nominals:

The clausal structure as we saw last time: CP, IP, VP
We also saw arguments that NPs were actually DPs.
I'm going to argue for some structure between DP and NP that we can provisionally call AgrP

(1)

What belongs in AgrP?
A sampling of the proposals:

Ritter (1991) N(umber)P	(Hebrew)
Picallo (1991) Gen(der)P	(Catalan)
Zamparelli (1995, 2000): SDP, PDP, KDP	(Italian, English)
Giusti (1997) and others QP	
Schoorlemmer (1998): DP, PossP, NumP	(Germanic, Slavic, Romance)
Julien (2005) DP, CardP, nP, NumP	(Scandinavian)

Many different categories have been proposed between DP and NP; the most widely accepted is NumP. Last time we were presented with the hypothesis that verb movement in the clause, to the agreement area IP, is associated with the inflectional features of verbs. We could argue that by analogy the agreement area, AgrP in nominals is associated with morphology on nouns. Nouns typically inflect for number and gender.

The question when considering more categories:
- Which features are inherent in the noun and can therefore be specified in the lexicon?
- Which features are not inherent and trigger syntactic operations?
    The most widely accepted syntactic operation: singular/plural, hence NumP
   More controversial: Gender Phrase, Possessive Phrase

1.1 Arguments for NumP (in English):
The first argument comes from the position of certain degree modifiers.

1.1.1 Fronted degree premodifiers: *how*, *so*, *too, this,*   (Da. *hvor, så, for*), also *such* and *what*

(2)   It was <u>a</u> **strange** conclusion
(3)   It was <u>a</u> **too strange** conclusion
(4)   It was **too strange** <u>a</u> conclusion
(5)   *It was **too** <u>a</u> **strange** conclusion
(6)   It could lead to **such** <u>a</u> reaction
(7)   *It could lead to <u>a</u> **such** reaction

Haegemann and Guéron (1999:447) suggest that the indefinite article is in D^0 and the moved phrase is in Spec-DP

(8)

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            DP
          /    \
      Spec      D'
      such     /  \
            D⁰       ……
            a
```
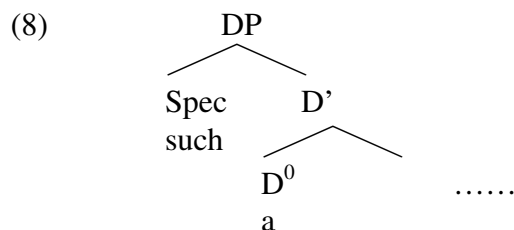
I will argue that 'a' is in a lower position. This is based on examples such as:

(9)   on the basis of **any such a proposal** or application form
          (adapted from Wood 2002:110)

(10)   There is **no more charming a scene** of married love in all Shakespeare than this little vignette (NY Times) (from Matushansky, 2002:19. #23b)

Since *no* and *any* co-occur with *a*, both determiners cannot be in the determiner position. If *no* is the head of determiner phrase, the indefinite article will be in a lower phrase. The suggested structure is as in (11) below with movement of the phrase "more charming" to Spec-NumP, the indefinite article as the head of NumP and *no* as the head of DP.

(11)
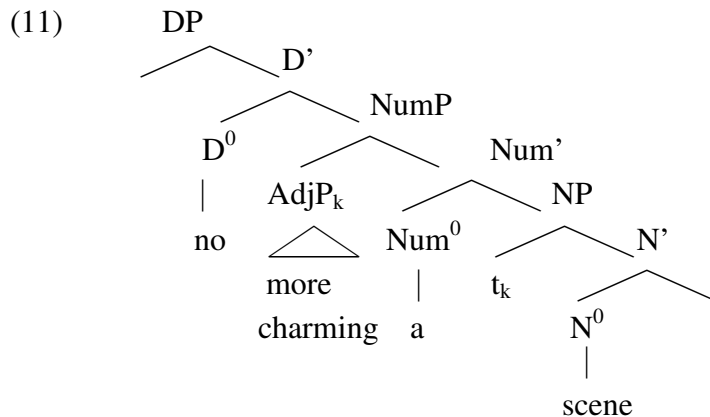
Notice that in these degree phrases, fronting is optional with adverbs such as *so* and *too*. But fronting is obligatory with *how*.

(12)   Could it happen in a **so lovely** place?
(13)   Could it happen in **so lovely** a place?   (movement optional)

(14)   [How difficult] a problem is this?   (movement obligatory)
(15)   *a [how difficult] problem is this?

 In the clause also, *how* must move to the front of the clause.

(16)   The problem was [very difficult].
(17)   [How difficult]$_k$ was$_j$ the problem $_{tj\ tk}$?
(18)   *Was the problem t$_j$ [how difficult]?

This gives us a parallel between *wh*-movement in the clause and the nominal: The wh-words, *how, what why,* etc. must move to the front of the clause.
Similarly with *what* in clauses and nominals:

(19)   **What** a problem Mary had!
(20)   *a **what** problem Mary had!
(21)   What was Mary's problem?
(22)   *Was Mary's problem what?

Notice that these degree expressions are always indefinite. This follows if the specifier of DP or D^0 is the area for "definiteness" (and the definite article) and the specifier of NumP or Num^0 is the area for indefiniteness (and the indefinite article, which is really a numeral).

1.1.2 Modification of indefinite pronouns

A second argument for there being some extra structure between DP and the noun comes from compound indefinite pronouns:

(23)

	(interrogative)	existential	free choice/polarity	universal	negative
determiner	which	some	any	every	no
+ animate	who	somebody someone	anybody anyone	everybody everyone	nobody no one
-animate	what	something	anything	everything	nothing

Complex indefinite pronouns: the standard English set (Wood 2007a)

Compound pro-forms, the "indefinite pronouns" are compounds of a determiner and a noun. They retain some noun characteristics, that is, they can be modified. Modification is impossible with pronouns.

Adjectives in English are usually prenominal as we see in (24)
Like nouns, compound pronouns can be modified, but unlike nouns they must be post-modified as in (26)

(24) a. The red balloon (noun)
    b. *The balloon red

(25) a. *red it (pronoun)
    b. *it red

(26) Something red (compound indefinite pronoun)

In addition, compound pronouns are always singular:

(27) *Somethings red
(28) Some red things

The special characteristics of compound indefinite pronouns:
 – they are always post-modified
 – always singular.

How do we explain these two facts?

 A possible explanation is that certain nouns move across the adjective. These are the so-called "semantically light" nouns: *one, body, thing, place, time, way.* This is in contrast to nouns such as *book* which do not move as seen in (29)b:


(29)   a. some expensive book(s)
           b. *some book expensive _____
           c. Some expensive thing
           d. some*thing* expensive ___

The parallel with clauses is that only certain verbs, "light" verbs such as the auxiliary *have*, move in clauses.

The position of the adverb *often* shows that in (30)a, the verb *buys* is in the VP and as we see from (30)b it cannot move to I^0. In (30)c we see the light verb *has* is to the left of *often* and in I^0.

(30)   a. John often buys books
           b. *John bought often books
           c. John *has* often ___bought books

This gives us an explanation of the position. It has been proposed that the position light nouns move to is Num^0 (Kishimoto 2000)

(31) **DP**
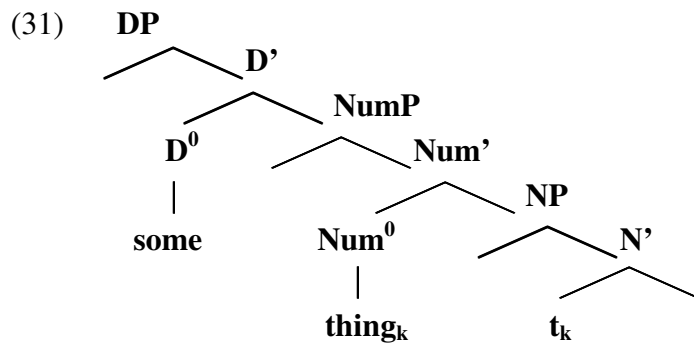
1.2 Cross-linguistic differences involving number:
French and English are similar in that they overtly mark the noun for plural.

    (32)   ami   amis
                       friend   friends

But they differ in that English does not overtly mark the article while French does:
    (33)   l'ami   les amis
                       the friend   the friends

So, the question is, is number a feature of the noun or of the article? The data below suggest that number is on the article in French and on the noun in English (Longobardi 1994:620 for Italian; Bouchard 2002:42 for French):

    (34)   La secretaire de Jean et collaboratrice de Paul est/*sont à la gare.
    (35)   The secretary of John and collaborator of Paul is/are at the station.

       In English each noun can refer to a single individual which makes the plural verb possible
       In French the singular article makes the plural verb impossible.

2 Challenges when dealing with determiners

2.1 The function of DP: What do DPs do and which expressions are Ds?
Basic split in the literature:

A)   DP associated with referentiality and argumenthood
           Nouns are predicates and in order to function as arguments NP must have a determiner
           position.

Longobardi's 1994 paper has been very influential. He suggests arguments must be DPs: true in
English, Italian and French.

| (36) | a. *(Un/Il) | grande amico | di Maria | mi ha telefonato. | It. |
| | b. *(A/The) | great friend | of Maria | has phoned me. | Eng. |

Last time we saw the the difference between (37)a which is a NP and (37)b which is a DP:

(37)   a. *I met nice man. (NP)
           b. I met a nice man. (DP)

However, determinerless arguments are possible. Longobardi suggests that bare nouns are allowed
as long as they are lexically governed:

This is true in Italian and French but as we see from (39)b, not true for English:
Longobardi explains this by suggesting that DP is present in English but not lexically realised.

| (38) | a. Ho preso acqua | dalla | sorgente. | It. |
| | b. I took water | from the | spring. | Eng. |

| (39) | a. *Acqua | vine giù | dalle | colline. | It. |
| | b. Water | comes down | from the | hills. | Eng. |

(examples adapted from Longobardi 1994: 612-618)

Baker (2003: 113) points out that Longobardi's account is not very robust cross linguistically. It means
that languages without articles, Chinese, Japanese, Mohawk, and Slavic languages, for example, all
have empty DP shells.

B)   DP is associated with definiteness.
           If D^0 or Spec-DP is lexically filled, the nominal is definite. (Lyons 1999:298-300).
           This also leads to the conclusion that some languages (e.g. Slavic   languages) have
           empty DPs.

It also makes a difference to the way people treat the indefinite article.
If all arguments are DPs the definite and indefinite article are both D^0. We saw this in (8) above.
If an overt D^0 or Spec-DP results in a definite DP, indefinite articles must be in a different position than
D^0.

2.2 How many "determiners" are there?

Many lexical items are considered "determiners" in traditional approaches. How do they all fit?
In a traditional grammatical analysis of the modern English noun phrase (Quirk et al.1985: 253) the first three categories, based on word order, are pre-determiner, central determiner and post-determiner. *All* is termed a pre-determiner because it can precede the central determiner, *the.* The central determiners *a* and *the* are in complementary distribution with each other. Certain quantifiers, *every, all* and *some* also occupy the central determiner position and are in complementary distribution with each other and with *a* and *the*. Also part of the noun phrase are the demonstratives (*this, that, these, those*) which are also in complementary distribution with the definite and indefinite article. Items regarded as post-determiners, also sometimes called quantifying adjectives, are *many, few* and the cardinal and ordinal numerals. A structural account of the noun phrase has to accommodate all these items. They are summarized below:

(40)

Pre-determiners	Central determiners	Post-determiners
All, both, half, fractions: o*ne,(a)third,* etc. multipliers:*double, triple such?*	articles: *the, a* demonstratives: *this, that, these, those.* possessives: *my, our, your, his, her, its, their.* relatives: *whose, which.* interrogatives: *what, which, whose.* quantificational: *no, some, every, any, each, either, neither, enough.*	cardinal numerals ordinal numbers *many (a) few, several, much, (a) little.*

Distribution of determiners (Quirk et. al. 1985)

The presence of predeterminers leads some people to suggest a QP preceding DP. But quantifiers in general pose a problem as they can be pre-, central, and post-determiners.
    Lets look at one of the categories, demonstratives, in more detail.

3 Demonstratives
    – Demonstratives are a universal category; all languages have them (Dixon 2003)
    – Dedicated definite articles are not universal
    – Definite articles develop from demonstratives
    – The grammaticalization path demonstrative>definite article is well known.
            Greenberg (1978), Heine and Kuteva (2002), Roberts and Roussou (2003).

The three features of demonstratives (Lyons 1999:20)
    (41)   Definite article is [+def]
    (42)   Demonstrative is   [+def] [+dem] [± proximal]

The reason for 3 features (and not just definiteness and deixis) is because the demonstrative is neutral to spatiotemporal location in some languages, such as French:

    (43)   le,   la,   les   [+def]
                ce   [+def] [+dem]
                ce-ci,   [+def] [+dem] [+ proximal]
                ce-là   [+def] [+dem] [– proximal]

It is even sometimes neutral in English:
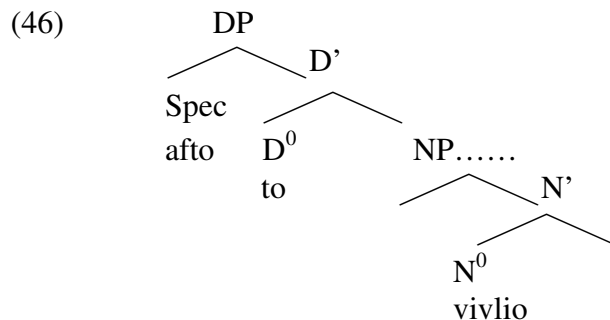   (44)   She prefers her biscuits to those I make

3.1 Two questions about demonstratives

We can ask (at least) two questions about demonstratives. We could ask similar questions about all the other determiners (and also about adjectives).

i) What is their surface position (e.g. D^0 or the specifier of DP, or are they in a category between DP and NP as I have already argued for 'a'?) i.e. Are they always in D^0 and in complementary distribution with articles?

ii) Could they have originated lower in the nominal and moved to their surface position?

Early work assumed that demonstratives and definite articles occupy the same syntactic position.
It is now widely argued that demonstratives and definite articles occupy different syntactic positions because they can co-occur in some languages:

(45)　　　Afto to vivlio　　　(Greek)
　　　　　This the book

(46)

```
            DP
          /    \
        Spec    D'
        afto   /  \
              D⁰    NP……
              to    /  \
                   N⁰   N'
                  vivlio
```

What about the problem of complementary distribution? If the demonstrative is in Spec-DP and the definite article in D^0, why don't they co-occur in English?

It is well known that in modern English both the head and specifier of CP may not be filled   The specifier, *who,* and head, *that,* may not co-occur although they may in other languages and in Middle English.

(47)　　　Only the sight of her whom that I serve. (1392. Chaucer, *The Knight's Tale*, line 1231)

This is a DP/CP parallel

The contrast between (48) and (49) below provides more evidence that the article and demonstrative are in different positions:
We see that in Italian the article and demonstrative behave differently with respect to movement.

(48)　　　[Di chi]$_k$　　hai　　　　la　　foto　　t_k　　sulla　tua　　scrivania?
　　　　　[Of　　whom] have-2sg　　the　　picture　　　　on the　your　　desk
　　　　　'Whose picture do you have on your desk?'

(49)　　　*[Di chi]$_k$　　hai　　　　questa foto　　t_k　　sulla　tua　　scrivania?
　　　　　of whom　　　have-2sg　　this　　picture　　　　on the　your　　desk
　　　　　(adapted from Giusti 1997:11)

In (48) and (49), both DPs are definite, but the phrase *di chi* is able to move across the article but not across the demonstrative. Possibly the movement is blocked because the demonstrative is in the Specifier of DP and not in D^0.

Finally, it is thought that demonstratives originate low in the structure and move to D:

    (50)   to vivlio afto   (Greek)
                   the book this

Allowing for demonstratives to originate low in the structure (rather than being "born" in the specifier of DP or D^0) would also account for:

- the fact that demonstratives may be singular or plural and hence would move through the head or specifier of NumP unlike the English article which can be "born" in D^0

- the fact that demonstratives are ambiguous between a deictic reading and an indefinite specific reading. i.e. not always definite.
  (I am assuming an analysis of DPs in which only elements on Spec-DP or D^0 are definite.)

    (51)   This woman (=the woman right here) is my mother   (definite deictic)
    (52)   I met this woman (= a woman) who knows my mother   (indefinite specific)

3.2 Demonstrative reinforcers
Demonstratives in many languages are reinforced:

    (53)   Cette femme-ci   Fr.
    (54)   Ce livre- là
    (55)   Ce marchand de vin ci

The suggestion is that the demonstrative and its reinforcer originate in a functional phrase (FP) within DP, lower than Spec-DP and D^0. The demonstrative moves to Spec-DP. The noun (and its associated adjectives) move and adjoin to FP: (Bernstein 1997:100)

    (56)   ce ci   [marchand de vin]
    (57) ce_m [marchand de vin]$_k$ t_m ci t_k

According to Bernstein there is no movement of nouns in Germanic languages and reinforcers precede the noun as in English and Danish in (58) and (59):

    (58)   we came from this school, to look at <u>this here</u> man with a bear, a big bear (BNC **FY0** 22)

    (59)   Kender du <u>den her</u> man?

However, Bernstein does not mention German or Dutch where the equivalent of (58) and (59) is not grammatical and where *here* is not grammaticalised as a reinforcer but is a locative adverb.

    (60)   a. *Kennst du <u>diesen hier</u> Mann?
                b. Kennst du diesen Mann hier?

(61)   a. *Ken je <u>deze hier</u> man?
            b. Ken je deze man hier?

3.3 Co-occurrences: demonstratives and possessives

We have already noted demonstratives and definite articles co-occurring.
Possessives and demonstratives do not usually co-occur in the languages we are looking at, but they did
in OE and OF and they do in e.g. Italian:

Languages can be regarded as adjective-genitive (AG) (Classical Greek, Portuguese, Italian) or
determiner-genitive (DG) (English, Irish, French, Scandinavian languages) (Lyons 1999)

- In the DG construction, a prenominal genitive forces a definite interpretation on the noun phrase
  and the possessive may not co-occur with articles.
- The usual strategy for expressing indefiniteness in DG languages is with a post-nominal
  prepositional phrase.

(62)   a. ma livre   Fr
            b. mein buch   Ger.
            c. my book   Eng.
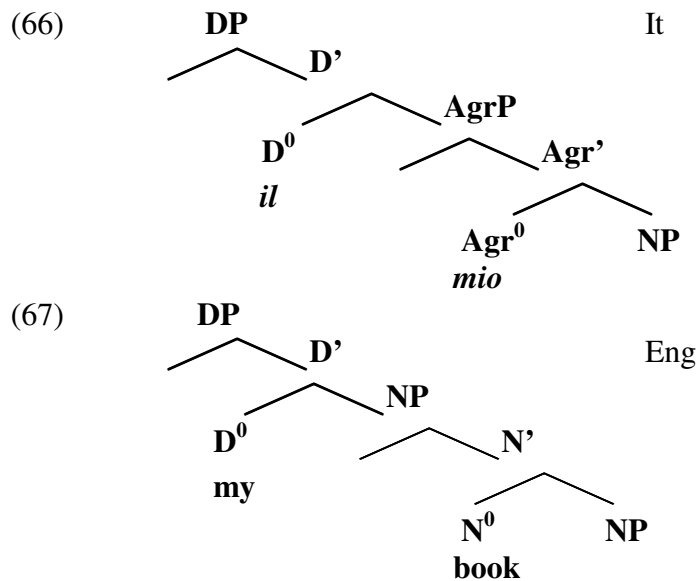

(63)   a. un ami à moi   Fr.
            b. ein Freund von mir   Ger.
            c. a friend of mine   Eng.

- In the AG construction a possessive does not force a definite interpretation
- if the language has articles, they co-occur with a possessive
- indefinite noun phrases can have a prenominal possessor

(64)   a. *nossa casa   Port.
            b. a/esta nossa case
            c. *the/this our house

(65)   a.*mio libro   It.
            b. il mio libro   It.
            c. *the my book

            a. un mio libro   It.
            b. a my book
            c. a book of mine

(66)

```
        DP                                      It
       /  \
      /    D'
      |   /  \
      |  /    AgrP
      D⁰      /  \
      il     /    Agr'
            /     /  \
          Agr⁰  /    NP
          mio
```

(67)

```
        DP                           Eng
       /  \
      /    D'
      |   /  \
      |  /    NP
      D⁰      /  \
      my     /    N'
            /    /  \
          N⁰   /    NP
          book
```

Possessives are definite when they are in Spec-DP or D^0.
Possessives are indefinite when they are in a lower functional projection.

Co-occurrence in earlier English has resulted in English being analysed as a AG language up until the 18th century. I have argued against this (Wood, 2005, 2007).

OE (Wood 2007b):

(68)   Eornustliec   ælc   þæra   þe   <u>ðas   mine   word</u> gehyrð
        Truly,   each   those-GEN   that   these   my   words hears
        'Truly, each of those who hears these words of mine'
         Latin: Omnis ergo, qui audit verba mea haec   (Matthew 7.24)

OF examples are from Arteaga (1995: 69):

(69)   par   <u>ceste   mie</u>   barbe
        by this-F-OBL-SG   my-F-OBL-SG   beard-F-OBL-SG
        'by this beard of mine'   (*Roland* 1719; Jensen 1990 §373)

(70)   Dieu,   par <u>le   tuen</u>   glorioz
        God,   by the-M-OBL-SG   your-M-OBL-SG   glorious-M-OBL-SG

                   non
                   name-M-OBL-SG
                   'God, by your glorious name'   (*Ste. Eustache* 1937; Togeby 1974 §100)

A more unusual construction: possessive + distal demonstrative + adjective + noun was also found in OE up until the 11th century:

(71)		ure Drihten	his	þæm	halgum	sægde	(Blickling 119.8)
		our Lord	his	that-DAT-PL	holy-DAT-PL	said	

'our Lord said to his holy people'

This is likely to be the emerging definite article.

4 Summary

I have argued for the following parallels between nominals and clauses:
- agreement structure in the nominal which may be compared to IP
- *wh*-movement (of *how* and *what*) in nominals which may be compared to *wh*-movement in clauses
- light noun movement in nominals which may be compared to auxiliary verb movement in clauses

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