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Adnominal Adjectives in Romance.

Where Morphology seemingly meets Semantics.

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1. Introduction*

Most Romance varieties exhibit two possible positions for adnominal adjectives with respect to the noun, pre- and postnominal. These two positions are usually associated with different 'semantic effects' on the interpretation of the AN- or NA-complex or the readings of the pre- or postnominal adjectives (cf. Delbecq 1990 for an explicit comparison of French and Spanish, Bouchard 1998, 2002, Radatz 2001, Kintet 2005). Apart from displaying different interpretations and different syntactic restrictions (e.g. no adjectival complements together with their head possible in prenominal position), adnominal adjectives in pre- vs. postnominal position in Romance languages and varieties like (spoken) French, Occitan (*Provençal Maritime*), substandard (spoken) Brazilian Portuguese and Latin (Fassano) show different agreement patterns with respect to number and/or gender marking (cf. Durand 1932:28f., Bayle 1967:32f., Blanchet 1999:86f., Scherre 1988, 2001a,b, Rasm 2003, 2006, 2008 and Mensching & Stark 2007). A fact described in some grammars, but almost completely neglected in the theoretical discussion up to now.

The aim of this paper is to present an explanation for the apparently 'variable' position of adnominal adjectives in Romance taking as a starting point morphological observations about incomplete or "lazy" gender and number agreement inside the noun-adjective complex.

In section 2.1 we present data from Fassano, a Latin variety, which shows the most complex agreement pattern of the considered languages. We proceed, in 2.2, with Occitan and Brazilian Portuguese data, which (even though the varieties in question are very distant from each other with respect to the genetic classification) behave very similarly as far as the agreement patterns at issue are concerned. And finally, in 2.3, the presented data from spoken French show that this language can be grouped together with Occitan and Brazilian Portuguese. As shown in the overview in 2.4, all these languages or varieties show "lazy" or defective agreement patterns. In section 3 we present our proposal for the different agreement patterns presented in section 2. We start by giving an overview over what we want to argue for and against (cf. 3.1). In our analysis, which is illustrated in detail in sections 3.2 to 3.3, we assume, giving semantic motivations, two different underlying head-orderings for the two main interpretation types (direct vs. indirect modification). Yet, in contrast to existing analyses, which also assume two different constructions for adnominal adjectives, our analysis starts from base-generated N-A in order to derive A-N, with semantically motivated movement, and vice versa from A-N, in order to derive N-A, assuming semantically motivated N-movement. In order to explain the different agreement patterns we depart from two probing operations. We show that the analyzed languages differ mainly with respect to whether "little n" is defective or not. This defectivity receives again a semantic motivation.

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The different morphological patterns result in all these cases from different syntactic structures and operations, which are, in turn, partially semantically motivated. Finally, section 4 summarizes the central points of our analysis.

2. The data

2.1 The Ladin variety of Campitello di Fassa

As in other Romance languages, in the Ladin variety Fassano adnominal adjectives can appear in pre- as well as in postnominal position. Yet, this variety shows the peculiarity that, in the feminine plural, we find different agreement patterns depending on the position the adjective takes and seemingly on its semantic interpretation (Rasom 2005:21, 2008:19):

- (1) (a) *La¹ picola cèses de Fascia* [prenominal: Det-a-A-N-es]
the F.SG small.F.SG house.F.PL of Fascia
'the small houses of Fascia'
- (b) **La² pìcoles cèses de Fascia* [prenominal: *Det-a-A-es-N-es]
the F.SG small.F.PL house.F.PL of Fascia
'the small houses of Fascia'
- (c) *La³ cèsa pìcoles de Fascia* [postnominal: Det-a-N-a-A-es]
the F.SG house.F.SG small.F.PL of Fascia
'the small houses of Fascia'
- (d) *La⁴ cèses pìcoles de Fascia* [postnominal: Det-a-N-es-A-es]
the F.SG house.F.PL small.F.PL of Fascia
'the small houses of Fascia'

In prenominal position (cf. (1a)), the adjective appears without number inflection, while the noun has a plural form. Number inflection on the prenominal adjective, like in (1b), which corresponds for example to the Spanish agreement pattern, is clearly ungrammatical in Fassano. In postnominal position (cf. (1c) and (1d)), the adjective shows number and 'gender' inflection. The difference between these two examples lies in the behaviour of the modified noun: in (1c), there is no number inflection on the noun; in (1d), instead, the noun is fully inflected. That is, for Fassano we have to distinguish three different cases: *Lazy Agreement* on the adjective (cf. (1a)), *Lazy Agreement* on the noun (cf. (1c)), and no *Lazy Agreement* between the noun and the adjective (cf. (1d)).²

In order to find the systematics which hides behind these patterns, Rasom (2006, 2008) assumes, in line with Cinque (2003, 2005) (cf. also Demonte 1999, 2005), that the respective syntactic structural position of the adnominal adjective goes hand in hand with different semantic interpretations. Like Cinque (2003:7, 2005) she distinguishes between direct and indirect modification (following Sprat & Shih 1988, 1991), the latter one having the same readings as predicative adjectives in relative clauses, and links different semantic interpretations to these two modification types. Based on Cinque (2005) and others, she assumes that in prenominal position the adjective receives only one interpretation, whereas in

postnominal position, it can have two interpretations, i.e., postnominal adjectives are (or can be) ambiguous, cf. Rasom (2008:27 based on Cinque 2003:7, 2005):

Table (1): Modification types and semantic interpretation³

Prenominal	postnominal
Direct modification	indirect modification
individual level	stage level
Non-restrictive ⁴	restrictive
absolute	relative
etc.	etc.

The semantic interpretations *stage level*, *restrictive* and *relative* (to a comparison class, cf. Cinque 2003:4) which are linked to the indirect modification result, according to Rasom (2008), from a reduced relative clause. This kind of modification is thus restricted to the postnominal position of the adjective (cf. Larson 1998, Cinque 2003, 2005, Marchis & Alexiadou 2008). The direct modification with its corresponding semantic interpretations has, if we follow Cinque (2003, 2005), no such positional restriction in Romance for adnominal adjectives, i.e., we find it with pre- as well as with postnominal adjectives.

The two possible interpretations of postnominal adjectives are not disambiguated morphologically in Romance languages like e.g. Italian, Spanish etc. In Fassano however, and this is one part of Rasom's main assumption and indirect support for the 'ambiguity hypothesis' for postnominal adjectives, *Lazy Agreement* (or *Concord* as she terms it) disambiguates the two possible interpretations of postnominal adjectives:

(2) *Lazy Concord Hypothesis* (LCH) (incomplete) (Rasom 2008:30):

'In Ladin the morphology of lazy concord on the noun disambiguates the potentially ambiguous interpretation of postnominal adjectives present in the Romance languages'.

Rasom's hypothesis becomes clear if we compare the agreement patterns of postnominal adjectives in the following examples: In (3), where the adjective has a 'direct modification reading', both the adjective and the noun are inflected and morphologically marked by *-es*. In the case of the indirect modification in (4), only the adjective shows the ending *-es*, whereas the noun lacks number marking, i.e. we find *Lazy Agreement* on the noun.

(3) Direct modification N-A: No *Lazy Agreement* (Rasom 2008:31ff.):

- (a) *La stielles invisiboles de Andromeda les è n mutè dalènc.*
the F.SG star.F.PL invisible.F.PL of Andromeda CL are very distant
= individual level; 'Andromeda's stars are all invisible and very far'
- (b) *La ores stufouses de Ferrari I se les recorda duc.*
the F.SG hour.F.PL boring.F.PL of Ferrari they themselves them remember all
= non-restrictive; 'Ferrari's lessons were all boring and all remember them'

³ Other semantic properties associated with prenominal adjectives in Romance, and thus with direct modification, are non-intersectivity, and 'central property modification'; whereas indirect modification would additionally cluster with intersectivity and 'referent modification' (cf. Kay 2008:3f).

⁴ This corresponds exactly to the main observation about adnominal adjectives and their semantics since the seminal work of Bolinger (1967): 'The systematic but often subtle difference between prenominal and postnominal adjectives first noted by Bolinger (1967) in many respects remain poorly understood [...] This paper focuses on one difference of this sort that occurs in both these murky domains: for both adjectives and adverbs, nonrestrictive interpretations are possible without resort to parenthetical intonation only in pre-nominal positions' (Mozycki 2008:1).

¹ As far as Rasom (2006:22ff.) reports, this Ladin variety uses the feminine plural form of the determiner *les* only in some specific morphosyntactic contexts, e.g. with numerals: *les trei* 'three', *les catër* 'four', etc. Yet, if the numeral allows gender and number inflection, as e.g. *doi* 'two', the determiner appears uninflected for number: *la does* 'these two', vs. **les does* 'these two'.
² As there is only one case in which both, the adjective and the noun, are fully inflected for gender and number, Haiman & Benmà (1992:219ff.) term this phenomenon *Ladin Lazy Agreement Rule*. Rasom (2008) prefers, instead, the term *Lazy Concord*, for reasons we can not discuss here in the interest of space. For the moment, we use *agreement* to denote overt morphological correspondences in shared features between constituents of noun phrases.

- (c) I volea demò rampèr su per la crepes autes e
they wanted only climb up along the F.SG mountain.F.PL tall.F.PL and
etes de l'India.
steep.F.PL of the India
= absolute; 'the mountains in India are all tall and steep and they wanted to climb them all'
- (4) Indirect modification N-A: *Lazy Agreement* on the noun (Rasom 2008:31ff):
(a) La stelia invisiboles de Andromeda les é n muie dalenc.
the F.SG star F.SG invisible-F.PL of Andromeda CL are very distant
= stage level; 'there are some stars of Andromeda's which are (now) invisible and these are very far'
(b) La ora stufouses de Ferrari l se les recorda duc.
the F.SG hour F.SG boring.F.PL of Ferrari they themselves them remember all
= restrictive; 'all remember those lessons of Ferrari's which were boring (but not all were so)'
(c) I volea demò rampèr su per la crepa autes e
they wanted only climb up along the F.SG mountain.F.SG tall.F.PL and
etes de l'India.
Steep.F.PL of the India
= relative; 'they wanted to climb only those mountains of India which are tall and steep'

In contrast, *Lazy Agreement* on the adjective, as for example in (5), has nothing to do with the disambiguation of different semantic interpretations; it is a purely syntactic phenomenon which, according to Rasom (2008), depends on the position of the adjective:

- (5) Direct modification A-N: *Lazy Agreement* on the adjective (Rasom 2008:31ff):
(a) La invisibola stelles de Andromeda les é n muie dalenc.
the F.SG invisible.F.SG star.F.PL of Andromeda CL are very distant
= individual level; 'Andromeda's star are all invisible and very far'
(b) La stufousa ores de Ferrari l se les recorda duc.
the F.SG boring.F.SG hour.F.PL of Ferrari they themselves them remember all
= non-restrictive; 'all classes of Ferrari were boring and they remember all of them'
(c) I volea demò rampèr su per la auta e erta
they wanted only climb up along the F.SG tall.F.SG and steep.F.SG
crepes de l'India.
mountain.F.PL of the India
= absolute; 'the mountains in India are all tall and steep and they wanted to climb them all'

Based on these data and in line with Elwert (1943:113) and Haiman & Benincà (1992:219f),⁵ Rasom (2008:39) assumes for Fassano that elements which are not in the last

⁵ Cf. "There are a number of northern Italian dialects [...] in which *plurality* is marked only once within noun phrases whose heads are *feminine plural*. This situation seems to be characteristic of almost all Latin dialects, with the exception of Badio. (Friulian seems to have this feature also, but, as we shall argue, does not.) Nevertheless, it is not an exclusively Latin feature. (Rohlf 1949: II, 47 indicates Bagnone, Villafranca, Isolaccia, Livigno, Val Colla, Mesolcina, and Bergell outside the Latin area of Rhaeto-Romance with this same feature of 'lazy agreement'.)"

In Fassa, Elwert claimed that only the last word within the noun phrase marks number (Elwert 1943: 113), whether this word is the head noun [...] or the adjective [...]" (Haiman & Benincà 1992:219, their emphasis).

head of the DP do not receive number marking. Thus, as in (5) the adjectives are prenominal, they are not "DP-final" and therefore they are not marked for number. In contrast to this, the adjectives in (3) and (4) are "DP-final" and show number marking. This hypothesis is expressed by the second part of the LCH:

- (6) *Lazy Concord Hypothesis* (LCH) (Rasom 2008:39):
(a) "In Latin the morphology of lazy concord on the noun disambiguates the potentially ambiguous interpretation of postnominal adjectives present in the Romance languages;
(b) lazy concord on adjectives instead exclusively depends on their syntactic position."

Fassano shows three different agreement patterns for adnominal adjectives, i.e. there is one specific agreement pattern for each attested 'modification-word order type'. In the case of the postnominal adjectives, we can say that it is morphology which disambiguates the two possible readings, as syntax fails in doing it. According to Rasom (2006, 2008), if the N-A-complex shows the *-es/-es* pattern, the interpretation of the postnominal adjective must be *individual level, non-restrictive* or *absolute*, whereas if it inflects according to the pattern *-al/-es*, the postnominal adjective can only be *stage level, restrictive* or *relative*. In this case, semantics seemingly meets morphology in the sense that it is morphology (not syntax) which disambiguates the respective readings.

The two different word order and agreement patterns we find with direct modification readings cannot be explained along this line, because for them, according to Rasom (2006, 2008), the semantic interpretation is the same. That is, morphology does not disambiguate anything in this case. Thus, there must be a syntactic reason which yields to the different adjective inflection and to different word order. This interpretation of the Fassanian data is summarized in the following table:

Table (2): Rasom's interpretation of the Fassanian data

Semantics	Individual level, non-restrictive, absolute, etc.		Stage level, restrictive, relative, etc.	
	Direct modification		Indirect modification	
Syntax	A-N		N-A	
Morphology ⁶	Adjective: Noun: -a -es	Noun: Adjective: -es -es	Noun: Adjective: -a -es	Noun: Adjective: -es -es
Rasom's Hypothesis	<i>Lazy Agreement</i> on the adjective ↓ syntactic reason		NO <i>Lazy Agreement</i> ↓ semantic reason	
			<i>Lazy Agreement</i> on the noun ↓ semantic reason	

2.2 Occitan (Provençal Maritime) and Brazilian Portuguese: Surprising parallels

Incomplete agreement inside complex nominals with adnominal adjectives is a well-known fact in other languages as well, e.g. in German (cf. *rotes Röselin* 'red (small) rose' vs. **rot Röselin*, but *Röselin rot* vs. **Röselin rotes*). Yet, also some varieties of Occitan (cf. Durand 1932:28-29; Bayle 1967:32-33; Blanchet 1999:88-89) and of standard spoken Brazilian Portuguese (*Português Popular*, cf. Scherre 1998, 2001a, b) have incomplete or *Lazy Agreement*. In these varieties, the noun never inflects for number,⁷ number marking occurring

⁶ We will not enter into the discussion whether *-a* is a gender or a class marker. Neither will we discuss the possible inner structure of the marker *-es*.

⁷ Cf. the following quote from Blanchet for the Occitan variety *Provençal Maritime*: "[...] l'adjectif placé juste avant le nom qu'il qualifie s'accorde en nombre avec celui-ci et prend une marque du pluriel [...]; dans toutes les autres positions, l'adjectif est, comme le nom, invariable en nombre (mais il est toujours accordé en

regularly on the determiner. Adnominal adjectives, which are always marked for gender, are marked for plural only in prenominal, but not in postnominal position:

(7) *Provençal Maritime* pre- and postnominal adjectives (cf. Blanchet 1999:89):

- A-N
(a) *lou sounne pantal*
the.M.SG dark.M.SG dream.M.SG
'the dark dream'
(c) *lei sounnei pantal*
the.PL dark.PL dream.M.SG
'the dark dreams'
(e) *la bello fihno*
the.F.SG beautiful.F.SG girl.F.SG
'the beautiful girl'
(g) *lei bellei fihno*
the.PL beautiful.PL girl.F.SG
'the beautiful girls'
- N-A
(b) *lou pantal sounne*
the.M.SG dream.M.SG dark.M.SG
'the dark dream'
(d) *lei pantal sounne*
the.PL dream.M.SG dark.M.SG
'the dark dreams'
(f) *la bello fihno*
the.F.SG girl.F.SG beautiful.F.SG
'the beautiful girl'
(h) *lei fihno bello*
the.PL girl.F.SG beautiful.F.SG
'the beautiful girls'

(8) *Português Popular* pre- and postnominal adjectives (cf. Scherre 1988, 2001a, b):

- A-N
(a) *o novo aluno*
the.M.SG new.M.SG pupil.M.SG
'the new (male) pupil'
(c) *os novos alunos*
the.M.PL new.M.PL pupil.M.SG
'the new (male) pupil'
(e) *a nova aluna*
the.F.SG new.F.SG pupil.F.SG
'the new (female) pupil'
(g) *as novas alunas*
the.F.PL new.F.PL pupil.F.SG
'the new (female) pupil'
- N-A
(b) *o aluno novo*
the.M.SG pupil.M.SG new.M.SG
'the new (male) pupil'
(d) *os alunos novos*
the.M.PL pupil.M.SG new.M.SG
'the new (male) pupil'
(f) *a aluna nova*
the.F.SG pupil.F.SG new.F.SG
'the new (female) pupil'
(h) *as alunas novas*
the.F.PL pupil.F.SG new.F.SG
'the new (female) pupil'

For *Provençal Maritime* we can deduce that the only morphological marking we find in the singular is the "gender" marker -o for feminine adjectives. In the plural forms, the morphological ending of the adjective is -ei in prenominal position. This ending is to be associated exclusively with number, as we do not find any overt gender distinction (cf. (7c) with (7e)). In postnominal position, the plural forms show, however, the same patterns as the corresponding singular forms, i.e. no marking for masculine adjectives and -o-marking for the feminine ones. Thus, we find *Lazy Agreement* on the adjective in postnominal position and *Lazy* or *Zero Agreement* on the noun in both positions, as nouns are invariable in this variety. Nearly the same pattern is observable in *Português Popular*: Gender is always marked on the adjective and on the noun (at least in these cases), whereas plural is only marked on the prenominal adjective. That is, like in *Provençal Maritime*, we find *Lazy Agreement* on the adjective in postnominal position and *Lazy* or *Zero Agreement* on the noun in both positions. The difference between our Occitan variety and this variety of Brazilian Portuguese has to do with "gender" marking (cf. table (3)): in Brazilian Portuguese, there is a strict gender distinction, which is not found in the plural forms of the Occitan variety in question.

genre [...])" (Blanchet 1999:89); the adjective, when placed just before the noun it modifies, agrees in number with the noun and takes a plural marker [...j] in all other positions, the adjective, like the noun, is invariable with respect to number (but it always agrees in gender [...j]).

Table (3): Agreement patterns *Provençal Maritime* and *Português Popular*

	<i>Provençal Maritime</i>		<i>Português Popular</i>	
	prenominal	postnominal	prenominal	postnominal
m.sg.	Adjective: Ø Noun: Ø	Adjective: Ø Noun: Ø	Adjective: -o-Ø Noun: -o-Ø	Adjective: -o-Ø Noun: -o-Ø
fem.sg.	Adjective: -o _{GEN} Noun: Ø	Adjective: -o _{GEN} Noun: Ø	Adjective: -a-Ø Noun: -a-Ø	Adjective: -a-Ø Noun: -a-Ø
m.pl.	Adjective: -ei _{IND} Noun: Ø	Adjective: Ø Noun: Ø	Adjective: -o-s Noun: -o-Ø	Adjective: -o-Ø Noun: -o-Ø
fem.pl.	Adjective: Ø Noun: Ø	Adjective: -o _{GEN} Noun: Ø	Adjective: -a-s Noun: -a-Ø	Adjective: -a-Ø Noun: -a-Ø

Even if the Occitan and Brazilian data differ to a considerable extent from the data presented in section 2.1, they are similar to Fassano in showing also different agreement patterns with pre- and postnominal adjectives. But, departing from the semantic description proposed by Rasm (2008) for postnominal adjectives, in contrast to Fassano, in *Provençal Maritime* and in *Português Popular*, morphology does not disambiguate anything: both varieties show the same agreement pattern for postnominal adjectives, independently of the corresponding reading. We find different agreement patterns, but only in correlation with different adjective positions.⁸ Thus, the first part of Rasm's Hypothesis in (6) is not applicable to our *Provençal Maritime* and *Português Popular* data, in that there is no morphological means of disambiguation between direct and indirect modification readings for postnominal adjectives, while the second part, *Lazy Agreement* of adnominal adjectives being due to syntactic reasons, could hold for our data as well, with maybe different syntactic triggers.

2.3 French

Overt nominal morphology in French is extremely reduced when compared with other Romance languages, at least in the phonic code. Plural marking is not overt in adjectives and nouns, with the exception of a small group exhibiting the alternation [-a]sing – [-o]plur, e.g. *cheval* 'horse' ~ *chevaux* 'horses'. In the overwhelming majority of French DPs, only the determiner carries overt number marking, and (as in the varieties of Occitan and Brazilian Portuguese, but in contrast to Fassano) the last element of the DP is never marked for number. This becomes evident when one takes into account the "liason facts".⁹ This phenomenon is described as being obligatory for A-N, but only optional and even extremely rare in spoken French for N-A (cf. (9)). Furthermore, there is never *liason* between the last element of a noun phrase, e.g. a postnominal adjective, and the following constituent (VP or else), cf. (10).

(9) *Liason* in contemporary spoken French: AN and NA (cf. Abeille & Godard 1999:11):

- les savants_A anglais_N les savants_N anglais_A
'Englishmen who are wise' 'wise men from England'
(a) [lesavãzãglɛ] ?[lesavãzãglɛ]
(b) *[lesavãlãglɛ] [lesavãlãglɛ]¹⁰

⁸ The common point of the varieties presented so far is that the morphological marking with the prenominal adjective seems (only) to be syntactically triggered, yet, with exactly the inverted number marking patterns: Plural marker of prenominal adjectives:

- (i) Fassano: *A-(e)s N-Ø vs. A-Ø N-(e)s
(ii) *Provençal Maritime*: A-èi N-Ø vs. *A-Ø N-èi
(iii) *Português Popular*: A-s N-Ø vs. *A-Ø N-s

⁹ *Liason* means the overt realisation of a word-final consonant which is not pronounced before a following word-initial consonant, but is realized in front of a following word-initial vowel.

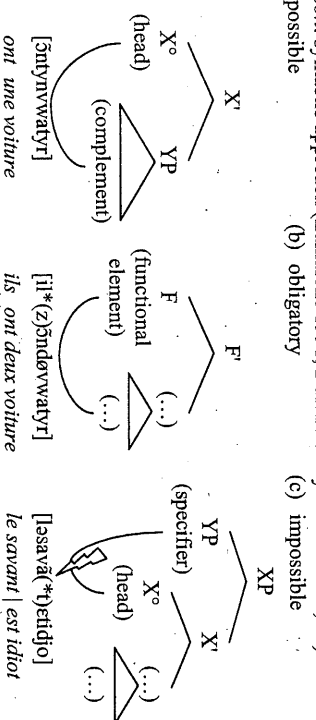
¹⁰ This example is cited and discussed in Klein (1982:162), but it probably goes back to Sten (1956:66).

(10) *Impossible Liaison* between postnominal adjectives and subsequent constituents:

- (a) *les amis* | *anglais* | *énormes*
[lez ami | ɔ̃glɛ | enɔm]
the.M.PL friend.M.SG English.M.SG fat.SG
'the fat English friends'
(b) *les amis* | *anglais* | *ont demandé*
[lez ami | ɔ̃glɛ | ɔ̃ damɑ̃de]
the.M.PL friend.M.SG English.M.SG have.3PL asked.PTCP
'the English friends asked'
(c) *les eaux* | *amères* | *anglaises*
[lez o | aɛme | ɔ̃glɛz]
the.F.PL water.F.SG bitter.F.SG English.F.SG
'the bitter English waters'

In order to describe the underlying syntactic regularities of *liaison* in French, Lamarche (1991) proposes the following generalizations: *Liaison* is possible between a lexical head and its complement, it is possible and even obligatory between a functional element and the lexical material following it, but it is impossible between a specifier and its head, cf. (11).

- (11) *Liaison*: syntactic approach (Lamarche 1991, Durand & Lyche 2008:42f. 46)



This assumption will become important for our proposal on the internal structure of modified noun phrases in Romance (cf. section 3). As stated before, in an A-N-construction, *liaison* is obligatory or at least possible. Therefore we cannot assume a structure like (11c), where the adjective is in [Spec,XP], because it would erroneously predict that the in fact almost obligatory *liaison* between the prenominal adjective and the noun was impossible. In other words, we argue against the assumption that adjectives are in a specifier position, like Cinque (1994), Gallmann (1996), Alexiadou (2001), Rason (2006, 2008), and many others do.

To sum up, postnominal adjectives in French lack full agreement with the head noun, being not overtly marked for number and, thus, showing no *liaison* with a following constituent (cf. (10)); the same holds for the noun in A-N structures in general (cf. (9) and (10)). Prenominal adjectives, however (cf. (9a)), are fully inflected for gender and number. This can be described as *Lazy Agreement* with postnominal adjectives in French NPs, due to the morphological deficiency of French nouns, never being overtly marked for number (cf. as well Delfitto/Schroten 1991, Lamarche 1991, Bouchard 2002, against Knittel 2005:219, who erroneously assumes that 'any adjective, regardless of its position, must agree with N').¹¹

¹¹ Please note that seemingly overt plural marking, as e.g. *cheval* 'horse' ~ *chevaux* 'horses', is neither productive nor regularly true for all nouns ending in *-al*, cf. *le festival* 'the festival' ~ *les festivals* 'the festivals'.

The morphological pattern we can observe here when it comes to adjectival and nominal number marking is the exact reverse of the Ladinian facts described in section 2.1, but patterns perfectly with the above described varieties of Occitan and Brazilian. First, only the determiner is always marked for number, while it is never marked in Ladinian (except with numerals above '2'). Second, prenominal adjectives are overtly marked for number and gender by *liaison*, while they are only marked for gender in Ladinian. Third, postnominal adjectives are not marked for number in French,¹² but are always marked for it in Ladinian.

2.4 Summary of the data

From a morphological point of view, which in previous analyses has not been taken very much systematically into account, we find cross-linguistically different agreement patterns inside nominals with one adnominal adjective, cf. table (4).

Table (4): Overview of the data

Semantics	Individual level, non-restrictive, absolute, etc.		Stage level, restrictive, relative, etc.	
	Direct modification		Indirect modification	
Syntax	A-N		N-A	
Morphology (Fassano)	i.pl. -a -es Adjective: Noun: <i>Lazy Agreement</i> on the adjective ↓ syntactic reason		e.s. -es Noun: Adjective: -es NO <i>Lazy Agreement</i> ↓ semantic reason	
Rason's Hypothesis	syntactic reason		semantic reason	
Morphology (Provencal Maritime)	m.pl. -e f.pl. -e -e/-m/-e/-e		-e/-e/-e/-e -e/-e/-e/-e	
Morphology (Brazilian Portuguese)	m.pl. -s f.pl. -s -o-s/-o-s -a-s/-a-s		-o-s/-o-s -a-s/-a-s	
Morphology (French)	m.sg. -s f.sg. -e m.pl. -s f.pl. -e [z]/Ø cons.+[z]/Ø		-Ø/-Ø -Ø/-Ø -Ø/-Ø -Ø/-Ø	
Hypothesis (Provencal Maritime, Brazilian Portuguese and French)	Prenominal adjectives have always a plural marker ↓ depends on the syntactic position		No plural marking of adjectives in postnominal position ↓ depends on the syntactic position	
Morphology (Spanish)	m.sg. -s f.sg. -a m.pl. -s f.pl. -a		-o/-o -a/-a -o-s/-o-s -a-s/-a-s	

¹² *Liaison* after a nominal constituent is impossible in any syntactic context: it is excluded between a lexical subject NP and the following verb: *les amis anglais* entrent dans la salle* 'the English friends enter the room', also between an object complement and other following complements or adjuncts: *J'ai vu les amis anglais* à Paris* 'I have seen the English friends in Paris'.

The widespread Spanish pattern, with full gender and number agreement on the determiner, the adnominal adjective and the noun (cf. the bottom of table 4), which we have not mentioned explicitly in the presentation of the data, does not show any different morphological marking for the three possible cases. The "opposite" case to Spanish is Fassano (cf. the top of table 4), where the three possible constructions show three different morphological agreement patterns. Following Rasmussen (2008), postnominal adjectives in direct or indirect modification are disambiguated morphologically, and prenominal adjectives show a different agreement pattern due to syntactic reasons. Spoken French and some varieties of Occitan and Brazilian Portuguese are somewhere in between Spanish and Fassano: Prenominal adjectives, which can only serve for direct modification, have full gender and number agreement with the determiner, while the noun is defective (no number agreement), which thus results in a special agreement pattern for plural noun phrases, whereas in all other cases we find another pattern, i.e., overt number marking only on the determiner. As there are no different morphological patterns for the two possible readings for postnominal adjectives in these varieties (direct and indirect modification following Cinque 2003, 2005), it seems as if the attested agreement patterns were not due to semantics, i.e. as if morphology did not disambiguate anything.

3. Our analysis

3.1 What we want to argue for and against

Many studies assume a prenominal base generation of the adnominal adjective and derive its postnominal position via N-movement (or even NP-movement)¹³ to a higher position (e.g. the specifier of a functional projection above N, cf. Cinque 1994, Gellmann 1996, Bernstein 2001, Shlonsky 2004, Radford 2004, chap. 9:367-372, Laenzlinger 2005, Rasmussen 2008, etc.). These analyses have all one severe shortcoming: there is no clear trigger for this assumed N- or NP-movement; it remains totally unclear why in some structures the N should move and in others it would not. Especially if the raising analysis is motivated by morphological reasons (cf. Bernstein 1991, 1993 who assumes a strong number feature for French Ns which thus have to move to a higher functional projection NumP), the cases of A-N remain unexplained, given that all French nouns are assumed to have a strong number feature to check (cf. Kniehl 2005:197, Boucher 2006:44). Cinque's proposal seems to have a strong descriptive, yet rather idiosyncratic power, as he proposes that N-raising is motivated by certain semantic features on the respective N (e.g. [size]), which attracts N in some cases and in some languages and in others not (cf. in French vs. Germanic; for a detailed discussion see also Boucher 2006:471).

The complex morphological facts presented above constitute another severe problem for existing proposals concerning adnominal adjectives. Agreement can be conceived of as a 'probing' process between a functional head and a c-commanded lexical constituent in recent versions of minimalism. Now, let us assume for the moment that a functional head F_1 contains the adnominal adjective and is located above N. This functional head has a so-called probe, i.e. a complex of unvalued gender and number features. N has valued gender and number features and can be found by the probe in F via strict c-command. The features in the F_1 -probe get valued and N becomes mobile, leading to optional N-movement, so that we can obtain both attested orders, A+N (e.g. Sp. *grandes casas*) or N+A (e.g. Sp. *casas grandes*) after AGREE. Yet, this analysis has at least one problem: it is not able to explain the morphological differences in our French, Occitan or substandard Brazilian Portuguese varieties, where postnominal adjectives show only partial or even complete lack of agreement

with the noun. If all adjectives were generated prenominally and if there were a probe in F_1 looking for the features of N, it would always find it, always get valued, so that we could not account for the lack of agreement only in postnominal adjectives.

In order to look for a possible syntactic implementation or an explanation of the semantic correlates of the discussed adjective ordering phenomena in Romance, especially in French, Bouchard (1998, 2002) proposes the following principle: At least for Romance, it looks like if prenominal adjectives form a kind of 'incorporation' structure or a complex head AN, whereas prototypical postnominal adjectives are complete APs, base-generated in postnominal position. Whatever problematic this proposal may be in some detail (cf. Kniehl 2005:203), it correctly excludes a parallel or even identical syntactic analysis for the two possible orders A-N and N-A (cf. Lamarche 1991:224ff), because for these as well as for other cases of adnominal adjectives (cf. Kniehl 2005:206-213), it can be observed that "meaning change and syntactic change are two sides of the same phenomenon" (Kniehl 2005: 213). Thus, one central question in the discussion of adnominal adjectives in Romance languages is if there are one or two or even more basic positions for pre- and postnominal adnominal adjectives. If we take into account the considerable semantic differences between pre- and postnominal adjectives together with the fact that prenominal adjectives cannot be complete phrases, i.e. heads with their complements, in Romance, the assumption of at least two basically different adjective positions seems more than plausible and has often been, in fact, proposed in the literature ('prenominal adjectival heads vs. postnominal full projections of AP', cf. for further details Lamarche 1991, Bouchard 1998, 2002, Demonte 2005, Boucher 2006).

In what follows, we will therefore show that A-N with 'direct modification' and N-A with 'indirect modification' reading of A are actually two different constructions with two different underlying constituent orders. Only N-A with a 'direct modification' reading has to be derived from the same underlying order as A-N, including some (optional) movement operations.¹⁴ We will furthermore motivate the different orders by semantic factors leading to different 'dependency relations' between N and its modifying A as to their interpretation, explaining the observable differences between 'non-restrictivity' and 'restrictivity' of A.

3.2 Direct modification: Prenominal and postnominal adjectives ('all Ns are A')

For the adjective projection and the nominal one, we propose in general a shell analysis,¹⁵ i.e. we divide them into a lexical NP and AP and a functional nP and aP or ModifierPhrase (ModiP). The ordering of the respective heads differs with respect to whether a structure with a direct or an indirect modification is derived. For direct modification, we depart from the structure in (12a).

¹⁴ Both Demonte (2005) and Katz (2008) argue convincingly against the existence of the 'ambiguity' for postnominal As, reducing the 'direct modification' reading of some postnominal As to pragmatic factors which can easily be cancelled. Speakers of Italian and Spanish prefer by large prenominal position for adjectives without a restrictive reading (cf. Katz 2008:21f). This would be then an argument against the existence of N-A-order with a 'direct modification' reading for A and against the rather unmotivated optionality of movement in our analysis, cf. section 2.3, and in favour of the 'corresponding hypothesis' of word-order and adjective interpretation (cf. Bouchard 1998, 2002, Demonte 2005, Katz 2008). We cannot go deeper into this problematic point in the interest of space, but consider it a subject worth an intense discussion.

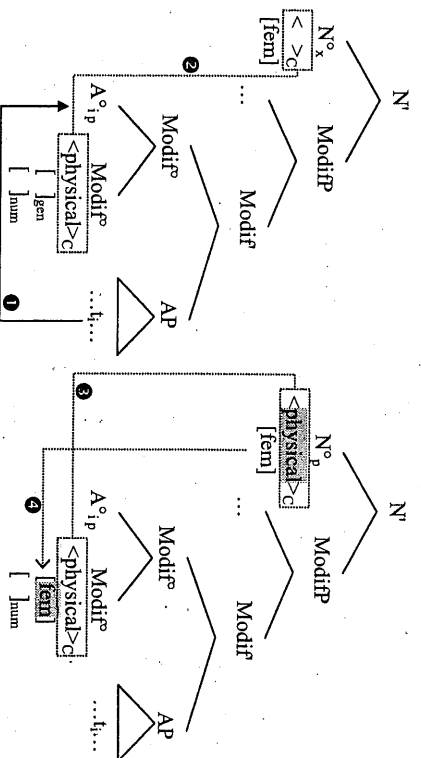
¹⁵ We follow in this first Larson (1988) for VP-shells, where "little v⁰", which takes the lexical VP as its complement, can be considered the place where a simple predicate turns into a situation or an event, including a time variable. Lexical verbs can only become the predicate of a sentence if they get incorporated into "little v⁰" (cf. the idea of calling it "predication phrase" following Bowers 1993 in Reinhart 2006:62-75). Second, we follow Radford (2004:368) in assuming also nP-shells. We will not go here into the details of their role assignment inside nominals, but we will assume the existence of "little n⁰" with a parallel semantic function to "little v⁰": "little n⁰" determines the 'ontological class' of the intended exponent of a simple lexical property denoted by N (mass or count, animate or inanimate etc.).

¹³ For a discussion of arguments and prosodic evidence for N- vs. NP-raising inside complex nominals cf. Dehé & Samek-Lodovici (2008).

(12) Direct modification (incomplete)

(a) Before AGREE

(b) After AGREE



We assume that A°, which has only lexical features, is selected by ModifP (= a°) and incorporates there via head-to-head-movement in order to function as a modifier (cf. step ①). ModifP has grammatical as well as semantic features. The grammatical ones are the unvalued gender and number features for agreement with the noun it modifies, which must be valued during the syntactic derivation. The semantic feature which can be paraphrased by 'denote a predicate with regard to X' can be understood as a context operator binding the open variable in A° for the (contextually) correct interpretation of the property denoted by the adjective. A property like CUTE, for example, can be interpreted as 'likeable' or 'good looking'.

What is important as to the variable of pronominal adjectives is that its value is never an independent part "of the descriptive content of the sentence", and it is never independent of the variable in N° (cf. Katz 2008:4, Morzycki 2008:15).¹⁶ As nouns with adjectives in direct modification behave like contextually given plural NPs with a contextually fixed variable,¹⁷ we assume that their variable is valued by a kind of semantic agree between N° and ModifP: N° is purely lexical (e.g. 'daughters') and (just like A°) it 'denotes a predicate with regard to X'. Thus, we assume that it has a "semantic probe" looking for a context operator in order to get its variable fixed (e.g. 'daughters with respect to physical aspect'). One of our main assumptions is that due to this reason, N° c-selects ModifP in cases of direct modification (cf. (12a)). Both, N° and A° via ModifP have to share the same 'respect' according to which A and N have to be interpreted. Therefore the "semantic probe" in N° searches and finds the context operator in ModifP (cf. step ② in (12a)), whose value is copied onto the probe, binding the variable in N° (cf. step ③ in (12b)). For successful agree, the open gender feature in ModifP gets instantiated by the probe carrying category (cf. step ④ in (12b)).

After agreement, the goal is free for movement, but this movement is optional (cf. also *llegaron dos hombres* vs. *dos hombres llegaron*, Mensching & Renberger 2006). In the case of pronominal adjectives, the complex head ModifP incorporates into N°. For pronominal adjectives with a direct modification reading, we assume that ModifP stays in situ.

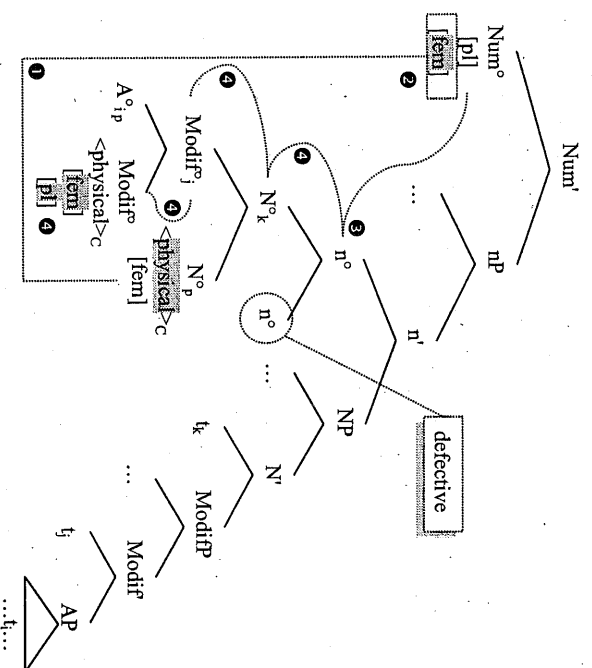
¹⁶ Cf.: "In particular, they presuppose that all of the individuals that instantiate the property denoted by the noun-phrase uniformly also instantiate the property denoted by the adjective" (Katz 2008:22f).

¹⁷ "I suggest an understanding of this in which a nonrestrictive modifier is predicated of something like a contextually-restricted definite description" (Morzycki 2008:22).

3.2.1 Pronominal adjectives

As already mentioned, after AGREE between N° and ModifP, ModifP is "mobile" and incorporates in N° in the case of pronominal adjectives. After this step, "little n°" enters the syntactic derivation and selects NP as its complement. Its principled function is the determination of the 'ontological class' of the intended referent of a simple lexical property denoted by N (e.g. mass or count, animate or inanimate etc.). nP is the place where essential semantic operations like *classification* take place, and it has accordingly received a number of different names in the literature (e.g. "classifier phrase" in Picallo 2002, 2005, associated with gender agreement in Romance languages, cf. also Pomino/Stark 2007, or "plural phrase" in Heycock & Zamparelli 2003 related to countability, cf. Link 1983 and Stark 2008). Every lexical N° has to incorporate there in order to get its right 'classification'.

In the varieties of Occitan and Brazilian Portuguese as well as in French, n° lacks an unvalued number features, it is "defective" (cf. (13)). This is due to the fact that in these languages or varieties, the nouns are never marked for plural number. In Fassano, where the noun is sometimes marked for plural, and in Spanish, where it is always marked for plural, little n° has an unvalued number feature (cf. (15)). The "defective little n°" in the Occitan, Brazilian Portuguese and French varieties in question here compared to the non-defective little n° in Fassano and Spanish yields to a different morphological realisation of the plural marker. This becomes clear if we consider the next step in the derivation, where "little nP" is selected by Num°, a functional head responsible for number agreement outside the nominal, thus always carrying a number feature, and hosting cardinals, weak quantifiers, indefinite articles etc. (cf. Heycock & Zamparelli 2003:11ff).

(13) *Provençal Maritime, Português Popular and French*

In (13), the gender probe on Num°, i.e. the unvalued gender feature on a functional head, searches a valued gender feature and finds N° first as a possible goal (cf. step ①), i.e. a c-

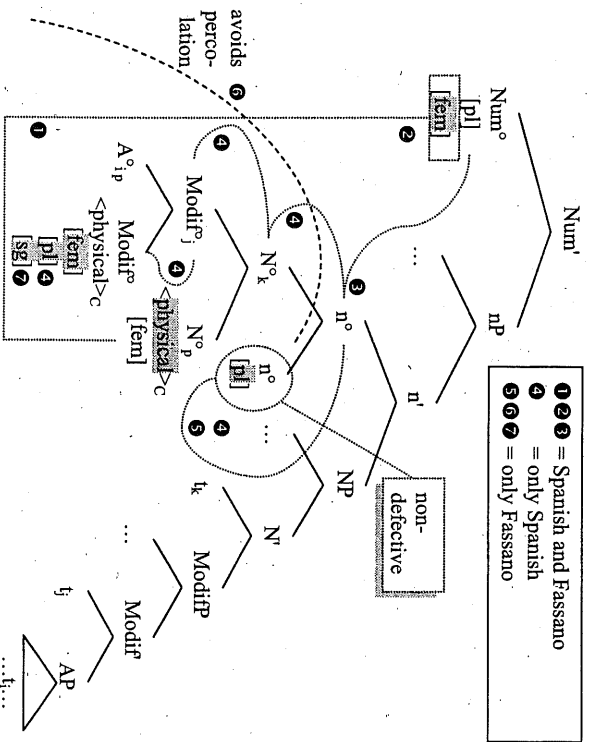
commanded constituent with a matching set of features. The probe, once it has its unvalued feature instantiated by its goal (cf. step ②), "gives away" its number feature.¹⁸ The complex head n^o will thus receive the value [plural] (cf. step ③) which is instantiated in Modif^p , as it is the only head in this domain with an open number slot (cf. step ②).¹⁹ For the Occitan, Brazilian Portuguese and French varieties, the relevant derivation is finished at this point and we get the expected results (cf. (14)), i.e. the number (and gender) features on Modif^p will be realized by a suffix which is bound by the sister head A^o . Thus, the pronominal adjective shows full inflection, whereas with the modified noun, we find *Lazy* or *Zero Agreement* in this configuration, because "little" n^o has no number feature.

(14) *Provençal Maritime, Português Popular and French*

- (a) *lei bell_A-ei_{Modif} fibon_N-on_N*
 (b) *as nov_A-as_{Modif} alun_A-on_N*
 (c) *[le bel_A-a_{Modif} ani_N-on_N] (vs. *[lebelzamis], sg. [labelami])*

For Spanish and Fassano, the probing mechanism of Num^o is exactly the same (cf. step ① and ②): N^o , which is part of the complex head "little n^o ", is found as first potential goal, and complex n^o receives the value [plural] (cf. step ③).

(15) Spanish and Fassano



Yet, in contrast to (13), there are two heads in (15) with open number slots, non-defective n^o and Modif^p . For Spanish, we assume that the number feature of complex n^o "percolates" to both number slots (cf. step ④). Yet, in Fassano, only n^o receives the value [pl] (cf. step ⑤).

¹⁸ For the general process of AGREE in recent versions of minimalism cf. Chomsky (1998f).

¹⁹ We assume that in fact the complex head n^o receives [plural] and that this feature percolates to all possible slots inside this complex head, i.e. n^o and Modif^p or only Modif^p if n^o is defective.

because the "feature percolation" onto Modif^p is avoided (cf. step ⑤) due to the language specific morphological constraint in (16). Therefore, the number feature on Modif^p is instantiated by the default value singular (cf. step ⑦).²⁰

(16) Morphological constraint on adjectives in Fassano:

Adjectives demand a plural exponent only in phrasefinal position (NP or AP complements can follow), if in the scope of a plural feature (cf. Haiman & Benincà 1992:219ff. and fn. 5).

Thus, in Fassano and Spanish (cf. (17)), the noun is fully inflected, i.e. the feature of n^o is realized by a suffix, which will be bound by the sister head N^o . But, only in Spanish, also the plural feature in Modif^p is realized morphologically.

(17) (a) Spanish

las pequen_A-as_{Modif} cas_N-as_N
 the-F.PL small-F.PL house-F.PL
 'the small houses'

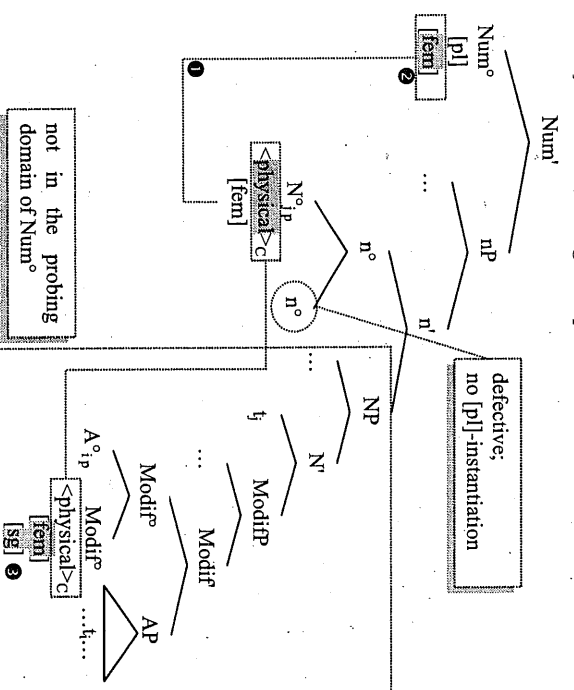
(b) Fassano

la pìcol_A-a_{Modif} cès_N-es_N
 the-F.SG small-F.SG house-F.PL
 'the small houses'

3.2.2 Postnominal adjectives

The main difference between pronominal adjectives and postnominal adjectives in direct modification is the fact that Modif^p does not incorporate into N^o . Yet, the lack of incorporation (together with the (non-)defectivity of n^o) has an effect on agreement, because in this case, Modif^p is out of the reach of the probe in Num^o . For the Occitan, Brazilian Portuguese and French varieties we assume the derivation in (18).

(18) *Provençal Maritime, Português Popular and French*

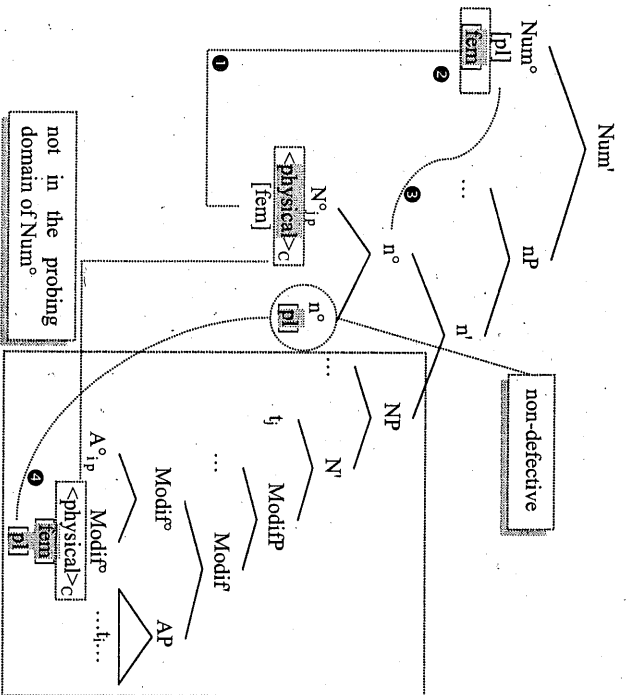


²⁰ It is also possible that percolation does take place. Yet, assuming a postsyntactic morphological module, the condition in (16) would delete the feature.

As before, the gender probe on Num^o finds as a first possible goal N^o, and the value [fem] is copied onto the probe (cf. steps ① and ②). Yet, this AGREE-relation does not lead to the instantiation of a number feature, because in the probing domain n^o, no such a feature is present. Modif^o has an unvalued number feature, but, assuming a strictly local probing domain (cf. López Carretero 2007:50ff. for the assumptions on strict local agreement), it is outside of Num^o's reach. In this case, the default value is instantiated (cf. step ③). As a result, neither the postnominal adjective nor the noun are morphologically marked for number.

Let us now turn to Fassano and Spanish, where postnominal adjectives in direct modification show full inflection. The main difference to the above derivation is the presence of the unvalued number feature in n^0 , cf. (19).

(19) Spanish and Fassano



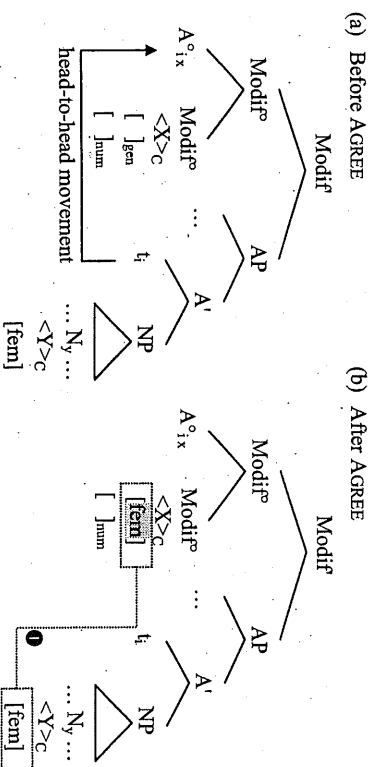
The goal of the gender probe on Num^o is again N^o, which is part of “little n^o” (cf. steps ① and ②). As in this case “little n^o” has an unvalued number feature, it will be filled with the value [plural] (cf. step ③). This leads to full inflection on the noun. At this stage of the derivation, Modif^o has still an unvalued number feature. In contrast to Occitan, Brazilian Portuguese and French, this feature can not be filled by the default value, because this would lead to a “misregrement” between the complex n^o (which has the value [plural]) and the complex Modif^o (which would have the value [singular]). Notice that both complex heads are bound by an agree relation. Due to this, the number feature of n^o percolates downwards to Modif^o, where plural is instantiated (cf. step ④). Percolation is here also possible in Farsano, because Modif^o is in final position and thus does not contradict the morphological requirement in (16). Yet, this process is not possible in the case of Occitan, Brazilian Portuguese and French, because n^o lacks number information.

3.3 Indirect modification: Postnominal adjectives ('those Ns that are A')

The main difference between adjectives in direct modification and adjectives in indirect modification is that in the latter case, *ModifiR* is not selected by *N°*, but *NP* by *ModifiR*. The reason hereof is that *NP* denotes a property that has to be compatible with the one denoted by *A°/ModifiR*, but *A°/ModifiR* and *N°* have to remain independent from each other as to their 'context operators'. As the descriptive content of postnominal adjectives is part of the descriptive content of the entire sentence, so that the two properties can be interpreted conjunctively, one of the current assumptions for restrictive nominal modifiers (cf. Katz 2008:10), both predicates, *N°* and *A°*, have to remain separate, with variables bound by two different context operators. This leads not only to a different syntactic structure (cf. (20)), but also to a different semantic interpretation: In a situation where we want to talk about the daughters of Maria, interpreting the property 'daughtersh' under the respect 'parental relationship', in an NP like *las hijas hermosas de Maria* 'the cute daughters of Mary', *CUTE* could still be interpreted with regard to the physical aspect of the respective referent, creating thereby a subsection of the referents denoted by the expression *the daughters of Maria*. *CUTE* and *DAUGHTER* are thus two properties which are interpreted in a contextually independent way, from which results a restrictive reading of the (postnominal) adjective.

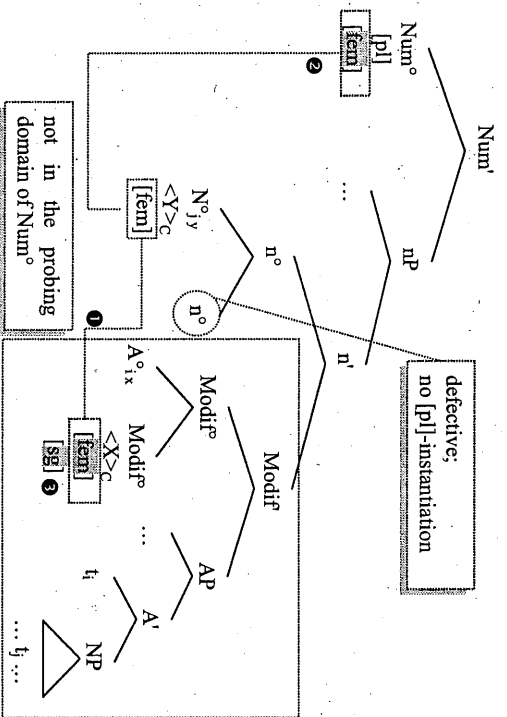
As in the case of indirect modification *Modif*^r is a selecting head – in direct modification *Modif*^r is a head which is selected – its unvalued gender feature functions as a probe. This probe finds *N*^o as a goal, and the respective value is copied onto the probe (cf. (20b)).

(20) Indirect modification (incomplete)



ModIP is then selected by n^o , and nP by Num^o . As we find several differences cross-linguistically in these steps of the derivation, we treat the languages at issue separately. We start with the Occitan, Brazilian Portuguese and French varieties, where the postnominal adjective does never inflect for number.

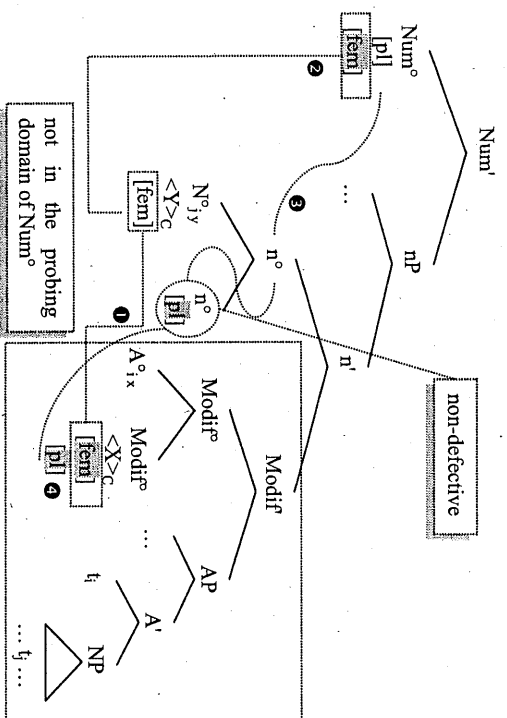
(21) *Provençal Maritime, Português Popular and French*



Again, the gender probe on Num° finds N° as a possible goal, and the value [fem] is copied onto the probe (cf. step ②). The probe would like to distribute its number value, but as there is no open slot for it in its local domain, nothing happens. The unvalued number feature on Modif° does not get valued by the Num° probe, as it is structurally too distant for the probe to be found, and, like before, it will therefore instantiate the default value, i.e. singular (cf. step ③). Thus, as expected, plural number is only marked on indefinite articles, weak quantifiers etc., i.e. all possible elements being merged in Num°, and, via agree, also on definite determiners, which are merged somewhere higher in the structure.²¹

In the corresponding derivation for Spanish (cf. (22)), the gender probe of Num° finds N° as a goal, too (cf. step ②). Yet, as in this case n° is non-defective, [plural] gets instantiated (cf. step ③). Then the plural feature of n° will again “percolate” down to the open number feature of Modif° (cf. step ④), because this feature can not be filled by the default value, as this would lead to a “misagreement” between the complex n° (which has the value [plural]) and the complex Modif° (which would have the value [singular]). Notice that both complex heads are bound again by an agree relation and, thus, percolation is possible. As expected, the noun as well as the adjective are marked for number and “gender”.

(22) Spanish



Let us now turn to Fassano where the nouns are not generally defective. But, in case of postnominal adjectives with an indirect modification reading, i.e. a restrictive reading which only conjunctively together with the reading of N° creates the property denotation of the complex nominal, they appear without overt number marking. They also appear without overt number marking in nominals with a collective reading and with a partitive reading:

(23) Fassano: Other contexts of “defective” n° (Rasom 2006:28ff., 2008:51ff.):

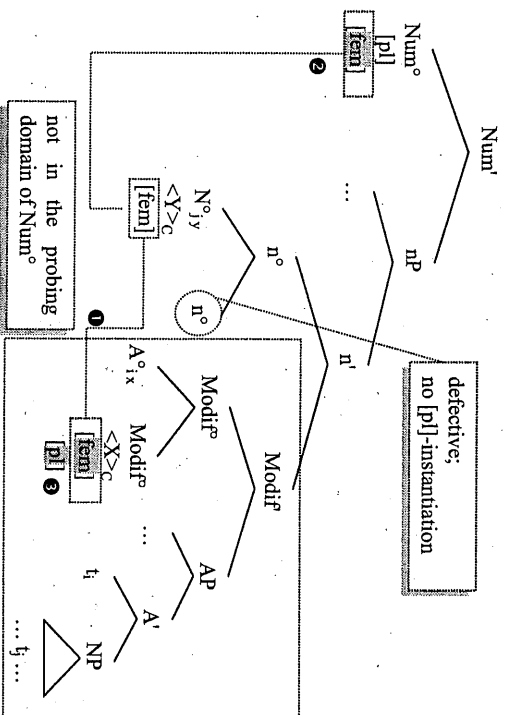
- (a) duta la bezes bels claparà na resa.
all the.F.SG girls.F.PL nice.F.PL catch a rose
non-defective n° = distributive reading: ‘every nice girl will receive a rose’
- (b) duta la beza bels se fesc stèr do.
all the.F.SG girls.F.SG nice.F.PL REFL make court
defective n° = collective reading: ‘all the nice girls love to be courted’
- (c) I a vedu (*de) bezes bels²²
CL have seen DE girls.F.PL nice.F.PL
non-defective n° = non-partitive reading: ‘they saw nice girls’
- (d) I a vedu (*de) beza bels
CL have seen DE girls.F.SG nice.F.PL
defective n° = partitive reading: ‘they saw some nice girls’

In (23b), where the noun has no number marking, we get a collective reading. And in (23d), the partitive *de* is redundant or impossible, because partitive reading is already obtained by *Lazy Agreement* on the noun. Thus, it seems as if the “little” Fassano n° with incorporated N°s in these cases is defective in that it does not classify Ns as countable units. This phenomenon is parallel to singular NPs e.g. in Brazilian Portuguese (cf. Munn & Schmitt 2005) with a collective reading. We thus assume that n° in all these cases lacks an unvalued number feature which leads to the following derivation:

²¹ Note that feature percolation, in contrast to the probing mechanism, is not directionally restricted. That is, features can percolate up- and downwards (cf. Rasom 2008:82).

²² In (23c) partitive *de* is impossible for other reasons which we can not expose here (cf. Rasom 2008 chap. III, section 2.2 for a detailed discussion).

(24) Fassano



The probe on *NUM*^o cannot instantiate [plural] in its probing domain, because *n*^o does not have such a slot, like in the Occitan, Brazilian Portuguese and French varieties (cf. (21)). Yet, the number feature of *Modif*^o has to be valued somehow. In contrast to the mentioned varieties, we cannot decide about a potential default number instantiation in *Modif*^o, because the morphological rule in (16) always demands a plural exponent in phrasefinal adjectives if they are in the scope of a plural feature. That is, in the case of Fassano, [plural] is instantiated in *Modif*^o (cf. step 3).²³ As a result, the noun appears without and the adjective with number marking.

4. Conclusion

We have presented in this paper a syntactic analysis based on the 'probe-and-phase model' (Chomsky 1998ff.) of adnominal adjectives in different Romance languages and varieties, which not only show different word-order types corresponding partially or completely to different semantic interpretation types of the respective adjectives (roughly prenominal = direct modification, postnominal = indirect modification), but also different agreement patterns. The most complex agreement pattern is found in Fassano in feminine nominals: in prenominal position, the adjective lacks number marking, whereas the noun is fully inflected. In postnominal position, the adjective is always fully inflected, but only in case of direct modification the noun is fully inflected too. Otherwise (i.e. in indirect modification), the noun lacks number marking. In the Occitan variety *Provençal Maritime*, in substandard spoken Brazilian Portuguese as well as in spoken French, the adjective inflects for number only in prenominal position, while the noun is invariable. The last and also the most redundant pattern we have considered is the well-known Spanish one, where the adjective and the noun show full inflection in all cases, at least in Standard Spanish.

Our analysis assumes two different underlying head-orderings for the two main interpretation types: N° selecting a functional projection over A°, "little a°" or Modif°, in the

²³ It is also possible that, in syntax, [singular] gets instantiated in *Modif*⁹. Yet, assuming postsyntactic morphological processes, the morphological rule in (16) would overwrite this feature with the value [plural].

case of a shared contextually bound variable of N° and A°, leading to non-restrictivity of A°, or Modif° selecting NP, which has its own context operator binding its variable, or independently from Modif° and A°, which leads to a possible conjunctive interpretation of NA, yielding a restrictive interpretation. Two agreement operations between Modif° and N° (with semantically motivated subsequent N-movement + incorporation) and Num° and the complex expression located in "little n°" (where N° always has to incorporate) and interlinguistic variation in the feature structure of N° and n° respectively (both being defective in certain varieties of Occitan, Brazilian Portuguese and French vs. non-defectivity in Spanish and Fasnno) explained the different agreement patterns observable in Romance. Different word orders (A-N vs. N-A) are the result of semantically motivated different basic head-overrings, and only one – though disputable – type, N-A with a "direct modification" reading of A, is the result of a non-realized optional movement of N. Please note that in sharp contrast to existing analyses, our analysis starts from base-generated N-A in order to derive A-N, with semantically motivated A°- or Modif°-movement, and vice versa from A-N, in order to derive N-A, assuming semantically motivated N-movement. The different morphological patterns result in all these cases from different syntactic structures and operations, which are, in turn, partially semantically motivated.

Table (5) gives a final overview over the differences between and the common features of the analyzed languages. As one can see, the main difference lies in the defectivity of 'little n'. If this functional category is non-defective, e.g. in Spanish, [pl] gets instantiated and percolates to all the heads with open number slots n° dominates (via complex head or c-command). In Fasso, due to the morphological requirement that adjectives cannot be marked with -es if not in final position, this percolation is avoided in case of prenominal adjectives. As soon as the functional category n° is defective, [pl] is normally not instantiated, and Modif° receives the default value. Again, Fasso is an exception, because in the special case of postnominal adjectives in indirect modification, the adjective is in final position and inside the scope of Num° with a plural feature. Thus, it is forced to carry the plural marker.

Table (5): Differences between the analyzed languages

	Occ., BP, Ft. varieties	Fassano	Spanish
Direct: A-N	n° defective ↓ [pl]-instantiation in Modif ^o	non-defective n° ↓ [pl]-"percolation" from n° to Modif ^o ↓	
Direct: N-A	n° defective ↓ No [pl]-instantiation; (final) Modif ^o receives default value	Not possible, because Modif ^o not final non-defective n° ↓ [pl]-"percolation" from n° to (final) Modif ^o	
Indirect: N-A	n° defective ↓ No [pl]-instantiation; (final) Modif ^o receives default value	Modif ^o receives [pl], because inside scope of Num ^o -[pl] non-defective n° ↓	

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