

The second approach, henceforth called the *DP approach*, results from an extension of the range of X in (3) to the functional categories. This was motivated by the fact that some of the phrase structure rules, such as (4), do not fit the X-bar mould.

$$(4) \quad S \rightarrow NP \text{ Aux VP}$$

To repair this, the category Aux, which contained both auxiliaries and inflectional verbal affixes (Chomsky 1957), was renamed as I(nfl) and treated as the head of S. More specifically, I(nfl) was claimed to combine with a VP complement, yielding I', and the latter was claimed to combine with an NP specifier (the subject), yielding I'' (formerly S). For the analysis of nominals such an overhaul did not at first seem necessary, since the relevant PS rules did fit the X-bar mould, but it took place nonetheless, mainly in order to capture similarities between nominal and clausal structures. These are especially conspicuous in gerunds, nominalized infinitives and nominals with a deverbal head, and were seen as evidence for the claim that determiners have their own phrasal projection, just like the members of I(nfl) (Abney 1987). More specifically, members of D were claimed to take an N'' complement (formerly Nom), yielding D', and the latter was claimed to have a specifier sister, as in Figure 2. The DP approach was also

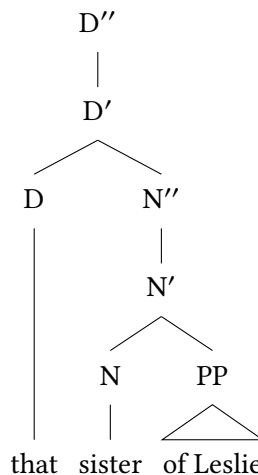


Figure 2: An instance of the DP approach

taken on board in other frameworks, such as Word Grammar (Hudson 1990) and Lexical Functional Grammar (Bresnan 2001: 99).

Turning now to Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, we find three different treatments. The first and oldest can be characterized as a lexicalist version of the NP approach, more specifically of its monostratal formulation in GPSG. It is first proposed in Pollard & Sag (1987) and further developed in Pollard & Sag (1994) and Ginzburg & Sag (2000). We henceforth call it the *specifier treatment*, after the role which it assigns to the determiner. The second is a lexicalist version of the DP approach. It is first proposed in Netter (1994) and further developed in Netter (1996) and Nerbonne & Mullen (2000). We will call it the *DP treatment*. The third adopts the NP approach, but neutralizes the distinction between adjuncts and specifiers, treating them both as functors. It is first proposed in Van Eynde (1998) and Allegranza (1997) and further developed in Van Eynde (2003), Van Eynde (2006) and Allegranza (2007). It is also adopted in Sign-Based Construction Grammar (Sag 2012; see also Müller 2020b: Section 1.4.2, Chapter 33 of this volume). We will call it the *functor treatment*. This chapter presents the three treatments and compares them wherever this seems appropriate.

We first focus on ordinary nominals (Section 2) and then on nominals with idiosyncratic properties (Section 3). For exemplification we use English and a number of other Germanic and Romance languages, including Dutch, German, Italian and French. We assume familiarity with the typed feature description notation and with such basic notions as unification, inheritance and token-identity (see Richter (2020), Chapter 3 of this volume on formal foundations and Abeillé & Borsley (2020), Chapter 1 of this volume on basic properties of HPSG).¹

2 Ordinary nominals

We use the term *ordinary nominal* for a nominal that contains a noun, any number of complements and/or adjuncts and at most one determiner. This section shows how such nominals are analyzed in respectively the specifier treatment (Section 2.1), the DP treatment (Section 2.2) and the functor treatment (Section 2.3) ■

2.1 The specifier treatment

The specifier treatment adopts the same distinction between heads, complements, specifiers and adjuncts as X-bar theory, but its integration in a monostratal lexicalist framework inevitably leads to non-trivial differences, as will be demonstrated in this section. The presentation is mainly based on Pollard & Sag (1994) ■

¹This chapter does not treat relative clauses, since they are the topic of a separate chapter (Arnold & Godard 2020, Chapter 14 of this volume).

and Ginzburg & Sag (2000). We first discuss the syntactic structure (Section 2.1.1) and the semantic composition (Section 2.1.2) of nominals, and then turn to nominals with a phrasal specifier (Section 2.1.3).

2.1.1 Syntactic structure

Continuing with the same example as in Figure 2, a relational noun, such as *sister*, selects a PP as its complement and a determiner as its specifier, as spelled out in the following CATEGORY value:

$$(5) \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{category} & \\ \text{HEAD} & \textit{noun} \\ \text{SPR} & \langle \textit{DET} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \langle \textit{PP}[\textit{of}] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

The combination with a matching PP is subsumed by the *head-complements-phrase* type (Abeillé & Borsley 2020, Chapter 1 of this volume), and yields a nominal with an empty COMPS list. Similarly, the combination of this nominal with a matching determiner is subsumed by the *head-specifier-phrase* type, and yields a nominal with an empty SPR list, as spelled out in Figure 3.

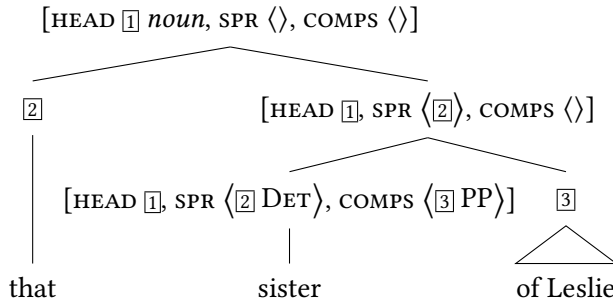


Figure 3: Adnominal complements and specifiers

Since the noun is the head of *sister of Leslie* and since the latter is the head of *that sister of Leslie*, the Head Feature Principle² implies that the phrase as a whole shares the HEAD value of the noun ([1]). The valence features, COMPS and SPR, have a double role. On the one hand, they register the degree of saturation of the nominal; in this role they supersede the bar levels of X-bar theory. On

²See Pollard & Sag 1994: 34 and Abeillé & Borsley (2020), Chapter 1 of this volume.

the other hand, they capture co-occurrence restrictions, such as the fact that the complement of *sister* be a PP, rather than an NP or a clause.

In contrast to complements and specifiers, adjuncts are not selected by their head sister. Instead, they are treated as selectors of their head sisters. To model this Pollard & Sag (1994: 55–57) employs the feature MOD(IFIED). It is part of the HEAD value of the substantive parts-of-speech, i.e. noun, verb, adjective and preposition. Its value is of type *synsem* in the case of adjuncts and of type *none* otherwise.

$$(6) \text{ substantive: } \left[\text{MOD } \textit{synsem} \vee \textit{none} \right]$$

Attributive adjectives, for instance, select a nominal head sister which lacks a specifier, as spelled out in (7).

$$(7) \left[\begin{array}{c} \textit{category} \\ \text{HEAD} \left[\begin{array}{c} \textit{adjective} \\ \text{MOD|LOC|CATEGORY} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{HEAD } \textit{noun} \\ \text{SPR } \textit{nelist} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The token-identity of the MOD(IFIED) value of the adjective with the SYNSEM value of its head sister is part of the definition of type *head-adjunct-phrase* (Abeillé & Borsley 2020, Chapter 1 of this volume). The requirement that the SPR value of the selected nominal be a non-empty list blocks the addition of adjectives to nominals which contain a determiner, as in **tall that bridge*.³ Since the MOD(IFIED) feature is part of the HEAD value, it follows from the Head Feature Principle that it is shared between an adjective and the AP which it projects. As a consequence, the MOD(IFIED) value of *very tall* is shared with that of *tall*, as shown in Figure 4.

For languages in which attributive adjectives show number and gender agreement with the nouns they modify, the selected nominal is required to have specific number and gender values. The Italian *grossa* ‘big’, for instance, selects a singular feminine nominal and is, hence, compatible with a noun like *scatola* ‘box’, but not with the plural *scatole* ‘boxes’ nor with the masculine *libro* ‘book’ or *libri* ‘books’.⁴

2.1.2 Semantic composition

Given the monostratal nature of HPSG, semantic representations do not constitute a separate level of representation, but take the form of attribute value pairs

³This constraint is overruled in the Big Mess Construction, see Section 3.3.

⁴This is an instance of concord (Wechsler 2020, Chapter 6 of this volume).

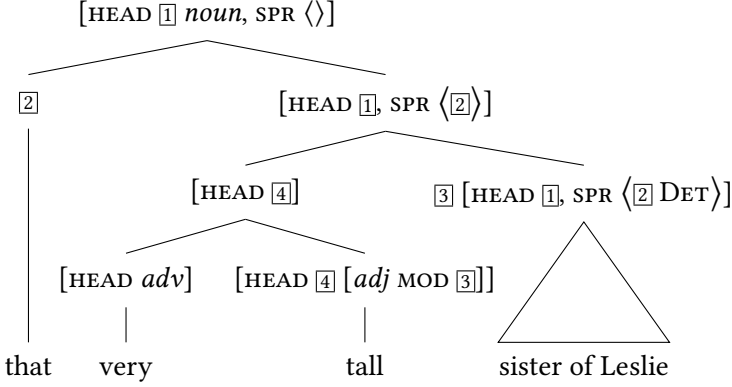


Figure 4: Adnominal modifiers

that are added to the syntactic representations. Phrase formation and semantic composition are, hence, modeled in tandem. Technically, the CONTENT feature is declared for the same type of objects as the CATEGORY feature, as spelled out in (8).

$$(8) \text{ local: } \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{CATEGORY} & \text{category} \\ \text{CONTENT} & \text{semantic-object} \end{array} \right]$$

In the case of nominals the value of the CONTENT feature is of type *scope-object*, a subtype of *semantic-object* (Ginzburg & Sag 2000: 122). A scope-object is an index-restriction pair in which the index stands for entities and in which the restriction is a set of facts which constrain the denotation of the index, as in the CONTENT value of the noun *box*:

$$(9) \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{scope-object} \\ \text{INDEX } [1] \text{ index} \\ \text{RESTR } \left\{ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{box} \\ \text{ARG } [1] \end{array} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right]$$

This is comparable to the representations which are canonically used in Predicate Logic (PL), such as $\{x \mid \text{box}(x)\}$, where x stands for the entities that the predicate *box* applies to. In contrast to PL variables, HPSG indices are sorted with respect to person, number and gender. This provides the means to model the type of agreement that is called *index agreement* (Wechsler 2020: Section 4.2, Chapter 6 of this volume).

$$(10) \text{ index: } \begin{bmatrix} \text{PERSON} & \text{person} \\ \text{NUMBER} & \text{number} \\ \text{GENDER} & \text{gender} \end{bmatrix}$$

CONTENT values of attributive adjectives are also of type *scope-object*. When combined with a noun, as in *red box*, the resulting representation is one in which the indices of the adjective and the noun are identical, as in (11).⁵

$$(11) \begin{bmatrix} \text{scope-object} \\ \text{INDEX } \boxed{1} \\ \text{RESTR } \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{red} \\ \text{ARG } \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{box} \\ \text{ARG } \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \right\} \end{bmatrix}$$

Also this is comparable to the PL practice of representing such combinations with one variable to which both predicates apply, as in $\{x \mid \text{red}(x) \ \& \ \text{box}(x)\}$. What triggers the index sharing is the MOD(IFIED) value of the adjective, as illustrated by the AVM of *red* in (12) (Pollard & Sag 1994: 55).⁶

$$(12) \begin{bmatrix} \text{CATEGORY} | \text{HEAD} \begin{bmatrix} \text{adjective} \\ \text{MOD} | \text{LOC} | \text{CONTENT } \begin{bmatrix} \text{scope-object} \\ \text{INDEX } \boxed{1} \\ \text{RESTR } \boxed{\Sigma} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CONTENT } \begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX } \boxed{1} \\ \text{RESTR } \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{red} \\ \text{ARG } \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \right\} \cup \boxed{\Sigma} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

The adjective selects a *scope-object*, shares its index and adds its own restriction to those that are already present. The resulting CONTENT value is then shared with the mother.

To model the semantic contribution of determiners, Ginzburg & Sag (2000: 135–136) make a distinction between *scope-objects* that contain a quantifier (*quant-rel*), and those that do not (*parameter*). In terms of this distinction, the addition of a quantifying determiner to a nominal, as in *every red box*, triggers a shift from

⁵This is an example of intersective modification. The semantic contribution of other types of adjectives, such as *alleged* and *fake*, are modeled differently (Pollard & Sag 1994: 330–331). See also Kasper’s (1997) work on scopal adjuncts and the discussion of it in Koenig & Richter (2020: Section 3.2), Chapter 22 of this volume.

⁶Boxed Greek capitals are used to indicate structure sharing for objects of type *set* (Ginzburg & Sag 2000: 23).

parameter to *quant-rel*. To capture this the specifier treatment employs the feature SPEC(IFIED). It is part of the HEAD value of the determiners, and its value is of type *semantic-object* (Ginzburg & Sag 2000: 362).⁷

$$(13) \text{ determiner: } \left[\text{SPEC semantic-object} \right]$$

In the case of *every*, the SPEC value is an object of type *parameter*, but its own CONTENT value is a subtype of *quant-rel* and this quantifier is put in store, to be retrieved at the place where its scope is determined, as illustrated by the AVM of *every* in (14) (Ginzburg & Sag 2000: 204).

$$(14) \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CATEGORY} \mid \text{HEAD} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{determiner} \\ \text{SPEC} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{parameter} \\ \text{INDEX } [1] \\ \text{RESTR } [\Sigma] \end{array} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CONTENT } [2] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{every-rel} \\ \text{INDEX } [1] \\ \text{RESTR } [\Sigma] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{STORE } \{ [2] \} \end{array} \right]$$

Notice that the addition of the SPEC feature yields an analysis in which the determiner and the nominal select each other: the nominal selects its specifier by means of the valence feature SPR and the determiner selects the nominal by means of SPEC.

2.1.3 Nominals with a phrasal specifier

Specifiers of nominals tend to be single words, but they can also take the form of a phrase. The bracketed phrase in [*the Queen of England's*] *sister*, for instance, is in complementary distribution with the possessive determiner in *her sister* and has a comparable semantic contribution. For this reason it is treated along the same lines. More specifically, the possessive marker 's is treated as a determiner that takes an NP as its specifier, as shown in Figure 5 (Pollard & Sag 1994: 51–54) and (Ginzburg & Sag 2000: 193).⁸

⁷In Pollard & Sag (1994: 45) the SPEC(IFIED) feature was also assigned to other function words, such as complementizers, and its value was of type *synsem*.

⁸The treatment of the phonologically reduced 's as the head of a phrase is comparable to the treatment of the homophonous word in *he's ill* as the head of a VP. Notice that the possessive 's is not a genitive affix, for if it were, it would be affixed to the head noun *Queen*, as in **the Queen's of England sister*, see Sag et al. (2003: 199).

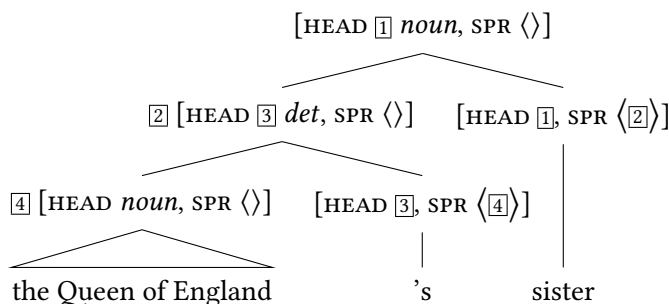


Figure 5: Phrasal specifiers

In this analysis the specifier of *sister* is a DetP that is headed by 's and the latter takes the NP *the Queen of England* as its specifier.⁹ Semantically, 's relates the index of its specifier (the possessor) to the index of the nominal that it selects (the possessed), as spelled out in (15).¹⁰

$$(15) \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CATEGORY} \\ \text{CONTENT } [2] \\ \text{STORE } \{2\} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{determiner} \\ \text{SPEC} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{parameter} \\ \text{INDEX } [1] \\ \text{RESTR } [\Sigma] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SPR } \left(\left[\text{INDEX } [3] \right] \right) \\ \text{the-rel} \\ \text{INDEX } [1] \\ \text{RESTR } \left\{ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{poss-rel} \\ \text{POSSESSOR } [3] \\ \text{POSSESSED } [1] \end{array} \right] \right\} \cup [\Sigma] \end{array} \right] \right]$$

The assignment of *the-rel* as the CONTENT value captures the definiteness of the resulting NP. Notice that this analysis contains a DetP, but in spite of that, it is not an instance of the DP approach, since the determiner does not head the nominal as a whole, but only its specifier.

⁹Since the specifier of 's is an NP, it may in turn contain a specifier that is headed by 's, as in *John's uncle's car*.

¹⁰The terms *possessor* and *possessed* are meant to be understood in a broad not-too-literal sense (Nerbonne 1992: 8–9).

2.2 The DP treatment

An HPSG version of the DP approach has been developed in [Netter \(1994\)](#) and [Netter \(1996\)](#). We sketch the main characteristics of this treatment in Section 2.2.1 and discuss some problems for it in Section 2.2.2.

2.2.1 Functional complementation and functional completeness

The combination of a noun with its complements and its adjuncts is analyzed in much the same way as in the specifier treatment. The addition of the determiner, though, is modeled differently. It is not the nominal that selects the determiner as its specifier, but rather the determiner that selects the nominal as its complement. More specifically, it selects the nominal by means of the valence feature *COMPS* and the result of the combination is a DP with an empty *COMPS* list, as in Figure 6. In this analysis there is no need for the valence feature *SPR*. This looks like a gain

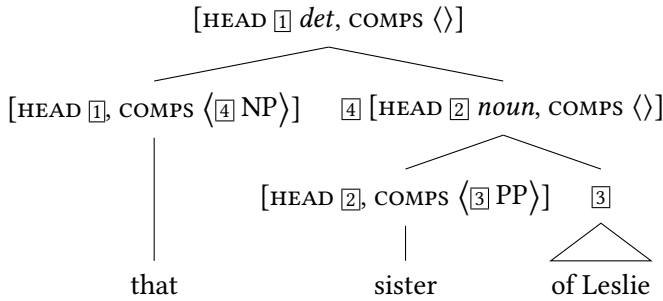


Figure 6: Propagation of the HEAD and COMPS values

of generalization, but in practice it is offset by the introduction of a distinction between functional complementation and ordinary complementation. To model it [Netter \(1994: 307–308\)](#) differentiates between major and minor HEAD features:

$$(16) \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{HEAD} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{MAJOR} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N } \textit{boolean} \\ \text{V } \textit{boolean} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{MINOR} \left[\text{FCOMPL } \textit{boolean} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The MAJOR attribute includes the boolean features N and V, where nouns are [+N, -V], adjectives [+N, +V], verbs [-N, +V] and prepositions [-N, -V]. Besides, [+N] categories also have the features CASE, NUMBER and GENDER. Typical of functional complementation is that the functional head shares the MAJOR value of its complement ([Netter 1994: 311–312](#)).

- (17) **Functional Complementation:** In a lexical category of type *func-cat* the value of its **MAJOR** attribute is token identical with the **MAJOR** value of its complement.

Since determiners are of type *func-cat*, they share the **MAJOR** value of their nominal complement and since that value is also shared with the DP (given the Head Feature Principle), it follows that the resulting DP is [+N, -V] and that its **CASE**, **NUMBER** and **GENDER** values are identical to those of its nominal nonhead daughter. Nouns, by contrast, are not of type *func-cat* and, hence, do not share the **MAJOR** value of their complement. The noun *sister* in Figure 6, for instance, does not share the part-of-speech of its PP complement.

The **MINOR** attribute is used to model properties which a functional head does *not* share with its complement. It includes **FCOMPL**, a feature which registers whether a projection is functionally complete or not. Its value is positive for determiners, negative for singular count nouns and underspecified for plurals and mass nouns. Determiners take a nominal complement with a negative **FCOMPL** value, but their own **FCOMPL** value is positive and since they are the head, they share this value with the mother, as in Figure 7. In this analysis, a nominal is

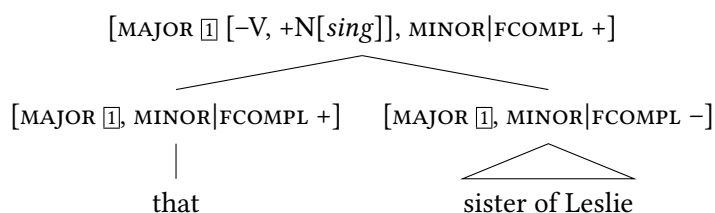


Figure 7: Propagation of the **HEAD** values

complete, if it is both saturated (empty **COMPS** list) and functionally complete (positive **FCOMPL**), as spelled out in (18) (Netter 1994: 312).

The **MINOR** features should be shared otherwise it is unclear why it is both + at the determiner and at the top node. Netter (1996: 136) shared the **HEAD** features along the head path. **MINOR** features are shared between *det* and *NP* via selection. Please change as advised in earlier mail.

- (18) **Functional Completeness Constraint:** Every maximal projection is marked as functionally complete in its **MINOR** feature.

2.2.2 Two problems for the DP treatment

Given the definition of functional complementation in (17) determiners share the MAJOR value of the nominals which they select and are, hence, nominal themselves, i.e. [+N, -V]. However, while this makes sense for determiners with (pro)nominal properties, such as the English demonstrative *that*, it is rather implausible for determiners with adjectival properties, such as the German interrogative *welch*- ‘which’ and the Italian demonstrative *questo* ‘this’, which show the same variation for number, gender and case as the adjectives and which are subject to the same requirement on concord with the noun as the adnominal adjectives. Since such determiners have more in common with adjectives than with (pro)nouns, it would be more plausible to treat them as members of [+N, +V]. The problem also affects the associated agreement features, i.e. CASE, NUMBER and GENDER. If a determiner is required to share the values of these features with its nominal complement, as spelled out in (17), then we get implausible results for nominals in which the determiner and the noun do not show agreement. In the Dutch *'s lands hoogste bergen* ‘the country’s highest mountains’, for instance, the selected nominal (*hoogste bergen*) is plural and non-genitive, while the selecting determiner (*'s lands*) is singular and genitive. The assumption that the latter shares the case and number of its nominal sister is, hence, problematic.

Another problem concerns the assumption “that all substantive categories will require the complement they combine with to be both saturated and functionally complete” (Netter 1994: 311). Complements of verbs and prepositions must, hence, be positively specified for FCOMPL.

this is not a problem

This, however, is contradicted by the existence of prepositions which require their complement to be functionally incomplete. The Dutch *te* and *per*, for instance, are not compatible with nominals that contain a determiner, also if the nominal is singular and count, as in *te* *(*het/een) paard* ‘on horse’ and *per* *(*de/een) trein* ‘by train’. In this respect, they differ from most of the other Dutch prepositions, which require their nominal complement to have a determiner if it is singular and count, as in *ze viel van* **(het) paard* ‘she fell from **(the) horse*’ and *ze zit op* **(de) trein naar Londen* ‘she is on **(the) train* to London’. This shows that there are prepositions which require their complement to be functionally complete, such as *van* and *op*, and prepositions which require it to be functionally incomplete, such as *per* and *te*. This distinction, though, cannot be made in an analysis that does not allow functionally incomplete complements.

2.3 The functor treatment

The functor treatment adopts the NP approach, but in contrast to the specifier treatment it does not model specification and adjunction in different terms, and it does not adopt the distinction between substantive (or lexical) categories and functional categories.¹¹ The presentation in this section is mainly based on Van Eynde (2006) and Allegranza (2007). We first discuss the motivation which underlies the adoption of the functor treatment (Section 2.3.1) and then present its basic properties (Section 2.3.2). After that we turn to nominals with a phrasal specifier (Section 2.3.3) and to the hierarchy of MARKING values (Section 2.3.4).

2.3.1 Motivation

The distinction between specifiers and adjuncts is usually motivated by the assumption that the former are obligatory and non-stackable, while the latter are optional and stackable. In practice, though, this distinction is blurred by the fact that many nominals are well-formed without specifier. Bare plurals and singular mass nouns, for instance, are routinely used without specifier in English, and many other languages allow singular count nouns without specifier too. The claim that specifiers are obligatory is, hence, to be taken with a large pinch of salt. The same holds for their non-stackability. Italian possessives, for instance, are routinely preceded by an article, as in *il nostro futuro* ‘the our future’ and *un mio amico* ‘a friend of mine’. The same holds for the Greek demonstratives, which are canonically preceded by the definite article. Also English has examples of this kind, as in *his every wish*.

Similar remarks apply to the distinction between lexical and functional categories. It plays a prominent role in the specifier and the DP treatment, both of which treat determiners as members of a separate functional category Det, that is distinct from such lexical categories as N, Adj and Adv. In practice, though, it turns out that the class of determiners is quite heterogeneous in terms of part-of speech. Van Eynde (2006), for instance, demonstrates that the Dutch determiners come in (at least) two kinds. On the one hand, there are those which show the same inflectional variation and the same concord with the noun as the prenominal adjectives: they take the affix *-e* in combination with plural and singular

¹¹The term *functor* is also used in Categorical (Unification) Grammar, where it has a very broad meaning, subsuming the nonhead daughter in combinations of a head with a specifier or an adjunct, and the head daughter otherwise, see Bouma (1988). This broad notion is also adopted in Reape (1994). We adopt a more restrictive version in which functors are nonhead daughters which lexically select their head sister.

non-neuter nominals, but not in combination with singular neuter nominals, as shown for the adjective *zwart* in (19), for the possessive determiner *ons* ‘our’ in (20) and for the interrogative determiner *welk* ‘which’ in (21).¹²

- (19) a. *zwarte muren*
 black wall.PL
 b. *zwarte verf*
 black paint.SG.FEM
 c. *zwart zand*
 black sand.SG.NEU
- (20) a. *onze ouders*
 our parent.PL
 b. *onze muur*
 our wall.SG.MAS
 c. *ons huis*
 our house.SG.NEU
- (21) a. *welke boeken*
 which book.PL
 b. *welke man*
 which man.SG.MAS
 c. *welk boek*
 which book.SG.NEU

On the other hand, there are determiners which are inflectionally invariant and which do not show concord with the noun, such as the interrogative *wiens* ‘whose’ and the quantifying *wat* ‘some’.

- (22) a. *wiens ouders*
 whose parent.PL
 b. *wiens muur*
 whose wall.SG.MAS
 c. *wiens huis*
 whose house.SG.NEU

¹²If the adjective is preceded by a definite determiner, it also takes the affix in singular neuter nominals. This phenomenon is treated in Section 2.3.4.

- (23) a. wat boeken
 some book.PL
 b. wat verf
 some paint.SG.FEM
 c. wat zand
 some sand.SG.NEU

In that respect, they are like nouns that appear in prenominal position, as in *aluminium tafels* ‘aluminium tables’ and *de maximum lengte* ‘the maximum length’. There are, hence, determiners with adjectival properties and determiners with nominal properties. The distinction is also relevant for other languages. The Italian possessives of the first and second person, for instance, show the same alternation for number and gender as the adjectives and are subject to the same constraints on NP-internal concord, as illustrated for *nostro* ‘our’ in (24).

- (24) a. il nostro futuro
 the our future.SG.MAS
 b. la nostra scuola
 the our school.SG.FEM
 c. i nostri genitori
 the our parent.PL.MAS
 d. le nostre scatole
 the our box.PL.FEM

By contrast, the possessive of the third person plural, *loro* ‘their’, does not show any inflectional variation and does not show concord with the noun.

- (25) a. il loro futuro
 the their future.SG.MAS
 b. la loro scuola
 the their school.SG.FEM
 c. i loro genitori
 the their parent.PL.MAS
 d. le loro scatole
 the their box.PL.FEM

Confirming evidence for the distinction is provided by the fact that *loro* is also used as a personal pronoun, whereas the other possessive determiners are not.

- (26) Enrico ha dato una scatola a loro/*nostro.
 Enrico has given a box to them/*our
 ‘Enrico gave them a box.’

In this context one has to use the pronoun *noi* ‘us’ instead. Besides, there are determiners with adverbial properties. Abeillé et al. (2004), for instance, assign adverbial status to the quantifying determiner in the French *beaucoup de farine* ‘much flour’, and the same could be argued to be plausible for such determiners as the English *enough* and its Dutch equivalent *genoeg*. In sum, there is evidence that the class of determiners is categorially heterogeneous and that a treatment which acknowledges this is potentially simpler and less stipulative than one which introduces a separate functional category for them.

2.3.2 Basics

Technically, the elimination of the distinction between specifiers and adjuncts implies that the *SPR* feature is dropped.¹³ Likewise, the elimination of the distinction between lexical and functional categories implies that there is no longer any need for separate selection features for them; *MOD(IFIED)* and *SPEC(IFIED)* are dropped and replaced by the more general *SELECT*.

To spell out the functor treatment in more detail we start from the hierarchy of headed phrases in Figure 8. The basic distinction is that between *head-argument-*

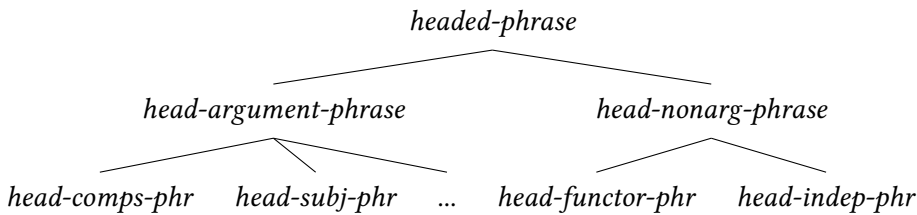


Figure 8: Hierarchy of headed phrases

phrase and *head-nonargument-phrase*. In the former the head daughter selects its nonhead sister(s) by means of valence features, such as *COMPS* and *SUBJ* (but not *SPR*!), and it is their values that register the degree of saturation of the phrase,

¹³Intriguingly, Noam Chomsky has recently argued that there is no need for the notion of specifier in Transformational Grammar: “There is a large and instructive literature on problems with Specifiers, but if the reasoning here is correct, they do not exist and the problems are unformulable.” Chomsky (2013: 43).

as shown for COMPS in Section 2.1.1. In head-nonargument phrases the degree of saturation is registered by the MARKING feature. It is declared for objects of type *category*, along with the HEAD and valence features.¹⁴ Its value is shared with the head daughter in head-argument phrases and with the nonhead daughter in head-nonargument phrases, as spelled out in (27) and (28) respectively.

$$(27) \text{ head-argument-phrase} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CATEGORY|MARKING } \boxed{1} \text{ marking} \\ \text{HEAD-DTR|SYNSEM|LOC|CATEGORY|MARKING } \boxed{1} \end{array} \right]$$

$$(28) \text{ head-nonarg-phrase} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CATEGORY|MARKING } \boxed{1} \text{ marking} \\ \text{DTRS} \left(\left[\text{SYNSEM|LOC|CATEGORY|MARKING } \boxed{1} \right], \boxed{2} \right) \\ \text{HEAD-DTR } \boxed{2} \end{array} \right]$$

At a finer-grained level there is a distinction between two subtypes of *head-nonargument-phrase*. There is the type, called *head-functor-phrase*, in which the non-head daughter selects its head sister. This selection is modeled by the SELECT feature. Its value is an object of type *synsem* and is required to match the SYNSEM value of the head daughter, as spelled out in (29).

$$(29) \text{ head-functor-phrase} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{DTRS} \left(\left[\text{SYNSEM|LOC|CATEGORY|HEAD|SELECT } \boxed{1} \right], \boxed{2} \right) \\ \text{HEAD-DTR } \boxed{2} \left[\text{SYNSEM } \boxed{1} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The other subtype, called *head-independent-phrase*, subsumes combinations in which the nonhead daughter does not select its head sister.¹⁵ In that case the SELECT value of the nonhead daughter is of type *none*, as spelled out in (30).

$$(30) \text{ head-independent-phrase} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{DTRS} \left(\left[\text{SYNSEM|LOC|CATEGORY|HEAD|SELECT } \textit{none} \right], \boxed{1} \right) \\ \text{HEAD-DTR } \boxed{1} \end{array} \right]$$

An illustration of the functor treatment is given in Figure 9.

add a more telling title. What is the functor? Check my addition to caption

¹⁴The MARKING feature is introduced in Pollard & Sag (1994: 46) to model the combination of a complementizer and a clause.

¹⁵This type is introduced in Van Eynde (1998: 130). It will be used in Section 3 to deal with idiosyncratic nominals, such as the Big Mess Construction and the Binominal Noun Phrase Construction.

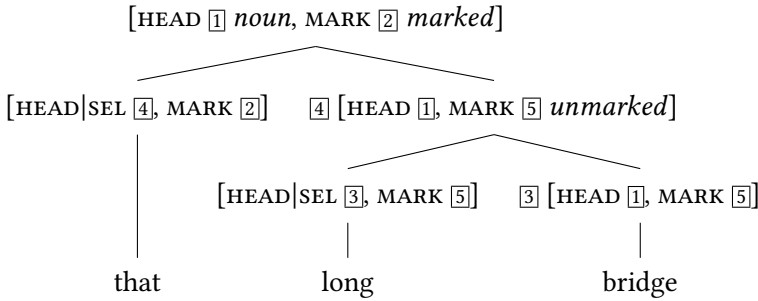


Figure 9: Adnominal functors: both *that* and *long* select nominal projections

The combination of the noun with the adjective is an instance of *head-functor-phrase*, in which the adjective selects an unmarked nominal ([3]), shares its MARKING value ([5]), and, being a non-argument, shares it with the mother as well. The combination of the resulting nominal with the demonstrative is also an instance of *head-functor-phrase*, in which the demonstrative selects an unmarked nominal ([4]), but – differently from the adjective – its MARKING value is of type *marked*, and this value is shared with the mother ([2]). This accounts for the ill-formedness of **long that bridge* and **the that bridge*, since adnominal adjectives and articles are not compatible with a marked nominal. Whether an adnominal functor is marked or unmarked is subject to cross-linguistic variation. The Italian possessives, for instance, are unmarked and can, hence, be preceded by an article, as in *il mio cane* ‘the my dog’, but their French equivalents are marked: *(*le) mon chien* ‘(*the) my dog’.

In this treatment, determiners, understood as words that are in complementary distribution with the articles, are marked selectors of an unmarked nominal. Since this definition does not make reference to a specific part of speech, it is well equipped to deal with the categorial heterogeneity of the determiners. The English demonstrative *that*, for instance, can be treated as a pronoun, not only when it is used in nominal position, as in *I like that*, but also when it is used adnominally, as in *I like that bike*. What captures the difference between these uses is not the part-of-speech but the SELECT value: while the adnominal *that* selects an unmarked nominal, its nominal counterpart does not select anything.

2.3.3 Nominals with a phrasal functor

To illustrate how the treatment deals with phrasal functors we take the nominal *a hundred pages*. Since the indefinite article is not compatible with a plural noun

like *pages* we assume that this phrase has a left branching structure in which the indefinite article selects the unmarked singular noun *hundred* – its plural counterpart is *hundreds* – and in which the resulting NP selects the unmarked plural noun *pages*, as spelled out in Figure 10.

add a more telling caption. Why is functors in plural? Check my modification of the caption

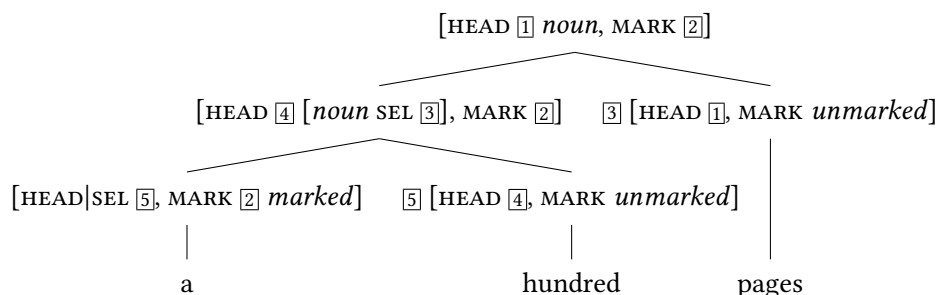


Figure 10: Phrasal functors: *a hundred* selecting *pages*

The HEAD value of the entire NP is identified with that of *pages* (1), which accounts a.o. for the fact that it is plural: *a hundred pages are/*is missing*. Its MARKING value is identified with that of *a hundred* (2). The latter selects an unmarked plural nominal (3) and since it is itself a head-functor-phrase, its HEAD value is shared with that of the numeral *hundred* (4) and its MARKING value with that of the article (2). Moreover, the latter selects an unmarked singular nominal (5).

This treatment provides an account for the difference between the well-formed *those two hundred pages* and the ill-formed **those a hundred pages*. The former is licensed since numerals like *two* and *hundred* are unmarked, while the latter is not, since the article is marked and since it shares that value with *a hundred pages*.

2.3.4 The hierarchy of MARKING values

The distinction between marked and unmarked nominals in the functor treatment largely coincides with the distinction between nominals with an empty and a non-empty SPR value in the specifier treatment. However, while the latter simply captures the difference between nominals with and without determiner, the former can be used to capture finer-grained distinctions. To illustrate the

need for such finer-grained distinctions let us take another look at the attributive adjectives of Dutch. As already pointed out in Section 2.3.2, they take the form without affix in singular neuter nominals, as in *zwart zand* ‘black sand’. A complication, though, is that they canonically take the form with the affix if the nominal is introduced by a definite determiner, as in *het zwarte zand* ‘the black sand’. This has consequences for the status of nominals with a singular neuter head: *zwart zand* and **zwarte zand*, for instance, are both unmarked, but while the former is well-formed as it is, the latter is only well-formed if it is preceded by a definite determiner. To model this Van Eynde (2006) differentiates between two types of *unmarked* nominals, as shown in Figure 11.

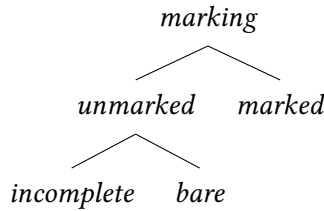


Figure 11: Hierarchy of MARKING values

Employing the more specific subtypes, the adjectives without affix which select a singular neuter nominal have the MARKING value *bare*, while their declined counterparts which select a singular neuter nominal have the value *incomplete*. Since this MARKING value is shared with the mother, the MARKING value of *zwart zand* is *bare*, while that of **zwarte zand* is *incomplete*. The fact that the latter must be preceded by a definite determiner is modeled in the SELECT value of the determiner: while definite determiners select an unmarked nominal, which implies that they are compatible with both bare and incomplete nominals, non-definite determiners select a bare nominal and are, hence, not compatible with an incomplete one, as in **een zwarte huis* ‘a black house’. The MARKING feature is, hence, useful to differentiate bare nominals from incomplete nominals.

In a similar way, one can make finer-grained distinctions in the hierarchy of *marked* values to capture co-occurrence restrictions between determiners and nominals, as in the functor treatment of the Italian determiner system of Allegranza (2007). See also the treatment of nominals with idiosyncratic properties in Section 3.

2.4 Conclusion

This section has presented the three main treatments of nominal structures in HPSG. They are all surface-oriented and monostratal, and they are very similar in their treatment of the semantics of the nominals. The differences mainly concern the treatment of the determiners and the adjuncts. In terms of the dichotomy between NP and DP approaches, the specifier and the functor treatment side with the former, while the DP treatment sides with the latter. Overall, the NP treatments turn out to be more amenable to integration in a monostratal surface-oriented framework than the DP treatment, see also Müller (2020a). Of the two NP treatments the specifier treatment is closer to early versions of X-bar theory and GPSG. The functor treatment is closer to versions of Categorical (Unification) Grammar, and has also been adopted in Sign-Based Construction Grammar (Sag 2012: 155–157).

3 Idiosyncratic nominals

This section focusses on the analysis of nominals with idiosyncratic properties. Since their analysis often requires a relaxation of the strictly lexicalist approach of early HPSG, we first introduce some basic notions of Constructional HPSG (Section 3.1). Then we present analyses of nominals with a verbal core (Section 3.2), of the Big Mess Construction (Section 3.3) and of idiosyncratic [P + Nom] combinations (Section 3.4). Finally, we provide pointers to analyses of other nominals with idiosyncratic properties (Section 3.5).

3.1 Constructional HPSG

The lexicalist approach of early HPSG can be characterized as one in which the properties of phrases are mainly determined by properties of the constituent words and only to a small extent by properties of the combinatory operations. Pollard & Sag (1994: 391), for instance, employ no more than seven types of combinations, including those which were exemplified in Section 2.1.1, i.e. head-complements, head-adjunct and head-specifier.¹⁶ Over time, though, the radical lexicalism gave way to an approach in which the properties of the combinatory operations play a larger role. The small inventory of highly abstract phrase types got replaced by a finer-grained hierarchy in which the types contain more specific and – if need be – idiosyncratic constraints. This development started in

¹⁶The remaining four are head-subject, head-subject-complements, head-marker and head-filler.

Sag (1997), was elaborated in Ginzburg & Sag (2000), and gained momentum afterward. Characteristic of Constructional HPSG is the use of a bidimensional hierarchy of phrasal signs. In such a hierarchy the phrases are not only partitioned in terms of HEADEDNESS, but also in terms of a second dimension, called CLAUSALITY, as in Figure 12.

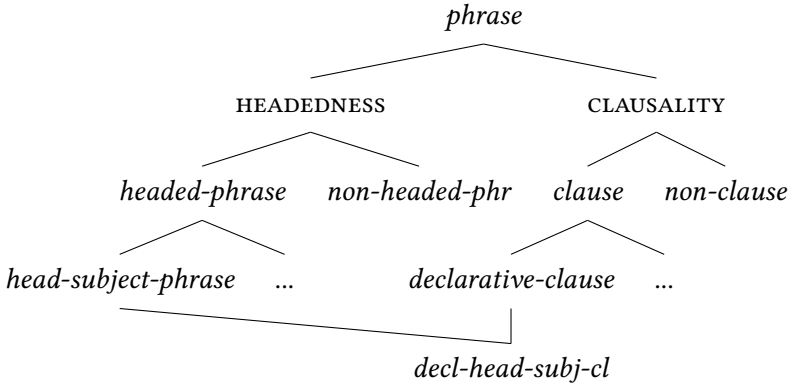


Figure 12: Bidimensional hierarchy of clauses

The types in the CLAUSALITY dimension are associated with constraints, in much the same way as the types in the HEADEDNESS dimension. Clauses, for instance, are required to denote an object of type *message* (Ginzburg & Sag 2000: 41).

$$(31) \quad \textit{clause} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYNSEM|LOC|CONTENT } \textit{message} \right]$$

At a finer-grained level, the clauses are partitioned into declarative, interrogative, imperative, exclamative and relative clauses, each with their own constraints. Interrogative clauses, for instance, have a CONTENT value of type *question*, which is a subtype of *message*, and indicative declarative clauses have a CONTENT value of type *proposition*, which is another subtype of *message*.

Exploiting the possibilities of multiple inheritance one can define types which inherit properties from more than one supertype. The type *declarative-head-subject-clause*, for instance, inherits the properties of *head-subject-phrase*, on the one hand, and *declarative-clause*, on the other hand. Besides, it may have properties of its own, such as the fact that its head daughter is a finite verb (Ginzburg & Sag 2000: 43). This combination of multiple inheritance and specific constraints on maximal phrase types is also useful for the analysis of nominals with idiosyncratic properties, as will be shown in Sections 3.2 and 3.3.

3.2 Nominals with a verbal core

Ordinary nominals have a nominal core, but there are also nominals with a verbal core, such as gerunds and nominalized infinitives. They are of special interest, since they figure prominently in the argumentation that triggered the shift from the NP approach to the DP approach in Transformational Grammar. Some examples of gerunds are given in (32)–(34), quoted from Quirk et al. (1985: 1290).

(32) [Brown’s deftly painting his daughter] is a delight to watch.

(33) I dislike [Brown painting his daughter].

(34) Brown is well known for [painting his daughter].

The bracketed phrases have the external distribution of an NP, taking the subject position in (32), the complement position of a transitive verb in (33) and the complement position of a preposition in (34). The internal structure of these phrases, though, shows a mixture of nominal and verbal characteristics. Typically verbal are the presence of an NP complement in (32)–(34), of an adverbial modifier in (32) and of an accusative subject in (33). Typically nominal is the presence of the possessive in (32).

To model this mixture of nominal and verbal properties (Malouf 2000: 65) develops an analysis along the lines of the specifier treatment, in which the hierarchy of part-of-speech values is given more internal structure, as in Figure 13. Instead of treating *noun*, *verb*, *adjective* etc. as immediate subtypes of *part-of*

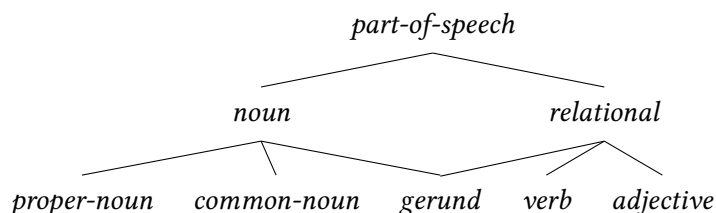


Figure 13: The gerund as a mixed category

speech, they are grouped in terms of intermediate types, such as *relational*, which subsumes a.o. verbs and adjectives, they are partitioned in terms of subtypes, such as *proper-noun* and *common-noun*, and they are extended with types that inherit properties of more than one supertype, such as *gerund*, which is a subtype of both *noun* and *relational*. Beside the inherited properties the gerund has some properties of its own. These are spelled out in a lexical rule which derives gerunds from the homophonous present participles (Malouf 2000: 66).

$$(35) \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{verb} \\ \text{VFORM } prp \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBJ} \langle \boxed{1} \text{ NP} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \boxed{A} \\ \text{SPR} \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \mapsto \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD } gerund \\ \text{SUBJ} \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \boxed{A} \\ \text{SPR} \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

This rule says that gerunds take the same complements as the present participles from which they are derived (\boxed{A}).¹⁷ Their compatibility with adverbial modifiers follows from the fact that adverbs typically modify objects of type *relational*, which is a supertype of *gerund*. The availability of different options for realizing the subject is captured by the inclusion of the subject requirement of the present participle in both the SUBJ list and the SPR list of the gerund ($\boxed{1}$). To model the two options Malouf (2000: 15) employs the bidimensional hierarchy of phrase types in Figure 14.

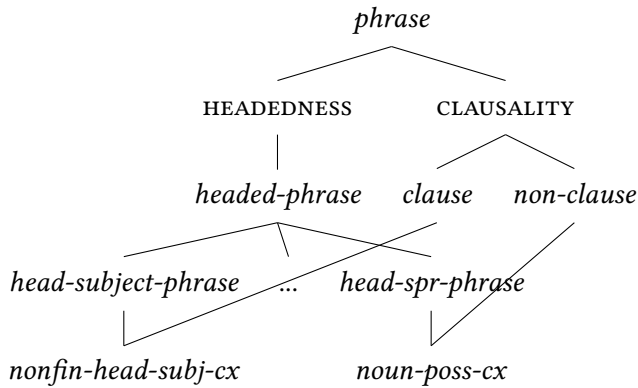


Figure 14: Bidimensional hierarchy of gerundial phrases

The combination with an accusative subject is subsumed by *nonfin-head-subj-cx*, which is a subtype of *head-subject-phrase* and *clause*. Its defining properties are spelled out in (36) (Malouf 2000: 16).

head-dtr structure sharing inherited? hence redundant?

¹⁷Boxed Roman capitals stand for objects of type *list*, as in Ginzburg & Sag (2000) and Sag et al. (2003).

$$(36) \text{ nonfin-head-subj-cx} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CATEGORY|HEAD|ROOT} - \\ \text{DTRS} \left(\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CATEGORY|HEAD} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{noun} \\ \text{CASE acc} \end{array} \right], \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \right) \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} \boxed{1} \end{array} \right]$$

This construction type subsumes combinations of a non-finite head with an accusative subject, as in (33). When the non-finite head is a gerund, the HEAD value of the resulting clause is *gerund* and since that is a subtype of *noun*, the clause is also a nominal phrase. This accounts for the fact that its external distribution is that of an NP. By contrast, the combination with a possessive subject is subsumed by *noun-poss-cx*, which is a subtype of *head-specifier-phrase* and *non-clause* (Malouf 2000: 16).¹⁸

head-dtr structure sharing inherited? hence redundant?

$$(37) \text{ noun-poss-cx} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYNSEM|LOC} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CATEGORY|HEAD noun} \\ \text{CONTENT scope-object} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \left(\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CATEGORY|HEAD} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{noun} \\ \text{CASE gen} \end{array} \right], \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \right) \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} \boxed{1} \end{array} \right]$$

This construction subsumes combinations of a nominal and a possessive specifier, as in *Brown's house*, and since *noun* is a supertype of *gerund*, it also subsumes combinations with the gerund, as in (32).

In sum, Malouf's analysis of the gerund involves a reorganization of the part-of-speech hierarchy, a lexical rule and the addition of two construction types.

3.3 The Big Mess Construction

In ordinary nominals determiners precede attributive adjectives. Changing the order yields ill-formed combinations, such as **long that bridge* and **very tall every man*. However, this otherwise illegitimate order is precisely what we find in the Big Mess Construction (BMC), a term coined by Berman (1974).

- (38) a. It's [so good a bargain] I can't resist buying it.
b. [How serious a problem] is this?

The idiosyncratic order in (38) is required if the nominal is introduced by the indefinite article, and if the preceding AP is introduced by one of a small set of degree markers, including *so*, *as*, *how*, *this*, *that* and *too*.

¹⁸Malouf treats the English possessive as a genitive, differently from Sag et al. (2003).

3.3.1 A specifier treatment

A specifier treatment of the BMC is provided in Ginzburg & Sag (2000: 201). It adopts a left branching structure, as in [[[so good] a] bargain], in which *so good* is the specifier of the indefinite article and in which *so good a* is the specifier of *bargain*. This is comparable to the treatment of the possessive in [[[the Queen of England] 's] sister] in Section 2.1.3. However, while there is evidence that *the Queen of England's* is a constituent, since it may occur independently, as in (39), there is no evidence that *so good a* is a constituent, as shown in (40).

(39) This crown is [the Queen of England's].

(40) That bargain is [so good (*a)].

Instead, there is evidence that the article forms a constituent with the following noun, since it also precedes the noun when the AP is in postnominal position, as in (41).

(41) We never had [a bargain] [so good as this one].

It is, hence, preferable to assign a structure in which the AP and the NP are sisters, as in [[so good] [a bargain]].

3.3.2 A functor treatment

A structure in which the AP and the NP are sisters is adopted in Van Eynde (2007), Kim & Sells (2011), Kay & Sag (2012), Arnold & Sadler (2014) and Van Eynde (2018), all of which are functor treatments. They also share the assumption that the combination is an NP and that its head daughter is the lower NP. The structure of the latter is spelled out in Figure 15.

check caption

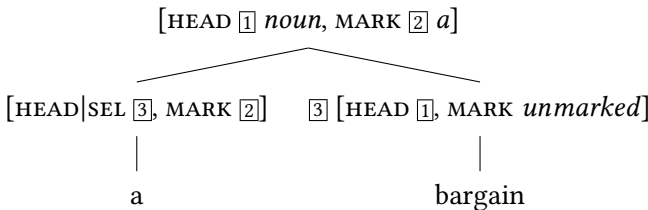


Figure 15: The lower NP of *so good a bargain*

The article has a MARKING value of type *a* which is a subtype of *marked* and which it shares with the mother.¹⁹

The AP is also treated as an instance of the head-functor type in Van Eynde (2007), Kim & Sells (2011) and Van Eynde (2018). The adverb has a MARKING value of type *marked*, so that the AP is marked as well, as shown in Figure 16.

check caption

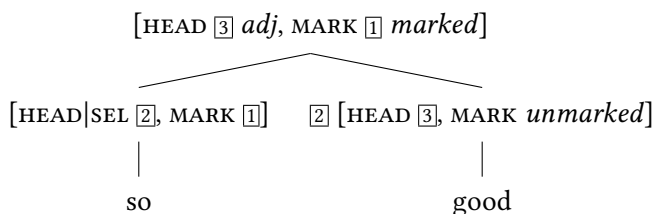


Figure 16: The marked AP of *so good a bargain*

In combination with the fact that the article selects an unmarked nominal, this accounts for the ill-formedness of (42).

- (42) a. *It's a so good bargain I can't resist buying it.
 b. *A how serious problem is it?

By contrast, adverbs like *very* and *extremely* are unmarked, so that the APs which they introduce are admissible in this position, as in (43).

- (43) a. This is a very serious problem.
 b. We struck an extremely good bargain.

To model the combination of the AP with the lower NP it may at first seem plausible to treat the AP as a functor which selects an NP that is introduced by the indefinite article. This, however, has unwanted consequences: given that SELECT is a HEAD feature, its value is shared between the AP and the adjective, so that the latter has the same SELECT value as the AP, erroneously licensing such combinations as **good a bargain*. To avoid this Van Eynde (2018) models the combination in terms of a special type of phrase, called *big-mess-phrase*, whose place in the hierarchy of phrase types is defined in Figure 17.

¹⁹The MARKING value of the article looks similar to its PHONOLOGY value, but it is not the same. The PHONOLOGY values of *a* and *an*, for instance, are different, but their MARKING value is not.

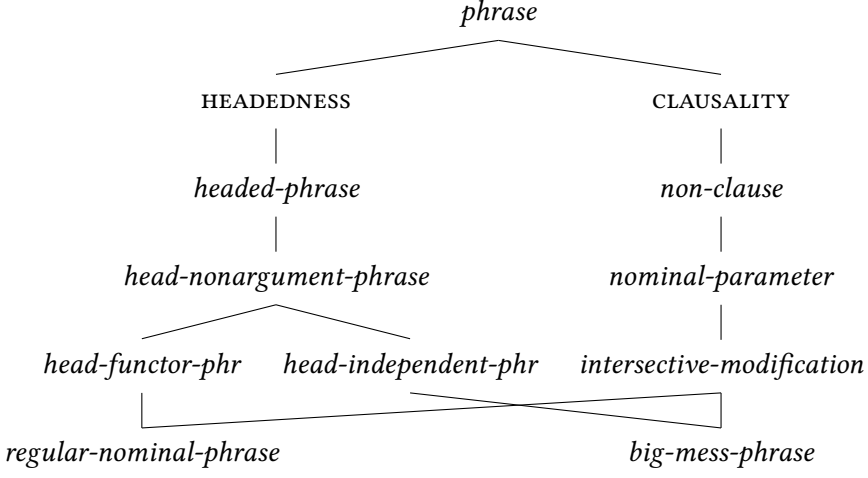


Figure 17: Bidimensional hierarchy of nominals

The types in the **HEADEDNESS** dimension are a subset of those in Figure 8. The types in the **CLAUSALITY** dimension mainly capture semantic and category-specific properties, in analogy with the hierarchy of clausal phrases in Ginzburg & Sag (2000). One of the non-clausal phrase types is *nominal-parameter*:

$$(44) \quad \textit{nominal-parameter} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYNSEM|LOC} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CATEGORY|HEAD } \textit{noun} \\ \text{CONTENT} \left[\begin{array}{c} \textit{parameter} \\ \text{INDEX } \boxed{1} \\ \text{RESTR } \boxed{\Sigma_1} \cup \boxed{\Sigma_2} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \left\langle \left[\text{SYNSEM|LOC|CONTENT|RESTR } \boxed{\Sigma_1} \right], \boxed{2} \right\rangle \\ \text{HEAD-DTR } \boxed{2} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CONTENT} \left[\begin{array}{c} \textit{parameter} \\ \text{INDEX } \boxed{1} \\ \text{RESTR } \boxed{\Sigma_2} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The mother shares its index with the head daughter ($\boxed{1}$) and its **RESTR(ITION)** value is the union of the **RESTR** values of the daughters ($\boxed{\Sigma_1}$) and ($\boxed{\Sigma_2}$). In the hierarchy of non-clausal phrases, this type contrasts amongst others with the quantified nominals, which have a **CONTENT** value of type *quant-rel* (Ginzburg & Sag 2000: 203–205). A subtype of *nominal-parameter* is *intersective-modification*, as defined in (45).

since *intersective-mod* is a subtype of *nominal-parameter*, you do not have to mention *head-dtr* at all

$$(45) \quad \textit{intersective-modification} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CONTENT|INDEX } \boxed{1} \\ \text{DTRS} \left\langle \left[\text{SYNSEM|LOC|CONTENT|INDEX } \boxed{1}, \boxed{2} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{HEAD-DTR } \boxed{2} \end{array} \right]$$

This constraint requires the mother to share its index also with the nonhead daughter. It captures the intuition that the noun and its nonhead sister apply to the same entities, as in the case of *red box*.²⁰

Maximal types inherit properties of one of the types of headed phrases, on the one hand, and of one of the non-clausal phrase types, on the other hand. Regular nominal phrases, for instance, such as *red box*, are subsumed by a type, called *regular-nominal-phrase*, that inherits the constraints of *head-functor-phrase*, on the one hand, and *intersective-modification*, on the other hand. Another maximal type is *big-mess-phrase*. Its immediate supertype in the CLAUSALITY hierarchy is the same as for the regular nominal phrases, i.e. *intersective-modification*, but the one in the HEADEDNESS hierarchy is different: being a subtype of *head-independent-phrase*, its nonhead daughter does not select the head daughter. Its SELECT value is, hence, of type *none*. Beside the inherited properties the BMC has some properties of its own. They are spelled out in (46).

If this is the definition, the structure sharing is redundant since it is inherited from the supertype. You should at least add a footnote saying that this structure sharing does not have to be given but is here for explanatory purposes only.

$$(46) \quad \textit{big-mess-phr} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{DTRS} \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{c} \textit{head-functor-phrase} \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CATEGORY} \left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{HEAD} & \textit{adjective} \\ \text{MARKING} & \textit{marked} \end{array} \right], \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{HEAD-DTR } \boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{c} \textit{regular-nominal-phrase} \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CATEGORY|MARKING } a \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The head daughter is required to be a regular nominal phrase whose MARKING value is of type *a*, and the nonhead daughter is required to be an adjectival head-functor phrase with a MARKING value of type *marked*. This licenses APs which are introduced by a marked adverb, as in *so good a bargain* and *how serious a problem*, while it excludes unmarked APs, as in **good a bargain* and **very big a*

²⁰ Another subtype of *nominal-parameter* is *inverted-predication*, which subsumes amongst others the Binominal Noun Phrase Construction and certain types of apposition, see Section 3.5.

house. Iterative application is not licensed, since (46) requires the head daughter to be of type *regular-nominal-phrase*, which is incompatible with the type *big-mess-phrase*. This accounts for the fact that a big mess phrase cannot contain another big mess phrase, as in **that splendid so good a bargain*.

A reviewer remarked that this analysis allows combinations like *so big a red expensive house*, suggesting that it should not. We are not sure, though, that this combination is ill-formed. Notice, for instance, that the sentences in (47), quoted from Zwicky (1995: 116) and Troseth (2009: 42) respectively, are well-formed.

- (47) a. How big a new shrub from France were you thinking of buying?
b. That's as beautiful a little black dress as I've ever seen.

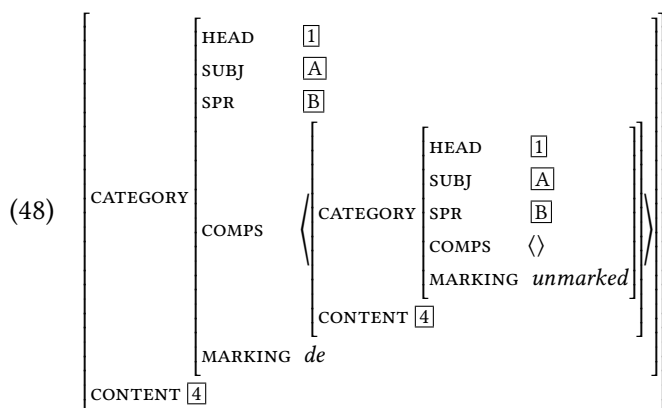
In sum, the analysis of the Big Mess Phrase involves the addition of a type to the bidimensional hierarchy of phrase types, whose properties are partly inherited from its supertypes and partly idiosyncratic.

3.4 Idiosyncratic P+NOM combinations

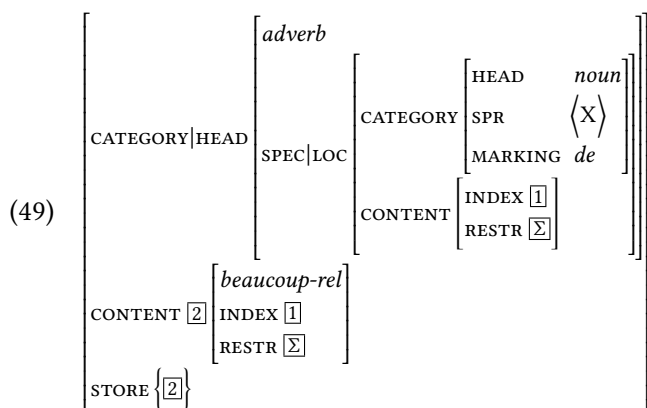
When an ordinary nominal combines with a preposition, the result is a PP. The French *de* 'of', for instance, heads a PP in *je viens de Roubaix* 'I come from Roubaix'. In *beaucoup de farine* 'much flour', by contrast, *de* has a rather different role, as argued in Abeillé et al. (2004). Similar contrasts can be found in other languages. The English *of*, for instance, heads a PP in *the dog of the neighbors*, but its role in *these sort of problems* is rather different, as argued in Maekawa (2015).

3.4.1 A specifier treatment

In their specifier treatment of *beaucoup de farine* 'much flour' Abeillé et al. (2004) treat *de* as a weak head. Typical of a weak head is that it shares nearly all properties of its complement, as spelled out in (48).



de has the same values for HEAD, SUBJ, SPR and CONTENT as its nominal complement. The only difference concerns the MARKING value: *de* requires an unmarked complement, but its own MARKING value is of type *de*. Since it shares this MARKING value with the mother, the latter is compatible with specifiers that require a nominal that is introduced by *de*, such as *beaucoup* ‘much’/‘many’, whose AVM is given in (49).²¹



The selected nominal is required to be unsaturated for SPR and to have a MARKING value of type *de*. The determiner itself is treated as an adverb that shares the index and the restrictions of its nominal head sister. Conversely, the latter also selects its specifier via its SPR value, following the mutual selection regime of the specifier treatment, see Section 2.1.2.

Technically, there is a similarity between the weak head treatment and the definition of functional complementation in Netter (1994), see Section 2.2.1. In both

²¹In this AVM, quoted from Abeillé et al. (2004: 18), the value of SPEC is of type *synsem*, as in Pollard & Sag (1994), and not of type *semantic-object*, as in Ginzburg & Sag (2000).

cases the head, whether weak or functional, inherits the properties of its complement, except for those that are captured by a special feature, such as MARKING or MINOR. There are also differences, of course, for while Netter (1994) applies the functional head analysis to the determiners, Abeillé et al. (2004) apply the weak head analysis to *de*, but not to *beaucoup*. That is why the former is an instance of the DP approach and the latter of the NP approach.

3.4.2 A functor treatment

In a functor treatment of *beaucoup de farine* ‘much flour’ both *de* and *beaucoup* are functors. The former selects a nominal of type *bare* and has a MARKING value of *de* which it shares with the mother. The latter selects a nominal with the MARKING value *de* and has a MARKING value of type *marked* which it shares with the NP as a whole, as spelled out in Figure 18.

add glosses to *de* in figure

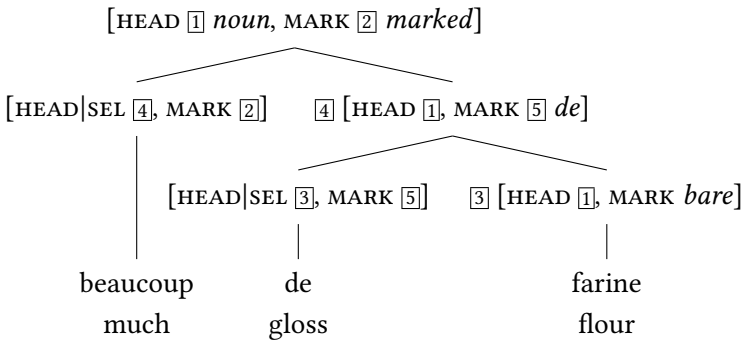


Figure 18: A prepositional functor

Since the noun is the head daughter of *de farine*, the latter’s part-of-speech, valence and meaning are shared directly with *farine*, rather than via the AVM of *de*, as in the weak head treatment.

Comparing the functor treatment with the weak head specifier treatment, a major difference concerns the status of *de*. In the former it is uniformly treated as a semantically vacuous preposition; in the latter it shares the part-of-speech and CONTENT value of its complement, so that it is a noun with a CONTENT value of type *scope-object* in *beaucoup de farine* and a verb with a CONTENT value of type *state-of-affairs* in (50), where it takes an infinitival VP as its complement.

- (50) De sortir un peu te ferait du bien.
 to go.out a bit you would.do good
 ‘Going out a bit would do you some good.’

In some cases, this sharing leads to analyses that are empirically implausible. An example is discussed in [Maekawa \(2015\)](#), who provides an analysis of English nominals of the *kind/type/sort* variety. A typical property of these nominals is that the determiner may show agreement with the rightmost noun, as in *these sort of problems* and *those kind of pitch changes*, rather than with the noun that it immediately precedes. To model this Maekawa considers the option of treating *of* and the immediately preceding noun as weak heads, but dismisses it, since it has the unwanted effect of treating *kind/type/sort* as plural. As an alternative, he develops an analysis in which *of* and the preceding noun are functors ([Maekawa 2015: 149](#)). This yields a plural nominal, but without the side-effect of treating *kind/type/sort* as plural.

3.5 Other nominals with idiosyncratic properties

There are many more types of nominals with idiosyncratic properties, but the allotted time and space are not sufficient to provide a full survey here. Instead, we mention some that have been analyzed in HPSG terms and add pointers to the relevant literature.

Comparable to the nominals with a verbal core, such as gerunds and nominalized infinitives, are nominals with an adjectival core, as in *the very poor* and *the merely skeptical*. They are described and provided with an HPSG analysis in [Arnold & Spencer \(2015\)](#).

A much studied nominal with idiosyncratic properties is the Binominal Noun Phrase Construction (BNPC), exemplified in (51).

- (51) a. She blames it on [her nitwit of a husband].
 b. She had [a skullcracker of a headache].

In contrast to ordinary [NP-*of*-NP] sequences, as in *an employee of a Japanese company*, where the first nominal is the head of the entire NP, and where the second nominal is part of its PP adjunct, the BNPC shows a pattern in which the relation between the nominals is a predicative one: her husband is claimed to be a nitwit, and the headache is claimed to be like a skullcracker. HPSG treatments of the BNPC are provided in [Kim & Sells \(2014\)](#) and [Van Eynde \(2018\)](#). The latter uses the phrase type hierarchy in Figure 17, defining the BNPC as a maximal type

that inherits from *head-independent-phrase* and *inverted-predication*. To capture the intuition that the second nominal is the head of the entire NP, the preposition *of* is treated as a functor that selects a nominal head, as in Maekawa's treatment of the preposition in *these sort of problems*, see Section 3.4.

Another special case is apposition. It comes in (at least) two types, known as close apposition and loose apposition. Relevant examples are given in (52).

- (52) a. [My brother Richard] is a soldier.
 b. [Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia,] is where WW I began.

Both types are compared and analyzed in Kim (2012) and Kim (2014). Van Eynde & Kim (2016) provides an analysis of loose apposition in the Sign-Based Construction Grammar framework.

Idiosyncratic are also the nominals with an extracted determiner, as in the French (53) and the Dutch (54).

- (53) Combien as-tu lu [__ de livres en latin]?
 how.many have-you read of books in Latin
 'How many books have you read in Latin?'
 (54) Wat zijn dat [__ voor vreemde geluiden]?
 what are that for strange noises
 'What kind of strange noises are those?'

The French example is analyzed in Abeillé et al. (2004: 20–21) and the Dutch one in Van Eynde (2004: 47–50). Other kinds of discontinuous NPs are treated in De Kuthy (2002).

4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a survey of how nominals are analyzed in HPSG. Over time three treatments have taken shape, i.e. the specifier treatment, the DP treatment and the functor treatment. Each was presented and applied to ordinary nominals in Section 2. A comparison showed that the treatments which adopt the NP approach fit in better with the surface-oriented monostratal character of HPSG than the DP treatment.

Add: While the functor-based analysis has simpler syntactic structures for determiner-less structures, additional assumptions have to be made regarding the semantics of such structures (not discussed in this chapter).

We then turned to nominals with idiosyncratic properties in Section 3. Since their analysis often requires a relaxation of the strictly lexicalist stance of early HPSG, we first introduced some basic notions of Constructional HPSG and then applied them to such idiosyncratic nominals as the gerund, the Big Mess Construction and irregular P+NOM combinations. Some of these analyses adopt the specifier treatment, others the functor treatment. When both are available, as in the case of the Big Mess Construction and irregular P+NOM combinations, the functor treatment seems more plausible. Finally, we have added pointers to relevant literature for other nominals with idiosyncratic properties, such as those with an adjectival core, the Binominal Noun Phrase Construction, apposition and discontinuous NPs.

Acknowledgements

For their comments on earlier versions of this chapter I would like to thank Bob Borsley, Stefan Müller, Liesbeth Augustinus and two anonymous reviewers. My contributions to the HPSG framework span nearly three decades now, starting with work on a EU-financed project to which also Valerio Allegranza, Doug Arnold and Louisa Sadler contributed (Van Eynde & Schmidt 1998). Beside the EU-funding, it was conversations with Danièle Godard and Ivan Sag that convinced me of the merits and the potential of the HPSG approach. I became a regular at the annual HPSG conferences by 1998 and started teaching it in Leuven around the same time. A heart-felt thanks goes to the colleagues who over the years have created such a stimulating environment to work in.

References

- Abeillé, Anne, Olivier Bonami, Danièle Godard & Jesse Tseng. 2004. The syntax of French N' phrases. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, 6–26. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Abeillé, Anne & Bob Borsley. 2020. Basic properties and elements. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 3–4. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: ??.
- Abney, Stephen. 1987. *The English noun phrase in its sentential aspects*. MIT. (Doctoral dissertation).

- Allegranza, Valerio. 1997. Determiners as functors: NP structure in Italian. In Sergio Balari & Luca Dini (eds.), *Romance in HPSG* (CSLI Lecture Notes 75), 55–107. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Allegranza, Valerio. 2007. *The signs of determination: Constraint-based modelling across languages* (Sabest. Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Sprach- und Translationsswissenschaft). Bern: Peter Lang.
- Arnold, Doug & Danièle Godard. 2020. Relative clauses in HPSG. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 435–485. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: ??.
- Arnold, Doug & Louisa Sadler. 2014. The big mess construction. In Miriam Butt & Tracy Holloway King (eds.), *Proceedings of the LFG14 conference*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Arnold, Doug & Andrew Spencer. 2015. A constructional analysis for the skeptical. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 22nd International Conference on Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, 41–60. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Berman, Judith. 1974. *Adjectives and adjective complement constructions in English*. Harvard University. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Bouma, Gosse. 1988. Modifiers and specifiers in Categorical Unification Grammar. *Linguistics* 26. 21–46.
- Bresnan, Joan. 2001. *Lexical Functional Syntax*. Blackwell.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1957. *Syntactic structures*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1970. Remarks on nominalization. In R.A. Jacobs & P.S. Rosenbaum (eds.), *Readings in English transformational grammar*, 184–221. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn & Company.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2013. Problems of projection. *Lingua* 130. 33–49. DOI: [10.1016/j.lingua.2012.12.003](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2012.12.003).
- De Kuthy, Kordula. 2002. *Discontinuous NPs in German* (Studies in Constraint-Based Lexicalism 14). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Gazdar, Gerald, Ewan Klein, Geoffrey K. Pullum & Ivan A. Sag. 1985. *Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ginzburg, Jonathan & Ivan A. Sag. 2000. *Interrogative investigations: The form, meaning, and use of English interrogatives* (CSLI Lecture Notes 123). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Hudson, Richard. 1990. *English Word Grammar*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Jackendoff, Ray. 1977. *X-bar Syntax. A study of phrase structure*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Kasper, Robert T. 1997. *The semantics of recursive modification*. Ms. Ohio State University. <http://www.essex.ac.uk/linguistics/external/clmt/papers/hpsg/modification.ps> (26 February, 2020).
- Kay, Paul & Ivan Sag. 2012. Cleaning up the big mess: Discontinuous dependencies and complex determiners. In Hans Boas & Ivan Sag (eds.), *Sign-Based Construction Grammar*, 229–256. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Kim, Jong-Bok. 2012. Form and function mismatch in the English appositional construction. *Language Research* 48. 1–23.
- Kim, Jong-Bok. 2014. Similarities and differences between the close and loose apposition in English. *English Language and Linguistics* 20. 79–98.
- Kim, Jong-Bok & Peter Sells. 2011. The big mess construction: interactions between the lexicon and constructions. *English Language and Linguistics* 15. 335–362.
- Kim, Jong-Bok & Peter Sells. 2014. English binominal NPs: a construction-based perspective. *Journal of Linguistics* 15. 1–33.
- Koenig, Jean-Pierre & Frank Richter. 2020. Semantics. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 733–767. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: ??.
- Maekawa, Takafumi. 2015. Agreement mismatch between sort/kind/type and the determiner. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 22nd International Conference on Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, 136–156. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Malouf, Robert. 2000. *Mixed categories in the hierarchical lexicon*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Müller, Stefan. 2020a. Headless in Berlin: Headless structures in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar. In Ulrike Freywald & Horst Simon (eds.), *Headedness and/or grammatical anarchy? (Empirically Oriented Theoretical Morphology and Syntax)*. To appear. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Müller, Stefan. 2020b. HPSG and Construction Grammar. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 1101–1138. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: ??.
- Nerbonne, John. 1992. Representing grammar, meaning and knowledge. In Susanne Preuß & Birte Schmitz (eds.), *Workshop on Text Representation and Do-*

- main Modelling – Ideas From Linguistics and AI* (KIT-Report 97). Technical University Berlin.
- Nerbonne, John & Tony Mullen. 2000. Null-headed nominals in German and English. In Frank Van Eynde, Ineke Schuurman & Ness Schelkens (eds.), *Computational Linguistics in the Netherlands 1998*, 125–146. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Netter, Klaus. 1994. Towards a theory of functional heads: German nominal phrases. In John Nerbonne, Klaus Netter & Carl J. Pollard (eds.), *German in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar* (CSLI Lecture Notes 46), 297–340. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Netter, Klaus. 1996. *Functional categories in an HPSG for German*. Saarbrücken: Universität des Saarlandes. (Dissertation).
- Pollard, Carl & Ivan A. Sag. 1994. *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar* (Studies in Contemporary Linguistics). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Pollard, Carl J. & Ivan A. Sag. 1987. *Information-based syntax and semantics* (CSLI Lecture Notes 13). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech & Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London & New York: Longman.
- Reape, Michael. 1994. Domain union and word order variation in German. In John Nerbonne, Klaus Netter & Carl Pollard (eds.), *German in Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, 151–197. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Richter, Frank. 2020. Formal background. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 29–62. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: ??.
- Sag, Ivan. 1997. English relative clause constructions. *Journal of Linguistics* 33. 431–484.
- Sag, Ivan. 2012. Sign-Based Construction Grammar: an informal synopsis. In Hans Boas & Ivan Sag (eds.), *Sign-Based Construction Grammar*, 69–202. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Sag, Ivan, Thomas Wasow & Emily Bender. 2003. *Syntactic Theory. a Formal Introduction. Second Edition*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Troseth, Erika. 2009. Degree inversion and negative intensifier inversion in the English DP. *The Linguistic Review* 26. 37–65.
- Van Eynde, Frank. 1998. The immediate dominance schemata of HPSG. In Peter-Arno Coppen, Hans van Halteren & Lisanne Teunissen (eds.), *Computational Linguistics in the Netherlands 1997*, 119–133. Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi.
- Van Eynde, Frank. 2003. Prenominals in Dutch. In Jong-Bok Kim & Steve Wechsler (eds.), *Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, 333–356. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

- Van Eynde, Frank. 2004. Minor adpositions in Dutch. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 7(1). 1–58. DOI: [10.1023/B:JCOM.0000003545.77976.64](https://doi.org/10.1023/B:JCOM.0000003545.77976.64).
- Van Eynde, Frank. 2006. NP-internal agreement and the structure of the noun phrase. *Journal of Linguistics* 42. 139–186.
- Van Eynde, Frank. 2007. The Big Mess Construction. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 14th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, 415–433. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2007/> (25 February, 2018).
- Van Eynde, Frank. 2018. Regularity and idiosyncrasy in the formation of nominals. *Journal of Linguistics* 54(4). 823–858. DOI: [10.1017/S0022226718000129](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022226718000129).
- Van Eynde, Frank & Jong-Bok Kim. 2016. Loose apposition. A construction-based analysis. *Functions of Language* 23. 17–39.
- Van Eynde, Frank & Paul Schmidt. 1998. *Linguistic specifications for typed feature structure formalisms*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Wechsler, Stephen. 2020. Agreement. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 133–153. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: ??.
- Zwicky, Arnold. 1995. Exceptional degree markers : a puzzle in internal and external syntax. *OSU Working Papers in Linguistics* 47. 111–123.

Chapter 9

Argument structure and linking

Stephen Wechsler

The University of Texas

Jean-Pierre Koenig

University at Buffalo

Anthony Davis

Southern Oregon University

In this chapter, we discuss the nature and purpose of argument structure in HPSG, focusing on the problems that theories of argument structure are intended to solve, including: (1) the relationship between semantic arguments of predicates and their syntactic realizations, (2) the fact that lexical items can occur in more than one syntactic frame (so-called valence or diathesis alternations), and (3) argument structure as the locus of binding principles. We also discuss cases where the argument structure of a verb includes more than predicted from the meaning of the verb, as well as rationales for a lexical approach to argument structure.

Sag97a does not have VAL remove it.

1 Introduction

For a verb or other predicator to compose with the phrases or pronominal affixes expressing its semantic arguments, the grammar must specify the mapping between the semantic participant roles and syntactic dependents of that verb. For example, the grammar of English indicates that the subject of *eat* fills the eater role and the object of *eat* fills the role of the thing eaten. In HPSG, this mapping is usually broken down into two simpler mappings by positing an intermediate representation called ARG-ST ('argument structure'). The first mapping connects

the participant roles within the semantic CONTENT with the elements of the value of the ARG-ST feature; here we will call the theory of this mapping *linking theory* (see Section 4). The second mapping connects those ARG-ST list elements to the elements of the VAL (‘valence’) lists, namely COMPS (‘complements’) and SUBJ (‘subject’; or SPR, ‘specifier’); we will refer to this second mapping as *argument realization* (see Section 2).¹ These two mappings are illustrated with the simplified lexical sign for the verb *eat* in (1) (for ease of presentation, we use a standard predicate-calculus representation of the value of CONTENT in (1) rather than the attribute-value representation we introduce later on).

(1) Lexical sign for the verb *eat*

PHON	$\langle \text{eat} \rangle$
VAL	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SUBJ} \quad \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle \boxed{2} \rangle \end{array} \right]$
ARG-ST	$\langle \boxed{1}\text{NP}_i, \boxed{2}\text{NP}_j \rangle$
CONTENT	$\text{eat}(i, j)$

In (1), “NP” abbreviates a feature structure representing syntactic and semantic information about a nominal phrase. The variables *i* and *j* are the referential indices for the eater and eaten arguments, respectively, of the *eat* relation. The semantic information in NP_{*i*} semantically restricts the value or referent of *i*.

The ARG-ST feature plays an important role in HPSG grammatical theory. In addition to regulating the mapping from semantic arguments to grammatical relations, ARG-ST is the locus of the theories of anaphoric binding and other construal relations such as control and raising. (This chapter focuses on the function of ARG-ST in semantic mapping, with some discussion of binding and other construal relations only insofar as they interact with that mapping. A more detailed look at binding is presented in Müller & Branco 2020, Chapter 20 of this volume.)

In HPSG, verb diathesis alternations, voice alternations, and derivational processes such as category conversions are all captured within the lexicon (see Section 5 and Davis & Koenig 2020, Chapter 4 of this volume). The different variants of a word are grammatically related either through lexical rules or by means of the lexical type hierarchy. HPSG grammars explicitly capture paradigmatic relations between word variants, making HPSG a *lexical approach to argument structure*, in the sense of Müller & Wechsler (2014). This fundamental property

¹Some linguists, such as Levin & Rappaport Hovav (2005), use the term “argument realization” more broadly, to encompass linking as well.