

Demonstratives and reinforcers in Romance and Germanic languages[☆]

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Received 26 April 1996; revised version 10 October 1996

Abstract

Recent work on the internal structure of noun phrases has argued that several word order differences between Romance and Germanic languages may be explained by the presence of syntactic movement of the noun in Romance, and by the relative absence of this movement in Germanic. This paper examines constructions consisting of demonstrative and reinforcer elements. It is argued that prenominal deictic demonstratives in Romance and Germanic languages, generated in a specifier position below DP (Giusti, 1993a,b), raise to D overtly. In several languages the demonstrative may be ambiguous between a deictic interpretation and what is labelled an indefinite specific interpretation. A deictic demonstrative must raise up into the DP projection overtly; with an indefinite specific, only covert feature movement to D takes place. With respect to the demonstrative reinforcement construction, both the demonstrative and its reinforcer precede the noun in Germanic languages, while the demonstrative precedes, and the reinforcer follows, the noun (plus modifiers) in Romance. Under the assumption that the demonstrative and its reinforcer are base-generated as the specifier and head, respectively, of a functional projection FP, the pattern in Romance is argued to involve syntactic movement of a phrasal category to the left of FP, deriving the postnominal position of the reinforcer. The Germanic pattern is explained by the absence of this movement. The behavior of demonstratives and reinforcers in relative clause constructions is also examined.

1. Introduction

Several differences between Romance and Germanic languages support characterizing Romance as relatively [+] noun movement and Germanic as relatively [–] noun

[☆] This paper develops some ideas originally presented at the 1996 LSA Annual Meeting in San Diego, California. Many thanks to the following people for help with the language data: Viviane Déprez, Thierry Martiny, and Jean-Yves Pollock for French, Anna Bergstrom and Annette Johansson Los for Swedish, Rex Sprouse for Swedish and (non)standard English, and Øystein Vangsnes for Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish. Thanks to Richard Kayne, Guglielmo Cinque, Giuliana Giusti, André Hantson, Giuseppe Longobardi, Deborah Mandelbaum-Seymour, and Jean-Yves Pollock for valuable comments, and to Dana McDaniel for frequent discussion. I assume full responsibility for all errors.

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movement. One characteristic of Romance languages that supports the idea of noun movement is adjective position. Adjectives are overwhelmingly postnominal in Romance,

- (1) (a) el libro corto (Spanish)
 the book short
 ‘the short book’
 (b) le problème difficile (French)
 the problem difficult
 ‘the difficult problem’

and prenominal in Germanic.

- (2) (a) the short book (English)
 (b) det stora huset (Swedish)
 the big house-the
 ‘the big house’

Several syntacticians (see, for example, Valois, 1991; Cinque, 1994; Bernstein, 1993) have argued that the postnominal position of the Romance adjective is derived from an underlying prenominal position by a movement operation that crosses the noun over the adjective(s):

- (3) (a) (*)el corto libro (Spanish)
 (b) el libro_i corto t_i

This type of movement operation is arguably absent in Germanic languages, where the prenominal surface position of the adjective is taken to correspond to the underlying order of elements in the determiner phrase (DP).

A second argument for noun movement (to D) in Romance comes from work by Longobardi (1994) on proper names. Longobardi has proposed that proper names in a language like Italian raise to the D-position, the locus of referentiality, in the syntax (examples Longobardi’s):

- (4) (a) [_{DP} Il mio Gianni] ha finalmente telefonato. (Italian)
 (b) *[_{DP} Mio Gianni] ha finalmente telefonato.
 (c) [_{DP} Gianni mio] ha finalmente telefonato.
 (the) my Gianni has finally called
 ‘My Gianni has finally called.’

The bracketed material in the example in (4a) represents the underlying order of elements in the DP. Example (4b) illustrates that the entire DP is ungrammatical without an overt D⁰. The pattern in (4c) is derived by crossing the proper name *Gianni*, over the possessor *mio*, into the D⁰ position, obliterating the determiner *il*:

- (5) (= (4c)) [_{DP} [_D Gianni_i] [_{Agp} mio [_{Agp} t'_i] [_{NP} t_i]]]

In Germanic languages, the only acceptable order of DP elements corresponds to what is taken to be the underlying order (see (6a)). The equivalent of an Italian example like (4c) is ungrammatical in English and other Germanic languages, as exemplified by (6b) (examples Longobardi's):

- (6) (a) Old John came in.
 (b) *John old came in.

Longobardi argues that in English, and Germanic languages generally, proper names may only raise to D^0 at LF.

In a third case, Longobardi (1995, 1996) has identified what he argues to be a restricted display of 'construct state', familiar from Semitic languages (see, for example, Ritter, 1988, 1991; Siloni, 1994), in Romance. Hebrew, for example, exhibits two different patterns to express the genitive. The 'free state' (or 'absolute') construction may be loosely represented by the English gloss 'the N of the N', and also corresponds to the typical pattern used to express the genitive in Romance. In the construct state, on the other hand, the genitive is expressed via juxtaposition of the head noun and genitive ($N-N_{gen}$), with the possibility of a definite article preceding the genitive N when the DP is definite (see references cited for additional properties of construct state). Longobardi argues that some evidence for construct state may be found in Romance, but that it is basically limited to examples with the Romance equivalent of *home* (examples Longobardi's):

- (7) (a) casa Rossi (Italian)
 home Rossi
 'the Rossis' home'
 (b) Casa/Ca' meva no és lluny d'aquí. (Catalan)
 home my NEG is far from here
 'My home isn't far from here.'

Once again, the Germanic languages do not admit this type of construction. As illustrated by the following English example, *home* must always follow the genitive argument:

- (8) (a) the Smith's home
 (b) my home

For this type of construction as well, Longobardi has proposed that the Romance languages exhibit overt substitution of N^0 to D^0 , parallel to proposals that have been put forth for Semitic languages.¹ This proposal is supported by the word order facts, in addition to the otherwise unexpected absence of an overt definite article.

¹ In fact, Longobardi (1995: 10) argues that construct state in Semitic involves adjunction, not substitution, to (a null article in) D.

In summary, the analyses advanced for three different construction types all argue for syntactic head movement to account for the Romance facts, whereas the corresponding Germanic facts are explained by the (relative) absence of movement.

In this paper, I will focus on another sort of construction that again distinguishes Romance from Germanic languages. It will become evident, however, that this construction may not be assimilated with the three discussed above, and therefore, that this additional set of Romance vs. Germanic distinctions may not be explained by [+/-] noun movement. I argue, instead, that the Romance pattern, unlike the Germanic one, may be accounted for by syntactic movement of an XP.

In colloquial Scandinavian varieties, including at least Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish, demonstratives may be reinforced with adverbial-like elements. The following Swedish and Norwegian examples are representative of the phenomenon (Norwegian examples due to Vangsnes):^{2,3}

- (9) (a) den här mannen (Swedish)
 the here man-the
 ‘this man’
 (b) den där bilen
 the there car-the
 ‘that car’
- (10) (a) den herre klokka (Norwegian)
 the here watch-the
 ‘this watch’
 (b) det derre huset
 the there house-the
 ‘that house’

Interestingly, nonstandard English exhibits a construction that is equivalent to the Scandinavian one:

² Øystein Vangsnes (personal communication) points out that the Norwegian equivalent is much more colloquial than the Swedish one, and is never found in the written language. Furthermore, in some Norwegian varieties, including his own, there is obligatory adjectival-like inflection on the reinforcer elements (see (10)), also appearing in some very colloquial varieties of Swedish.

³ I will not be discussing the Scandinavian enclitic article (glossed as *the*) in this work. Contrary to certain proposals (see Delsing, 1988, 1993; Kester, 1993; Taraldsen, 1990; Santelmann, 1993), I do not assume that the N has raised to D in the Germanic (including the Scandinavian) languages in a simple DP (e.g., Swedish *mannen*, man-the), and therefore do not take the enclitic article to correspond to D. Furthermore, I will not adopt the idea that the N raises to a lower DP-like projection (ArtP, in some work) in the presence of an attributive adjective (e.g., Swedish *det stora huset*, the big house-the) due to a proposed blocking effect of the adjective. Instead, I subscribe to the idea that the N in Germanic languages never overtly raises up to D (Giusti, 1993a) or even to the lower Art, but only raises over argument structure (Longobardi, personal communication). The enclitic article is, rather, a definite agreement marker that is either base-generated on the noun, or spelled out as a result of Spec-head agreement between the noun and its specifier in, say, AgrP, a functional head lower than what has been proposed for Romance (and Semitic) languages.

- (11) (a) this here guy (nonstandard English)
 (b) that there car

Not under consideration here are standard English examples like (12), and their Scandinavian equivalents, where I take the postnominal locative to be a true adverbial:

- (12) this guy here (standard English)

In this example, we may readily substitute the definite or indefinite article for the demonstrative (i.e., *the/a guy here*), already suggesting that the adverbial cannot be dependent on the demonstrative *per se*. In the examples in (11), however, substitution of either the definite or indefinite article results in ungrammaticality (i.e., **the/a here guy*), as expected if the reinforcer is truly dependent on the demonstrative.

I refer to the general phenomenon, as illustrated in (9)–(11), as ‘demonstrative reinforcement’. In this type of construction, the reinforcer (e.g., *here* in (11a)) may only modify and cooccur with the demonstrative element; it may not appear independently. The demonstrative, on the other hand, is generally free to appear without the presence of the reinforcer, or at least may do so in specified contexts.⁴

In contrast to the Germanic pattern above, French exhibits demonstrative reinforcement with the phonologically enclitic reinforcer *-ci* (or *-là*) following the head noun:

- (13) (a) *cette femme-ci* (French)
 this woman-here
 ‘this woman’
 (b) *ce livre-là*
 that book-there
 ‘that book’

(Again, I distinguish between the enclitic form *-ci* and the true adverbial *ici*.) Although the reinforcer *-ci* is not adjacent to the demonstrative (*ce*) in French the way it is in the Germanic examples, it is nonetheless not an independent element and relies on the presence of a demonstrative.⁵

⁴ The colloquial Swedish demonstrative construction (illustrated in (9)) requires the appearance of the reinforcer, as well as the enclitic definite article. The elements serving as demonstratives in this construction (e.g., *den/det*) also have a status as adjectival definite articles, in which case the reinforcer does not appear. When these adjectival articles are stressed, they are interpreted as demonstratives. Øystein Vangsnes (personal communication) informs me that in the context under discussion in the text *den/det* should be glossed as ‘the’. There is yet another set of demonstratives (e.g., *denna/detta*) used in more formal Swedish. These elements are not reinforced, and the enclitic article is absent, except in colloquial usage (where the enclitic article may be found).

⁵ Related to the French demonstrative forms under discussion are the demonstrative pronouns, which may also exhibit the reinforcer:

- (i) (a) *celui*
 (b) *celui-ci*
 this one (-here) (masc.sg.)

The aim of this paper will be to study the demonstrative reinforcement construction from a cross-linguistic perspective. This will involve examining the two elements that form the construction, demonstratives and reinforcers. In Section 2, I review several possible analyses for the (simple) demonstrative, and adopt the idea that, cross-linguistically, the demonstrative is generated in a specifier position of a functional category below DP. In the Romance and Germanic languages, where the demonstrative is in complementary distribution with the definite article, the head of the XP containing the demonstrative raises and substitutes into D. I will show that in several languages, in particular English and the Scandinavian languages, two possible interpretations (deictic vs. indefinite specific) are available for the demonstrative, and I argue that each interpretation is associated with a particular derivation. In Section 3, I examine the demonstrative reinforcement construction, and develop the idea that the reinforcer is generated as the head of the functional projection of which the demonstrative is a specifier. The surface word order differences between Germanic and Romance languages will be shown to reduce to the availability of a movement operation in Romance that is absent in Germanic. In Section 4, I demonstrate that restrictive relative clauses, although incompatible with deictic demonstratives cross-linguistically, are compatible with indefinite demonstratives in those languages exhibiting them. The explanation for the nonuniform acceptability of the two types of demonstratives with relative clauses will rest on the analysis developed in the previous sections. In subsections 4.1 and 4.2, I show how certain facts about reduced relatives, including several recalcitrant French examples, may be straightforwardly accounted for within the general theory proposed. Section 5 summarizes the major ideas of the paper, and briefly considers how the analysis may be applied to other strikingly parallel phenomena.

2. The syntactic status of demonstratives

Before I address the facts specific to the demonstrative reinforcement construction, something must be said about simple demonstratives. Exactly what type of element is the demonstrative and how should it be represented structurally? In order to do this, I will begin with an idea found in Giusti (1993a,b), expanded on in Bernstein (1993), and also found in Brugè (1995, 1996) and Roca (1996), that the demonstrative and the definite article do not correspond to the same structural position (cf. Vangsnes, to appear). One argument for distinguishing the demonstrative from the definite article is that in many languages, the two elements can cooccur (examples (14c,d) from Delsing, 1988, citing Lundebj, 1965):

- (14) (a) *el hombre este* (cf. *este hombre*) (Spanish)
 the man this
 ‘this man’

-
- (ii) (a) *celle*
 (b) *celle-ci*
 this one (-here) (fem.sg.)

- | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| (b) omul acesta | (cf. acest om) | (Romanian) |
| man-the this | | |
| 'this man' | | |
| (c) ez a haz | | (Hungarian) |
| this the house | | |
| 'this house' | | |
| (d) ika n anak | | (Javanese) |
| this the child | | |
| 'this child' | | |

Second, the demonstrative may stand alone, a property not shared by the definite article (but is perhaps shared with the indefinite article).⁶ Third, in many languages the demonstrative is adjectival in nature (see Dryer, 1992: 120–122), exhibiting the full range of adjectival inflection and often occupying the position typical of adjectives.

Giusti (1993a,b) proposes that the demonstrative occupies a specifier position immediately below DP, her AgrP. This allows a straightforward derivation of the Romanian example from (14b). The noun raises in the syntax to D⁰, where it (left-) adjoins to the definite article, having crossed over the demonstrative in Spec,AgrP:

- (15) [_{DP} [_{D'} om_i-ul] [_{AgrP} acesta [_{Agr'} t'_i] [_{NP} t_i]]]

Giusti (1993a) derives examples like the Romanian one provided in parentheses in (14b), where the demonstrative appears prenominally, by raising the demonstrative from Spec,AgrP to Spec,DP. For both of the Romanian examples, notice that either the definite article or the demonstrative is located within the DP. This accords with the idea that a [+definite] feature in D must be associated with an overt element, whether a proper name, a personal pronoun, a definite article, or a demonstrative. Brugè (1996), adopting Giusti's basic proposal, claims that the word order facts in languages like Spanish, where the demonstrative may appear after the noun and its modifiers (recall (14a), *el hombre este*), argue that demonstratives are generated in a low Spec position. Noun movement to a functional head between DP and this (lower) AgrP will derive the position of the noun relative to the demonstrative. The example in (14b), with a prenominal demonstrative, would be represented as follows according to Brugè's analysis:

- (16) [_{DP} este_j [_{D'}] ... [_{XP} t'_j [_{X'} hombre_i] ... [_{AgrP} t_j [_{Agr'} t'_i]]]] ... [_{NP} [_{N'} t_i]]]]]

The prenominal demonstrative here has raised for Spec,AgrP (through intermediate Specs) up into Spec,DP, and the noun has raised into the highest functional head relevant for Spanish, but necessarily lower than the D that was justified for Romanian in (15).

⁶ An exception to this generalization is the French demonstrative *ce*, which may not stand alone.

A question raised by this type of analysis is what prevents the D^0 position from being occupied by, for example, the definite article when Spec,DP is occupied by the demonstrative (e.g., in Romanian and Spanish). The answer to this question would require a stipulation along the lines of a ‘doubly filled DP filter’ (at least, at PF), which is, in fact, what Giusti assumes. Another way to derive the prenominal position of the demonstrative, and of avoiding a stipulation like the ‘doubly filled DP filter’, is to suppose that the X^0 corresponding to the demonstrative head in Spec,AgrP raises and substitutes into the D^0 position. This would automatically account for the absence of a (prenominal) demonstrative cooccurring with a definite article in Romance and Germanic languages.⁷ This modification to Giusti’s and Brugè’s structures yields the following derivation for *este hombre*:⁸

(17) [_{DP} [_{D'} este_i] [_{AgrP} t_i [_{Agr'}]]] ... hombre

Some support for the idea that the demonstrative raises to D, rather than Spec,DP, is provided by the fact that in several dialects of French Picard, the (simple) demonstrative element functions as a definite article (examples from Haighneré, 1903/1969: 264):⁹

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| (18) (a) chele école
this school
‘the school’
(b) che monde
this world
‘the earth’ | (Boulogne Picard) |
|---|-------------------|

In other words, the demonstrative head that starts out as a phrasal element (in Spec,AgrP) undergoes raising to D, where properties of the head in these dialects contribute the definite interpretation. The interpretation of the demonstrative elements in these examples would be difficult to explain if we adopted the proposal that the demonstrative occupied either Spec,AgrP or Spec,DP, since neither structural position has been associated with the definite article interpretation. Perhaps these examples would be accommodated under Roca’s (1996) account, in which he argues that the Spanish demonstrative is a functional head projecting an XP (his DemP) sit-

⁷ Although I have argued that the demonstrative substitutes into D in Romance and Germanic languages, I don’t believe that this is necessarily the case for all languages. It is quite possible that in some languages the demonstrative raises to Spec,DP, even though the D is filled with a definite or indefinite article. This might turn out to be the case for the examples in (14c,d), although I have no evidence for such a claim at this point.

⁸ I will also not adopt Brugè’s claim that the (Spanish) demonstrative is generated in a low Spec, and instead adhere to Giusti’s original proposal. Brugè’s motivation for a relatively low AgrP comes from the position of the postnominal Spanish demonstrative relative to the adjectives: in general, the demonstrative follows the adjective(s). I believe there is another way to account for these facts, which I briefly discuss in the conclusion.

⁹ A similar pattern is described for Gondecourt Picard by Cochet (1933: 23).

uated below DP. The question there would be how to ‘transform’ a true demonstrative into a definite article, although a head raising analysis comes to mind as a possibility to explore. A more serious concern is that the analysis, as I understand it, entails the idea that the (true) demonstrative is not syntactically homogeneous cross-linguistically, an idea that has not been independently justified.

The raising analysis I adopt for the demonstrative may also explain another characteristic of demonstratives that has not, to my knowledge, been addressed in the syntactic literature. In English, for example, demonstratives are generally ambiguous between a deictic interpretation and what I tentatively label an indefinite specific interpretation:

- (19) (a) this woman (right here)
 = this woman (deictic)
 (b) this woman (from Paris)
 = a woman (indefinite specific)

This latter interpretation, paraphrased with an indefinite article in (19b), is particularly salient in colloquial speech. That the interpretation is indeed indefinite specific is supported by the fact that this demonstrative, unlike the deictic, sounds perfectly natural in *there*-insertion contexts in English:¹⁰

- (20) There’s this book (that) you ought to read.

Although the indefinite specific interpretation for demonstratives is available in English, it happens to be absent in German, where demonstratives are necessarily deictic in interpretation.¹¹

I would like to suggest that the deictic interpretation is associated with a demonstrative that has raised up to DP (D^0 under my account), and that the indefinite specific interpretation is associated with a demonstrative that has not raised out of the AgrP projection. One way of distinguishing the English-type demonstrative from the German-type demonstrative is to characterize the former as [+/-definite], and the latter as [+definite]. A [+definite] demonstrative (in any language) will require overt movement of the demonstrative element up into the DP, where it can be interpreted. In the Romance and Germanic languages, the movement operation will involve substitution of the head of the XP containing the demonstrative into D; in other languages, the parameter may involve phrasal movement to Spec,DP. A [–definite] interpretation is the result of a demonstrative element that has not raised up into the DP projection. Two questions now arise with respect to the claim about an example like (19b): (a) is DP present at all in this type of example? (b) if so, how is DP

¹⁰ There seems to me to be a slightly different interpretation with *that*. Although still acceptable in *there*-insertion contexts, I would characterize the relevant interpretation with *that* as anaphoric. This is apparently true in Scandinavian languages as well. I leave open the question of how best to unify these interpretations.

¹¹ Thanks to Dana McDaniel for pointing this out to me.

'licensed'? In response to the first question, it is fair to assume that DP is indeed present, given the argument status of the relevant noun phrase, and assuming a predicate/argument distinction between NP and DP. The licensing of the DP in these types of examples may be achieved by appealing to aspects of Chomsky's (1995) minimalist program (see also compatible ideas in Longobardi, 1996). In the case of an indefinite specific (or [–definite]) demonstrative, 'licensing' of DP amounts to the requirement that features of D must be checked for full interpretation at LF. This is achieved via covert raising (to D) of the relevant feature(s) of the head of the indefinite specific demonstrative. Since this covert movement takes place after Spell-Out, the lexical element is not pied-piped along with the feature(s). With [+definite] deictic demonstratives, overt raising of the lexical element is required (cross-linguistically), thereby meeting the full interpretation requirements already at Spell-Out.

The relative absence (but see immediately below) of [–definite] demonstratives in Romance, as compared to their relative presence in English and the Scandinavian languages (see Section 3), may in fact be related to Longobardi's (1994, 1996) hypothesis that DP interpretative principles may only be applied prior to Spell-Out in Romance languages, so that movement taking place after Spell-Out (i.e., covert movement) would not be interpreted. In other words, any movement that may take place covertly and determine interpretation in a language like English, would not be interpretable in a language like Italian, suggesting that a [–definite] demonstrative could never be interpretable in Romance languages. It is furthermore interesting to note that the absence of movement of lexical material (to D) argued for here for the indefinite demonstratives is reminiscent of the existential interpretation assigned to (lexically) empty Ds in Longobardi's theory.

Although the demonstratives in the Romance languages are generally [+definite], patterning with German in this respect, the French facts are, for many speakers, parallel to the English ones:

- | | | | |
|----------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|----------|
| (21) (a) | <i>ce gars (ici)</i> | (deictic) | (French) |
| | this guy (here) | | |
| | 'this guy' | | |
| | (b) (il y a) <i>ce gars</i> | (indefinite specific) | |
| | (there's) this guy | | |
| | 'a guy' | | |

These examples illustrate that *ce gars* is potentially ambiguous between a deictic and an indefinite specific interpretation, arguing that the French demonstrative may also be [+/–definite]. The additional context provided in parentheses facilitates the deictic interpretation for (21a), and the indefinite specific interpretation for (21b). Julie Auger (personal communication) points out that in Québec French, the indefinite specific interpretation is apparently unavailable, but the explanation for this reduces to the fact that a reinforcer is obligatory with the demonstrative in this variety (see next section). The pattern of obligatory reinforcers with true demonstratives has also been described for Walloon (Remacle, 1952: 359) and for several varieties of French (but not Belgian) Picard.

Although a [–definite] interpretation is available with French demonstratives, at least in some varieties, my sense is that it is not quite as productive as with the English or Scandinavian counterparts. In particular, it is completely unavailable (in all French varieties, as far as I know) with reinforcers, whereas English and Scandinavian consistently admit this interpretation (see next section). In this respect, French has a somewhat intermediate status, not patterning strictly with either Romance or Germanic. Similarly, the evidence for N-to-D movement in French (see Longobardi, 1996) seems to me to be less robust than in the other Romance languages.¹² On the basis of such considerations, I would like to conjecture that the cross-linguistic availability of a [–definite] interpretation for demonstratives, which I have suggested reduces to the availability of covert movement of a [–definite] feature to D, is to be associated with the broader phenomenon of N-to-D movement. I will have nothing to say at this point about the perhaps unexpected behavior of German demonstratives (always [+definite]), although it is conceivable that this may also be related to some other properties relevant to N-to-D movement (see Longobardi, 1994: 653, fn. 50).

3. Demonstrative reinforcement

So far, I have developed the idea that demonstratives are base-generated in a specifier position immediately below DP, and that prenominal deictic demonstratives in Romance and Germanic languages involve raising the demonstrative head up to D. I now return to the demonstrative reinforcement construction. Two questions must be addressed: (1) what is the relationship between the demonstrative and its reinforcer? and (2) how may this relationship be expressed syntactically?

This first question has already been touched on in Section 1. As I mentioned there, the reinforcer is dependent on the demonstrative, but not the other way around. The proposal I make is that *den här/this here/ce-ci* are base-generated as complex elements, with the adverbial reinforcer occupying the head of a functional XP projected by the reinforcer head, labelled FP below and throughout the rest of the paper (and therefore replacing Giusti's AgrP):

(22) [_{FP} ce [_{F'} -ci]]

(23) [_{FP} this [_{F'} here]]

I assume that the demonstrative is generated in this configuration whether or not a reinforcer is present. The relationship proposed for the demonstrative and reinforcer recalls the relationship assumed between *ne* and *pas* in a Pollick-style (1989) approach to French sentential negation. Unlike *ne* however, which is phonologically proclitic, the French demonstrative reinforcer *-ci* is enclitic.

The Scandinavian and English counterparts of the reinforcers, on the other hand, are not clitic-like, having the form of full words. Furthermore, recall that the demon-

¹² In fact, Longobardi (1996: 13) characterizes the evidence for French construct state as 'more residual'.

stratives are potentially ambiguous between [+/-definite] interpretations in these languages. In order to derive the Swedish and nonstandard English facts illustrated in (9) and (11), and repeated below in (24) and (25), the analysis of demonstratives developed in Section 2 would force raising of the demonstrative head itself up into the DP projection with [+definite] demonstratives, and covert raising of features to D with [-definite] demonstratives.

- (24) (a) *den här mannen* (Swedish)
 the here man-the
 'this man'
 (b) *den där bilen*
 the there car-the
 'that car'
- (25) (a) *this here guy* (nonstandard English)
 (b) *that there car*

There is, however, no indication that the position of the noun has been affected. We might then tentatively relate the relative absence of noun movement in Germanic languages, as discussed in Section 1, to the fact that the noun in these languages will never appear to the left of the reinforcer in the constructions under consideration here.

It might now appear tempting to assimilate the French examples in (13), repeated here in (26), with the earlier cases of what was arguably X^0 -movement of the noun in Romance:

- (26) (a) *cette femme-ci* (French)
 this woman-here
 'this woman'
 (b) *ce livre-là*
 that book-there
 'that book'

That is, we could postulate that in both Germanic and Romance, the demonstrative plus reinforcer are base-generated preminally, as a complex syntactic unit (i.e., specifier and head of FP, respectively), and that in a language like French, the N head raises to a position between the demonstrative and its reinforcer. One possibility would be to say that the noun raises and (left-)adjoins to the reinforcer in F^0 . (Recall that reinforced demonstratives are always [+definite] in French, requiring substitution of the demonstrative head into D.)

There is evidence, however, that although movement may indeed be the operation that distinguishes Romance from Germanic, the movement relevant to this construction cannot be X^0 -movement. Consider the following examples from French:

- (27) (a) *ce livre jaune ci* (French)
 this book yellow here
 'this yellow book'

- (b) *cette femme intelligente ci*
 this woman intelligent here
 ‘this intelligent woman’

Notice that the reinforcer *-ci* follows both the noun and the postnominal adjective.¹³ It is difficult to see how the [noun+adjective] may be taken to constitute a (complex) syntactic head. As discussed at the beginning of the paper, the approach I adopt with respect to noun/adjective order in Romance is to assume that the postnominal position of the adjective is derived by the N crossing over the adjective. This can be illustrated by the structure in (28), where the noun *livre* has crossed over the adjoined adjective *jaune* on its way to the Num(ber)⁰ position.¹⁴

- (28) ... [NumP [Num' livre_i] [NP [AP jaune] [NP t_i]]] ...
 book yellow

I conclude, therefore, that the postnominal position of the reinforcer in (27a) is not derived via noun movement.

Similarly, the reinforcer may follow a noun complement (examples from Grevisse, 1986):¹⁵

- (29) (a) *ce marchand de vin ci* (French)
 this merchant of wine here
 ‘this wine merchant’

¹³ Thierry Martiny (personal communication) provides further examples of the phenomenon:

- (i) *cette histoire bizarre ci*
 this story bizarre here
 ‘this bizarre story’
- (ii) *cet homme extraordinaire ci*
 this man extraordinary here
 ‘this extraordinary man’
- (iii) *ce travail remarquable ci*
 this work remarkable here
 ‘this remarkable work’
- (iv) *cette voiture italienne ci*
 this car Italian here
 ‘this Italian car’
- (v) *cette voiture électrique ci*
 this car electric here
 ‘this electric car’

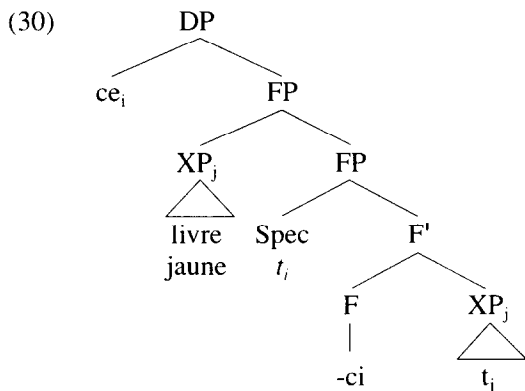
¹⁴ Following precedents in the literature, I assume that Num(ber)P is the locus of number agreement of the noun.

¹⁵ Thierry Martiny (personal communication) provides these additional examples:

- (i) *ce délégué du ministère ci*
 this delegate of-the minister here
 ‘this delegate of the minister’
- (ii) *cette tasse de café ci*
 this cup of coffee here
 ‘this cup of coffee’

- (b) ces preuves de bonté là
 these proofs of kindness there
 'this evidence of kindness'

These examples further argue that an X^0 movement operation cannot explain the position of *-ci* relative to the demonstrative. The examples in (27) and (29) argue, instead, that if there is movement involved in these cases of adjectival modification and complementation, then the movement must be of the XP (i.e., phrasal) variety. In other words, an XP, not an X^0 , must raise and adjoin to a position between the demonstrative and its reinforcer. I suggest that this movement adjoins the XP containing the noun and its modifiers to FP.¹⁶ The derivation for an example like (27a) would now be as follows, where the movement of deictic *ce* (into DP) is also represented:¹⁷



Although there is no overt evidence for XP movement in the Germanic equivalent of the demonstrative reinforcement construction, Swedish (and Scandinavian, generally) *den här* and nonstandard English *this here* may also appear with adjectives,

¹⁶ Another possible instance of XP movement internal to the DP in Romance was proposed in Bernstein (1993: 47) for an example like the following in Italian:

(i) un libro vecchio di ricette bello
 a book old of recipes nice
 'a nice old book of recipes'

For this example, I assumed that noun movement internal to the inner bracketed segment in (ii) derived the postnominal position of the adjective *vecchio* relative to the noun *libro*. I further proposed that the XP containing the noun, adjective *vecchio*, and the complement *di ricette* raised to the Spec of the adjective *bello*. The derivation may be represented schematically as follows:

(ii) un [[libro_i vecchio t_i di ricette]_j bello] [t_j]_i

See also Sánchez (1995), Androutsopoulou (1995), and Martín (1995) for additional arguments for phrasal movement within DP.

¹⁷ This structure presupposes the possibility that heads may have specifiers and adjuncts (cf. Kayne, 1994), an assumption independently made for adnominal adjectives (recall (28)).

- (31) (a) *det här stora huset* (Swedish)
 this here big house-the
 ‘this big house’
 (b) *den här långa resan*
 this here long journey-the
 ‘this long journey’
 (32) (a) this here big house (nonstandard English)
 (b) this here long journey

and noun complements.

- (33) *den här ringen av guld* (Swedish)
 this here ring-the of gold
 ‘this ring of gold’
 (34) this here piece of paper (nonstandard English)

For these examples, I assume that the demonstrative raises up to DP in the cases displaying the deictic interpretation. On the other hand, the position of the reinforcer relative to the nouns, complements, and adjectives argues that Germanic languages do not allow the XP movement claimed to exist in Romance.

Why exactly would the XP (containing NP) have to move in Romance languages? I would like to relate the proposed movement to the morphological nature of the head of FP, that is, the head hosting the reinforcer. Specifically, the head of FP in Romance, displaying the reinforcer (*-ci* or *-là*) in a language like French, contains a ‘strong’ feature (in the sense of Chomsky, 1995) that must be checked, forcing overt leftward movement of the XP containing the NP and its modifiers. This then predicts that there should be evidence of strong F (with demonstratives) in languages like Spanish and Catalan, languages which do not exhibit reinforcers of the French variety. I believe there is indeed evidence of strong F in Romance languages without (overt) reinforcers, although the details are beyond the scope of this paper. In these languages, strong F would be responsible for overt raising of the NP (plus modifiers) to the left of FP, deriving the postnominal position of demonstratives available in these languages, with an additional requirement that D be lexically filled with the definite article. In the Germanic languages, on the other hand, the F feature is not strong, and so movement is not forced. If movement is not obligatory, then by economy considerations, it is impossible, accounting for the prenominal position of reinforcers across Germanic languages.

We have seen in this section that what appear to be two different strategies for reinforcing demonstrative elements (preceding [N+modifiers] vs. following [N+modifiers]) may be reduced to an identical underlying structure. The difference in the surface order of elements is simply the result of a movement operation in Romance that raises the XP containing the [N+modifiers] and (left-)adjoins it to the maximal category (here, FP) projected by the head F.

4. Relative clauses

Demonstrative reinforcement is possible with relative clauses in English, as the following examples illustrate:

- (35) (a) this here guy that I know ... (nonstandard English)
 (= a guy that I know ...)
 (b) this here watch that I broke ...
 (= a watch that I broke ...)
- (36) (a) this guy that I know ... (standard English)
 (= a guy that I know ...)
 (b) this watch that I broke ...
 (= a watch that I broke ...)

Note, however, that the interpretation of the demonstrative is invariably indefinite specific. The deictic interpretation is unavailable in the presence of a restrictive relative clause. In order to obtain a deictic interpretation for the demonstrative, the accompanying relative clause must be nonrestrictive (as in (37)). The following examples actually admit both the deictic and indefinite specific interpretations:

- (37) (a) This (here) guy, who's always late for work, is from Switzerland.
 (b) This (here) watch, which I broke last week, is working fine now.

In French, where the reinforced demonstrative is necessarily deictic in interpretation, the reinforcer may not be separated from the noun by the relative clause, as shown in the ungrammatical (38a). In fact, the reinforcer may not appear at all if the relative clause is interpreted restrictively (38b), but may appear when the relative clause is nonrestrictive (38c).

- (38) (a) *Ce livre que j'ai acheté ci ... (French)
 this book that I-have bought here
 'This book that I bought ...'
 (b) *Ce livre-ci que j'ai acheté ... (restrictive)
 (c) Ce livre-ci, que j'ai acheté ... (nonrestrictive)

Note that French, like English, allows restrictive relative clauses with demonstratives when the demonstrative is indefinite specific:¹⁸

¹⁸ The examples are due to Thierry Martiny. Viviane Déprez (personal communication) provides the following example:

(i) Ce mec que je connais, il fait des études pour devenir architecte.
 this guy that I know, he does some studies for to-become architect
 'A guy that I know, he's studying to become an architect.'

Jean-Yves Pollock (personal communication) provides an additional example:

(ii) Alors tu vois, j'étais tranquillement assis dans le métro quand y'a ce type avec une guitare qui se pointe et qui se met à me hurler dans les oreilles.

- (39) (a) ... il y a ce délégué du ministère qui s'amène et qui
 there is this delegate of-the minister who CL-shows-up and who
 me demande si ...
 CL asks if
 '... there's a delegate of the minister who shows up and asks me if ...'
 (b) ... et voilà ce gars qui s'amène et me demande si ...
 and there's this guy who CL-shows-up and CL asks if
 '... and there's a guy who shows up and asks me if ...'

In other words, the presence of a demonstrative with deictic interpretation precludes a restrictive relative clause, whether or not this demonstrative is reinforced. And although reinforced demonstratives in French are necessarily deictic, their English counterparts remain potentially ambiguous between the two interpretations.

In Swedish and Norwegian, where the reinforcer is for the most part required (see note 4), the facts are parallel to the English ones with the reinforcer *here/there*. That is, the relative clause in these languages may be restrictive when the demonstrative is interpreted indefinitely (as in (40)), and it is necessarily nonrestrictive with the deictic interpretation of the demonstrative (as in (41)). The following Norwegian facts (due to Vangsnes) hold generally for Swedish and Danish as well:

- (40) Den derre boka du anbefalte, har de visst (Norwegian)
 the there book-the you recommended have they seemingly
 på Studia.
 on Studia
 'They appear to have that book you recommended at Studia.'
 (41) Den derre boka, som de forøvrig har på Studia, er virkelig
 the there book-the which they by-the-way have on Studia is really
 lesverdig.
 read-worthy
 'That book, which they by the way have at Studia, is really worth reading.'

That the example in (40) is indeed restrictive is shown by the absence of an overt complementizer. In the nonrestrictive example in (41), on the other hand, the presence of a relative pronoun (i.e., *som*) is obligatory.

Recall that earlier in the paper (see Section 2) I suggested that the deictic interpretation of a demonstrative involves movement of the demonstrative (head) from Spec,FP up to within the DP projection. Drawing on this proposal, I would like to further suggest an explanation for the fact that the restrictive relative clause is only possible when the demonstrative is not interpreted deictically, that is, when it does *not* raise up to DP. The explanation is consistent with and draws support from

So you see, I was quietly seated in the metro when there was this guy with a guitar who CL-appears and who CL-starts to CL-yell in the ears

'So you see, I was quietly seated in the metro when there was a guy with a guitar who appears and who starts to yell at me.'

Kayne's (1994) approach to relative clauses. Kayne proposes that relative clauses involve the underlying structure of (42), where the relative clause (CP) is a complement of D:

(42) [_{DP} D⁰ CP]

According to Kayne, the NP (plus its functional projections) containing the 'head' of the relative raises from within CP to Spec,CP (Kayne 1994: 87, (9)):

(43) the [_{CP} [_{NP} picture]_i [_{C'} that [Bill saw [_e]_i]]]

In the example in (43), the NP containing *picture* raises from the complement position of the verb *saw*. Notice that within Kayne's approach, the definite article is not directly associated with the (raised) noun, but external to the relative clause CP.

Let's now see how Kayne's approach may help to account for the demonstrative relative clause data. In the examples I have been examining in this section, recall that the deictic demonstratives, that is, those that must raise into DP, are the ones that are precluded with restrictive relative clauses. The following sentence, therefore, is only grammatical under a [–definite] interpretation of the demonstrative:

(44) This (here) picture that Bill saw in the gallery sold for \$2,000.

Under the assumption that the FP projected by the demonstrative and reinforcer is part of the extended projection of the (noun) 'head' of the relative, the underlying structure for (44) with an (impossible) deictic [+definite] demonstrative would be as follows:

(45) [_{DP} [_{CP} SPEC [_{C'} that] [Bill saw ... [_{FP} this_{|+def|} [_{F'} (here)]] [_{NP} picture]]]] ... in the gallery

Pursuing a suggestion made by Kayne (personal communication), I will develop the idea that the FP (including NP) of deictic demonstratives may not raise to Spec,CP. What would preclude movement of this FP to Spec,CP? Suppose first that the C⁰ of relative clauses (as well as that of *wh*-questions) has a 'strong' feature that forces raising of an XP to its Spec. Further suppose that this feature is [–definite]. In the example in (45), the FP may not raise at all due to an incompatibility between the [–definite] feature of C⁰ and the [+definite] feature of the demonstrative, and so the derivation crashes. This explanation should now account for what appears to be a general prohibition against deictic demonstratives and restrictive relative clauses.

A [–definite] demonstrative (in addition to *wh*-elements), on the other hand, is compatible with the [–definite] relative clause C⁰, and so FP overtly raises to Spec,CP. This account straightforwardly derives an example like the one seen in (43), where the NP is a default [–definite], and now yields the following derivation for an example like (45), when the demonstrative is [–definite]:

- (46) [_{DP} [_{CP} [_{FP} *this*_[−def] [_{F'} (here)]] [_{NP} picture]]_i [_{C'} that _[−def]] [Bill saw ... [_{FP} _i]]
 ... in the gallery
 This (here) picture that Bill saw in the gallery ... (restrictive, indefinite specific)

The last step of the derivation involves licensing the relative clause DP, in order for it to be visible at LF. Recall that I argued (in Section 2), that features of indefinite demonstratives raise to D at LF, where covert feature checking takes place. The same procedure involved in the earlier discussion applies here.¹⁹

The status of the French examples in (38) and (39) is parallel to that of the English ones. That is, a restrictive relative clause is precluded in (38b) by the inability of the FP containing the [+definite] demonstrative to raise to Spec,CP. In the French examples in (39), on the other hand, where the interpretation is indefinite specific, the FP containing the [−definite] demonstrative raises to Spec,CP, and the relevant features of the demonstrative head raise to D covertly. Returning to the example in (38a), I have not yet specifically said why the reinforcer may not follow a relative clause in French (but may follow an adjective or complement). Kayne's relative clause structure also provides an answer to this question. Recall that in Kayne's relative clause analysis, it is the extended NP that raises to Spec,CP. My analysis of demonstratives claims that it is this same extended NP that must raise and adjoin to FP (recall (30)) in examples involving demonstrative reinforcement in French. The (impossible) example in (38)a would involve raising the extended NP to Spec,CP and then somehow moving the relative clause C' (i.e., *que j'ai acheté*) to the left of the reinforcer *-ci*, and it is the absence of such a movement that accounts for the impossibility of *-ci* following a relative clause. Another problem with this example, of course, is that *ce* is necessarily deictic (with reinforcement), and we have already seen that the [+definite] feature is incompatible with the [−definite] C⁰ of the relative clause structure. Recall that although French demonstratives are parallel to the English ones in several respects, they may never be interpreted as [−definite] when reinforced, unlike in English and Scandinavian languages. In Section 2, I remarked that the French pattern appears to be intermediate between 'true Romance' and 'true Germanic'.

We have now seen that deictic demonstratives are precluded from appearing in restrictive relative clauses due to a [+definite] feature that is incompatible with the [−definite] relative clause C⁰. The [−definite] feature of indefinite specific demonstratives allows FP to raise to Spec,CP; however, this demonstrative will only appear with restrictive relatives in those languages where features of the demonstrative may raise to D covertly, rendering the DP visible at LF. Notice that throughout the paper I have been relating the indefinite specific demonstratives to indefinite articles.

¹⁹ Consider the following example, which was brought to my attention by Jean-Yves Pollock (personal communication):

(i) *[Woman that sits next to me in class] just won the lottery.

In this example, the [−definite] NP containing *woman* raises to Spec,CP straightforwardly, as in the (grammatical) examples in the text. The problem here is that the (lexically empty) relative clause D is not visible at LF, violating full interpretation.

Another similarity between the two types of elements in English is that the indefinite articles may also appear in *there*-insertion contexts (recall (20)):

(47) There's a book (that) you ought to read.

Unlike indefinite specific demonstratives, which are rather limited in Romance, indefinite articles appear with arguments and restrictive relative clauses quite productively across languages. What distinguishes the indefinite demonstratives from the indefinite articles and accounts for their distribution cross-linguistically? It is reasonable to consider the underlying nature of the indefinite articles to be parallel to that of [–definite] demonstratives. That is, the articles are also [–definite] and are likewise generated in the specifier of a functional projection, although I leave open what the precise nature of the projection might be. The syntactic difference between these elements and the [–definite] demonstratives is that the features of the former may only be checked via overt raising (to D). So in the case of a simple argument (e.g., *a woman*), the *a*, although [–definite], raises to D overtly. With restrictive relatives, the [–definite] feature of C⁰ is compatible with the [–definite] feature of the indefinite article (as in (47)), resulting in overt raising of FP to Spec,CP. The final step, requiring that the indefinite article raise overtly to D, accounts for the acceptability of this type of example cross-linguistically, and distinguishes it from the indefinite specific demonstrative.

The general approach developed here may also help to explain another set of facts. Kayne's (1994) adoption of the raising analysis of relative clauses goes back to the work of Vergnaud (1974), who provided certain arguments in favor of a raising analysis. One of these arguments concerned the possibility of relativization of idiom chunks. A natural approach to idiom chunks is to assume that they involve a relationship rather distinct from, and more fundamental than, that between an ordinary verb and its object. In the example in (48a), therefore, the verb *take* and its object *advantage* must be associated with each other at some very basic level, presumably the lexicon.

- (48) (a) to take advantage of
(b) to make headway

In order to explain the facts in (49), where a piece of the idiom chunk has become the 'head' of a relative clause, Vergnaud argued that the object must have been separated from the verb via movement.

- (49) (a) the advantage that he took ...
(b) the headway that we made ...

Next, consider the following idioms:

- (50) (a) to kick the bucket
(b) to shoot the breeze

Interestingly, the object of the verb in these idioms may not be relativized:

- (51) (a) *the bucket that he kicked ...
 (b) *the breeze that we were shooting ...

The difference between the idioms in (48) and those in (50) is that the idioms of the latter group contain a definite article as an inherent part of the idiom chunk. In order to form the relative clauses in (51), the constituent that raises would have to be a [+definite] XP, probably DP, assuming [+definite] to be the default value of the definite article *the*. The underlying structure for the example in (51a) would be as follows:

- (52) [_{DP} [_{CP} SPEC [_C that_[-def]] [he kicked ... [_{DP} the_[+def]] [_{NP} bucket]]]]]

As with the examples with deictic demonstratives, we can make sense of the impossibility of forming relative clauses with this class of idiom by supposing that there is an incompatibility between the [-definite] C⁰ of the relative clause and the [+definite] definite article of the idiom chunk.

4.1. *Reduced relatives*

The types of examples illustrated below have been classified as reduced relative clauses, which may be characterized descriptively by the absence of a complementizer and a tensed verb *be*:

- (53) (a) the man responsible for the crime
 (b) the window shattered in the explosion

Assuming a relative clause source for these examples provides a natural explanation for the uncommon appearance of postnominal adjectives in English. If these examples indeed derive from relative clauses, then the analysis developed in the previous section predicts that a deictic demonstrative may only appear with a reduced relative when the relative is understood nonrestrictively. When the (reinforced) demonstrative is interpreted as indefinite specific, a restrictive interpretation should be available for the reduced relative. This is indeed what we find. Consider the following examples:

- (54) (a) This (here) man responsible for the crime ...
 (b) This (here) window shattered in the explosion ...

In order for the reduced relatives here to receive a restrictive interpretation, the demonstrative *this* must be understood as indefinite specific. The only way for the demonstrative to be understood deictically is for the reduced relative to be nonrestrictive (indicated below by the commas):

- (55) (a) This (here) man, (who is) responsible for the crime ...

(b) This (here) window, (which was) shattered in the explosion ...

Consider next the following French example, which happens to be ambiguous:

- (56) l'homme responsable (French)
 the man responsible
 'the responsible/reliable man' *or* 'the man (who is) responsible/accountable'

The first interpretation corresponds to that of an attributive adjective, as supported by the fact that the adjective precedes the noun in the English equivalent. The second interpretation corresponds to what is arguably a reduced relative clause. Now consider the same example with the demonstrative and reinforcer:

- (57) cet homme responsable ci
 this man responsible here
 'this responsible/reliable man'

The adjective here is no longer ambiguous. That is, it may only have the interpretation of the attributive adjective, and not that of the reduced relative. This is now explained by the incompatibility of a deictic demonstrative and a restrictive relative clause, and supports the idea that so-called reduced relatives really to derive from relative clauses.

4.2. Restrictions on reinforcement in French

In Section 3 we saw that the pattern in (27) (repeated here), where the postnominal adjective is followed by the reinforcer, is generally productive in French:

- (58) (a) ce livre jaune ci (French)
 this book yellow here
 'this yellow book'
 (b) cette femme intelligente ci
 this woman intelligent here
 'this intelligent woman'

However, not all postnominal adjectives may be followed by *-ci*. Consider the following example, which was not judged to be perfectly grammatical:²⁰

- (59) ?* ce livre difficile ci
 this book difficult here
 'this difficult book'

²⁰ Having this particular adjective occupy the prenominal position did not improve the status of the example:

(i) ?*ce difficile livre-ci

Similarly, modified postnominal adjectives followed by the reinforcer (as in (60)) were judged to be quite deviant, as compared to nouns preceded by modified adjectives (as in (61)):

- (60) (a) ?*ce livre très épais ci
 this book very thick here
 ‘this very thick book’
 (b) ?*cette femme très intelligente ci
 this woman very intelligent here
 ‘this very intelligent woman’
 (61) (a) ce très petit garçon-ci
 this very small boy-here
 ‘this very small boy’
 (b) cette très belle tasse-ci
 this very beautiful cup-here
 ‘this very beautiful cup’

The cooccurrence of the modified postnominal adjective and the demonstrative reinforcer becomes completely acceptable when the reinforcer follows the noun itself and there is a strong pause between the reinforced noun and the modified postnominal adjective:

- (62) (a) ce livre-ci, très épais
 this book-here very thick
 ‘this book, very thick’
 (b) cette femme-ci, très intelligente
 this woman-here very intelligent
 ‘this woman, very intelligent’

This pattern also provides a manner to reinforce the demonstrative when the postnominal adjective *difficile* is present:

- (63) ce livre-ci, difficile
 this book-here difficult
 ‘this book, difficult’

These facts recall the pattern described by Cinque (1994: 92ff.) in a discussion of ‘predicative APs’. According to Cinque’s use of the term, predicative APs in Romance and Germanic languages are generated DP-internally to the right of the noun (and its complements) in an AgrP containing the AP. Not surprisingly, these APs may always appear in post-copular position. Attributive APs, on the other hand, are generated to the left of the noun in both groups of languages, as I have assumed here. These predicative APs may be identified by a strong intonational pause

between the noun (complement) and the adjective, or by the ‘heaviness’ of the AP. The following examples are Cinque’s:²¹

- (64) (a) La loro aggressione all’Albania, BRUTALE (Italian)
 (b) La loro aggressione all’Albania, improvvisa e brutale
 (c) La loro aggressione all’Albania, assai poco brutale
 (d) La loro aggressione all’Albania, brutale nei suoi effetti
 Their attack against Albania, (a) brutal
 (b) impromptu and brutal
 (c) very hardly brutal
 (d) brutal in its effects

Notice that (64c) involves a modified postnominal adjective, and directly corresponds to the type of example we saw in (62). I therefore conclude that this latter example also involves a predicative category. As Cinque discusses, and as I suggested in Bernstein (1993), these predicative APs may be grouped with (reduced) relative clauses.

In fact, the general impossibility of having the reinforcer follow modified postnominal adjectives (recall (60)) is parallel to the fact that the reinforcer may not follow a relative clause (recall (38a)). In the discussion of relative clauses in French, we have seen that the deictic interpretation of demonstratives is unavailable with restrictive relative clauses. Furthermore, when demonstratives are reinforced in French, they necessarily receive the deictic interpretation. The examples in (62) involve both deictic interpretation and (reduced) relative clauses. I conclude, therefore, that the (reduced) relatives in (62) are necessarily nonrestrictive, as supported by the fact that an intonation break is required. It is very possible then that the examples discussed by Cinque, in addition to these, derive from nonrestrictive reduced relative clauses.

I return finally to the initial problematic example in (59) with *difficile*. It now appears quite natural to group this adjective with the other predicative APs, particularly given the contrast between (59) and (63). It remains unclear to me, however,

²¹ Cinque (1994: 94) also provides examples for English and German:

- (i) (a) *A man proud
 (b) A man bruised and battered
 (c) A steak just right
 (d) A man proud of his son
 (ii) (a) Röslein rot (lit.)
 ‘the little red rose’
 (b) Diese Woche regnerisch und stürmisch
 ‘this week, rainy and stormy’
 (c) Gewehrkugeln groß wie Taubeneier
 ‘bullets big as pigeon eggs’
 (d) Eine Katze so groß
 ‘a cat this big’

Cinque suggests that stress in English, unlike Italian, is not always sufficient to render the AP ‘heavy’, distinguishing between the ungrammatical (ia) and its grammatical Italian counterpart.

what properties of this adjective prevent it from behaving like a ‘normal’ attributive adjective.

5. Conclusions

In this paper I have adopted and developed the idea that demonstrative elements are, by their nature, phrasal elements that are base-generated in the specifier position of a functional projection below DP. In Romance and Germanic languages generally, where the prenominal demonstrative is in complementary distribution with the definite article, I have argued that the head of the XP containing the demonstrative raises and substitutes into the D position. In some languages, however, particularly English and Scandinavian languages, two interpretations are available for the demonstrative. I have argued that the [+definite] deictic interpretation will always involve overt movement of the demonstrative up into DP; the [–definite] indefinite specific interpretation does not involve lexical movement of the demonstrative, but rather covert movement (to D) of only the relevant features, thereby rendering the DP projection visible at LF.

Several Germanic and Romance languages exhibit a construction consisting of a demonstrative element and a dependent reinforcer. Although I have limited my discussion of Romance to French, a parallel phenomenon apparently exists in Italian. I have proposed that the reinforcer is base-generated in the head of the functional projection whose Spec hosts the demonstrative, recalling Pollock’s (1989) characterization of NegP. The fact that the demonstrative and reinforcer precede the N (and modifiers) in Germanic, and that the demonstrative precedes and reinforcer follows in Romance, was explained by a syntactic movement operating in Romance. In Romance languages, strong F forces movement of the maximal projection containing the noun and its modifiers to the left of FP, whether or not an overt reinforcer appears. This movement operation is absent in English and other Germanic languages due to the absence of strong F features.

Kayne’s (1994) relative clause analysis allows us a way to make sense of the fact that deictic demonstratives may never introduce restrictive relative clauses, although indefinite specific demonstratives may do so. Demonstratives were argued to be base-generated in a functional projection FP that is part of the extended projection of the noun, corresponding to the raised constituent (‘head’) of Kayne’s relative clause structure. The [+definite] feature of deictic demonstratives was argued to be incompatible with the [–definite] feature of the relative clause C⁰, prohibiting movement of FP to Spec,CP. The FP projected with indefinite specific demonstratives, on the other hand, may raise to Spec,CP, since its [–definite] feature is compatible with the [–definite] relative clause C⁰. Features of the indefinite demonstrative raise covertly to the relative clause D in the manner described above. Those languages that do not admit covert feature raising (to D), will not exhibit indefinite specific demonstratives (with or without restrictive relative clauses).

If this analysis is on the right track, then we have evidence that DPs in Romance and Germanic languages differ in two basic respects. First, previous work has shown

that head movement is (at least) more robust in Romance than in Germanic. The present work goes one step further and suggests that phrasal movement is yet another distinguishing characteristic of Romance DPs. If this further distinction between Romance and Germanic languages holds, we would expect to find other comparable evidence of the relative presence, in Romance, vs. absence, in Germanic, of XP movement. I believe that such evidence is indeed available.

Although not examined in detail in this article, the distribution of postnominal demonstratives and possessive pronouns in Romance is strikingly similar to the pattern described for the demonstrative reinforcers, suggesting that the analysis be extended to accommodate these elements as well. A generalization that may in fact emerge is that if a (Romance or Germanic) language exhibits postnominal demonstratives, it will not (also) exhibit demonstrative reinforcers. To accommodate the postnominal demonstrative and possessive facts, the extended analysis would claim that the XP containing the noun plus its adjectives and/or complements will raise and adjoin to a position to the left of the phrasal possessive or demonstrative, deriving its postnominal position (cf. Brugè's and Roca's work on postnominal demonstratives). In these cases, the obligatory appearance of a definite article in D will block raising of the demonstrative or possessive element itself. In several Romance languages, and across Germanic languages, the prenominal possessive, like the prenominal demonstrative, is in complementary distribution with the definite article. For languages with these possessive 'determiners', it is natural to assume that the head of the phrasal possessive has substituted into the D position (see Giorgi and Longobardi, 1991; Picallo, 1994; Longobardi, 1996: fn. 72), on a par with my proposal for the prenominal demonstratives.

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