**Noun Phrase in the Generative Perspective**

**Part 3 Modification relations inside the DP**

**Chapter 1 Adjectives in the DP. Problems of distribution and interpretation**

**2. DP-internal adjectives in English**

2.1 The problem

* Adjectives have **three main uses**:

(1) the complement of a copula

(2) prenominal modifiers of N

(3) postnominal modifiers of N

* Q: Is there a **derivational relationship** between prenominal and postnominal adjectives?

A: (1) **Reductionist** proposal (derivational proposal):

different surface positions of the adjectives have a single underlying position, deriving the variation in position by movement.

(2) **Separationist** proposal (non-derivational proposal):

different surface positions of the adjectives have different underlying positions.

2.2 The **attributive-predicative** dichotomy

**attributive** adjective: does not allow the paraphrase with a copular construction.

**predicative** adjective: allow the paraphrase with a copular construction.

* The two uses of the term 'predicative':

(1) predicative vs. adnominal

(2) predicative vs. attributive

2.3 **The reductionist view**

* **reductionist hypothesis**:

a. the man who is old ⭢ b. the man old ⭢ c. the old man

* **derivational steps:**

(1) the adjectival projection is the predicate within a relative clause

(2) the relative clause is 'reduced'

(3) predicate fronting places the adjectival predicate to the left of the noun.

* some **complications** for the reductionist view

(1) **不是所有形容词都是predicative adjective**

a. **intensional** adjectives (*e.g. former, present, alleged*)

b. **denominal** classifing adjectives (*e.g. nuclear, medical, electrical*)

既然这些形容词没有predicative use, 那么如何能够leftward fronting?

(2) **不是所有形容词都是prenominal adjective**

a. adjectives formed with the aspectual **prefix *a-***(*e.g. asleep, alive, afraid*)

b. adjectives accompanied by **complement** (*e.g. proud of her work*)

(3) **有些形容词可以prenominal或postnominal**，**但是interpretation不同**。

a. derived from verbs by **suffix *-a/ible*** (*e.g. the (visible) stars visible*)

b. **particle** used as adjectives (*e.g. the (present) cats present*)

2.4 **Interpretive contrasts** between prenominal and postnominal adjectives

* **interpretational difference:**

in **prenominal** position: a **permanent**, **enduring** or **characteristic** property

in **postnominal** position: a **transient**, **temporary** and **not typical** property

* some related concepts:

**reference modification / permanent property / Individual-level**

vs. **referent modification / temporary property / Stage-level**

e.g. (1) the visible stars visible

(2) the visible visible stars

2.5 One more dichotomy: **intensional-extensional**, or **intersective-non-intersective**

* the dichotomy:

**a. intensional (= reference modifying = non-intersective) adjectives:**

They modify not the extension or denotation of the noun but its sense of intension of the noun — the attribute of the noun.

*e.g. alleged, fake, supposed*

Such adjectives target **some** (not all) of the sense subcomponents of the noun.

**b. extensional (= referent modifying = intersective) adjectives:**

They help to determine the particular individual which is the intended referent of the description in which the adjective occurs.

*e.g. aged,*

Such adjectives are compatible with the **whole network** of the sense of the noun, not just some subparts of it.

2.6 Non-intersective adjectives and deverbal nouns

* a. Olga is a beautiful dancer

b. Olga is a dancer and [Olga] is beautiful. *(intersective/ referent modifying)*

c. Olga is beautiful as a dancer. *(non-intersective/ reference modifying)*

The majority of adjectives that appear in combination with a deverbal noun can have **either an intersective or a non-intersective reading**. Larson proposes that a noun like *dancer* includes **two arguments in its semantic structure**.

(a) an event argument (e) which ranges over events and states;

(b) an external argument (x) which is a variable ranging over entities.

For Larson, the intersective/ non-intersective ambiguity arises not from the semantics of the adjective itself but from the semantic structure of the noun.

**3. Sequence of adjectives**

3.1 Hierachical orders

* **adjectival sequences:**

quantification < quality < size < shape/color < provenance

**the more refined ordering:**

ordinal < cardinal< subjective comment < evidential < size < length < height < speed < depth < width < temperature < wetness < age < shape < color < nationality/origin < material

* **absolute adjective - relative (non-absolute) adjective**

**absolute adjective:** denote inherent properties

**relative adjective:** denote subjective properties.

3.2 **Absolute vs. non-absolute [or objective vs. subjective] adjectives**

The less concrete or objective property an adjective denotes, the more distanced it is from the noun it modifies.

* **Absolute (objective) adjectives:**

denote concrete, inherent, 'natural' properties

not gradable

often morphologically related to nouns

*e.g. rectangular, woolen*

* **Non-absolute (subjective) adjectives:**

denote subjective properties

expressing an evaluation

indirectly modify noun

subsective: do not intersect with the whole network of the meaning of the noun but with subparts (close to intensional adjectives).

evaluative adjective and size adjectives are gradable.

*e.g. comfortable, good, interesting*

3.3 Classifying adjectives

* The function of classifying adjectives:

Another function of absolute adjectives is the classifying function. Classifying adjectives subcategorize the denotation of the noun.

* Two kinds of classifying adjectives；

**a. absolute intersective adjectives** (*denoting color, material etc.*)

they denote concrete properties which render the intended referent of the noun cognitively salient and easy to pick out and identify amongst other referents.

**b. relational adjectives**

They are denominal and are used to relate two domains of entities:

1) the domain created by the denotation of the noun

2) the domain of the adjective itself

The relation may be thematic/argumental (*e.g. Italian invasion*), or modifying (*nuclear energy*). In English relational adjectives appear closest to the noun. The two (zero level) categories, A and N, can 'fuse' and 'merge' together giving a complex noun head (the A+N combination). This resulting complex noun semantically denotes a unitary concept (e.g. *nuclear energy*)

3.4 Patterns of adjectival modification

DP-internal adjectives have a specific order. Deviations from the universal order will correlate with either phonological or semantic difference:

a: the dark, grey, incredibly big cat (as separate prosodic units by comma)

b. Oriental, orange, wonderful ivories (focusing the initial adjective)

* Direct and indirect modification

**Direct modifier**:

APs attached in one way or another to a projection of N

**Indirect modifier**:

It forms part of a relative clause. From its position within the relative clause, **the adjective assigns a theta role to an empty category** which occupies the subject position of the relative clause via predication. **This empty category in turn is bound by an operator** in the relative clause co-indexed with the head of the noun phrase. This process is parallel to:

manj whoj [e]j walks

* Mandarin Chinese

direct modification: 小绿花瓶/ \*绿小花瓶

indirect modification: 小的绿的花瓶/ 绿的小的花瓶

The particle 的 is also a relative clause marker.

* Parallel vs. hierarchical modification

Direct modification is subdivided into two subtypes:

**a. hierarchical (or scopal) modification: (A+(A+(A+N)))**

each adjective to the left takes scope over the constituent that follows it.

**b. parallel modification: (A+A+A+N)**

each adjective does not have scope over the following adjective+noun meaningful unit.

3.5 Hierarchical orders involving a finer subclassification of adjectives

* In a DP headed by a deverbal noun, the order of prenominal adjectives typically matches that of the adverbs in a clause headed by the corresponding verb.
* Researchers assume that **adjectives** are integrated syntactically in the nominal domain in the same way that **adverbs** are integrated in the clause. **Both** are taken to be **adjoined to a maximal projection**.
* adjectives that modify an **eventive (deverbal)** noun fall into **four major** classes:

a. modal epistemic (*possible, probable*)

b. intensional (evaluative, intensifying) (*complete, simple, unique, false*)

c. circumstantial (*old, frequent*)

d. non-restrictive (*cheerful, careful*)

**4. On the syntax of DP-internal adjectives**

4.2 Post- and prenominal adjective meaning contrasts in the Romance languages

* Is there a difference in meaning between pre- and postnominal positions?

**prenominal adjective**:

modifies the reference of the noun,

applies to asubelement of what constitutes the basic sense of the noun,

evaluate on an internal scale, the scale of N.

**postnominal adjective:**

modifies the referent or the denotation of the noun,

applies to the whole network of the elements that determine the extension of the N; is put on a higher order, external scale.

4.3 N-movement as a means of deriving the postnominal position of the adjective

* **N-movement analysis**

Attributive adjectives are universally inserted in a prenominal position, and the surface order noun-adjective is derived by leftward movement of the noun to a higher functional head (e.g. Number, Gender) in the nominal domain.

a. Germanic [DP D [FP AP F [FP AP F [NP N...]]]]

b. Romance [DP D [FP AP [F Nn] [FP AP [F tn] [NP tn...]]]]

* Two underlying hypothesis for N-movement analysis

(1) Adjectives are generated to the left of the noun as NP-adjuncts or as specifiers of dedicated functional projections.

a. [DP D [NP AP [NP AP [NP N...]]]] (NP-adjuncts)

b. [DP D [FP AP F [FP AP F [NP N...]]]] (specifiers)

(2) There must be additional heads between N and D.

* **Problems for 'NP-adjuncts approach'**

(1) according to some strict views of X-bar theory, adjunction itself is either excluded or severely restricted.

(2) the adjunctions analysis provides at first sight no syntactic basis for accounting for the ordering constraints on adjectives.

* **Pros for adjective-in-spec-analysis**

**a.it accounts for adjectival ordering:**

the ordering hierarchy can be interpreted as the result of head-head selection in a hierarchy of functional heads within the N-D extended projection. The AP with the relevant feature is in specifier-head agreement with the corresponding head F0.

**b. it accounts for adjective-noun agreement:**

the APs have a specifier-head relation with the (extended) head of the NP.

* Upgraded adjunction analysis

Prenominal adjectives are multiple specifiers of the NP. The specifiers check hierarchically ordered features on the head noun. The hierarchical ordering of the features could thus determine a ranking of specifiers and could accordingly determine the the ordering.

4.4 **Problems for the N-movement hypothesis**

* Following the N-movement hypothesis:

(1) the **order** of DP-internal adjectives should remain constant cross-linguistically, only the position of the head N varies.

(2) the **relative scope** of adjectives should be from left to right cross-linguistically. AP1 c-commands and has scope over AP2:

[DP D [FP AP1 F [FP AP2 F [NP N ...]]]]

postnominal adjectives in Romance should be within the scope of the prenominal adjectives. However, this prediction is not correct.

(3) there are **semantic differences** between the prenominal and postnominal position of the adjective in Romance.

(4) N-movement seems to **lack triggers**.

Greek nouns manifest a 'rich' nominal morphology system, but no noun movement seems to take place.

4.5 The adjectives-as-head hypothesis

* the prenominal adjectives are heads, rather than projections

A+N clusters are 'small constructions'.

**prenominal adjectives:**

are zero-level categories,

qualify as syntactic heads (selecting categories) on the path between N and D;

**postnominal adjectives:**

are plausibly phrasal constituents.

[DP D [AP A [AP A [NP N ...]]]]

* Problem for adjectives-as-head hypothesis

(1) the order Noun + determiner-affix derived by N to D movement would have to bypass adjectival head and thus violate Head Movement Constraint.

(2) prenominal adjectives will not be able to take complements since they already have a phrasal projection of the N-D extended projection as their complement. However, in Greek, **phrasal APs** appear normally in **prenominal position**.

(3) the **interpretation** of pre-adjectival modifiers within the noun phrase. (e.g. degree adverb *barely*) take scope over all the adjectives (*hot black coffee*) rather than the adjacent one (*hot*).

* **a mixed analysis seems inescapable:**

not all prenominal adjectives are derived in an uniform fashion:

**head-analysis:** non-intersective adjectives.

**adjunction (or specifier) analysis:** intersective adjectives.

* **Conclusion: We do not in principle opt for the N-movement approach.**

**5. The clausal hypothesis**

5.1 The determiner complementation, or Relative Clause Hypothesis

* a mixed proposal again

Although many problems arise if all prenominal APs are treated as fronted predicative APs, this does not mean that the AP-fronting analysis is to be ruled out completely.

some prenominal adjectives are derived by AP-fronting while others are not.

* **Kayne 1994 (determiner complementation analysis)**

Relative clauses are analyzed as clausal projections, CPs, which are complements of a determiner. The nominal 'head' of the relative clause (antecedent), originate as a DP inside the relative clause. The surface order in which the head N precedes the relative clause, is derived by moving the DP/NP to SpecCP.

[DP the [CP that [IP John made [DP claim]j ]]]

[DP the [CP [DP claim]j that [IP John made tj ]]]

* **to derive postnominal adjectives — head raising**

it is the adjectives that stay *in situ* and the nominal subject of the relative clause moves. The DP undergoes head-raising to SpecCP.

a. [DP D [CP [IP DP AP]]]

b. [DP D [CP DPj [IP tj AP]]]

**to derive prenominal adjectives — predicate fronting**

prenominal adjectives are derived by predicate fronting, i.e. by leftward movement of the AP predicate of the reduced relative across the subject DP to SpecCP.

c. [DP D [CP APj [IP DP ...tj]]]

5.2 N- and D-shells

* **two domain of modification** by adjectives

[DP α [NP β N] α] （α=D-modifier, β=N-modifier）

**(1) modifiers of N (inner modifier)**

they are inside the NP,

have a generic reading,

express individual-level predication.

are intensional and evaluative adjectives

**(2) modifiers of D (outer modifier)**

they are outside the NP,

are extensional intersective adjectives,

generated 'externally', as DP complements, in a DP expanded around D shells.

* Larson's D-shell theory

(1) The **D** originates under the lowest D head, and moved upwards to the topmost D, and derive the order Art-N.

(2) **Intersective adjectives** originate in either a clause (CP) or just an AP which is the complement of D.

(3) The postnominal adjectives in this structure stays in situ. (*the stars visible*)

(4) The intersective adjectives in English that do not appear postnominally: the movement of D carries the following adjective with it. (*the visible stars*)

[DP [D' [D the [AP visible]] [DP stars [D' t [DP [D t]]]]]]

(5) Even **inner adjectives** may originate in a relative clause as long as the relative clause combines with the event structure of N.

5.3 Demonte 1999

* Pre-and postnominal adjectives have different underlying representations and syntactic derivations.
* Postnomimal adjectives originate either in a clausal structure or in adjoined positions in the DP.
* Prenomimal adjectives are evaluative or gradable. They first adjoins to the N head and then these two together move and adjoin to Deg situated between D and NP.
* all non-scalar adjectives that are non-intersective—i.e. intensional, circumstantial and modal/epistemic ones—to be adjoined to either NP itself or to DegP or to both.

**6. More on DP-internal phrasal movement**

6.1 D-complementation and Greek polydefinite DPs

* Determiner Spreading (DS)

In Greek definite DPs, multiple occurrences of the same definite determiner in the noun phrase are possible.

* Polydefinite construction (Def.Art+N+Def.Art+Adj)

In polydefinite construction the determiner is obligatory with the adjective both in pre- and postnominal position.

* Interpretive differences between a monadic DP and DS

DS is used only when the adjective is interpreted as a restrictive modifier.

DS conveys the fact the head noun is necessarily back-grounded so that the adjectives can be foregrounded.

**In DS:**

(1) the **article-noun** sequence constitutes the context or presupposition (old information); the **article-adjective** sequence constitutes the focus (new information).

(2) **adjectives** only get the intersective reading, whereas adjectives in monadic DPs can be either intersective or non-intersective.

DS is restricted to adjectives that permit intersective readings, which can be restrictively interpreted and bear contrastive focus.

* DS is very much reminiscent of adjective modification involving the morpheme *de* in Mandarin Chinese (p373):

*de*-adjectives are instances of indirect modification, i.e. the adjective modifies the noun indirectly by binding the empty operator in a relative clause, which is coindexed with the (empty) nominal that is relativized. The similarity between DS and de-adjectives in Mandarin Chinese, provides good support, on cross-linguistic grounds, to the clausal analysis of the former. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that indirect modification is a pattern that occurs cross-linguistically to accomoate adjectives interpreted intersectively.

**7. Snowballing movement**

**8. 'Separationism'**

**9. Tying together the lines of inquiry**

**Chapter 2 Semi-functional categories: The *N-of-N* construction and the *Pseudo-Partitive* construction**

**1. Introduction: the data**

* The constructions：

a. a [N1 glass] of [N2 water] (PsP)

b. that [N1 idiot] of a [N2 doctor] (NoN)

c. a [N1 picture] of my [N2 parents]

the [N1 analysis] of the [N2 problem]

关于命名

1.何元建、王玲玲（2005）

术语：命名为“多重复合词”，指用由几种双音节复合词（主谓式、述宾式、述补式、偏正式、联合式、量补式）再构成的复合词。

关于领属复合词（genitive compound）（Geert Booij 2007 P83）

所谓“领属复合词”指的是英语中*women’s magazine*，*girls’ school*，*Down’s syndrome*和*Murphy’s law*这类表达。鉴于这类表达的内部存在屈折词缀或者说粘附成分-s（clitic -*s*），我们应该将其视为短语。不过，它们的功能却和复合词别无二致。它们是已经实现词汇化的句法模式（lexicalized syntactic pattern），其功能是创造出新词新语（create new labels）。值得注意的是，很多这类表达的主要重音（main stress）在第一个成分上，这种现象和英语复合词是相同的：*Dówn’s syndrome*，*Múrphy’s law*。因此，我们认为英语中N’s N的这种习语模式（idiomatic expression）或**构式习语**（**constructional idiom**）的功能是创造新的词汇表达（lexical expression）。构式习语是一种固定的句法模式，其内部有些位置可以被某语类不同的词填充，而有些位置只能被某个特定的语素或词填充。在上述例子中，只有一个语素是确定的（lexically specified），即语素-s。剩余的两个名词位置是变量，可以被不同的名词填充。

关于合成复合词（Geert Booij 2007 P90）

Sword-swallower heart-breaker church-goer

这些复合词在分析上存在一些问题。首先，有一些名词性中心语如swalloer和goer不能独立出现。这些词是可能词汇（possible words），但是尚未成词（not established English words）。这反映出某些可能词汇可以作为构词成分。其次，有人可能会认为这些词是通过把词缀-er粘附在动词性复合词（verbal compound）sword-swallow, heart-break上形成的。但是这种分析不恰当，因为英语中动词复合（verbal compounding）是不能产的。

传统上，这种复合词被称为“合成复合词”（synthetic compounding）。其构词过程似乎同时运用了“复合”和“派生”的手段。其形态模板如下：

[[N][V-er]N]N

联想：汉语的仓库管理员。

关于noun incorporation（Geert Booij 2007 P90）

Noun incorporation指把名词和动词结合起来，构造一个动词性复合词（verbal compound）的构词过程。所构成的动词性复合词通常表达约定俗成的某种活动。被吸收的名词（incorporated noun）通常没有指称，而且名词的数、格和有定性不再被标记。尽管动词性复合词的动词中心语是及物的，但是整个复合词的句法表现却和不及物动词相同。所以，名词吸收通常会造成动词的句法价减少。

关于词汇完整率（Lexical integrity）（Geert Booij 2007 P186-187）

‘The syntax neither manipulates nor has access to the internal form of words’ (Anderson 1992:84)

词汇完整率是判断一个成分是词还是短语的最重要的标准。词汇完整率只针对句法规则，不针对语音和语义规则。

英语中，形容词在修饰名词时没有屈折变化。通常情况下，判断一个成分是A+N复合词还是A+N短语的标准是重音。A+N复合词的主重音在第一个成分上，A+N短语的主重音在第二个成分上。

关于指称（Geert Booij 2007 P188）

通常，复合词内部的名词没有指称。

短语可否称为复合词的构成部分？

不存在No Phrase Constraint。

短语，甚至句子都可以嵌入句子内部。不过不是所有的短语都能构造复合词。在英语和荷兰语中，带限定词的名词短语就不能作为复合词的内部成分。因为复合词中，构成非中