The Different Determiner Systems in Germanic and Romance[1]

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1.   Introduction

The analysis of demonstrative-reinforcer constructions reveals some important differences between the determiner systems in Germanic and Romance. Building on previous work by others, Roehrs & Putnam (2009) and Roehrs (to appear) point out the Germanic languages have three types of demonstrative reinforcer constructions, (1-3). In contrast, the Romance languages have only two, (3-4). In other words, both language families share one type, type 3, with the well-known difference that adjectives usually follow the noun in the Romance languages (REINF = reinforcer):

(1) **Type 1: Dem Reinf** Adj N

> ***this here*** *big house*   (English)
>   (Bernstein 1997)

(2) **Type 2: Reinf Dem** Adj N

> ***ot   der*** *guter man*   (Yiddish)
> REINF this good man
> 'this good man' (Jacobs 2005: 186)

(3) **Type 3: Dem** (N) Adj (N) **Reinf**

> a.   ***das*** *schöne Bild*   ***da***   (German)
>   that nice   picture there
>   'that nice picture'

> b.   ***ce*** *livre rouge-**ci***   (French)
>   this book red.here
>   'this red book' (Brugè 1996)

(4) **Type 4:** Art N Adj **Dem Reinf**

> *el   libro viejo **este de aquí***   (Spanish)
> the book old   this of here
> 'this old book' (Brugè 1996)

Roehrs & Putnam (henceforth, R&P) notice the following asymmetry where for current purposes, the horizontal positions "left of" and "right of" in the surface strings above are taken to imply the hierarchical relations "above" and "below", respectively:

(5) *Asymmetry*:
      a.   Germanic has one position for demonstratives (above adjectives) and several for reinforcers.
      b.   Romance has several positions for demonstratives and one for reinforcers (below adjectives).

Furthermore, these authors establish two more generalizations about specific word order restrictions. These generalizations are based on unattested patterns.

First, as already briefly illustrated with type 2 above, reinforcers can precede their demonstratives:

(6)   a.   ***ot***   ***der*** *guter man*   (Yiddish)
                REINF this good man
                'this good man'

       b.   ***hier-die*** *mooi meisie*   (Afrikaans)
                here.this pretty girl
                'this pretty girl'

However, the following distributions do not seem to exist:

(7)   a.   (***Reinf**) Adj **Dem**

      b.   **…**Adj (***Reinf**) **Dem**

This can be stated in the following generalization:

(8) *Generalization 1*:
      If a demonstrative is low, that is, below adjectives, its reinforcer has to follow it.

Second, reinforcers can co-occur in certain languages:

(9)   a.   ***den herre her*** *populære boka*   *mi*   (Eastern Norwegian)
                this here   here popular   book-the my
                'this my popular book'

       b.   *mit* ***sell.datt***   ***datt*** *grosse mann*   (Pennsylvania German)
                with that.there there tall   man
                'with that tall man'

Importantly, however, this is not the case with low reinforcers:[2]

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[2] Swiss German might be a potential exception here. However, this language has (verbal) doubling independently (see Roehrs to appear).

(10) a.   **Dem** (N) Adj (N) **Reinf** (*Reinf)

    b.   Art N Adj **Dem Reinf** (*Reinf)

R&P arrive at a second generalization:

(11) *Generalization 2*:
    Low reinforcers, that is, reinforcers below adjectives, cannot co-occur.

As is clear from these observations, there are a number of restrictions with lower demonstratives. Since these generalizations seem to narrow down the syntactic choices, this is a good place to start the analysis. To recapitulate, then, with low demonstratives as in type 4, a reinforcer can only follow the demonstrative and it cannot co-occur with another reinforcer. Moreover, let us also point out that nothing can intervene between the demonstrative and the reinforcer.

To capture these facts, R&P propose that demonstratives are in a Specifier position and reinforcers (with low demonstratives) are in the head position of the *same* phrase.[3] To make these ideas concrete, they follow Leu (2008), who proposes that demonstratives are decomposed of several elements (see also Klinge 2008 and Kayne & Pollock 2009). Drawing a parallelism to complex adjective constructions, Leu suggests that demonstratives also involve extended projections (cf. Grimshaw 1991). R&P instantiate this claim in a slightly different way.

Proceeding bottom-up, they assume that demonstratives consist of a definiteness marker under Ref of a Referential Phrase, of a deictic element under Deic of a Deictic Phrase, and of an inflectional suffix under Infl of an Inflection Phrase. In other words, inflectional heads are assumed to be present in the syntax:[4]

(12) [Infl [Deic [Ref]]]

Let us illustrate this with demonstratives in the feminine. R&P assume that the element under Ref has a referential feature [+REF]:

(13)

	InflP	DeicP	RefP
German *diese*:	-e	-ies-	$d_{[+REF]}$-
Spanish *esta*:	-a	-st-	$e_{[+REF]}$-

To be clear, demonstratives consist of three different heads and, as such, they make up complex phrases. To derive the relevant surface elements, R&P propose that the definiteness marker undergoes head raising to Infl picking up the deictic element on the way. These two steps in the derivation can be illustrated as follows:

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[3] Below, we will see that reinforcers with high demonstratives may also be in Specifier positions.

[4] For a slightly different technical execution, see Roehrs (to appear). In work in progress, I argue that also adjectives and (agreeing) possessive pronouns have their InflP as the highest phrase. Also, I have renamed the Definite(ness) Phrase of earlier work as Referential Phrase here. As will become clear in section 3, this relabeling is not only for the sake of clarity but also reflects a certain claim.

(14) *(Syntactic) Head Movement (Germanic and Romance)*

    a.   German: $[_{\text{InflP}}$ *-e* $[_{\text{DeicP}}$ d_i-*ies*- $[_{\text{RefP}}$ t_i $]]]$

                               $[_{\text{InflP}}$ $\{d_i\text{-}ies\}_k$-*e* $[_{\text{DeicP}}$ t_k $[_{\text{RefP}}$ t_i $]]]$

    b.   Spanish: $[_{\text{InflP}}$ *-a* $[_{\text{DeicP}}$ e_i-*st*- $[_{\text{RefP}}$ t_i $]]]$

                               $[_{\text{InflP}}$ $\{e_i\text{-}st\}_k$- *a* $[_{\text{DeicP}}$ t_k $[_{\text{RefP}}$ t_i $]]]$

R&P assume that D has a [REF] feature that needs to be valued. Furthermore, assuming that InflP is a phase in the sense of Chomsky (2001), they suggest that the [+REF] feature on Ref is in the edge of the phase and can be probed by D. As a consequence, the InflP in (14) moves to Spec,DP from a lower Specifier position, here assumed to be Spec,ArtP (cf. Julien 2005, Roehrs 2009). Illustrating with German *diese*, the derivation looks as follows:

(15)
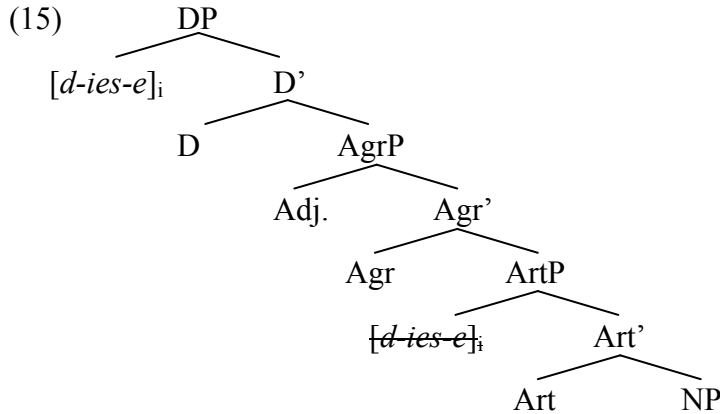
In order to explain the low demonstratives (type 4), R&P propose that the Romance demonstrative also has the option that its inflection can undergo Morphological Merger onto the demonstrative stem in Deic (Morphological Merger is indicated here by the equal sign):

(16) *Morphological Merger (Romance)*

      Spanish: $[_{\text{InflP}}$ *-a* $[_{\text{DeicP}}$ e_i-*st*- $[_{\text{RefP}}$ t_i $]]]$

                       $[_{\text{InflP}}$ $[_{\text{DeicP}}$ e_i-*st*=*a* $[_{\text{RefP}}$ t_i $]]]$

If so, the demonstrative stem remains below the edge of the phase and the [+REF] feature on its stem cannot be probed by D. Consequently, the demonstrative as a whole stays in situ and an article is inserted in D to value the [REF] feature.

This paper presents some refinements of this proposal. In particular, I will focus on deriving the asymmetry between the Germanic and Romance languages pointed out above. This generalization is repeated here for convenience:

(17) *Asymmetry*:
    a.   Germanic has **one** position for demonstratives (above adjectives) and <u>several</u> for reinforcers.
    b.   Romance has **several** positions for demonstratives and <u>one</u> for reinforcers (below adjectives).

In R&P's system, the different positional options of the demonstrative imply the disability vs. ability of the demonstrative stem to remain below the edge of InflP (see the second column of table 1 below) and the different distributions of the reinforcers imply that the reinforcers can be heads and Specifiers in one language family but only heads in the other (column 3):

Table 1: Difference between Germanic and Romance

	[+REF] below InflP-level	Reinforcer in Specifier
Germanic	-	+
Spanish	+	-
Romance	-	-
??	+	+

There are two questions that arise at this point: (i) why can Germanic demonstratives not stay low (here: below the InflP-level) and (ii) why can Romance reinforcers not be in different positions (here: in Specifiers)?

In Roehrs (to appear), the first question is tackled by arguing for different types of articles in the two language families. This solution also works for R&P. However, there is a second possibility that I would like to explore here. This second option involves case. Unlike the former, though, the latter solution comes with a certain commitment and does not give us anything for free. As such, the solution in Roehrs (to appear) seems more desirable.

As for the second question, Roehrs (to appear) argues for different lexical categories of the reinforcers ("bare" reinforcers vs. PP-reinforcers). These different lexical categories are taken to explain the different distributions of the reinforcers. While this may be correct, this solution was not fully formalized there. As an alternative, I suggest here that cross-linguistically, demonstratives involve different types of decompositional structures. I will label these types syntactic, morphological, and lexical decompositions.

In the next section, I address both of these questions. More generally, deriving the above asymmetry, the discussion of demonstrative-reinforcer constructions will reveal certain differences in the determiner systems of the Germanic and Romance languages.

2.   Explanation of the Open Issues

2.1.   *No (Successful) Morphological Merger in Germanic*

Recall the first question: why do the Germanic languages not have the option of Morphological Merger (leaving their demonstratives low in the structure)? Let us start by pointing out that there are some important differences between the determiner systems of the two language families. I will explore two distinctions in this subsection starting with a difference in case.

While (some of) the Germanic languages have case suffixes, illustrated with the masculine gender in German below, the Romance languages (with the possible exception of Romanian) do not and only inflect for gender:

(18) a.   'the/that':   *der,   den,   dem,   des*   (German)

       b.   'this':   *dieser, diesen, diesem, dieses*

(19) a.   'the':   *el,   la,   (lo bueno*)   (Spanish)

       b.   'this':   *este, esta, esto*

Suppose that Morphological Merger is, at least in principle, also possible in Germanic. As can be seen below, Morphological Merger would put the case suffix below the edge and the demonstrative as a whole would stay in situ (i.e., Spec,ArtP), contrary to the facts:

(20) *Morphological Merger (German)*

       German: $[_{InflP} \text{-}e \; [_{DeicP} d_i\text{-}ies\text{-} \; [_{RefP} t_i \;]]]$

       (*) $[_{InflP} \; [_{DeicP} d_i\text{-}ies{=}e \; [_{RefP} t_i \;]]]$

Now, if we assume that the case suffix has to be in the edge of the demonstrative phase (i.e., Infl) to be licensed by its case assigner/checker/valuer from outside the DP, then Morphological Merger will lead to a bad derivation.[5] If so, the Germanic languages involve syntactic head movement only. Note that this type of solution comes with a commitment: if Morphological Merger occurs post-syntactically, then case-licensing must also be relevant after syntax. In some sense, a case-licensed element cannot be removed from its position in the morphology. While this may or may not be true, there is an alternative solution that avoids taking such a stand and will give us something else for free. This following discussion is taken from Roehrs (to appear).

Another major difference between the Germanic and Romance languages has to do with the general **distribution** of the determiners. This difference is manifested by an interesting interplay between the demonstrative and the article. Abstracting away from the different adjective-noun orderings, Germanic and Romance are the same in (21a) and (21c) but different in (21b) and crucially in (21d):

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[5] Morphological Merger should be no problem for the gender inflection in Romance, which is licensed DP-internally.

(21) *Romance*:

    a.   **este**_{UNMARKED} *libro interesante*   (Spanish)
          this   book interesting
          'this interesting book'

    b.   *el libro interesante* **este**_{FOCUS}
          the book interesting this
          'this interesting book' (from Bernstein 2001)

    c. *   Art Dem N Adj

    d. *   Dem Art N Adj

(22) *Germanic*:

    a.   *dette høje hus*   (Danish)
          DEM tall house
          'this tall house'

    b. *   Art Adj N Dem

    c. *   Art Dem Adj N

    d.   *dette det høje hus*
          DEM DET tall house
          'this tall house' (slightly adapted from Julien 2005: 113)

In fact, the crucial difference involves certain co-occurrence patterns where the presence of the Romance article depends on the *position* of the demonstrative, (23a-b), but the presence of the Germanic article depends on the *presence* of an adjective and the *pragmatics* involved, (23c-d):[6]

    (23) a.   *este (*el) libro viejo*   (Spanish)
             this   the book old

        b.   **(el) libro viejo este*
              the book old   this (cf. Brugè 1996)

        c.   *dette (*det) hus*   (Danish)
             DEM   DET house

        d.   *dette (det) høje hus*
             DEM DET tall house (Julien 2005: 113)

To account for these facts, Roehrs (to appear) proposes that the Romance and Germanic articles are different:

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[6] The presence of the article in (23d) is especially felicitous when the adjective is in its superlative form.

(24) *Generalization:*

    (i)   Romance:
          (a)   Demonstratives may stay in situ in some languages.
          (b)   Article insertion is a *morpho-syntactic* process.

    (ii)   Germanic:
          (a)   Demonstratives may not stay in situ in any language.
          (b)   Article insertion is a *semantico-pragmatic* process.

To make this idea concrete, suppose that besides the demonstrative the Romance article also has the [+REF] feature and is inserted in D under Last Resort; that is, when the demonstrative stays low. In contrast, the Germanic article does not have the [+REF] feature. As such, if the demonstrative were to stay low due to Morphological Merger inside InflP, the [REF] feature in D could not be valued leading to a bad derivation. This, then, rules out Morphological Merger in the Germanic languages. If so, then we are led to another claim: if the Germanic article does appear, it does so for a different reason. I will claim that the Germanic article is inserted to make other features "visible". As not all Germanic languages allow co-occurring demonstratives and articles in the left periphery, these languages presumably vary with regard to which features need to be made visible and/or by which determiner element.

      To sum up, assuming that the Romance and Germanic languages involve different articles, we have an explanation why Germanic cannot have (successful) Morphological Merger and why the Germanic articles can co-occur with the demonstratives in the left periphery. Below, we will see other advantages of the assumption that the Germanic articles make certain features visible. We turn to the second issue.

2.2. *Romance Reinforcers cannot be in Specifier Positions*

There are two types of reinforcers. As already mentioned above, R&P propose that some reinforcers are merged as heads low in the noun phrase structure, that is, outside InflP. Let us assume for the structure in (25c) that the noun undergoes N-raising in the Romance languages:[7]
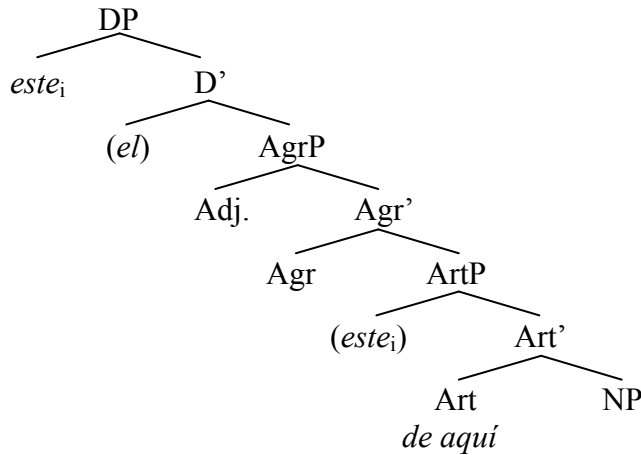
(25) a.   *el libro viejo **este de aquí***   (Spanish)
          the book old   this of here
          'this old book'

     b.   ***este** libro viejo **de aquí***
          this book old of here
          'this old book' (Brugè 1996)

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[7] Alternatively, Roehrs (to appear) proposes that low reinforcers are right-adjoined. In the Romance languages, the material between the (low) demonstrative and the reinforcer undergoes roll-up movement across the demonstrative.

c. *Position of some Germanic and all Romance Reinforcers*

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                DP
          ┌──────┴──────┐
       esteᵢ            D'
                   ┌─────┴─────┐
                  (el)        AgrP
                         ┌──────┴──────┐
                       Adj.           Agr'
                               ┌────────┴────────┐
                              Agr               ArtP
                                           ┌──────┴──────┐
                                        (esteᵢ)         Art'
                                                  ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                 Art            NP
                                              de aquí
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In contrast, other reinforcers are merged as Specifiers inside InflP, actually allowing the co-occurrence of reinforcers:

(26) a. **den herre her** *populære boka   mi*   (Eastern Norwegian)
         this here   here popular   book-the my
         'this my popular book'

b. *Position of some Germanic Reinforcers*

$$[_{\text{InflP}} \{d_i\text{-}e\}_k\text{-}n\ [_{\text{DeicP}} herre\ t_k\ [_{\text{RefP}} her\ t_i\ ]]]$$

Note that this second option also explains why reinforcers can surface in the left periphery – they are pied-piped when the demonstrative (as part of its InflP) moves to Spec,DP.

This leads us to our second question: why can Romance reinforcers not be in Specifiers? This is of particular interest since, if Romance had syntactic head movement as suggested in R&P, reinforcers in Specifiers should be possible. This is so because head movement across Specifiers is possible and both options are completely compatible with each other. Since the Specifier option does not seem to exist (i.e., no Romance language has high reinforcers), we need to block syntactic head movement inside InflP for the Romance languages.

Besides the different distribution of determiners in the Germanic and Romance languages, the **transparency** of the determiner stems is also fundamentally different. In particular, while the articles and demonstratives in Germanic share the definiteness marker (*d-* and its ilk), the Romance languages do not (see below). In other words, in Germanic the article and the demonstrative seem to be structurally related:

(27) a. *the*   - *this*, *that*   (English)

    b. *de* [*het*]   - *deze*, *die*   (Dutch)

    c. *der*   - *dieser*, *der*/[*jener*]   (German)

    d. *(h)-inn*   - [*þessi*], [*sá*]/*hinn*   (Icelandic)

    e. *(d)-en*   - *denne*, *den*   (Norwegian)

    f. *der*   - *der*, [*seller*]   (Pennsylvania German)

I will assume that the articles and demonstratives are syntactically decomposed; that is, that they are made up of different heads (as claimed above) and that the definiteness marker is "freely" inserted in the morphology (see also below). As already pointed out in Roehrs (to appear), the Romance languages are different from their Germanic counterparts. However, we will see below that they are also different from each other.
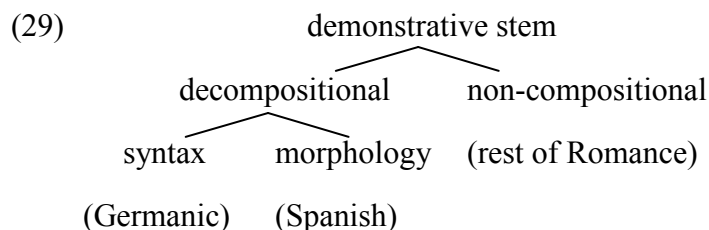
Unlike Germanic, the Romance articles are not structurally related to their demonstratives in any obvious way. Furthermore, Spanish and Portuguese have demonstratives with two different stem forms. In fact, abstracting away from the deictic elements (i.e., *st* vs. *l*), Spanish and Portuguese have two demonstrative stems, (28a-b), but the other languages have just one, (28c-f):

(28) a. *el*, *la*   - *este*, *ese*/*aquel*   (Spanish)

    b. *o*, *a*   - *este*, *esse*/*aquele*   (Portuguese)

    c. *-ul*, *-a*   - *acest*, *acel*   (Romanian)

    d. *le*, *la*   - *ce* (…*-ci*/*-là*)   (French)

    e. *il*/*lo*, *la*   - *questo*, *quel*   (Italian)

    f. *su*, *sa*   - *kustu*, *kussu*/*kuddu*   (Sardinian)

We can observe that with two demonstrative stems (i.e., two different definiteness markers), the determiner systems of Spanish and Portuguese are partially transparent but with just one demonstrative stem, the ones of the other Romance languages are opaque. I interpret these facts in such a way that the first two languages have morphologically decomposed demonstratives and the others have demonstratives that are not (or lexically) decomposed. Before we elaborate on these claims, let us step back for a moment and summarize the discussion thus far.

The difference between the Germanic and the Romance languages is that the articles and demonstratives are structurally related in the former cases but not in the latter. For the Germanic languages, I maintained the above proposal that the determiners are syntactically decomposed. Assuming head movement as the mechanism to "assemble" the demonstratives, this allows reinforcers as heads (outside InflP) and crucially also as Specifiers (inside InflP). The above proposal for the Romance languages was revised, both with regard to Germanic and with regard to the individual Romance languages.

Observing that Spanish (and Portuguese) has two demonstrative stems and that the remainder of the Romance languages has just one, I proposed that the former cases involve morphologically decomposed demonstratives but the latter are not (or only lexically) decomposed. This can be summarized as follows:

(29)   demonstrative stem

        decompositional   non-compositional

    syntax   morphology   (rest of Romance)

    (Germanic)   (Spanish)

I what follows, I will claim that morphologically decomposed demonstratives combine by Morphological Merger. While this allows the demonstrative to stay in situ, it also explains the fact that reinforcers cannot be merged as Specifiers. Furthermore, non-decomposed demonstratives involve lexically "fused" heads, which bans Specifiers as well but in a different way. Let us flesh this part of the proposal out.

Let us start by pointing out that there is an interesting interplay between the Germanic determiners, which are structurally transparent, and the Romance determiners, which are partially suppletive. Above, I claimed that the transparent structures are captured by a decompositional analysis. I claim now that the suppletive forms follow from an operation, call it Fusion, where two or more functional heads are "conflated" into one. In fact, I assume that this process must occur before (or early on in) syntax.[8]

Considering the Romance languages, exemplified here by Spanish, it is clear that the typical gender marker for masculine does not occur on the determiners: both the article and the demonstrative do not end in -o: *el* 'the' and *este* 'this'.[9] In other words, gender marking on the determiners is, to some degree, "exceptional". I will assume for the article that the inflectional head and the definiteness marker are Fused into one head, which gets spelled out as {*el*}. In a similar vein and employing Baker's (1985) mirror principle as a heuristics, I propose that the inflectional head and the deictic head of the demonstrative are always Fused: *e*-{*ste*}.[10] Finally, I assume that all heads are Fused with the other Romance languages and optionally also in Spanish.

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[8] This is in the spirit of proposals such as Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998), who propose that some languages have a split Infl and others do not (for a similar idea in the nominal domain, see Munn & Schmitt 2005).
[9] Note that *lo* and *esto* exist but their use is special. As Green (1988: 94-5) states, these forms are traditionally called 'neuter', where *lo* represents a Spanish innovation but *esto* derives from the Latin neuter demonstrative. He claims that *lo* functions as a [-count] marker in certain nominalizations (see also Kester 1996: 252-3) and *esto* is used as an anaphor for sentences or propositions.
[10] Harris (1991: 41-2) also calls these determiner forms "special cases". He provides an analysis for the article (pp. 54-5) but it is not entirely clear to me how the form of the demonstrative is explained (note that the "word marker template" in (37) of that paper only applies to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs).

To be clear, then, Germanic has fully transparent demonstratives and Romance has partially or fully Fused demonstratives (Fusion is illustrated with a plus sign):[11]

(30) a.   Germanic: [Infl [Deic [Ref$_{[+REF]}$]]]

b.   Spanish: [Infl+Deic [Ref$_{[+REF]}$]]   "low"
                 [Infl+Deic+Ref$_{[+REF]}$]   "high"

c.   Romance: [Infl+Deic+Ref$_{[+REF]}$]

In other words, the terms morphological and lexical decomposition refer to demonstrative structures where either some or all heads are Fused. Considering Germanic and the other Romance languages, Spanish is assumed to have an intermediate status. I will call the two options in Spanish "low" and "high", the former bringing about a demonstrative in situ and the latter a demonstrative in the left periphery. Let us make some comments here.

Note that the [+REF] feature on Ref reaches the edge of the phase by syntactic movement in Germanic. In the Spanish "high" option and in the other Romance languages, this feature is in the highest head (there is only one) and can thus be probed by D. As a consequence, the demonstrative moves to Spec,DP in these two types of cases. Recall, however, that Spanish also has the option where only the two highest heads are Fused (i.e., the "low" option). I assume that Infl+Deic and Ref combine by Morphological Merger.[12] With the definiteness marker below the edge, the [+REF] feature cannot be probed by D. As a consequence, the demonstrative as a whole stays in situ and an article is merged in D under Last Resort. Recall from above that unlike in Germanic, Romance articles have a [+REF] feature.

Returning to the second question, recall from the discussion of the Germanic demonstratives that there are three head positions (e.g., *d-ies-e* 'this') and, consequently, three Specifier positions (e.g., the reinforcers in Yiddish and Eastern Norwegian). Turning to Romance, Fusion of the Infl and Deic heads eliminates one Specifier position. Furthermore, if we make the standard assumption that Morphological Merger requires adjacency, then this blocks reinforcers from occurring between the Infl+Deic and Ref heads in the Spanish "low"

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[11] This recalls another difference between the two language families. In preposition-article combinations, Germanic is transparent and involves decomposition but Romance is, to some degree, suppletive and involves (some type of) Fusion. The relevant difference can most clearly be seen in German and French:

(i)   a.   *von + dem*   => *vo-m* 'from the'   (German)
          zu + dem   => *zu-m* 'to the'

      b.   *de + le*   => *du* 'from the'   (French)
          à + le   => *au* 'to the'

As the discussion of all the relevant facts would lead me too far afield, I will leave it for another occasion.

[12] For some reason, it seems to be the case that once certain heads of a structure are Fused, the non-Fused heads of that same structure cannot undergo head movement anymore. This may imply that Fusion of some heads coincides with a change in status of the other relevant heads.

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option.[13] As for the other Romance demonstratives, they have only one (Fused) head to begin with and the issue of a low Specifier position hosting a reinforcer does simply not arise.

This leaves open the explanation as to why a reinforcer in Romance cannot occur in the highest Specifier position inside the demonstrative structure. In order to explain why the Romance languages do not have type 2 (where a reinforcer precedes the demonstrative), I assume that reinforcers cannot be merged in the edge of a phase (i.e., Spec,InflP) but move there from a lower Specifier position inside InflP (if available as, for instance, in Yiddish). The proposal has an interesting consequence.

3.   A Consequence of the Proposal

It is commonly assumed that Germanic articles involve simple heads. Considering the obvious bipartite structure of the article (*d-er*), this tension between the traditional assumption and the current proposal needs to be resolved. Let us claim that the occurrence of the definiteness marker is predictable. Above we suggested that *d-* is not the cause of definiteness but that it is inserted to make certain features visible. If *d-* is inserted late, this implies that it does not project its own syntactic head. We can claim then that the article simply involves an inflectional head and *d-* is inserted after syntax. This in turn means that the [+REF] feature of the Germanic demonstrative cannot be on *d-* but is on a null Ref head:[14]

(31) German *diese*:   [*-e* [*-ies-* [$\emptyset_{[+REF]}$-]]]

To sum up, we have seen two advantages of the assumption that articles in Germanic do not involve a [+REF] feature and that *d-* is inserted late to make certain features visible: (i) it explains that the demonstrative and the article can co-occur in the DP-level in some Germanic languages, and (ii) we can keep the often-held assumption that despite the bipartite structure, Germanic articles are heads.[15] In fact, given this discussion, it may turn out that *d-* is not an (inherent) "definiteness marker" at all but rather a marker of the third person (Bernstein 2008).

4.   Conclusion

In this paper, I have tried to refine the analysis in Roehrs & Putnam (2009). I focused on two issues. Following earlier work in that demonstratives consist of several components, I proposed that due it its different articles, the Germanic demonstratives cannot involve (successful) Morphological Merger. Furthermore, due to their morphological and lexical decomposition, the Romance demonstratives do not tolerate Specifiers in their structure. The latter discussion also represents an alternative to Roehrs' (to appear) categorial proposal (i.e., "bare" vs. PP-

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[13] According to Embick & Noyer (2001), there are two types of Morphological Merger: Lowering, which operates on hierarchical structures and can skip adverbs, and Local Dislocation, which operates on linearly adjacent elements and cannot skip intervening material. For our account to go through, intervening (adverbial) reinforcers can only be blocked if we assume Local Dislocation.

[14] With the Germanic article lacking the [+Ref] feature, there is no null head involved in this case.

[15] There might be a third advantage. Recalling footnote 11, if preposition-article contractions in German are really transparent, then late insertion of *d-* allows us to assume that there is no deletion of *d-* (as van Riemsdijk 1998 does).

reinforcers). The analysis is summarized in table 2 below (bold print corresponds to the plus signs in table 1 above):

Table 2: Summary of the Analysis

	[+REF] below InflP-level	Reinforcer in Specifier
Germanic	different articles	**syntactic decomposition of demonstratives**
Spanish ("low")	**Morphological Merger**	morphological decomposition of demonstratives
Rest of Romance	all heads are Fused	no decomposition (lexical demonstratives)
??	+	+

Needless to say that there are some interesting issues left open here. Let me mention three. First, it is not clear why some reinforcers are preceded by a preposition but others are not. While there are reasons to believe that post-adjectival reinforcers involve PPs (see Roehrs to appear), the insertion of the preposition *de* may be a "low-level", language-specific rule. Second, the exact conditions for the insertion of *d-* need to be formulated and we need to clarify how definiteness in the noun phrase comes about. This may have to do with the general context the DP occurs in and certain operations within the DP (Longobardi 2008). Third, we have glossed over some issues involving the inflectional suffixes. Focusing briefly on German, note that the inflections comprise information about case, gender and number. Strictly speaking, we might suggest that inflections also consist of several parts, which have also been Fused. In order not to compromise the syntactic account of the Germanic demonstrative, we might speculate that purely functional heads such as inflection are, in some sense, different from semi-lexical ones such as deixis and referentiality. I hope to return to some of these issues in the future.

Importantly, whatever the solution to these issues may turn out to be, the discussion of demonstrative-reinforcer constructions has revealed certain differences in the determiner systems of the Germanic and the Romance languages, where these differences between the articles and demonstratives were argued to explain the absence of certain patterns in the demonstrative-reinforcer constructions.

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