

These *HERE* Demonstratives

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1 Introduction

Demonstratives¹ have been suggested to be complex/phrasal and to involve an adjectival component (Dryer (1992:p.120ff), Delsing (1993:chapter 4.3), Chomsky (1995:p.338), Bernstein (1997:p.93)) and a definite marker morpheme (Chomsky (1995:p.338), Bernstein (1997), Elbourne (2005)², Julien (2005) among others). It has also been proposed that demonstratives are generated low and move to the left periphery of the DP (Giusti (1994, 1997), Brugè (1996), Bernstein (1997), Vangsnes (1999), Ihsane and Puskás (2001)).

In my discussion of Germanic demonstratives below, I agree with all of this (while disagreeing with some details of the individual proposals). In fact, I propose that demonstratives are morphosyntactically complex in that they involve an adjectival modification structure (FP), containing a demonstrative modifier, an agreement head (AgrA), and a definite marker.³ It is this entire FP that moves to Spec,DP. What distinguishes a demonstrative DP from an ordinary modified definite DP is the lexical choice of the (possibly silent) modifier *HERE/THERE* instead of another modifier like e.g. *blue*. The syntactic behavior of *HERE/THERE* is different from that of *blue* in ways that obscure, in some languages, its presence and/or its being introduced in an adjectival modification structure.

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¹I refer here and throughout to definite adnominal demonstratives. For a typological overview of different kinds of demonstratives see Diessel (1999).

²Elbourne proposes a semantics for *this* in which the denotation of *this* differs from that of *the* only in having an additional index and a proximal feature (see also Vangsnes 1999:part 1). In the spirit of the present paper, these additional components are suggested to be contributed by a demonstrative modifier counterpart of *here/there*.

³I refer to the Germanic *d-/th-* morpheme as definite marker. See Bernstein (to appear) for an alternative view.

The structure I argue for is given in (1). A definite adjectival modification structure, FP in (1), sits in Spec,DP where it licenses the non-pronunciation of the head of DP, D^0 , host of the overt definite marker in unmodified definite DPs in e.g. Swiss German. The demonstrative modifier *HERE* moves (across the inflected definite marker *d-i*) to Spec,FP where it is licensed to be unpronounced.

- (1) a. d-i rosä SG
 the-AgrA rose (“this rose”)
 b.
-
- ```

graph TD
 DP --> FP
 DP --> D0[D^0]
 DP --> t_FP[t_FP]
 FP --> HERE
 FP --> di[d-i]
 FP --> t_HERE[t_HERE]
 FP --> t_NP[t_NP]
 D0 --> empty[Ø]
 NP --> rosä

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## 2 A silent demonstrative modifier

### 2.1 Scandinavian

Vangsnes (1999:part 2) and Julien (2005:chapter 4) note that prenominal determiners in Scandinavian are formally identical to demonstratives. In plain definites, Swedish and Norwegian (and Danish) do not have a DP-initial definite marker<sup>4</sup>, but only a nominal suffix which is usually glossed *DEF* (2a). In the presence of an adjectival modifier, on the other hand, these languages exhibit a DP-initial definite marker (followed by inflection<sup>5</sup>), as in (2b). Note that the example is not (necessarily) demonstrative. In (2c) a prenominal definite marker (followed by inflection) is present, just as in (2b), but without an overt adjective. The example is acceptable, but its interpretation is obligatorily demonstrative (examples from Vangsnes (1999:p.120)).

- (2) a. hus-et      NOR  
       house-DEF  
       b. de-t      svarte huset  
       that/the black house-DEF

<sup>4</sup>But see Vangsnes (1999:part 1, 6.2.) for discussion of intensifying noun phrases.

<sup>5</sup>In present day Swedish and Norwegian, the inflection *-t* on the definite marker is only orthographic.



- b. d-i rot rosä  
the red rose
- c. d-i rosä  
“this rose”

What is relevant to note is that in the plain definite DP in (3a) the definite marker is not followed by overt inflection.<sup>9</sup> In the presence of an adjective however, the definite marker is obligatorily followed by overt inflection (3b).<sup>10</sup>

The inflection *-i* on the definite marker in the modified DP (3b)=(4a) is homophonous with the inflection on the adjective in the indefinite counterpart in (4b), suggesting that it is an exponent of the Germanic strong adjectival inflection (cf. Milner and Milner (1972), Leu (2006)), glossed AgrA.

- (4) a. d-i rot rosä  
the-AgrA red rose
- b. ä rot-i rosä  
a red-AgrA rose

I conclude that this inflectional morpheme is part of the adjectival modification structure. The appearance, in adjectival contexts, of this inflection on the definite marker in Swiss German is to be related to the appearance, in adjectival contexts, of a prenominal definite marker (with strong adjectival inflection) in Norwegian. I propose that, as in Norwegian, in Swiss German as well, the definite marker (plus AgrA) is part of the adjectival modification structure, FP in (1), sitting in Spec,DP. Definite FP in Spec,DP licenses the non-pronunciation of D<sup>0</sup>.

If the definite marker is followed by AgrA in the absence of an overt adjectival modifier, as in (3c), the DP receives a demonstrative interpretation, parallel to Scandinavian.<sup>11</sup>

In sum, morphologically, the DPs in (2c) and (3c) look as if there were an adjective present. Yet there is no overt adjective there. Semantically, these DPs

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<sup>9</sup>The morpheme *-i* in (3b,c) is the realization of AgrA<sup>0</sup> (mnemonic for “adjectival agreement”) for feminine (and also plural) structurally Case-marked DPs. In masculine and neuter singular DPs, the definite marker is followed by an inflectional suffix whether or not an adjective is present. I assume that the inflection that is present in the absence of a modifier is not the realization of AgrA<sup>0</sup>, but corresponds to a different agreement head, for which the feminine and the plural variants are null.

<sup>10</sup>In Leu (2001) I call the alternation between *d* and *di* observed in (3a,b) the “d/di-alternation.”

<sup>11</sup>(3c) is compatible with both a proximal and a distal interpretation.

differ from plain definites in being demonstrative. I conclude that (2c) and (3c) feature a silent adjectival modifier which has a demonstrative interpretation.<sup>12</sup>

### 3 Silent *HERE/THERE*

In this section I will address two questions that seem a priori unanswerable: What does the silent demonstrative modifier look like? (section 3.1), and: Where is it? (section 3.2).

#### 3.1 The looks of silent *HERE*

Swedish (and colloquial Norwegian) has demonstratives that are overtly built on the definite article and the Swedish counterpart of *here/there* (Holmes and Hinchliffe 1994).<sup>13</sup>

- (5)      a. det här                      b. det där                      SWE  
                 the here “this one”      the there “that one”

In colloquial Norwegian (6) (and Swedish) this demonstrative *here/there* carries adjective-like inflection (Bernstein (1997:p.90), Vangsnes (2004) and Øystein Vangsnes p.c., Julien (2005)):

- (6)      a.      den her-re      klokka                      Coll. NOR  
                 the here-INFL watch-DEF  
                 b.      det der-re      huset  
                 the there-INFL house-DEF

Afrikaans has demonstratives composed of counterparts of the same elements, but in a different order (Donaldson 1993: and Levi Namaseb p.c.).

- (7)      a.      Ek het    hier-die huis    gebou.                      AF  
                 I    have here-the house built    “I built this house.”  
                 b.      Ek het    daar-die man gesien.  
                 I    have there-the man seen    “I saw that man.”

<sup>12</sup>Concretely, in terms of Elbourne (2005), the demonstrative modifier contributes an index and a deictic feature.

<sup>13</sup>A counterpart of *here/there* as building block of demonstratives is crosslinguistically well attested and exists apart from Germanic also in non-Indoeuropean languages such as e.g. Australian languages (Julie Legate p.c.), and the native American language Kiowa (Harbour 2006) etc.

In (5) through (7) demonstrativity is contributed by the counterparts of *here/there*, (cf. Kayne (2004)). The argument for this is simple. If you have a definite article and something else, and the whole of them has a meaning component that the definite article alone does not have, it follows that this meaning component is contributed by the something else.

Recall the contrast between plain definites and demonstrative DPs in Swiss German and Norwegian repeated in (8) and (9) respectively.

- |     |                              |                       |                                            |
|-----|------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| (8) | a. di rosä<br>“this rose”    | b. d rosä<br>the rose | c. di rot rosä<br>the red rose             |
| (9) | a. det huset<br>“that house” | b. huset<br>house-DEF | c. det svarte huset<br>the black house-DEF |

The definite marker in the demonstrative (a) examples is identical to the one in the (c) examples (modulo stress), which contain an overt adjectival modifier, and distinct from the ones in the (b) examples, which lack an adjectival modifier.

While in (5) through (7) demonstrativity is contributed by an overt counterpart of *here/there*, I propose that in (8a) and (9a) demonstrativity is contributed by a silent counterpart of *here/there*, *HERE/THERE* (where capital letters indicate non-pronunciation).

### 3.2 The position of silent *HERE*

In this section I will tackle the second a priori unanswerable question: Where is silent *HERE*? When *HERE* is silent, we do not have direct access to its position relative to other elements. One possibility is to assume that it is in the same position as its overt counterpart in (5), (6), i.e. to the right of the definite article. Alternatively it may be that its being unpronounced is related to its position at spell-out, in the spirit of Kayne (2006) who suggests that non-pronunciation is an “automatic consequence of the architecture of derivations.” If this is on the right track, then the position of overt elements tells us where their silent counterpart is not, in a given language (perhaps universally).

From this conjecture and from (5), (6), let me conclude that the silent *THERE* in Norwegian (9a) is not between the definite article and the noun, since in that position modifiers are overt.<sup>14</sup>

We know from Afrikaans (7), (10) that demonstrative *here/there* can move to the left of the definite marker in (some) Germanic.

<sup>14</sup>Strictly speaking, the logic here would allow it to be in a different syntactic position to the right of the article.

- (10) a. hier-die (*“this/these”*) AF  
 b. daar-die (*“that/those”*)

Let me propose that Swiss German (8a) and Norwegian (9a) are like Afrikaans in that *HERE* and *THERE* respectively moves to the left of the definite marker, differing from Afrikaans with regard to pronunciation (/landing site, see section 4). Thus (8a) and (9a) receive the analysis in (11).

- (11) a. HERE di *t<sub>HERE</sub>* rosä (*“this rose”*) SG  
 b. THERE det *t<sub>THERE</sub>* huset (*“that house”*) NOR

I conclude that *HERE/THERE* in (8a) and (9a) moves to Spec,FP.

Taking it a step further, let me tentatively adopt Kayne’s (2006) concrete proposal that phrases escape pronunciation if they occur in the Spec of a phase at spell-out.<sup>15</sup> This suggests that FP is a phase in the relevant sense. How exactly this notion of phase relates to the one in Chomsky (2001) is not entirely clear. Assuming a close relation would lead us to identify FP as propositional. This in turn recalls the traditional idea that adjectival modifiers have a clause-like syntax (Smith 1964, Kayne 1994).

### 3.3 Demonstrative *HERE* and article clipping

Further evidence for the presence of silent *HERE* to the left of the definite marker morpheme in (11a) comes from article clipping. In Swiss German (and in German) the definite marker morpheme *d-* remains silent in a range of contexts involving P-DP complementation, as in (12a,b).<sup>16,17</sup>

- (12) a. [<sub>P</sub> uf] (#d)ä tisch SG  
           onto the table  
 b. [<sub>P</sub> uf] (#d)ä blau tisch  
           onto the blue table  
 c. [<sub>P</sub> uf] HERE \*(d)-e tisch  
           onto this table

<sup>15</sup>For present purposes, I am departing from Kayne’s suggestion that this is the only way to escape pronunciation that UG permits. I assume that e.g. silent definite markers are licensed in a way reminiscent of the doubly filled comp filter. A reformulation of this along the lines of Starke (2004) might however be fruitful and ultimately allow the adoption of Kayne’s stronger position.

<sup>16</sup>The process is sensitive to Case, the choice of P, and the phi-features of N.

<sup>17</sup>The diacritic # indicates stylistic markedness.

However, with a demonstrative interpretation such clipping is impossible and the definite marker morpheme *d-* is obligatorily pronounced. This suggests that there is a licensing configuration for non-pronunciation of the definite marker morpheme *d-* in P-DP complementation, which obtains in (12a,b), but is disrupted in (12c). My proposal is that it is demonstrative *HERE* which, having moved of to the left of the definite marker, intervenes between P and *d-* and thereby disrupts the licensing configuration for non-pronunciation of *d-*.

### 3.4 Demonstratives and polydefiniteness

Evidence for the presence of a definite marker in addition to the one within the demonstrative FP comes from languages that allow more than one definite marker to be overt, as e.g. Scandinavian, exemplified by Danish (13, in part from Julien (2005:p.114)). Like Norwegian and Swedish, Danish does not have a pre-N definite marker independently of adjectival modifiers (13a,b), but only in their presence (13c). It does not allow an overt definite marker preceded by an ordinary adjective (13d). However, Danish allows an adjectival determiner to be overt after a demonstrative (13d).<sup>18</sup>

- |      |    |                                                                           |    |
|------|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| (13) | a. | hus-et<br>house-DEF                                                       | DA |
|      | b. | dette (*det) hus<br>this (the) house                                      |    |
|      | c. | *(det) høje hus-(*et)<br>(the) tall house                                 |    |
|      | d. | dette (det) høje (*det) flotte hus<br>this (the) tall (the) stylish house |    |

This, I propose, is the result of movement of the demonstrative FP<sub>1</sub> out of a Spec of [<sub>FP</sub> (det) høje], and into the left periphery above DP. This disrupts the licensing configuration for non-pronunciation of the adjectival determiner that goes with *høje*. In Scandinavian, such movement to the left periphery above DP is not available to ordinary adjectival FPs (13d).

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<sup>18</sup>The availability of the additional definite marker in (13d) is subject to pragmatic restrictions relating to discourse topicality. Also, it is particularly good with superlative adjectives. Many thanks to Line Mikkelsen for discussion on this point. Julien (2005:p.109) notes that it is also possible and particularly felicitous with superlatives in Norwegian and Swedish. See also Delsing (1993:p.138) for Swedish.





extraction site.<sup>21</sup> While in languages with silent *HERE/THERE* (Swiss German, German, Norwegian, Dutch, and most interestingly English) demonstratives do have an overt morphological reflex sensitive to phi-features, Afrikaans demonstratives don't, but instead have overt left-peripheral *hier/daar*.<sup>22</sup>

In light of this, a possible conjecture is that, in order to license its trace, movement to a silent position may necessitate a head of a kind which inflection qualifies for (reminiscent of Kester 1996), but *d-/th-* does not.

## 5 Adjectival *here/there* and reinforcers

Non-standard English allows overt *here/there* to follow a demonstrative determiner. Bernstein (1997) calls the element *here* in the non-standard American English example (16) a reinforcer.

(16) this here book

I have been claiming that a demonstrative like *this* contains a silent *HERE*. It is important to realize that the overt *here* in (16) cannot be the very morpheme that is incorporated into *this*. In other words there are two distinct instantiations of *here/HERE* in (16). The two have a distinct status. They differ morphosyntactically and semantically, as I will discuss instantly.

### 5.1 Licensing of reinforcer and demonstrative *here/there*

A reinforcer like *here* in (16) is only licensed in combination with a demonstrative (Bernstein 1997:p. 91). But the demonstrative adjective *HERE* cannot be subject to such a constraint, since this would lead to a chicken and egg paradox. I propose the informal structure in (17).

(17) [<sub>Dem</sub> HERE the ] here N ] => “this here book”

### 5.2 Morphosyntax of reinforcer and demonstrative *here/there*

Colloquial Norwegian (and Swedish) presents morphological evidence that the demonstrative *here/there* and the reinforcer are indeed distinct, in that only demonstrative *here/there* is introduced in an adjectival structure, as I have been arguing, whereas the reinforcer is not.

<sup>21</sup> A possibility pointed out to me by Andrew Nevins, p.c.

<sup>22</sup> The picture of Afrikaans is more complicated, with demonstrative uses of *dit* and *dié* (Donaldson 1993:p. 142ff.) bearing challenges to the text suggestion.

As noted in section 3.1 examples (6), overt demonstrative *herre/derre* features adjectival agreement in colloquial Norwegian.<sup>23</sup>

It is also possible in Norwegian (and Swedish) to have an additional counterpart of *here/there*, a reinforcer. Vangsnes (2004:p. 13) reports that in Eastern Norwegian, up to three counterparts of *here* can surface within one noun phrase. In this case one of them must carry adjectival inflection. And only the first one can be so inflected.<sup>24</sup>

- (18) a. den herre her populære boka mi (her) E-NOR  
           the hereADJ here popular book-DEF my here  
       b. den (\*her) her populære boka mi (her)  
           the here here popular book-DEF my here  
       c. \*den her herre populære boka mi her  
           the here hereADJ popular book-DEF my here

On the present proposal it is a counterpart of the inflected *herre* in (18a) which, in some languages, moves into a silent position to the left of *d-/th-*.

### 5.3 Interpretation of reinforcer and demonstrative *here/there*

The difference in the morphosyntax of demonstrative *here/there* and reinforcer has a semantic correlate. Among the readings available to demonstratives are a locative deictic reading (19a) and a discourse anaphoric reading (19b).

- (19) a. This tree [POINTING GESTURE AT TREE A] is taller than  
           that one [POINTING GESTURE AT TREE B].  
       b. Remember I told you about a position as a ballet dancer? Well,  
           John said he was too old for the job. But I think that's absurd.

If I am right that demonstratives like *this/that* contain a counterpart of *here/there*, it follows from (19b) that this latter element is not obligatorily associated with locativeness. In Kayne's (2004) and (2005) terms, the *here/there* in question may but does not have to involve a silent PLACE.

The same obtains with the overt (inflected) demonstrative *here/there* in colloquial Norwegian, which can be discourse anaphoric (20). Interestingly, this is different for reinforcer *here/there*, which is obligatorily locative (21).

<sup>23</sup> Øystein Vangsnes informs me that in some dialects the inflection on the demonstrative *here/there* differs from ordinary weak adjectival inflection in making fewer gender distinctions.

<sup>24</sup> Examples from Vangsnes (2004). See also Julien (2005:section 4.2.4).

- (20) a. den her-re klokka  
the here-INFL watch (*locative or discourse anaphoric*)  
b. det her-re huset  
the there-INFL house (*locative or discourse anaphoric*)
- (21) a. den her-re her klokka  
the here-INFL here watch (*only locative*)  
b. det der-re der huset  
the there-INFL there house (*only locative*)

Hence the adjectival *here/there* which combines with the definite marker to render a demonstrative determiner is distinct from the reinforcer both morpho-syntactically and semantically (though perhaps not lexically).

## 6 Conclusion

I conclude that (some) demonstratives in Germanic are built out of a definite marker *d-/th-* and a counterpart of *here/there* introduced in an adjectival structure. *Here/there* has the property of (A) being unpronounced (*HERE/THERE*) in some cases, and (B) moving to the left of the definite marker in some cases, with property (A) parasitic on (B). The movement of *HERE/THERE* to a silent position to the left of *th-* correlates with the pronunciation of an otherwise silent plural agreement morpheme in English.

The adjectival modification structure containing a definite marker and the demonstrative *here/there/HERE/THERE* is argued to sit in Spec,DP where it licenses the non-pronunciation of the definite marker in  $D^0$ .

This proposal assimilates to a greater degree than previous proposals (A) demonstrative determiners to ordinary adjectival modification within the DP, and (B) Germanic demonstratives to languages like e.g. Greek, in which a definite article overtly co-occurs with a demonstrative determiner.

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