DP-INTERNAL STRUCTURE AND MOVEMENT IN

ROMANIAN

Mona-Luiza Ungureanu

Department of Linguistics

McGill University, Montreal

February 2006

A thesis submitted to McGill University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Canada

Abstract

This study explores three syntactic issues in the Romanian DP: the cliticization of the definite article, the syntactic position of postnominal APs, and the syntactic properties and position of *cel*.

First, I show that the affixation of the definite article can be derived by syntactic head movement of the host element to D^0. The distributional asymmetries among adjectives with respect to the definite article are accounted for by hypothesizing that they occur in two structurally distinct positions. Adjectives that surface prenominally are heads in the extended nominal projection; while adjectives that surface postnominally are maximal projections. I show that prenominal adjectives (a) block head-movement of the noun to D^0, (b) bypass the same elements as the noun, and (c) are blocked by the same element as the noun.

In chapter 3, I claim that APs surfacing between the noun and its complement are generated to the left of N; and APs that follow the complement of the noun are generated to the right. The postnominal surface position of the former APs is derived by leftward noun head-movement as opposed to remnant phrasal-movement. The evidence hinges on the relative scope among APs. I show that the symmetric approach, supported here, generates all and only attested word-order – scope pairings; while antisymmetry generates additional, unattested pairs.

Finally, I account for the asymmetric distribution of prenominal versus postnominal *cel* relative to the definite suffix. In previous literature, *cel* was equated with D^0. Conversely, I claim that *cel* heads a modifier phrase, say celP. I show that prenominal celP has the same syntactic distribution and properties as demonstratives, including the ability to license a covert definite D^0; while postnominal celP, like all postnominal modifiers, lacks this property.

This study provides a guide to the structure and movements in the Romanian DP, from its lower domain, the base position of N, up to the DP domain. Throughout, this work, I argue that several empirical generalizations on syntactic distribution are best accounted for by head-movement and the Head

Movement Constraint. The evidence I produce comes from morpho-syntax (e.g. cliticization), semantics (e.g. scope interpretation) and plain linear word-order.

Résumé

Cette étude examine trois enjeux syntaxiques du DP roumain: la cliticisation de l'article défini, la position syntaxique des AP postnominaux, et enfin les propriétés syntaxiques et la position de *cel*.

Dans un premier temps, je démontre que l'affixation de l'article défini peut être dérivé par le movement de tête syntaxique de l'élément hôte vers D^0. Les asymmetries distributionnelles parmi les adjectifs par rapport à l'article défini sont expliquées par l'hypothèse selon laquelle ils apparaissent dans deux positions structurellement distinctes. Les adjectifs faisant surface en position prénominale sont des têtes dans la projection nominale étendue, tandis que les adjectifs faisant surface en position postnominale sont des projections maximales. Je démontre que les adjectifs prénominaux (a) bloquent le mouvement de tête du nom vers D, (b) contournent les mêmes éléments que le nom, et (c) sont bloqués par le même élément que le nom.

Dans le chapitre 3, je soutiens que les AP faisant surface entre le nom et son complément sont générés à la gauche de N, et que les AP qui suivent le complément du nom sont générés à droite. La position superficielle postnominale du premier type d'AP est dérivé par le mouvement de tête du nom vers la gauche, plutôt que par le mouvement résiduel de phrase. La preuve dépend crucialement de la portée relative parmi les AP. Je démontre que l'approche symmétrique ici soutenue génère toutes et seulement les relations de portée attestées dans l'ordre des mots, alors que l'antisymmétrie génère des relations additionnelles et non-attestées.

Enfin, j'explique la distribution asymmétrique du *cel* prénominal et du *cel* postnominal en fonction du suffixe défini. Dans les recherches précédentes, *cel* était analysé comme équivalant à D. Je soutiens, en revanche, que *cel* est à la tête d'une phrase modificatrice, disons celP. Je

démontre que le celP prénominal a la même distribution et les mêmes propriétés que les démonstratifs, y compris la possibilité de licencier un D défini caché; alors que le celP postnominal, comme tous les modificateurs postnominaux, n'a pas cette propriété.

Cette étude fournit un guide pour la structure et les mouvements dans le DP roumain, de son domaine inférieur, la position de base de N, jusqu'au domaine DP. Tout au fil de cette oeuvre, j'argumente que plusieurs généralisations empiriques sur la distribution syntaxique sont mieux expliquées par le mouvement de tête et par la contrainte sur le mouvement de tête. Les preuves que je présente proviennent de la morpho-syntaxe (e.g. la cliticisation), de la sémantique (e.g. l'interprétation de la portée) et du simple ordre linéaire des mots.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER IV: THE SYNTAX OF *CEL*

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.   PROPOSED ANALYSES AND PRINCIPAL CLAIMS

This study investigates the syntactic structure and movements in Romanian DPs. Three main syntactic issues are considered here: the suffixation of the definite article, the structural position of APs and the syntax of prenominal and postnominal *cel*. First, I determine the syntactic conditions and constraints that govern the suffixation of the definite article enclitic on nouns and adjectives. Then, I establish the structural positions of postnominal adjectives. Finally, I account for the syntactic distribution and properties of prenominal and postnominal *cel*, an element that occurs in definite DPs and was analyzed in previous literature as a free-form definite article. The syntactic analysis I provide in the present work is based on the theoretical framework outlined below.

The syntactic principles and constraints employed in this study are those relating to the notion of move-α as stated within the frameworks of "Government and Binding", "Principles and Parameters" and "Minimalism" as in Chomsky (1995) for example. In terms of movement and constraints on locality, I will primarily employ the Head Movement Constraint (henceforth HMC) developed by Travis (1984) as well as the constraints on movement proposed by Relativized Minimality in Rizzi (1990). Following Szabolczi (1983, 1994) Abney (1987) and Grimshaw (1991) among others, I assume that the noun phrase projects an extended structure – the extended nominal projection – that

contains a number of functional phrases, including DP. Having delineated the material to be investigated and the theoretical framework assumed to this end, I proceed by outlining the analyses I propose for the three phenomena under consideration.

This study starts by showing that the affixation of the definite article on nouns and adjectives can be derived by syntactic head-movement of the host element to D^0. The distributional asymmetries among adjectives with respect to the definite article are accounted for by hypothesizing that they occur in two structurally distinct positions. Adjectives that surface prenominally are heads in the extended nominal projection; while adjectives that surface postnominally are maximal projections. Here, I show that prenominal adjectives (a) block head-movement of the noun to D^0, (b) bypass the same elements as the noun, and (c) are blocked by the same element as the noun.

In chapter 3, I provide an analysis for the two postnominal positions of APs. The evidence I provide hinges on the relative scope among APs. I claim that APs surfacing between the noun and its complement are generated to the left of the noun and APs that follow the complement of the noun are generated to the right. The postnominal surface position of the former APs is derived by leftward noun head-movement as opposed to remnant phrasal movement. Here, I show that the symmetric approach I support generates all and only attested word-order – scope pairings, while antisymmetry generates additional, unattested pairs.

Finally, I account for the asymmetric distribution of prenominal versus postnominal *cel* relative to the definite suffix. In previous literature, *cel* was analyzed as a free-standing expletive definite article that occupies D^0. In opposition to these previous analyses, I claim that *cel* heads a modifier phrase, celP. I show that prenominal celP has

the same syntactic distribution and properties as demonstratives, including the ability to license a covert definite D^0. Conversely, postnominal celP, like all other postnominal modifiers, lacks this licensing property.

Although seemingly distinct, the three topics investigated in this work and their accounts are tightly linked in that they all contend with two important issues in DP internal syntax: noun fronting and the (distinct) structural positions of APs. Consequently, the principal conclusions of this study, which I present next, rely significantly on the accounts I provide for the interaction between noun fronting and the syntactic position of APs.

The principal claims I make on the syntax of Romanian DPs are the following. (1) Noun fronting is always obtained by head-movement. (2) The only overt realization of [+definite] D^0 is the enclitic/suffix $-L$. This enclitic is hosted by a syntactic head (N^0 or A^0) that undergoes head-movement to D^0. (3) Adjectives that surface prenominally are structurally distinct form those that surface postnominally. Prenominal adjectives are heads in the extended nominal projection. Conversely, postnominal adjectives are maximal projections that occupy the specifier of or are adjoined to some functional phrase in the DP. Moreover, postnominal APs are generated either to the left or to the right of the noun.

So far, I summarized the analyses I propose for the three syntactic issues I investigate and presented the principal theoretical claims of the study. In the next section, I provide an empirical and theoretical context for the principal claims I make, and thus for the study as a whole.

2. EMPIRICAL AND THEORETICAL CONTEXT

The goal of this section is to establish an appropriate context for the study as a whole. Here, I present empirical generalizations and theoretical proposals that relate to the principal claims and accounts I propose. To begin with, however, I would like to explain how the presentation of the context is structured.

The principal claims (1-3) above, relate to noun fronting, the structural position of APs and movement of nouns or adjectives to the DP domain. Throughout the literature on the syntax of DPs, noun fronting and the syntactic positions of adjectives are often considered jointly, due to their interaction. Moreover, the great majority of accounts on the suffixation of the definite article in Romanian make reference to nominal and adjectival movement to the DP domain. In other words, the structural positions of Romanian adjectives are directly correlated with, and thus can be subsumed under, accounts on nominal fronting and movement to the DP domain. Consequently, the empirical and theoretical context for claims (1-3) presented next is divided into two sections: noun fronting and movement to the DP domain. Considerations on the syntactic positions of adjectives are subsumed under these two sections. Let us start by looking at noun fronting.

2.1 NOUN FRONTING

In this section, I briefly depict empirical generalizations of the data and previous proposals that deal with noun fronting. I center on those accounts that also consider adjectives, since the present study is equally concerned with their structural position.

In previous research, two main types of overt noun fronting are proposed: short

noun movement and movement to the DP domain. Short noun movement displaces the noun from its base generation position to a higher syntactic position that is below DP and other elements that occupy the higher spectrum in the DP. Movement of the noun to the DP domain is typically taken to target D^0.

Given the theoretical assumptions made in the present work, two movement operations are available for noun fronting: head-movement and/or phrasal (remnant) movement. Consequently, short noun movement and noun movement to the DP domain alike can be obtained either by head-movement or by phrasal movement. I consider these noun movement options in the following subsections.

In the present work, I claim that Romanian exhibits both short noun movement and movement to the DP domain. Furthermore, I propose that Romanian noun fronting (short and to the DP domain) is always an instance of N^0 head-movement. [1,2] To provide an empirical and theoretical background for this claim, I briefly describe in this section data and previous accounts relating to noun fronting. I start with short noun movement.

2.1.1 SHORT NOUN MOVEMENT

In this subsection, I present theoretical accounts where evidence for short noun movement is provided by the postnominal position of adjectives. First, I briefly describe the data under consideration and then show how they can be accounted for by noun fronting. In subsections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 I succinctly present the accounts that assume noun head-movement and those that assume (remnant) NP movement respectively.

---

[1] In this study, I argue that Romanian head-movement to D^0 is successive cyclic and proceeds to D^0 from the intermediated position it occupies after short head-movement. For simplicity purposes, in the present chapter, I refer to this movement as N^0 to D^0 movement.
[2] Chapter 3 provides evidence for short noun head-movement and chapter 2 presents evidence for noun-head movement D^0.

In previous literature, short noun movement was proposed to account for two related word-order generalizations that contend with the position of APs. The first empirical generalization is that the surface position of adjectives relative to the noun varies cross-linguistically as well as language internally. The second, word-order observation relates to the distinct linear ordering among APs observed in Sproat and Shih (1991). There, it is shown that in postnominal position the linear order of different classes of APs can be the exact opposite of the linear order of the same adjectives in prenominal position. This generalization is referred to in the literature as the Mirror Image Order (MIO). Let us now consider how these two observations can be accounted for by assuming noun fronting.

While in Germanic languages APs are predominantly to the left of the Noun, [D AP N], in Romance languages they are predominantly to the right of the noun, [D N AP]. To account for this word-order variation Cinque (1994, 1996) proposes that in both language families adjectives are generated to the left of the noun. However, in Romance languages the noun is obligatorily fronted to an intermediate position, located above postnominally surfacing APs but below D^0. Conversely, in Germanic languages noun movement is absent.

In many languages where APs are predominately postnominal, two postnominal positions are available for adjectives: before the complement of the noun and following the complement of the noun. When a postnominal AP precedes the complement of the noun (abbreviated here as ComplNP), [N AP ComplNP], its presence creates a discontinuous constituent. Assuming that the noun and its complement are sister nodes, this surface order must involve movement. Two obvious accounts are possible for the [N

AP ComplNP] sequence. If the AP is generated to the left of the noun, this word-order can be derived by leftward noun movement. If the AP is generated to right of the noun, the word order can be derived by right word movement of ComplNP. According to the antisymmetric theory, proposed in Kayne (1994), APs can only attach to the left of the phrase they modify. Thus, under this assumption, only the former derivation is possible. Conversely, by assuming that APs are generated to the left or to the right of the noun, the symmetric account, both proposals just stated are theoretically possible.[3]

Let us now consider postnominal APs that follow the complement of the noun – [N ComplNP AP]. Whether this word-order implies movement or not is directly dependent on ones assumptions on phrase structure. Under a symmetric account, no movement is necessary to account for the [N ComplNP AP] word-order, since it can be assumed that the AP is simply generated to right of NP. Conversely, under an antisymmetric account the AP can only attach to the left of NP. Thus, the surface word-order [N ComplNP AP] must be generated as [$_{FP}$AP [$_{NP}$N ComplNP]]. Then, the postnominal position of the AP must be derived by leftward movement of the noun and its complement. [$_{FP}$[$_{NP}$N ComplNP [$_{FP}$AP] t$_{NP}$]]

In chapter 3 of the present study, I consider noun fronting in light of the two postnominal positions of adjectives just considered above. There, I argue in favour of the symmetric account, based on evidence from the scope interactions of multiple APs.

The second type of evidence for short noun movement based on the position of APs relates to the relative order among APs. Sproat and Shih (1994) show that, cross-linguistically, APs of different classes can occur in the opposite relative order depending on whether they are prenominal or postnominal. This effect is referred to as the Mirror

---

[3] Accounts proposing noun fronting are cited in the following two sections.

Image Order (MIO). To account for the MIO of postnominal adjectives while still maintaining the same hierarchal generation of the APs, two theoretical options are available. Under a symmetric approach, postnominal APs can be simply generated to the right of the noun. Thus, the hierarchical order of the APs is preserved but the linear order is opposite to that of prenominal APs. Under the antisymmetric approach, all APs are generated to the left of the noun in the same order. Then, the distinct linear surface order is derived by movement operations of APs and/or of the constituents including the APs and, crucially, movement of the noun.

Thus far, I presented two word-order configurations that can be accounted for by assuming short noun movement. However, I have not yet considered whether short noun fronting involves head-movement or phrasal movement. This is done in the next two subsections. In the next section I refer to research proposing head-movement and in section 2.1.2 I consider accounts that propose phrasal movement.

2.1.1.1 SHORT NOUN HEAD-MOVEMENT

Typically, short head-movement of the noun is proposed for DPs where an AP intervenes between the noun and its complement. Here, the AP is assumed to be generated to the left of the noun and only the head noun moves to a position that precedes the AP, thus leaving the complement behind. Proposals that assume this structure include Bernstein (1991, 1993), Cinque (1994, 1996), Cornilescu (1992, 1995), Giusti (1993, 1995, 2002), Valois (1991) and Ungureanu (2003, 2005) for Romance languages.[4] For Semitic languages with the same word-order the accounts include Ritter (1987, 1988, 1991), Fassi Fehri (1989,

---

[4] These proposals can account not only for the postnominal position of APs, but also provide additional evidence and motivation for head-movement of the noun.

1993), Siloni (1991, 1994, 1996a), Hazout (1990, 1995), Borer (1996), Shlonsky (1991a) and Duffield (1999).

If only noun head-movement is taken to account for the [N AP ComplNP] word-order, the bypassed APs must have the following two properties. First, these APs should be maximal projections in the extended nominal projection, since they do not block N^0 head-movement past them. Second, these APs should not exhibit the MIO, because they are supposed to be generated prenominally, just like prenominally surfacing APs. Crucially, in Semitic DPs, the [N AP ComplNP] word-order arguably correlates with the MIO of APs. Thus, a noun head-movement account for DPs with [N AP ComplNP] + MIO must make different structural or movement assumptions. Two such accounts are briefly outlined below.

Pereltsveig (2005) proposes a head-movement account for Hebrew DPs with the [N AP1 AP2 ComplNP] surface order, where APs exhibit MIO. These DPs are proposed to be generated as [AP2 AP1 N ComplNP] and the postnominally surfacing adjectives are, crucially, analyzed as heads in the nominal extended projection. Here, the noun is taken to head-move leftwards and head-adjoin to the left of the first adjective. Then, the newly formed [N-A1] complex head adjoins to the next higher adjective to its left forming yet another complex head [N-A1]-A2]. Through this movement and adjoining process the derived linear order of the APs is opposite to their generation order.[5]

Another noun head-movement account for DPs that exhibit the same word-order and MIO as the Hebrew ones just discussed is proposed by Fehri (1999) for Arabic. Here, the fronted position of the noun is taken to result from independent noun head-movement,

---

[5] Another proposal, where the noun can undergo leftward head-movement and adjoin to the adjective that is generated immediately above it, is proposed by Stavrou (1999) for Greek.

and the MIO is derived by leftward phrasal movement of the APs. Note that, here, the APs that intervene between the noun and its complement are not heads in the extended nominal projection, rather, they are maximal projections. Having outlined the proposals involving head-movement, let us now briefly consider accounts where the postnominal position of APs is derived by phrasal movement.

2.1.1.2 SHORT NP-MOVEMENT

In this subsection, I briefly present the NP movement accounts proposed for the postnominal positions of APs. In previous literature, both postnominal positions of APs have been accounted for in terms of NP movement. The [N ComplNP AP] word-order is generated as [$_{FP}$AP [$_{NP}$N ComplNP]]. Here, movement of the NP containing the noun and its complement bypasses the AP generated to its left obtaining [$_{FP}$[$_{NP}$N ComplNP [$_{FP}$AP [t_{NP}]]]] .[6] The [N AP ComplNP] order is also claimed to be generated as [$_{FP}$AP [$_{NP}$N [ComplNP]]], but here, movement of the NP must be remnant movement, since the complement of the noun stays behind. Thus, first, the complement of the noun is moved to the left of the NP but below the generation position of the adjective resulting in [$_{FP}$AP [$_{FP}$ComplNP[$_{NP}$ N [$t_{ComplNP}$]]]]. Then, the remnant NP, which only contains the noun, is moved to a higher position that precedes both ComplNP and the postnominally occurring AP resulting in [$_{FP}$[$_{NP}$ N $t_{ComplNP}$ [$_{FP}$AP [ComplNP]]]].

When only NP or NP remnant movement is used to account for postnominal APs, the APs have the same order as prenominally surfacing APs. When the postnominal

---

[6] Note that for the [N ComplNP AP] word-order, NP movement is only necessary under the antisymmetric theory. Here, the APs must be generated to the left of the noun. Conversely under a symmetric view, no movement is necessary; the postnominal APs are simply generated to the right of the noun and its complement.

APs exhibit the opposite order to that of prenominal APs, that is, MIO, movement of the APs or of the phrases containing these APs must also be assumed. Accounts where noun fronting is an instance of phrasal NP (or remnant NP) movement were proposed by Cinque (1996, 2000, 2003a, 2004, 2005) and Shlonsky (2004) among others.

In this section, I briefly presented some of the theoretical proposals that derive the postnominal position of adjectives by means of short noun movement. Both head-movement and NP/remnant NP movement accounts were considered here.

In the present study, I argue that, in Romanian, short noun fronting is always an instance of head-movement. Specifically, in chapter 3, I argue that in DPs with the [N AP ComplNP] word-order N^0 head-moves past postnominally occurring APs. Conversely, in DPs with the [N ComplNP AP] word-order, no movement of the noun or of the APs takes place. Rather, the APs are generated to right of the noun. Evidence for this proposal is provided by the interpretation of multiple postnominal APs. Here, I show that APs preceding the complement of the noun exhibit left to right scope, the same scope associated with prenominally generated APs. Conversely, postnominal APs that follow the complement of the noun exhibit MIO. Based on these empirical observations, I argue that the noun head-movement account is better equipped to account for the attested data while crucially blocking unattested data.

Having overviewed some of the considerations and proposals for short noun fronting, I turn now to fronting of the noun to the DP domain. In the next section, I introduce the types of data assumed to involve noun movement to the DP domain and the corresponding proposals.

2.1.2 N^0 TO D^0 MOVEMENT

In this section, I consider two types of data that are taken in the previous literature to be derived by noun movement to the DP domain. Here, I center on N^0 to D^0 head-movement, which is most commonly proposed, particularly so in the case of Romanian DPs.

In the literature, noun head-movement to D^0 is proposed to account for the DP initial position of the noun. Here, the DP initial noun either prevents the definite article from being overtly expressed or it precedes and bears it as a suffix/enclitic. Two main syntactic phenomena are argued in the literature to result from noun movement to D^0. The first one is represented by Construct State Nominals, which are found in Hebrew, Arabic, Maltese and Irish. Construct State Nominals are possessive constructions, where the head noun of the main DP is fronted and cannot be preceded by the definite article, even if the DP is interpreted as definite. The co-occurrence restriction on the fronted noun and the definite article is argued in the literature to result from head-movement of N^0 to D^0. In other words, the noun is taken to have moved into D^0, where it substitutes the article. Accounts where Construct State Nominals are derived by N^0 to D^0 movement are proposed, among others, by Ritter (1987, 1988, 1991) Fassi Fehri (1989); Mohammad (1988); Hazout (1990); Duffield (1992, 1999); Siloni (1994) Borer (1994) and for Italian in Langobardi (1996).

The second phenomenon claimed to be derived by N^0 to D^0 movement is the encliticization of the definite article on nouns. This phenomenon can be found in Balkan languages i.e. Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian and Romanian, where the definite article is a suffix, the host of which must be in DP initial position. Thus, it is proposed that a

noun bearing the definite article suffix is derived by noun movement to D^0, where it serves as host for the definite article enclitic/suffix. N^0 to D^0 movement accounts for the suffixation of the definite article in Balkanic languages are proposed by Dobrovie-Sorin (1987), Grosu (1988, 1994), Cornilescu (1992, 1995), Giusti (1991, 1993, 1995), Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998) and Ungureanu (2003). Note that the suffixation of the definite article on nouns as an instance of N^0 to D^0 movement was also claimed to account for some Scandinavian languages.[7] These accounts include Taraldsen (1990) and Vangsnes (1999).

In recent years, a few accounts were proposed, which favour NP movement in place of the noun head-movement analyses. For Construct State Nominals, such proposals include Cinque (2003a) for Arabic and Shlonsky (2004) for Hebrew. [8] For Romanian definite article encliticization, a potential phrasal movement analysis of NP to Spec/DP movement is found in Cinque (2004).

In this subsection, I considered the types of constructions proposed to be derived by noun head-movement to D^0. In chapter 2 of the present work, I argue that in Romanian the suffixation of the definite article is always the result of head-movement to D^0, be it movement of N^0 or of some other syntactic head. Head movement to D^0 is considered in more detail in the next section.

In this section, I considered data and previous proposals that assume DP internal noun fronting. Types of data and accounts regarding the position of postnominal APs were also included here. Note that noun fronting is particularly important in the present

---

[7] Note however, that in Scandinavian languages, as opposed to the Balkanic ones, the definite article can also be expressed as a free morpheme.

[8] Pereltsveig (2005) provides a reply to Shlonsky (2004), where she argues against the NP movement approach for Hebrew.

study, since all three phenomena investigated here involve noun movement. Specifically, in chapter 2, I discuss N^0 to D^0 movement. In chapter 3, I discuss short movement of the head noun to an intermediate head in the extended nominal projection, call it X^0. Finally, in chapter 4, I bring evidence in favour of cyclic noun head-movement – that is N^0 to X^0 to D^0. In the next section, I consider proposals relevant to the instantiation of the definite article, which I claim to be obtained by head-movement to D^0 in Romanian.

2.2 MOVEMENT TO THE DP DOMAIN

In this section, I provide an overview of proposals that assume movement to the DP domain. Again, this movement is argued to take either the form of head-movement to D^0 or the form of phrasal movement to Spec/DP. Let us first consider the case of head-movement to D^0.

Typically, accounts of head-movement to D^0 involve languages where the definite article is an enclitic/suffix. As noted in the previous section, a number of proposals assume that the definite article in D^0 is hosted by a noun that head-moves into D^0. For Balkanic languages, in particular, head-movement of N^0 to D^0 is not a controversial account for the suffixation of the definite article on a DP initial noun. However, elements other than the noun can also occur in DP initial position and host the definite article suffix. For example, in Romanian, Bulgarian, Albanian and Macedonian the definite article can be hosted by an adjective. Possessive pronouns in Bulgarian and Macedonian can also host the definite article suffix. Crucially, to maintain a head-movement to D^0 account for these elements, it must be assumed that they are heads in the extended nominal projection. This assumption is necessary in order to satisfy the

conditions for head-movement as assumed in Travis (1984). Importantly, according to the Head Movement Constraint (HMC), these elements are also predicted to block head-movement past them. Proposals where prenominal adjectives or possessive pronouns are heads in the extended nominal projection and thus capable to head-move to D^0 and block head-movement past them include among others, Abney (1987), Delsing (1993, 1998), Bernstein (1997), Arnaudova (1995), Coene (1999), Embick and Noyer (1999, 2001) and Ungureanu (2003).[9]

Although in the DPs under consideration the element that hosts the definite article must be DP initial, head-movement accounts of A^0 or of the possessive pronoun to D^0 are controversial. The main reason for this controversy stems from the fact that APs and possessors are typically considered to be maximal projections in the extended nominal projection. Thus, head-movement of these elements to D^0 would not conform to the principles of head-movement as proposed in Travis (1984). Consequently, with the exception of nouns, movement to DP initial position of elements that host the definite article is most frequently accounted for in terms of phrasal movement. Here, the AP or PossP moves to Spec/DP, where it enters in Spec-head agreement relation with the [+definite] D^0. The agreement is lexicalized as a definite agreement suffix on the element that heads the phrase in Spec/DP. Accounts along these lines are provided by Cornilescu (1992, 1995), Giusti (1993, 1995) and Cinque (2003a, 2004) for all movement to the DP domain, including noun movement.

In this section, I outlined proposals where the suffixation of the definite article

---

[9] In Embick and Noyer (1999; 2001) affixation of the definite article in Bulgarian, is taken to result from a postsyntactic process called morphological *lowering*. Crucially the *morphological lowering* process targets syntactic heads. Conversely, Embick and Noyer (1999) argue that the suffixation of the definite article in Macedonian is derived by *Local Dislocation*. *Local dislocation* is a morphological post vocabulary insertion process where locality is defined in terms of linear adjacency and where the head versus the phrasal status of the syntactic category is irrelevant.

is obtained by head-movement to D^0 or by phrasal movement to Spec/DP. I also presented the main structural assumptions and predictions made by each of the movement processes.

In the present study, the lexicalization of the definite article in Romanian DPs is taken to always result from head-movement of the host of the definite article to D^0. Under this proposal, adjectives that surface prenominally are heads in the extended nominal projection. In opposition, adjectives that surface postnominally are maximal projections in the specifier of or adjoined to functional projections in the DP. The main arguments for the head-movement account to D^0 are presented in chapter 2. Importantly, I also claim that, in Romanian, the only lexical realization of the definite article, in D^0, is the definite enclitic/suffix. This claim goes against previous proposals by Cornilescu (1992, 1995) and Grosu (1994), who propose that D^0 can also be occupied by the free-standing definite article *cel*. Chapter 4 is entirely dedicated to DPs with *cel*. Here, I argue not only that *cel* is not in D^0, but more importantly, that it is not a head in the extended nominal projection. I also show that short head-movement and head-movement to D^0 can bypass *cel*.

In this chapter, I summarized the analyses I propose for the three topics I investigate in this study: the suffixation of the definite article, the structural position of APs and the syntax of prenominal and postnominal *cel*. I also identified the three principal claims I make, repeated below. (1) Noun fronting is always obtained by head-movement. (2) The only overt realization of [+definite] D^0 is the enclitic/suffix $-L$. This enclitic is hosted by a syntactic head (N^0 or A^0) that undergoes head-movement to D^0. (3) Adjectives that surface prenominally are structurally distinct form those that surface postnominally. Prenominal adjectives are heads in the extended nominal projection.

Conversely, postnominal adjectives are maximal projections that occupy the specifier of or are adjoined to some functional phrase in the DP. Moreover, postnominal APs are generated either to the left or to the right of the noun. Finally, I described empirical generalizations and outlined previous proposals in the literature that relate to DP internal noun movement, generation and movement of APs and the lexicalization of the definite article. I conclude this introductory chapter with a brief summary of the study.

3. SUMMARY AND ORGANIZATION OF THE CHAPTERS

3.1 CHAPTER 2

In chapter 2, I argue that, in Romanian, the affixation of the definite article is derived by syntactic head-movement of the host element to D^0. Here, I claim that adjectives occur in two structurally distinct positions. Adjectives that surface prenominally are heads in the extended nominal projection; while adjectives that surface postnominally are maximal projections. I demonstrate that these assumptions can account for the distributional asymmetries among adjectives with respect to the definite article. Specifically, I show that prenominal adjectives (a) block head-movement of the noun to D^0, (b) bypass the same elements as the noun, and (c) are blocked by the same element as the noun.

Chapter 2 is organized as follows. Section 2 contains a succinct overview of the typical elements present in Romanian DPs and their position at surface structure. Section 3 constitutes the core of the analysis proposed in the chapter. Here, I provide evidence supporting the main hypothesis – the realization of the definite article as an instance of head-movement to D^0. In order to further support the claim that the distribution of the definite enclitic in Romanian is a syntactic process, I show in section 4 that an account in

terms of Morphological Merger alone is untenable. In the conclusion, I summarize the findings and identify a few of the issues that arise from the assumptions and analysis adopted.

3.2   CHAPTER 3

In chapter 3, I suggest that APs surfacing between the noun and its complement are generated to the left of the noun and APs that follow the complement of the noun are generated to the right. The postnominal surface position of the former APs is derived by leftward noun head-movement as opposed to remnant phrasal-movement. Supporting evidence for this proposal is provided by the relative scope among APs. I show that the symmetric approach supported here generates all and only attested word-order – scope pairings, while antisymmetry generates additional, unattested pairs.

Chapter 3 is organized as follows. First, I present the claims made by the symmetric and the antisymmetric approaches and the predictions that ensue. Then, I introduce the pertinent data and discuss in detail the interpretations of APs and how they relate to scope interactions. In section 4, I present the derivations needed by the two theories to obtain the empirical word-order – interpretation pairings. In section 5, I propose an alternative antisymmetric analysis, where the locality of remnant movement and the type of noun fronting are constrained such as to account for the data under consideration.

3.3 CHAPTER 4

In chapter 4, I account for the asymmetric distribution of prenominal versus postnominal *cel* relative to the definite suffix. In previous literature, *cel* was equated with D^0. In opposition to this account, I claim that *cel* heads a modifier phrase, which I refer to as celP. I show that prenominal celP has the same syntactic distribution and properties as demonstratives, including the ability to license a covert definite D^0; while postnominal celP, like all postnominal modifiers, lacks this property.

Chapter 4 is organized as follows. I begin with a presentation of the basic data pertaining to the distribution of *cel* and the theoretical issues that ensue. Section 3 illustrates the proposal I put forward. First, I show that *cel* cannot be analyzed as an instance of D^0. Next, I argue that *cel* and the phrase immediately following it form a constituent referred to as celP. The following two subsections are dedicated to establishing the syntactic position occupied by prenominal celP. In section 4, I present a review of the DP internal structure and movements proposed in Cornilescu (1992; 1995). The tenets of Cornilescu's proposal in section 4 constitute a prelude for the subsequent section. Section 5 provides a comprehensive comparison between the analyses of *cel* proposed in Cornilescu (1992; 1995) and that argued for in the present work. Here, I highlight the advantages presented by the current account. I conclude the chapter with a brief summary of the findings presented and briefly discuss some of the theoretical implications of the proposal.

In the chapters that follow, I hope to prove that Romanian is the ideal language for the investigation of the DP-internal syntactic structure and movements. Romanian exhibits short noun movement and noun movement to the DP domain. Importantly, these

movements can be monitored based on (1) the constituency relation between the noun and its complement; (2) the semantic interpretations of APs, which reflect their relative scope; and (3) morphological marking that results from movement to the DP domain. Moreover, because noun movement proceeds from the lowest to the highest spectrum of the DP, it interacts with most DP internal elements. Consequently, syntactic properties of the intervening elements can be inferred based on their interaction with noun movement.

CHAPTER II

GENERALIZED HEAD-MOVEMENT TO D^0 IN ROMANIAN

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter centers on the distribution of the definite article in Romanian (Nominative and Accusative) DPs. The main goal is to determine the grammatical principles and constraints that govern the behavior of the definite article in DPs like (1) below, where the definite suffix/enclitic is in second position within the DP and can attach to either an adjective or to a noun.

(1) a. femei-**a** frumoasă

   woman-the beautiful

   'the beautiful woman'

   b. frumoas-**a** femeie

   beautiful-the woman

'the beautiful woman'

The data in (1) give rise to a number of questions relating to the use of the definite marker. First, does the occurrence of the definite article as the second element of the DP indicate that it is a second position phonological clitic or does the affixation of the definite article obey principles and constraints pertaining to the syntax proper? Second, in (1)a the definite suffix is hosted by a noun while in (1)b it is the adjective that serves as host for the definite suffix. The question here is: what element can serve as host for the definite suffix/enclitic? Particularly, if the affixation/cliticization takes place in the syntax, does the definite article attach to heads and/or to phrases? Also, is the appearance of the definite article the result of movement and/or agreement? In this chapter, I will address the questions outlined above and will propose a possible solution to the puzzle.

In this study, I put forward a syntactic analysis for the distribution of the definite suffix/enclitic. Specifically, I will show that the realization of the definite article can be uniformly accounted for in terms of head-to-head-movement of the element hosting the definite suffix/enclitic to D^0; where potential hosts are N^0, A^0, and Det^0 (the head hosting the indefinite article). The syntactic principles and constraints employed in this study are those relating to the notion of move-α as stated within the frameworks of "Government

and Binding", "Principles and Parameters" and "Minimalism". In terms of movement and constraints on locality, I will primarily employ the Head Movement Constraint (henceforth HMC) proposed by Travis (1984).

While the N^0 to D^0 movement analysis is widely accepted in the literature on Romanian DPs the A^0 to the D^0 movement analysis is considerably less contemplated to my knowledge. Rather, the instantiation of the definite article on adjectives has been commonly accounted for in terms of phrasal movement of AP to Spec/DP, with subsequent Spec-head agreement between the features of AP and D^0, as in Cornilescu (1992; 1995), Dobrovie-Sorin (1992) and Giusti (1995). Unfortunately, the AP to Spec/DP analysis requires a number of stipulations and it still does not account for certain restrictions on the distribution of the definite suffix/enclitic.

For example, common to all AP movement analyses is the base generation of all APs in the specifier of NP or the specifier of some intermediate functional phrases within the extended projection of DP. However, adjectives as a whole do not exhibit a homogeneous behavior in terms of word-order with respect to the definite suffix or within the DP in general. In order to account for the asymmetries among adjectives in Romanian DPs, I hypothesize that adjectives occur in two distinct structural configurations: head-adjectives (henceforth AP_As) and phrasal-adjectives (henceforth

23

AP$_B$s). Specifically, adjectives prenominal at surface structure are base generated as heads that take as a complement XP, a functional category within the extended projection of DP; while adjectives that occur postnominally at surface structure are base generated as adjuncts or specifiers of NP (or of lower functional categories placed between XP and NP). [1] To support the structural hypothesis proposed here, I will show that AP$_A$s but not AP$_B$s can block N^0 to D^0 movement. In chapter 3, I argue for the structural position of AP$_B$s based on scope interactions.

In most previous analyses two syntactic processes are used to account for the distribution of the definite enclitic: head-movement and phrasal movement followed by Spec-head agreement. The movement and structural hypotheses proposed here, however, attempt to provide a unified account for the distribution of the definite article, whereby all instances of the definite article enclitic are the result of head-movement. In addition, the present analysis accounts for previously problematic data and dispenses with a number of the assumptions necessary under the phrasal movement of AP analysis.

The chapter will be organized as follows. Section 2 contains a succinct overview of the typical elements present in Romanian DPs and their position at surface structure. Section 3 constitutes the core of the analysis proposed in this chapter. Here I provide

---

[1] The possibility that prenominal adjectives occupy the head of a functional phrase in the extended nominal projection is also posited in Abney (1987), Bernstein (1997) and Coene (1999) among others.

evidence supporting the main hypothesis – the realization of the definite article as an instance of head-movement to D^0. In order to further support the claim that the distribution of the definite enclitic in Romanian must be viewed as a syntactic process, I show in section 4 that an account in terms of Morphological Merger alone is untenable here. In the conclusion, I will summarize the findings of this study and identify a few of the issues that arise from the assumptions and analysis adopted.

2. BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE ROMANIAN DP

This section contains an overview of the principal lexical and functional categories present in Romanian DPs. In sections 2.1 and 2.2, I present some facts about nouns and adjectives respectively. In section 2.3, I will introduce prototypical determiners in Romanian DPs as they relate to nouns and adjectives. Here, I briefly present the morphological forms and syntactic distribution at surface structure of the indefinite and the definite articles.

2.1 THE NOUN

Romanian nouns are morphologically marked for gender and number by a "portmanteau" morpheme that suffixes to the root. The resulting stem has the form [N root – Gender/Number]. Romanian has three grammatical genders – masculine, feminine and neuter – and two numbers – singular and plural[2]. Gender/Number morphemes exhibit allomorphic variation and often trigger changes in the vowel quality (Umlaut) of the noun's root. Some typical examples of noun stems in Romanian are given in (2) below.

(2)   a. fat-ă   fet-e

              girl-F.SG   girl-F.PL

              'girl'   'girls'

      b. băiat-∅   băieţ-i

              boy-M.SG   boy-M.PL

              'boy'   'boys'

      c. bar-∅   bar-uri

              bar-N/M.SG   bar-N/F.PL

              'bar'   'bars'

---

2 In fact, the neuter is a hybrid of the masculine and feminine features, since it exhibits masculine agreement morphology in the singular and feminine agreement in the plural.

2.2 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives agree in gender and number with the head noun of the DP. Agreement features

are realized by means of a "portmanteau" suffix that attaches to the root of the adjective.

The resulting stem is [Adj. root – gender/number] as in the examples provided below.

(3)   a.   fat-ă   înalt-ă

          girl-F.SG   tall -F.SG

          'tall girl'

   b.   fet-e   înalt-e

          girl-F.PL   tall-F.PL

          'tall girls'

   c.   băiat-∅   înalt-∅

          boy-M.SG   tall-M.SG

          'tall boy'

   d.   băieț-i   înalț-i

          boy-M.PL tall-M.PL

          'tall boys'

Although in the examples in (3) the Gender/Number morphemes of the adjectives have

the same phonological form as those of the nouns, this is not always the case. Similar to

the Gender/Number morphology of nouns, Gender/Number agreement morphemes of

adjectives also exhibit allomorphy. Syntactically, Romanian adjectives may precede or

follow the noun.

(4)   a.   fată   înaltă

           girl-F.SG tall-F.SG

           'tall girl'

      b.   înaltă   fată

           tall-F.SG girl-F.SG

           'tall girl'

2.3   THE INDEFINITE AND DEFINITE ARTICLES

The indefinite article is a free morpheme that occurs at the left edge of the DP and can be

immediately followed either by nouns or by adjectives as in (5)a and (5)c. Not

surprisingly, nouns or adjectives may never precede the indefinite article as (5)b and (5)d

show. Also, there is only one indefinite article per DP.

(5) a. o fată înaltă

a girl tall

'a tall girl'

b. *fată o înaltă

girl a tall

'a tall girl'

c. o adevărată plăcere

a true pleasure

'a real pleasure'

d. *adevărată o plăcere

true a pleasure

'a real pleasure'

The fact that the indefinite article cannot be preceded by another element (i.e. noun or adjective) within the DP, as exemplified in (5)b and (5)d, suggests that no movement to DP initial position has taken place and possibly no element can bypass the indefinite article. Therefore, throughout this study, I will use constructions with the indefinite article as a diagnostic for the position of adjectives and nouns prior to their fronting to the left

29

edge of the DP. In contrast to the indefinite article, the distribution of the definite article

is syntactically surprising, since it not only can, but must be preceded by a noun or an

adjective, thus, it cannot occur DP initially. Morphologically, the definite article is a

suffix/enclitic that agrees with the head noun of the DP in gender and number. A list of

the morphological forms of the definite article in Nominative/Accusative is given in (6)

below.

(6)   [-(u)l], [-le] = SG. M.

       [-a] [-ua] = SG. F.

       [-i]   = PL. M.

       [-le] = PL. F.

The definite article can attach to the stem (Root + Gender/Number) of a noun as in (7)a;

of an adjective as in (7)b; or of an indefinite article as in (7)c.[3] Importantly, only one

instance of the definite article affix can appear within a DP as is evidenced in the

examples below.[4]

---

[3] The fact that the definite article attaches to the stem and not to the root of nouns or adjectives or indefinite articles can be more easily observed in plural forms as in (7)a and (7)c. In the singular, the masculine is not overtly marked and the feminine marker (on roots that end in a consonant) [-ă] is deleted before the definite article [-a].

[4] In this chapter I ignore the so called 'freeform' definite article *cel*, which can be preceded by a noun that bears the definite article as in (i). Chapter 4 is entirely dedicated to an account of *cel*.
(i) copil-ul   cel   înalt
    boy-DEF DEF (one) tall   (...continues)

(7) a. fet-e-**le**   înalt-e / *fet-e   înalt-e-**le**

        girl- pl-the tall- pl   girl- pl tall- pl-the

        'the tall girls'

    b. adevărat-a   plăcere   / *plăcere-a

        true-the   pleasure   pleasure- the

        'the real pleasure'

    c. un-e-le   fet-e   / * fet-e-le

        a-pl-the   girl-pl   girl-pl-the

        'some (of the) girls'

As will be established in subsequent sections, the presence of elements (i.e. nouns or adjectives or the indefinite article) to the left of the definite article, as exemplified in (7), is the result of movement of these elements to the front of the DP, adjoining to the left of the definite article. Thus, constructions containing the definite article cannot be used to determine the position of adjectives or nouns prior to their fronting.

Assuming that determiners are base generated in a relatively high position in the structure of the DP (linearly close to the left edge of DPs) the presence of nouns or

---

Examples like (i) may be evidence that more than one definite article can occur in a DP. However, *cel* has a distribution different from that of the definite affix and structures like (i) have been argued to consist of two DPs and may therefore not bear evidence on the present analysis.

adjectives or of the indefinite article in a position preceding the definite article is not expected. In what follows, I propose to establish the common properties of the elements that can precede the definite article and determine the syntactic mechanism responsible for deriving the word-order possibilities exemplified in (7) above.

Having introduced the major components of the DP and their surface structure distribution, I will now propose an analysis for the instantiation of the definite article.

3. HEAD-MOVEMENT TO D^0

In this section, I show that the affixation of the definite article in Romanian can be analyzed as an instance of head-movement of the host element to D^0. This section is organized as follows. First, I present the theoretical premises pertaining to Romanian DP structure that is assumed in the present chapter. In section 3.2 I show that nouns hosting the definite article enclitic undergo head-movement to D^0. Section 3.3 focuses on the distribution of adjectives with respect to the definite article. Here, I show that certain adjectives, A_As, and Det^0 head move to D^0 and block head-movement of the noun to D^0. Next, I discuss the distribution of the demonstrative as it relates to the movement of N^0 and A^0 to D^0.

3.1 THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

Drawing from previous literature on DP structure, this section lays out some of the theoretical premises assumed in this chapter.

Following Abney's (1987) DP-hypothesis a number of additional functional categories have been posited in order to account for the co-occurrence of D^0 and various other elements within the extended projection of the NP. Some functional categories proposed in the literature are DetP, QP, NumP (number phrase) and KP (case phrase). Most accounts in the literature on Romanian DPs contain functional categories below the DP. Both Cornilescu (1992; 1995) and Giusti (1995) show that the existence of at least one other functional category below DP is necessary to account for the co-occurrence of demonstratives and the definite article. In fact, Cornilescu (1992) proposes that DetP, the additional functional category below DP, is the host for demonstratives (Spec/DetP and Det^0) and the indefinite article (Det^0). I will partly adopt this last proposal and provide additional evidence in support of the existence of this functional phrase in sections 3.3.4 and 3.4.1, as well as in chapter 4.

Other functional categories lower in the DP were introduced by Cinque (1994). Here, he derives the differences between Romance and Germanic placement of APs with respect to the noun by positing obligatory head-movement of N^0 to the head of an

intermediate functional projection (bypassing the APs) in Romance languages but not in Germanic languages. In this chapter, I will simply assume the obligatory head-movement of N^0 to the intermediate functional head, call it X^0. However, in chapters 3 and 4, I provide further evidence supporting Cinque's (1994) N^0 to X^0 movement proposal.

The structural hypothesis of this study is that adjectives occupy two distinct positions. A_As prenominal at surface structure, are heads within the extended projection of the DP and take XP as their complement; while AP_Bs occur post-nominally at surface structure and are base generated as specifiers or adjoined to NP. [5] The distinct positions I propose for adjectives coupled with the presence of the functional categories DetP and XP adopted from Cornilescu (1992) and Cinque (1994) yield the structure in (8) which I assume for the Romanian DP.

---

[5] Based on English data, Radford (1993) and Abney (1987) also treat prenominal adjectives as heads within the extended projection of the NP. Given that English does not exhibit overt movement to the DP domain the syntactic phenomena considered in these analyses differ from the core evidence discussed in the present study.

(8)

```
                    DP
                   /  \
               Spec    D'
                      /  \
                    D⁰    DetP
                         /   \
                     Spec     Det'
                             /   \
                         Det⁰     APₐ
                                 /   \
                             Spec     A'
                                     /  \
                                   A⁰    XP
                                        /  \
                                    Spec    X'
                                           /  \
                                         X⁰    NP
                                              /  \
                                           APᵦ    N'
                                                 /  \
                                               N⁰    ComplP
```
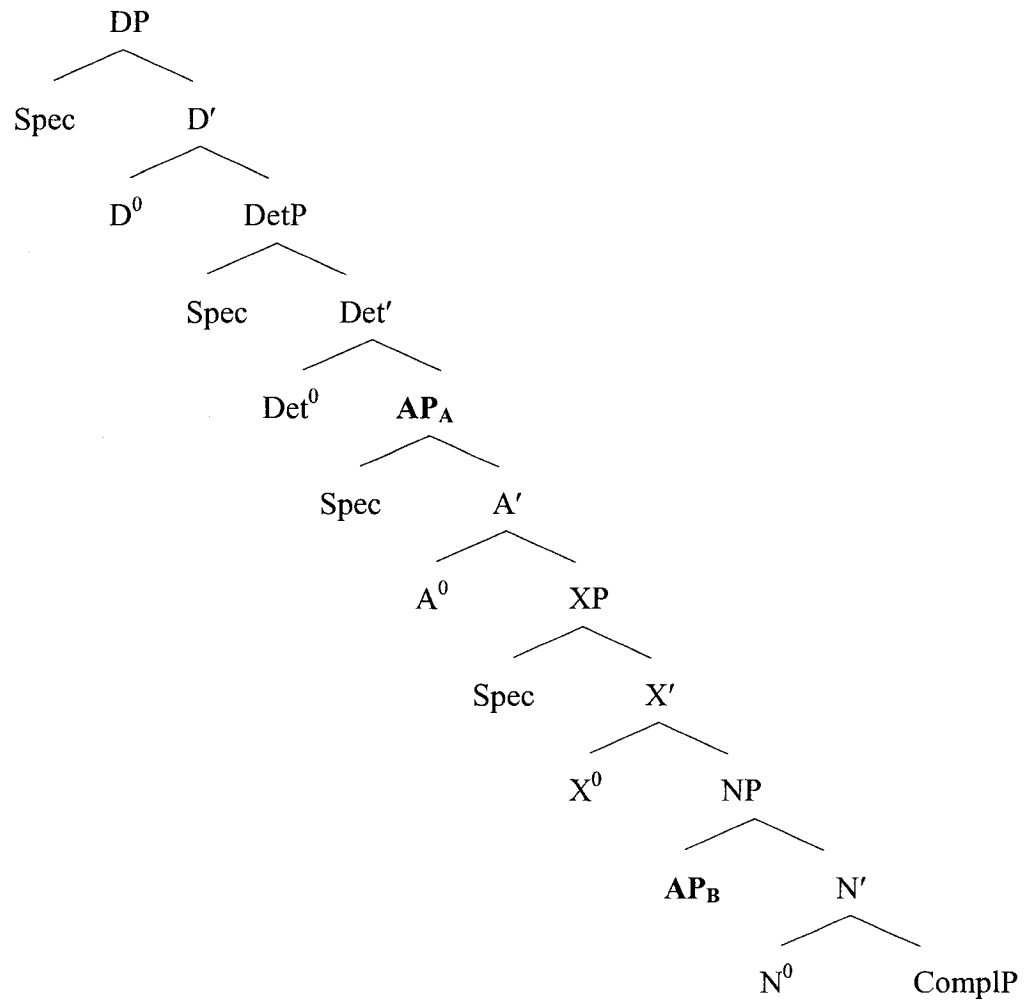
In (8), D^0 is occupied by the definite article suffix/enclitic; Spec/DetP is occupied by the demonstrative; the indefinite article occupies Det^0; the head of AP_A is occupied by adjectives that are pre-nominal at surface structure; and X^0 is occupied by the noun after obligatory N^0 head-movement.

Given the premises presented above and the DP structure proposed in (8) I will now proceed by arguing for a head-movement to D^0 account of the affixation of the

definite article suffix/enclitic in Romanian.

3.2 X^0 TO D^0 MOVEMENT

In the literature on Romanian DPs, there is general agreement with regard to the

realization of the definite article on the noun. Dobrovie-Sorin (1987; 1992), Grosu (1988),

Cornilescu (1992; 1995) and Giusti (1995) have all analyzed this phenomenon as an

instance of head-to-head-movement of N^0 to D^0. This account is mainly based on

examples like (9) below taken from Cornilescu (1992:211), where the nominal head

bearing the definite article must occur in DP initial position leaving its specifier (here the

AP), its complement and its PP modifier behind.

(9)   distrugere -a   aceasta brutală a   oraşului   în ultimi-i   ani

       destruction-the this   brutal of city the   in last   -the years

       'this brutal destruction of the city over the last few years'

Following the above mentioned researchers, I will analyze the affixation of the definite

article on nouns in terms of head-movement of the noun to D^0. Throughout this chapter, I

will assume that the noun undergoes obligatory short head-movement from N^0 to X^0, the

head of the functional projection between NP and DP. Thus, the complement and

modifiers (PPs and AP_Bs) of the noun are left behind and always appear after the noun at surface structure. The partial tree structure representing the successive cyclic movement of the noun is illustrated in (10) below.[6]

(10)

```
                    DP
                   /  \
                 D⁰    ...
                 ▲
                        XP
                       /  \
                   Spec    X'
                          /  \
                        X⁰    NP
                             /  \
                          APB    NP
                                /  \
                              N'    ......
                              |
                              N⁰
```
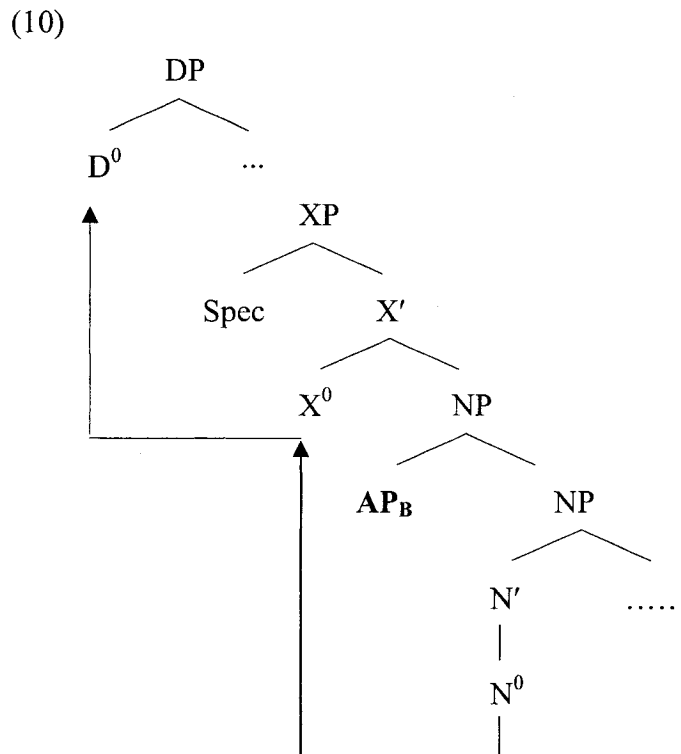
3.2.1   EVIDENCE FOR NOUN MOVEMENT

First, I will establish that the affixation of the definite article on the noun is the result of movement of the noun to DP initial position. The first bit of evidence comes from word-order facts. As noted by Cornilescu (1992), elements such as demonstratives and

---

[6] Evidence for N^0 to X^0 movement is provided in chapter 3.

cardinals that precede the noun when the definite article is absent follow it when the noun

bears the definite article, as in the examples in (11).

(11) a. *acesti trei* copii

    these   three   children

    'these three children'

    b. copii-**i**   *acestia trei*

    children-the these   three

    'these three children'

In (11)a the noun *copii* is preceded by the demonstrative and cardinal but followed by the

same elements in (11)b, where the noun is DP initial and bears the definite article.

The examples in (12) show that the noun cannot occur in DP initial position if it

does not bear the definite article, nor can the definite article surface on a noun that is not

DP initial.

(12) a. *copii   *acesti*(a)   *trei*

    children   these   three

    'these three children'

b. *acesti(a)   trei   copii-i

these   three   children-the

'these three children'

In (12)a the noun cannot precede the demonstrative and cardinal without bearing the definite article, suggesting that the noun is positioned below the demonstrative and cardinal and can only move to DP initial position when it serves as host for the definite article. Moreover, in (12)b, the definite article cannot attach to the noun that remains below the demonstrative and cardinal, suggesting that the definite article suffix cannot lower, thus reinforcing the assumption that it is the noun that has to undergo movement (to DP initial position). The movement of the noun deriving the word-order in (11)b is illustrated in (13).

(13)   copii   -i   acestia   trei t_i

chidren -the   these   three
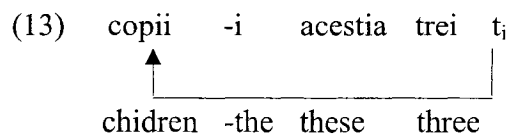
3.2.2 EVIDENCE FOR HEAD-MOVEMENT OF X^0/N^0 TO D^0

Having shown that the occurrence of the noun in DP initial position, where it hosts the definite article, is the result of noun movement, I will now demonstrate that movement of the noun is in fact head-movement.

Recall that I assume obligatory head-movement of the noun to an intermediate functional head X^0 prior to its movement to DP initial position. As a result of this short head-movement of the noun, the complement and modifiers (PPs and AP_{B}s) of the noun are left behind and always appear after the noun at surface structure. If we accept the existence of N^0 to X^0 movement, the occurrence of the noun in an even higher position within the DP and its hosting of the definite article can only be accounted for in terms of cyclic head-movement of N^0 to X^0 to D^0. Thus, in order to support the X^0 to D^0 movement hypothesis, one must show that the noun has head moved to X^0 from its base generated N^0 position (leaving its complement behind); and the word-order difference between constructions like (11)a and (11)b can be derived solely by moving X^0 to D^0. Supporting examples for the cyclic movement of N^0 to X^0 to D^0 are given in (14) below.

(14) a. acesti   trei   <u>frați</u>   bătuți   ai   Ioanei

           these   three   brothers   beaten   of   Joan

'these three beaten up brothers of Joan'

b. <u>fraţi-i</u>   acestia   trei   bătuţi   ai   Ioanei

brothers-the these   three   beaten   of   Joan

'these three beaten up brothers of Joan'

In (14)a a typical AP_B intervenes between the head-noun (that does not bear the definite article) and its complement, suggesting that N^0 has moved from its base position to X^0, bypassing its AP modifier base generated to the left of NP, and leaving its complement behind.[7] In (14)b the N^0 head occurs DP initially and bears the definite article. Here too, the noun bypasses the demonstrative and cardinal, which suggests that the noun has moved from X^0 to D^0.

The movement I propose for the derivation in (14)b is given in (15). Here, N^0 moves to X^0 bypassing the AP_B and then moves further to D^0, bypassing the cardinal and the demonstrative.

(15)   [$_D$ fraţi   -i   acestia t_N trei t_N [$_X$ t_N bătuţi [$_N$ t_N ai   Ioanei]]]
        brothers-the these   three   beaten   of   Joan

---

[7] See chapter 3 for a detailed discussion on the position of AP_Bs.

If we accept that movement of the noun to DP initial position is head-movement of X^0 to D^0, it must be the case that the cardinal and the demonstrative in (15) are not in a c-commanding head position, since they do not block head-movement of X^0. If these two categories are specifiers of intermediate phrases, however, I must then assume that X^0 passes through the intermediate heads on its way to D^0.

Having established that the realization of the definite article on nouns can be accounted for in terms of head-movement to D^0 it remains to be shown that the realization of the definite article on A_As can equally be accounted for in terms of head-movement of A^0 to D^0. The A^0 to D^0 movement hypothesis makes three clear predictions. First, A^0 will block N^0/X^0 movement to D^0; second, any category that allows N^0/X^0 to D^0 movement to bypass it will also allow A^0 to bypass it; and third, any category that blocks N^0/X^0 to D^0 movement will also block A^0 to D^0 movement. The next section will demonstrate that these three predictions are consistent with the empirical data obtained.

3.3 A^0 TO D^0 MOVEMENT

In the literature on Romanian DPs the accounts concerning the realization of the definite article on adjectives only vary minimally and all make the same main claim – adjectives

undergo phrasal movement to Spec/DP and the definite article is the result of Spec-head

agreement between the AP in Spec/DP and D^0.[8] Giusti (1995) and Cornilescu (1995)

assume that APs are embedded within a functional projection FP and that FP moves to

Spec/DP where the head of the functional projection agrees in features with D^0 resulting

in the instantiation of the definite article. Crucially, common to all these accounts is the

base generation of all APs (or FPs containing the AP) in the specifier position of NP or in

the specifier of some functional category within the DP.

In this section, I will argue that the affixation of the definite article on adjectives

can be accounted for in terms of head-movement of A_As to D^0, provided that we assume

the two structurally distinct positions for adjectives, AP_A and AP_B, illustrated in the tree

structure in (8). This structural hypothesis, in conjunction with the HMC, accounts for the

restrictions on both nouns and adjectives with respect to their hosting of the definite article.

In what follows, I will concentrate on AP_As and introduce evidence in support of

their status as heads within the extended projection of the noun and of an analysis in

terms of head-movement to D^0 of A_As. I will also compare the structure and movement I

---

[8] Coene (1999) proposes an A^0 to D^0 analysis, where prenominal adjectives head the extended "nominal" projection and move to D^0. Crucially, her structural assumptions differ significantly from those in the current work. In Coene (1999), DPs with a prenominal adjective are headed by the prenominal A and the noun functions as its modifier. Conversely, postnominal adjectives are modifiers of the noun which heads the extended nominal projection. In other words, in her analysis, both adjectives and nouns are structurally distinct.

propose to the AP-to Spec/DP analysis assumed in previous accounts. In order to do so, I will first present the surface positions and interpretations available to AP_As and AP_Bs in constructions where no movement of adjectives or nouns to DP initial position has taken place. Next, I show that there is a direct correlation between the positions of adjectives and their possibility to host the definite article. Specifically, I show that only A_As can host the definite article and they: (a) block the movement of N^0/X^0 to D^0; (b) bypass the same categories as the noun; and (c) their movement is blocked by the same element that blocks N^0 to D^0 movement.

3.3.1 THE POSITIONS OF ADJECTIVES AT SURFACE STRUCTURE

The surface positions of adjectives provided below are those obtained in indefinite article constructions. As previously mentioned, indefinite article constructions may serve as a diagnostic for the position of nouns and adjectives prior to their movement to the DP domain, since no element may bypass the indefinite article.

In Romanian DPs, adjectives can occur in three different positions at surface structure: (i) in front of the noun, (ii) between the noun and its complement, or (iii) after both the noun and the complement of the noun.

(16)   Indef. Art. **A (i)** N **A (ii)** NComplP **A (iii)**

(17) a.   o frumoasă   fată a Mariei

       a beautiful   girl of Mary

       'a beautiful girl/daughter of Mary's'

    b.   o fată   frumoasă   a Mariei

       a girl   beautiful   of Mary

       'a beautiful girl/daughter of Mary's'

    c.   o fată   a Mariei frumoasă

       a girl   of Mary   beautiful

       'a beautiful girl/daughter of Mary's'

There are 4 types of APs with respect to the positions available to them in (16):

Type 1: Adjectives that can only occupy position (i).

Examples: *biet* -'poor', *fost* -'former', *prim* - 'first'.

(18) a. un biet   copil al Mariei

      a   poor   child of Mary

      'a poor/wretched child of Mary'

b. *un   copil   biet   al Mariei

a   child   poor of Mary

'a poor/wretched child of Mary'

c. *un copil al Mariei biet

a child of Mary   poor

'a poor/wretched child of Mary'

Type 2: Adjectives that can only occupy positions (ii)/(iii).

Examples: *bătut* – 'beaten', *solar* – 'solar', *mecanic* – 'mechanical' and nationality

denoting adjectives.

(19) a. *un   bătut   copil al Mariei

a   beaten child of Mary

'a beaten up child of Mary'

b.   un copil bătut   al Mariei

a child beaten of Mary

'a beaten up child of Mary'

c.   un copil al Mariei bătut

a child of Mary   beaten

'a beaten up child of Mary'

Type 3: Adjectives that can only occupy position (iii):

Adjectives with an expressed complement.

(20) a. *un mîndru de fratele   lui copil al Mariei

     a   proud   of brother his child of Mary

     'a child proud of his brother of Mary's'

   b. */? un   copil mîndru de   fratele   lui al Mariei

     a   child proud   of   brother his of Mary

     'a child proud of his brother of Mary's'

   c. un   copil al Mariei mîndru de fratele   lui

     a   child of Mary   proud   of brother   his

     'a child proud of his brother of Mary's'

Type 4: Positions (i), (ii) and (iii)

(21) a. o   frumoasă fată   a   Mariei

     a   beautiful girl   of   Mary

'a beautiful girl/daughter of Mary's'

b.   o   fată   frumoasă   a   Mariei

     a   girl   beautiful   of   Mary

     'a beautiful girl/daughter of Mary's'

c.   o   fată   a   Mariei   frumoasă

     a   girl   of   Mary   beautiful

     'a beautiful girl/daughter of Mary's'

When type 4 adjectives are in position (i) they receive an 'evaluative' reading, which is not available when these adjectives are in positions (ii)/(iii).

Type 4 adjectives include a number of adjectives that are homophonous with type 1 adjectives. The meaning of these adjectives is dependent on their occurrence in position (i) versus (ii)/(iii). Thus, homophonous adjectives can have two considerably different meanings in position (i) but only one meaning in positions (ii)/(iii).[9] Note that one of the readings available in position (i) is the evaluative manifestation of the meaning in positions (ii)/(iii).

---

[9] I treat adjectives that share the same phonological form but have a different meaning depending on their surface position with respect to the noun as homophonous, since I could not find a function that can derive the meaning alternation between the two positions.

(22) a. o singură   fată a   Mariei   meaning **1 and 2** (evaluative)

a only/alone girl of Mary

'only one girl of Mary' **or** ' a lonely girl of Mary'

b. o fată singură a Mariei   meaning **2 only** 'an alone/ lonely girl'

a girl alone   of Mary

'a lonely girl of Mary'

c. o fată a Mariei singură   meaning **2 only** 'an alone/lonely girl'

a girl of Mary   alone

'a lonely girl of Mary'

In (22), Meaning 1 (i.e. 'only') for the adjective *singură* is possible in position (i) but not

in positions (ii) and (iii). Meanwhile, Meaning 2 of the homophonous *singură* (i.e. 'alone'

or 'lonely') is available in all three positions with the evaluative interpretation when in

position (i).   The main distinction between adjectives in position (iii) versus positions

(i)/(ii) is that while adjectives in position (iii) can take a complement, the adjectives in

positions (i) may never do so and those in position (ii) are ungrammatical or very

marginal. Note that the preferred position of adjectives in Romanian is position (ii). If an

adjective can occupy position (ii), then it can occupy position (iii)[10].

A table depicting the positions available for the 4 types of adjectives discussed thus far is given below.

Table 1: Positions of Adjectives

	Position (i) — N	Position (ii) N — NComplP	Position (iii) N NComplP —
Type 1	√	*	*
Type 2	*	√	√
Type 3	*	*	√
Type 4	√	√	√

The positions of adjectives and nouns shown above reflect their location prior to movement to the DP domain, since the construction used in this section does not exhibit movement to DP. In the following section, I will use the adjective types/positions discussed above to determine positions from which movement of adjectives to the DP domain is possible.

---

[10] Some speakers prefer position (iii) to be reserved for heavy APs (APs that take a complement or have an adjunct PP to the right of A'). Evidence for the fact that this is only a preference and simple APs in this position are grammatical comes from the example in (i) where the DP structure is ambiguous between the AP modifying the first or the second noun.

   (i)   (Vînd)   rochie   de   mireasă folosită   (News ad)

         (sell .1SG.) dress   of   bride   used   '(Selling) used bride's dress'

The example in (i) is ambiguous between the dress being used (AP modifies the NP 'bride's dress') and the bride being used (AP modifies the NP 'bride').

3.3.2 ASYMMETRIES BETWEEN AP_AS AND AP_BS WITH RESPECT TO D^0

According to the structural assumption of the present chapter (two structurally distinct positions for adjectives), type 1 adjectives and evaluative type 4 adjectives are AP_As while type 2,3 and non-evaluative type 4 adjectives are AP_Bs. In this section, I will show that the structural hypothesis in conjunction with the head-movement to D^0 analysis I propose can account for the asymmetries that obtain between the different types of adjectives with respect to their movement to the DP domain. That is, only A_As can head move to D^0, while AP_Bs may never do so. Furthermore, I will discuss the data presented here in light of the proposals favoring the base generation of all APs in specifier position and AP movement to Spec/DP.

Let us first look at the distribution of type 1 adjectives such as *biet* in a definite article construction. Recall that type 1 adjectives are assumed to be AP_As. In (23)a, the definite article is attached to the adjective, which is in prenominal surface position. Interestingly, in (23)b the noun cannot move to DP initial position and bear the definite article.

(23) a. biet-ul   copil

          poor-the child

'the poor child'

b. *copil-ul   biet

child-the poor

'the poor child'

The ungrammaticality in (23)b is predictable if we assume the structure in (8). Here, the A_A is a head that c-commands N^0 and intervenes between D^0 and N^0. Thus, according to the HMC, the A_A blocks movement of N^0/X^0 to D^0, providing an explanation for the ungrammaticality of (23)b. However, the same ungrammaticality is unexpected under a structure where all adjectives are in the specifier of NP (or any other specifier) since they should not affect N^0 to D^0 movement.

In order to account for the ungrammaticality of DPs like (23)b Cornilescu (1992) assumes that APs of the '*biet*' type have a special status and must obey a condition according to which they obligatorily c-command the noun at surface structure. While this condition is sufficient to account for the fact that the noun cannot move to D^0 and bear the definite article in (23)b, it proves insufficient to account for data that will be discussed in section 3.3.4. Under the analysis proposed in this study the word-order effects found with type 1 adjectives follow from previously established principles of

grammar, provided that we assume structurally distinct positions for adjectives.

As shown in the previous section, type 2 adjectives such as *bătut* are always postnominal at surface structure. Thus, according to the structural assumption I make, they are AP_Bs. In (24)b, the AP_B, in stark contrast with the A_A in (23)a, cannot bear the definite article (and consequently occur in DP initial position). In example (24)b, as opposed to (23)b, only the noun can host the definite article.

(24) a. *bătut -ul   copil

beaten-the child

'the beaten up child'

b. copil -ul   bătut

child -the   beaten

'the beaten up child'

The asymmetry between the two types of adjectives is not explained under the analysis proposed by Cornilescu (1992) and to my knowledge under any other account. If adjectives serve as hosts for the definite article as a result of phrasal movement (AP to Spec/DP + agreement) example (24)a should be grammatical. If, however, we assume that affixation of the definite article is the result of head-movement, and that AP_Bs are

specifiers or adjuncts, (24)a is expected to be ungrammatical because the X-head is c-commanded by D^0 and intervenes between D^0 and the head of the AP_B -Adjective phrase. Thus, head-movement of the AP_B -Adjective to D^0 would incur an HMC violation. Example (24)b, as opposed to (23)b, shows that here the noun can bear the definite article, since head-movement of X^0 to D^0 is not blocked by an intervening, c-commanding head.

Another asymmetry between AP_As and AP_Bs is provided by adjectives that can have a different meaning depending on their position relative to the noun.

(25) a. o singură femeie   meaning **1 and 2** evaluative

a only   woman

'only a/one woman' or 'an alone/ lonely woman'

b. o femeie singură   meaning **2 only**

a woman   only

'an alone/ lonely woman'

c. singur-**a** femeie   meaning **1 and 2** evaluative

only-the   woman

'the only woman' or 'the alone/ lonely woman'

d.   femei-**a**   singură   meaning **2 only**

      woman-the only

      'the alone/ lonely woman'

In (25)a,b the adjective *singură* has two different meanings in the AP_A position but only one in the AP_B -Adjective position. Meaning 1, which is associated with the AP_A position in (25)a, can be preserved in a definite article construction only if it is the adjective that bears the definite article, as in (25)c. Note that the evaluative meaning 2 is also possible only in the AP_A position and if it is the adjective that bears the definite article, as in (25)c. If it is the noun that bears the definite article, as in (25)d, only the non-evaluative meaning 2 associated with the AP_B -Adjective position is available. There is a direct correlation between the absence of one of the meanings of the adjective and the structural position it occupies under the proposed analysis. Since A_As block movement of N^0/X^0 to D^0, an adjective in that position maintains its meaning in a definite article construction only when it or a head that c-commands the A_A moves to D^0. Conversely, an adjective that starts out in the AP_B -Adjective position cannot head move to D^0 via X^0 since X^0 would block the AP_B -Adjective's movement past it. Thus, AP_Bs preserve their meaning in a definite article construction only when the N^0/X^0 or a head that c-commands X^0/N^0 moves to D^0.

The main conclusions to be drawn from the distributional differences observed between AP_As and AP_Bs are that among adjectives only A_As can bear the definite article and that A_As block movement of N^0/X^0 to D^0. The fact that AP_Bs cannot bear the definite article is problematic for an AP to Spec/DP movement analysis. Since there is nothing in the structure (say an intervening specifier blocking their movement to Spec/DP) to prevent their movement, these adjectives are expected to occur DP initially and bear the definite article.

The distribution of adjectives discussed thus far follows directly from the HMC or Relativized Minimality, provided that we assume the structure in (8). The advantages of this structure are that (a) the distribution of adjectives relative to the definite article follows directly from previously defined principles of grammar and no new conditions must be stipulated and (b) a unified mechanism of the definite article affixation is provided, one that applies uniformly to nouns and adjectives. If this proposal is correct, we expect that A_As can bypass the same elements that N^0 can bypass, given that they both undergo head-movement to D^0. This expectation is met as the following section will show.

Before investigating the parallels between A_A and N^0 movement, however, I would like to refer to one of the arguments typically used in support of the AP to Spec/DP

analysis. Throughout much of the literature on Romanian DPs, in examples like (26) below, where the adjective hosting the definite article is preceded by an adverb, the adverb is taken to be base generated in Spec/AP.[11] According to this structure of APs, DPs like (26) below can only be accounted for in terms of phrasal movement, since the constituent preceding the definite article includes not only an adjectival head but also the adverb in Spec/AP.

(26)   [$_{Spec/DP}$ **foarte/prea   frumoas**$_i$ <u>**-a**</u>   [$_D$ [e] [$_{Spec/NP}$ **t**$_i$ [$_N$ fată]]]]
          very /too   beautiful   -the   girl
       'the very beautiful girl'

The position of adverbs proposed in (26) is, however, not unanimously agreed upon. For example, Travis (1988) argues that adverbs are defective categories that do not project phrases; rather they are heads that are related with other heads. In other words, adverbs head adjoin to other heads. Following this proposal, I also assume that adverbs can be head adjoined to A^0. Given this position for adverbs and the DP structure proposed in (8)

---

[11] In her argument for an AP to Spec/DP analysis Cornilescu (1995) also discusses coordinate adjectives, which I will not take into account here pending further research.

the DP in (26) would be represented by the structure in (27).[12]

(27)   [$_D$ [$_A$ [$_{Adv}$ **foarte/prea**] **frumoas**]$_i$-a̲   [$_{AP}$[$_A$ t$_i$ [$_{XP}$ fată]]]]

              very /too   beautiful -DEF   girl

   'the very beautiful girl'

In (27) the adverb is head adjoined to A^0 and the constituent that moves to the DP domain (to D^0) is a head not a phrase.[13] For the purposes of this study, I will adopt the analysis proposed by Travis (1988) for the head status of adverbs, pending further research on the specific behavior of adverbs in Romanian. Still, whether the AP$_A$ is preceded by an adverb or not, its movement to DP initial position, preceding the definite article, still parallels that of N^0 movement.

3.3.3   WHAT CAN AP$_A$S BYPASS?

If we assume that the affixation of the definite article on the A$_A$s is the result of head-movement of A^0 to D^0, we expect that these adjectives can bypass all and only the

---

[12] Travis (1988) and Higginbotham (1985) propose that pre-nominal adjectives are also bare heads that do not project phrases and are head adjoined to N^0. In the Romanian data I analyze here, however, pre-nominal adjectives do not seem to act as if they are head adjoined to N^0. Here, certain pre-nominal adjectives not `only head move leaving the noun behind but they also block head-movement of the noun.

[13] Note that adjectives that host the definite article can occur in larger structures such as *atît de mult iubit-ul* [so DE much loved-the] 'the so much loved'.

same categories that the noun can bypass i.e. demonstratives and cardinals. Indeed, as I will show in this section, the distribution of AP_As with respect to the definite affix on the one hand and the demonstratives and cardinals on the other hand follows a parallel pattern to that of the noun.

In (28)a the adjective *bieți* is preceded by the demonstrative and the cardinal, but followed by the same two categories in (28)b, where the adjective bears the definite article and is DP initial.

(28) a.   acesti   trei   bieți   copii

           these   three   poor   children

          'these three poor children'

b. ? bieți-i   acesti   trei   copii

        poor-the   these   three   children

        'these three poor children'

Like the noun, the adjective cannot precede either the demonstrative or the cardinal if it does not bear the definite article as in (29)a; nor can the definite article attach to the adjective in its base position as shown by (29)b.

(29) a. *bieti acesti(a) trei copii

        poor these   three children

        'these three poor children'

b. *acesti(a) trei bieti-i copii

        these   three poor-the children

        'these three poor children'

The example in (29)a suggests that the AP_A is base generated below the demonstrative and in (29)b it can be observed that the definite affix cannot lower to attach to the adjective '*bieţi*'.

      Assuming that the example in (28)b is derived by moving the adjective to a DP initial position where it serves as host for the definite article, I propose the representation in (30).

(30) $bieti_i$-i acesti trei t_i copii

        poor-the these   three   children

In (30), the A_A that is base generated below the demonstrative and the cardinal moves past these elements to D^0, where it hosts the definite article.

As we have seen in section 3.2.1, the noun is also base generated below

demonstratives and cardinals and only precedes them when it hosts the definite article

(provided that no A_A is present since it would block X^0 to D^0 movement). The movement

of X^0 to D^0 bypassing the demonstrative and cardinal proposed in (13) is repeated in (31)

below.

(31)   copii   -i   acestia   trei t_N

children-the   these   three
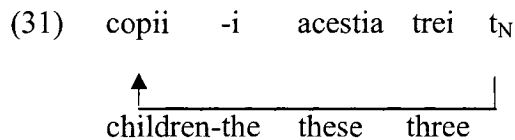
By comparing (30) and (31) it can be observed that on their way to D^0 the A_A and N^0

cross the same categories.

If we were to assume that the realization of the definite article on adjectives is

an instance of AP movement to Spec/DP, we would expect that no matter what position

demonstratives and cardinals occupy, the movement of nouns and adjectives to the DP

domain is asymmetric. That is, if the demonstrative and cardinal are heads, movement of

N^0 should be blocked and movement of AP should bypass the heads. If the demonstrative

and cardinal are in specifier position (of some intermediate functional category),

movement of N^0 should be possible, but movement of the AP would be blocked by the

intervening specifiers. However, both N^0 and A_A can bypass the same categories, thus, supporting the hypothesis that they both undergo the same type of movement, namely head-movement.

In this section, I have established that (1) A_As and nouns can bypass the same categories and (2) the affixation of the definite article on both A_As and nouns can be accounted for in terms of head-movement to D^0. To further sustain the hypothesis that A_As undergo head-movement as opposed to phrasal movement, I will show in the following section that the movement of nouns or adjectives is blocked by the same elements.

3.3.4 WHAT BLOCKS AP_AS AND X^0/N^0 MOVEMENT TO D^0?

Yet another method to confirm that both A_As and N^0/X^0 undergo head-movement to D^0 is to show that their movement is blocked by the same category, specifically an intervening head that could ideally itself move to D^0. This element is the indefinite article un.[14] In Romanian, the indefinite article un is base generated above A_As and nouns and can host

---

[14] It should not be assumed that the 'indefinite' article un is a cardinal, since a number of differences in the distribution of the two elements suggest that they have different syntactic properties. For instance, nouns and adjectives can never bypass the indefinite article un, but they can bypass cardinals. The indefinite article un can host the definite article but cardinals cannot. Also, the indefinite article can be marked for case, while cardinals cannot.

62

the definite article. [15] Interestingly, constructions with the [indefinite art. +definite affix]

sequence do not receive a definite interpretation. In what follows, I will show that the

movement of either N^0/X^0 or A_As past the indefinite article *un*, an intervening head,

incurs an HMC and/or Relativized Minimality violation.

Let us first look at the distribution of the noun in indefinite article – definite

suffix constructions. In (32) below the definite suffix can only attach to the indefinite

article and not to the noun.

(32) a. un-i-i   copii

a -pl.-the copii

'some (of the) children'

b. *copii   (-i)   un-i

children (-the) a-pl.

'some (of the) children'

c. *un-i copii   -i

a-pl. children-def

'some (of the) children'

---

[15] Only the plural forms of the [indefinite + definite article] can cooccur with overt nouns. However, all forms (singular and plural) of the [indefinite + definite article] can be used pronominally. Also note that [indefinite + definite article] contributes a partitive reading.

In (32)a, the indefinite article is in DP initial position and serves as host for the definite article. Conversely, in (32)b the noun cannot be in DP initial position nor can it bear the definite article. In fact, nouns can never precede the indefinite article whether in a definite suffix construction or not, suggesting that the indefinite article occupies a position above X^0.[16] Example (32)c shows that the definite article cannot lower and attach to the noun. Having established in section 3.2.2 that the affixation of the definite article on the noun results from N^0/X^0 to D^0 movement, the ungrammaticality in (32)b suggests that the noun cannot head move to D^0 past the indefinite article, this in turn indicating that the indefinite article blocks head-movement of N^0/X^0 to D^0.

The fact that the indefinite article blocks head-movement of N^0/X^0 to D^0 and is capable of hosting the definite article supports the assumption made by Cornilescu (1992) regarding the base generation of the indefinite article. According to her, the indefinite article is base generated in Det^0, the head of a functional phrase, which is sister to D^0. Thus, the indefinite article *un* is an intervening head for movement of N^0 to D^0 and is a candidate for movement to D^0 from Det^0.

Given that DetP is also above AP_A (which can never precede the indefinite article), the structural and movement assumptions made in the present work predict that

---

[16]   More data showing that neither nouns nor adjectives can precede the indefinite article was provided in section 2.4.

Det^0 should also block movement of A_As to D^0. Indeed, the distribution of A_As with respect to the indefinite and the definite article parallels the one observed for nouns. In (33) it is the indefinite article that hosts the definite article not the A_A.

(33) a. un-i-i   foşti   preşedinţi

       a-pl. -the   former presidents

       'some (of the) former presidents'

b. *foşti -i   un-i preşedinţi

   former-the a-pl. presidents

   'some (of the) former presidents'

c. un-i foşti   -i   preşedinţi

   a-pl. former-the presidents

   'some (of the) former presidents'

In (33)b, the type 1 A^0- Adjective *foşti* cannot move to D^0 nor can the definite article in (33)c lower and attach to the adjective. Again, when present, it is only the indefinite article that can serve as host for the definite article as in (33)a. The blocking effects of the same intervening head on the movement of N^0 and A_As to DP initial position support the unified head-movement analysis proposed here. If movement of adjectives were instead

an instance of AP movement to Spec/DP we would expect the adjective in (33)b to be able to bear the definite article and precede the indefinite article *un*.

Note that even with the additional condition of 'always c-commanding attributive adjectives at surface structure' and the DP structure proposed by Cornilescu (1992), the ungrammaticality in (33)b cannot be accounted for under a phrasal movement of AP to Spec/DP analysis. This analysis would indeed predict (33)b to be grammatical, given that the AP does c-command the noun at surface structure.

Interestingly, under an AP to Spec/DP analysis an additional assumption is needed: a "doubly filled DP" restriction (parallel to the doubly filled Comp) meant to account, among other things, for the fact that constructions where both the adjective and the noun bear the definite article are unattested. In effect, the "doubly filled DP" restriction ensures that movement of AP to Spec/DP and movement of N^0 to D^0 cannot result in the co-occurrence of two definite suffixes within the same DP. This condition is presented in Cornilescu (1995) and Giusti (1995). Under the structural and movement hypotheses proposed in the present , DPs with both the adjective and the noun raising to the DP domain are ruled out by virtue of the fact that both potential definite article hosts compete for the same position – D^0.

In this section, I argued that the instantiation of the definite article on adjectives

is the result of head-movement of A_As to D^0. The A^0 to D^0 movement argument relies on

the assumption that AP_As are phrases within the extended projection of the noun and have

a distinct structural status from AP_Bs, which occupy specifier positions. This assumption

was based on the following observations: the two types of adjectives have an asymmetric

behavior with respect to their possibility of fronting to the DP domain; A_As block the

previously established head-movement of N^0 to D^0; and the movement of AP_As to the DP

domain parallels the head-movement of N^0 to D^0. One of the arguments I present is that

both nouns and A_As can bypass the demonstrative. In the following section, I will take a

closer look at constructions involving the demonstrative in an attempt to defend the

head-movement analysis I propose.

3.4   THE DEMONSTRATIVES

Since the demonstrative can co-occur with the definite article suffix and appears in a

relatively high position in the DP, its distribution is crucial in determining the movement

possibilities of nouns and adjectives to the DP domain (bypassing the demonstrative). Of

particular significance to the present study is the fact that the Romanian demonstrative

has two morphologically related but distinct variants, which are syntactically in

complementary distribution, distribution that is directly correlated with their surface

position relative to nouns and adjectives. In previous studies, researchers have employed the morphological variants of the demonstrative as evidence in support of the view that the fronting of adjectives is an instance of phrasal movement. In what follows, I will provide an alternative analysis for the distribution of the two forms of demonstratives – one that is consistent with the hypothesis I propose here, where movement of nouns and adjectives to DP initial position results from head-movement.

In this section, I will show that both forms of the demonstrative are base generated in the specifier position of a functional category (which is complement of D^0) below DP and above AP_A s, and that the morphological variants of the demonstrative are merely the result of agreement triggered by noun movement but not (necessarily) by A_A movement. First, I will establish the position of the demonstrative within the DP by reviewing some of the findings of previous sections. Next, I will provide examples and discuss the distribution of the two forms of the demonstrative relative to nouns and adjectives on the one hand and the definite article on the other. Here, I will also present the analysis I propose for the distribution of the demonstrative. Finally, I will present a few accounts from existing literature and briefly compare them with the analysis put forward here.

3.4.1 THE POSITION OF DEMONSTRATIVES

In this section, I will focus on the position of the demonstrative relative to nouns and adjectives on the one hand and the definite article on the other. I will postpone any discussion on the forms of the demonstrative until the next section. As noted in previous sections, the demonstrative occurs in a phrase above AP_A s and consequently above XP but below DP; and both nouns and A_As can bypass the demonstrative on their way to the DP domain. These findings are based on the data and observations that follow.

In a non-definite article suffix construction a noun or an AP_A must follow the demonstrative and cannot precede it as can be seen in (34) below.

(34) a. acest biet   copil

      this   poor   child

      'this poor child'

   b. * copil (biet) acest/acesta (biet)

      child poor this /this   poor

      'this poor child'

   c. * biet (copil) acest/acesta (copil)

      poor   child this /this   child

'this poor child'

In the grammatical example (34)a, the typical AP_A and the noun follow the demonstrative; conversely, a noun and/or an adjective that does not bear the definite article cannot precede the demonstrative as attested by the ungrammaticality in (34)b, c. It follows from the examples in (34) that the demonstrative is base generated in a position above that of AP_As and X^0.

The next set of data shows that the demonstrative is in a position below D^0, since it must follow the definite article (hosted by a noun or an A_A) in (35).

(35) a. copil-ul   acesta

   child-the this

   'this child'

   b. *acest/acesta copil-ul

      this /this   child-the

      'this child'

   c. ?biet -ul   acest(a) copil

      poor -the   this   child

      'this poor child'

d. *acest/acestabiet   -ul   copil

    this /this   poor -the   child

    'this poor child'

In (35), only instances where the definite article occurs in a position preceding the demonstrative are grammatical such as (35)a, c; while examples where the definite article follows the demonstrative are ungrammatical as shown in (35)b, d. [17] These observations suggest that the demonstrative is base generated in a position below D^0, the locus of the definite article. Since the demonstrative occupies a position below DP and above AP_A and XP, the occurrence of the noun and the AP_A in DP initial position in examples (35)a, c entails that they have bypassed the demonstrative.[18] Based on independent evidence, I have argued in previous sections that the fronting of nouns and A_As to DP initial position is the result of head-movement. It follows that demonstratives occupy a specifier position

---

[17] When an adjective (that hosts the definite article) precedes the demonstrative, some speakers favour the long form of the demonstrative while other speakers favour the short form as in example (35)c. However, whether the [adjective-definite article] sequence is followed by the long form or the short form, the sentences are considered acceptable but marginal. At the present stage of the research I do not have any explanation for the marginality of these examples. For now, I will adopt grammaticality judgments similar to those given in existing literature on Romanian while not necessarily adopting the analyses of the data. A tentative explanation for this fact may be that speakers that accept the long form demonstrative can have agreement with either the noun or the adjective that passes through the head of the functional category hosting the demonstrative in its specifier.

[18] It cannot be claimed that demonstratives are base generated in Spec/ AP_A, since other elements such as cardinals for example can occur between the demonstrative and AP_As. Moreover, the position of the demonstrative and the cardinal may not be reversed thus excluding them from being potentially analyzed as a case of multiple specifiers of the same phrase.

(of some intermediate functional phrase), since they allow head-movement to bypass them.

Based on the generalizations made thus far, let us now look at roughly the same data as above but this time in light of the distribution displayed by the two forms of the demonstrative.[19]

3.4.2 THE MORPHOLOGICAL VARIANTS OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE

In Romanian, the demonstrative exhibits two morphological variants that are sometimes referred to in the literature as the short form (*acest*) and the long form (*acesta*). [20] Morphologically, both forms bear the number/gender agreement suffix and only differ in that the long form has the additional invariable suffix [-a]. Both forms have the same meaning but are syntactically in complementary distribution.

The descriptive generalization that emerges from the examples given in this section is that the short form demonstrative (henceforth 'short form') can only occur pre-nominally at surface structure, while the long form demonstrative (henceforth 'long

---

[19] In chapter 4, I bring additional evidence for the phrasal status of the demonstrative.

[20] For clarity and simplicity purposes I will only use examples containing the proximity demonstrative 'this' *acest/a*, which has the same distribution as the distal demonstrative 'that' *acel/a* 'that'.

form') surfaces in post-ominally.[21] For purposes of clarity, I will present each piece of data separately, providing a descriptive generalization and discussion on how the given piece of data relates to the head-movement to D^0 hypothesis presented here.

(36) acest/*acesta biet copil

    this / this   poor child

    'this poor child'

In (36), where neither the A_A nor the N^0/X^0 has moved to D^0, it is only the short form that is grammatical while the use of the long form results in ungrammaticality. However, based on (36), one should not immediately conclude that the use of the short form correlates with the lack of movement (in general) to D^0, as (37) provides a counterexample to this hypothesis.

(37) biet -ul ?acest/acesta copil

    poor -the this /this   child

    'this poor child'

---

[21] Note that the long form also occurs pronominally, that is when the noun is empty as in *acesta* meaning 'this one'; or, for certain speakers, prenominally provided that an A_A hosting the definite article precedes it.

In (37), the A_A has moved to D^0, having bypassed the demonstrative, and the grammaticality of the short form still holds. Crucially, the common factor in (36) and (37) is that the noun follows the demonstrative, meaning that it has not moved to D^0. At this point, the generalization emerging is that the form of the demonstrative is determined by the surface position of the noun (or A_A) relative to the demonstrative, which in turn is associated with movement or non-movement of the noun (or A_A) to D^0, bypassing the demonstrative. If it is indeed the case that noun or A_A movement (past the demonstrative) can influence the morphological alternation of the demonstrative, we expect the grammaticality judgments for the forms of the demonstrative obtained in (36)-(37) to be reversed in instances where the noun moves to D^0. This prediction is borne out as can be seen in (38).

(38) copil-ul *acest/acesta

       child-the this /this

       'this child'

In (38) where the noun has moved to D^0, bypassing the demonstrative, the use of the short form is ungrammatical, while the use of the long form is grammatical. The contrast between (36) and (37) versus (38) suggests that it is in fact the movement of the noun (or for some speakers of A_A) to D^0, bypassing the demonstrative, that brings about the

occurrence of the long form demonstrative.

Based on the position for the base generation of the demonstrative, which I established in the previous section, and the generalizations made on the distribution of the variants of the demonstrative, I will now provide a more formal account for the findings, one that is consistent with the head-movement to D^0 hypothesis proposed in this study.

Assuming that the demonstrative is base generated in the specifier position of some intermediate functional phrase (call it DetP as proposed by Cornilescu), proper head-movement of either A_As or X^0/N^0 to D^0 dictates that movement must pass through all intermediate c-commanding head positions. Thus, head-movement of either A_As or X^0/N^0 to D^0 passes through the head of Det^0, where the moved head finds itself in Spec-head relation with the demonstrative. Recall that the sole morphological difference between the short form and the long form demonstrative is the instantiation of the invariable morpheme [-a] on the long form. We can therefore restate the distribution of the two morphological variants of the demonstrative solely in terms of the presence or absence of the morpheme [-a]. This morphological process can be analyzed as an instance of Spec-head agreement triggered by the movement of X^0/N^0 (or A_A) through Det^0 on its way to D^0. Interestingly, although both the movement of A_A and that of X^0/N^0 to D^0 result in the same syntactic relation with respect to the demonstrative (for some speakers), it is

only the noun that triggers overt agreement on the demonstrative. At this point, I do not

have a conclusive account for this fact. I speculate that nouns and adjectives have

different features and the [-a] morpheme of the demonstrative is instantiated in response

to some feature particular to nouns only but absent in adjectives.[22] The syntactic trees

depicting the structure and agreement analysis I propose for the demonstrative are given

in (39) and (40) below.

(39) A_A Movement

```
                    DP
                   /  \
               Spec    D′
                      /  \
                    D⁰    DetP
                    ↑    /   \
                    |  Spec    Det′
                    | acest   /   \
                    |       Det⁰    APₐ
                    |        ↑     /  \
                    |_____|  Spec    A′
                             |        /  \
                             |      A⁰    XP
                             |_____|
```

---
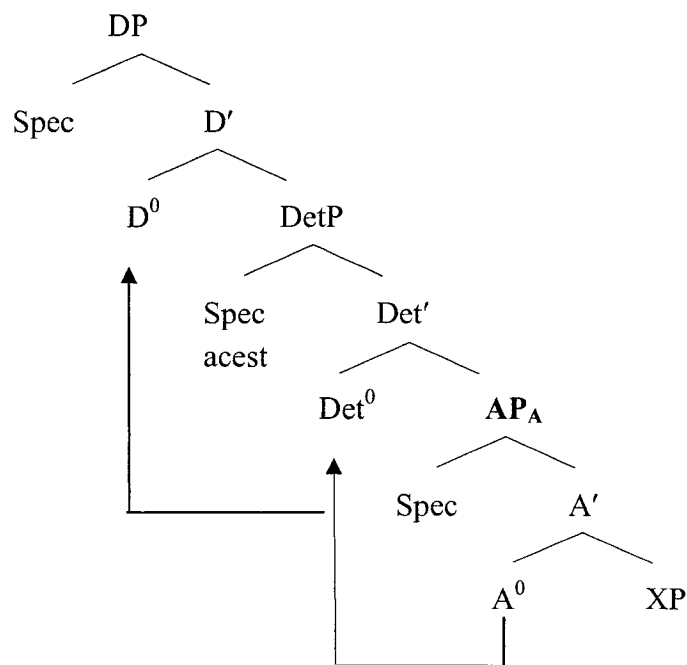
[22] Given this analysis of the demonstrative, the fact that the long form is used pronominally could suggest that the features of the empty noun have moved from N^0 at least as high as Det^0.

(40) Noun Movement

```
                    DP
                  /    \
              Spec       D′
                       /    \
                     D⁰      DetP
                    ↑       /    \
                         Spec      Det′
                      acest + a   /    \
                          /    Det⁰      XP
                   |_____↙ _____|       /    \
                                    Spec      X′
                                               \
                                               X⁰
                             |_____|
```
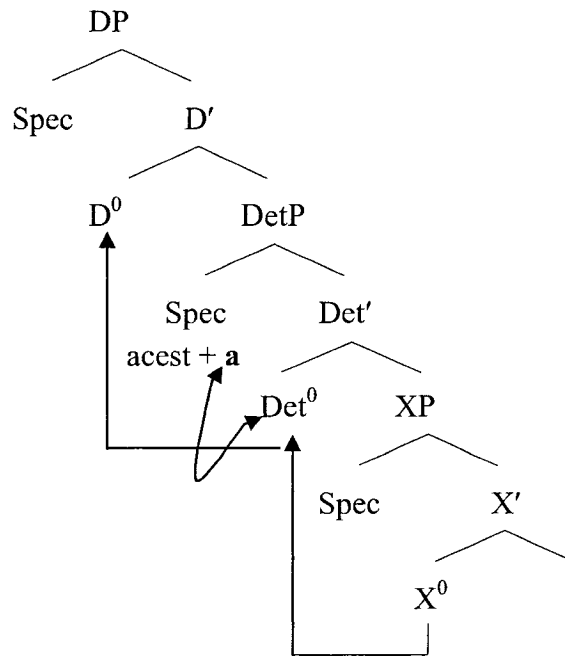
In both trees above, head-movement of the A_A in (39) and of X^0 in (40) passes through the intervening c-commanding heads. These intervening c-commanding heads must be empty, in order for the head-movement to obey the HMC. In (40), the Spec-head relation between the demonstrative and the noun, resulting from the movement of X^0 through Det^0, triggers agreement on the demonstrative, while the Spec-head relation between the A_A and the demonstrative in (39) does not result in morphological agreement.

The analysis adopted here with respect to the syntactic position and morphological forms of the demonstrative shares several similarities with previous research on the subject. In the following section, I present both the similarities and the differences between the analyses and data provided in the literature and those presented

in this study.

3.4.3   PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF DEMONSTRATIVES

All of the accounts presented below share the view that (all) adjectives are base generated

as specifiers of NP or of some functional category; and the instantiation of the definite

article on adjectives is the result of AP movement to Spec/DP, thus phrasal movement.

Cornilescu (1992) argues that the short form of the demonstrative is base generated in

Det^0, the head of DetP, a functional projection below DP the head of which takes NP as

its complement. The long form of the demonstrative on the other hand is taken to be base

generated in Spec/DetP. The placement of the long form in a specifier above NP is

inferred from the possibility of the noun undergoing head-movement to D^0 to bypass the

demonstrative. Consequently, it must be that the long form demonstrative is in a position

that cannot block N^0 movement on its way to D^0. Indeed, Cornilescu (1992) states that for

N^0 to be able to head move to D^0, Det^0 must be empty; otherwise it would count as an

intervening head and block movement. The base generation of the short form

demonstrative in Det^0 is taken to account for the fact that N^0 cannot precede it nor is N^0

able to bear the definite article. It follows, that the short form blocks

head-to-head-movement of N^0 to D^0 by virtue of acting as an intervening head.

Unfortunately, Cornilescu (1992) does not provide data nor a discussion as to the possible

blocking effects the demonstratives (short or long form) may have on adjectives.   A tree

illustrating the structure proposed by Cornilescu (1992) is provided in (41).

(41)   Cornilescu (1992)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DP} \\
\diagup \diagdown \\
\text{Spec} \qquad \text{D}' \\
\qquad \diagup \diagdown \\
\qquad \text{D}^0 \qquad \text{DetP} \\
\qquad\qquad \diagup \diagdown \\
* \leftarrow\!-\!-\!-\text{acesta} \qquad \text{Det}' \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad \diagup \diagdown \\
* \leftarrow\!-\!-\!-\text{acest} \qquad \text{NP/XP} \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \diagup \diagdown \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{AP} \qquad \text{N}' \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \diagup \diagdown \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{N}^0
\end{array}
$$
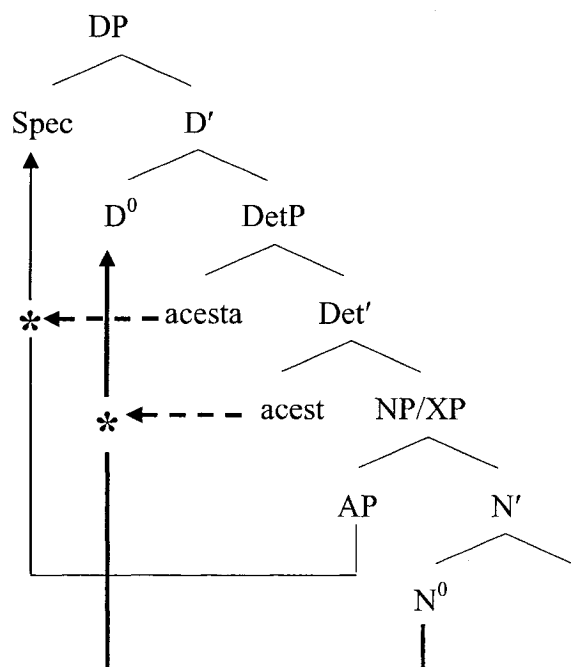
In (41) above, the short form demonstrative in Det^0 blocks N^0 movement past it, since it

acts as an intervening head, but allows phrasal movement of AP to Spec/DP, since the

intervening head Det^0 is not a relevant syntactic category to head-movement. The long

form demonstrative is base generated in Spec/DetP and blocks AP movement, but allows

head-movement of N^0 to D^0, since the HMC predicts that only intervening heads have the potential of blocking head-movement.

The analysis proposed by Cornilescu (1992) accounts for the grammaticality judgments obtained in examples (37) (for the short form) and (38), where the form of the demonstrative varies depending on whether it is the A_A or N^0 that is fronted. However, her account does not predict that the long form occurs only as a result of noun movement (or A_A movement for some speakers) past the demonstrative as in (36), since she analyzes the two forms of the demonstrative as positional variants not as morphological alternates of the same category. Cornilescu (1992) explains the ungrammaticality in (36) by assuming that the long form demonstrative cannot license a lexical noun complement by virtue of being in a specifier position. Thus, under Cornilescu's (1992) analysis the correlation between the presence of the long form and movement of the noun to D^0 is not captured. Conversely, her proposal does capture the fact that the long form is grammatical in the absence of an overt noun complement.

Similar to the analysis I presented in section 3.4.2, Giusti (1995) proposes that all demonstratives are base generated in the specifier position of some AgrP, a functional category within the extended projection of NP located below DP and above NP. The suffix [-a] of the long form is analyzed as a Spec-head agreement marker that signals the

presence of a trace in the intermediate head Agr^0, modified by the demonstrative. In effect, this analysis of noun movement (past the demonstrative) and the one I propose in the present study are quite similar and can both be represented by the tree structure in (40) above, where DetP and XP correspond to Giusti's AgrP and NP respectively. Let us now turn to the distribution of the demonstrative with respect to adjectives.

The analysis of demonstrative constructions containing adjectives is significantly different in the present study from that of Giusti (1995). In fact, all ensuing differences can be traced back to one structural factor: the position of adjectives and in particular of adjectives that occur in pre-nominal position at surface structure.[23] In the structure I propose, all adjectives that occur pre-nominally at surface structure must be base generated in the AP_A position (which can be recursive) illustrated in (39); while in Giusti's structure, adjectives are base generated either as specifiers of some AgrP, a functional category located above NP but below the AgrP hosting the demonstrative, or in Spec/DP. A tree illustrating the structure proposed by Giusti (1995) is given in (42).

---

[23] Giusti (1995) makes no clear distinction between adjectives that are pre-nominal and those that are post-nominal at surface structure. She also makes no claim as to the precise position of post-nominal adjectives, rather she assumes Cinque's (1990) analysis. As a result I will not refer to adjectives post-nominal at surface structure (AP_Bs) in my discussion of Giusti's analysis.

(42)   Giusti (1995): Adjectives in demonstrative constructions

```
                DP
              /    \
           AP        D'
           ▲       /    \
           |     D⁰      AgrP
           |          /      \
           * ◄ ─ ─ ─ acest    Agr'
           |               /      \
           |             AgrP
           |           /      \
           |         AP        Agr'
           |_____|     /      \
                           Agr⁰      NP
```
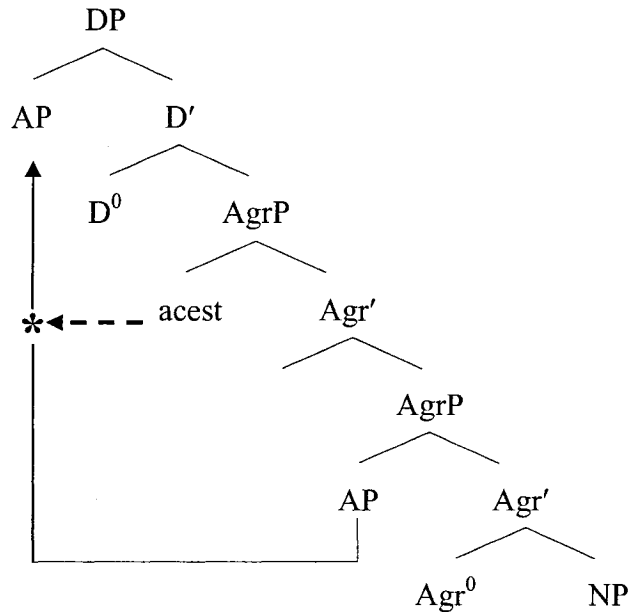
When in Spec/DP the adjective hosts the definite article as a result of Spec-head

agreement with D^0.

In (42) the specifier of the lower AgrP is occupied by AP. From this position,

adjectives cannot move to Spec/DP because the demonstrative in the specifier of the

higher AgrP blocks movement past it. Indeed, Giusti (1995) clearly states that

demonstratives can only be bypassed by a noun head and not by a maximal projection

such as an AP, since movement of an adjective that crosses the demonstrative is

ungrammatical as a result of Minimality effects. In order to reconcile the blocking effects

of the demonstrative and the occurrence of adjectives that bear the definite article as in

(37), Giusti proposes two possible positions for the base generation of adjectives in demonstrative constructions. 'Ordinary adjectives' are base generated in the specifier of the lower AgrP, and their movement to Spec/DP is blocked by the demonstrative; while quantifier type adjectives and adjectives that are pre-nominal at surface structure (henceforth quantifier/pre-nominal adjectives) may be base generated either in the same position as the 'ordinary adjectives' or in Spec/DP. [24] Crucially, Giusti states that the absence of the morpheme [-a] on the demonstrative in examples like (37) provides evidence that no movement bypassing the demonstrative has taken place. In other words, the absence of the morpheme [-a] on the demonstrative is taken to indicate that the adjective is base generated in Spec/DP. Let us now look at how Giusti's (1995) analysis of the demonstrative compares to the one proposed thus far in the present chapter.

In order to account for the fact that certain adjectives can either precede the demonstrative (and bear the definite article) as in (37) or follow it as in (36), Giusti is forced to assume two distinct base generation positions for the same class of adjectives, that is the quantifier/pre-nominal class. Notice that the two positions proposed by Giusti

---

[24] The data used by Giusti (1995) for adjectives preceding the short form demonstrative focus on adjectives such as *ultim* – 'last', which she treats as special given its ordinal quantifier status. However, she does mention that this type of adjective has a similar distribution as adjectives pre-nominal at surface structure such as *biet* 'poor'. According to my consultants, there is no difference between the ordinal type adjectives and all other AP_As with respect to their distribution in demonstrative constructions. Note that the term 'ordinary adjectives' is taken directly from Giusti; unfortunately she provides no definition for it.

for the base generation of adjectives host the same adjectives that are always base

generated in only one position in my proposal, which is the AP_A position. From this point

of view the analysis put forward in this study is more economical, since adjectives

labeled as type 1 here are always base generated in only one kind of a position as

opposed to two. Giusti also assumes that in non-demonstrative constructions adjectives

hosting the definite article are base generated in Spec/AgrP and undergo movement to

Spec/DP. It follows that two different strategies are necessary for Giusti to account for the

instantiation of the definite article on adjectives. In demonstrative constructions,

adjectives hosting the definite article are base generated in Spec/DP, while in

non-demonstrative constructions adjectives are base generated in Spec/AgrP and move to

Spec/DP.[25] Moreover, Giusti (1995) employs yet another syntactic process to account for

the instantiation of the definite article on nouns, that is head-movement of N^0 to D^0. By

contrast, in the analysis I propose the affixation of the definite article on adjectives is

always obtained by movement, in particular head-movement of A_As to D^0. Thus, only one

syntactic strategy is sufficient to account for the instantiation of the definite article on

adjectives in demonstrative and non-demonstrative constructions alike. Furthermore,

---

[25] In both cases, base generation and movement to Spec/DP, the Spec-head relation between the
adjective in Spec/DP and D^0 results (by means of agreement) in the affixation of the definite article on the
adjective.

given that my proposal considers the affixation of the definite article on nouns to be an instance of head-movement as well, my analysis provides a unified account whereby the affixation of the definite article can simply be stated as an instance of head-movement to D^0.

In conclusion, neither Cornilescu's (1992) nor Giusti's (1995) analysis of the demonstrative and its variants pose a problem to the head-movement to D^0 analysis proposed in the present study.

This sub-section has presented the application of the head-movement to D^0 analysis in the environment of demonstrative constructions. I established that the demonstrative is base generated in the specifier position of some functional category, DetP, and exhibits morphological variation depending on whether it is bypassed by a noun or by an adjective. Finally, I outlined two accounts from the literature claiming that the morphological variation of the demonstrative bears evidence in favor of a phrasal movement analysis of the realization of the definite article on adjectives. Here, I discussed the problems encountered by the two AP movement analyses and demonstrated that the head-movement to D^0 analysis can be maintained and provides certain advantages.

Throughout this section, I argued that the distribution of the definite affix with

respect to nouns, adjectives and the indefinite article can be accounted for in terms of a

head-movement to D^0 analysis.[26] Here, I assumed that the noun moves to D^0 via an

intermediate functional head, X^0, by means of cyclic head-movement. In the following

chapter, I will give evidence in support of this 'short head' movement of N^0 to X^0.

4. EVIDENCE AGAINST MORPHOLOGICAL MERGER

The purpose of this section is to demonstrate the necessity for a syntactic analysis

regarding the affixation of the definite article in Romanian by showing that an

exclusively morphological approach fails to account for the data.

Conceptually, the instantiation of the definite article on nouns, adjectives

and the indefinite article in Romanian could be argued to be the result of pure

morphological processes with no need for a syntactic movement account. Given the

suffix/enclitic nature of the definite article, one could hypothesize that [Noun-Definite

Article], [Adjective- Definite Article] [Indefinite Article – Definite Article] sequences are

formed using some non-syntactic movement process, say Morphological Merger, meant

solely to satisfy the definite article's need for a host at PF. Indeed, as argued by Marantz

---

[26] A similar head-movement to D^0 analysis for the host of the definite article is proposed by Stonham and Yiu (2003) for Nuuchahnulth.

(1989) and Embick and Izvorsky (1995) a number of clitic constructions that violate

syntactic constraints associated with move-α, such as the HMC, can be accounted for

under an analysis of Morphological Merger. Although Morphological Merger obeys

constraints on locality, crucially, these constraints are distinct from those pertaining to

syntactic movement. In what follows, I will show that the distribution of the definite

article in Romanian cannot be accounted for in terms of morphology alone, particularly

by the process of Morphological Merger as proposed by Marantz (1989). In order to do

so, I will first present the account and exemplification of the application of

Morphological Merger provided by Marantz (1989). Next I will relate the Morphological

Merger process to the Romanian data and show that the surface structures of Romanian

definite clitic constructions cannot be accounted for by the predictions made by

Morphological Merger alone, without assuming overt syntactic movement.

4.1   MORPHOLOGICAL MERGER AND ITS APPLICATIONS

The process of Morphological Merger provides an explanation for the grammaticality of

clitic constructions that are not consistent with syntactic constraints, in particular with

constraints on move-α. Here, the key element is the clitic. As proposed by Marantz

(1989) clitics have a dual nature. On the one hand they have a specific syntactic position,

like independent elements, on the other hand they require to be left or right attached to some stem depending on their status as suffixes or prefixes. In other words, clitics enforce their morphological requirements on their syntactic position. Given this duality of clitics, we expect to find a mismatch between the S-structure and the PF position of clitics. Indeed, this asymmetry can be observed in clitic constructions where the clitic attaches to an element that is not part of the same syntactic phrase. This particular type of clitic construction is discussed by Marantz (1989), from which the examples and structures provided in (43)-(46) are taken.

In examples (43)-(46) from Yagua and Papago below, there is an asymmetry between the phrase in which the clitic is positioned in the syntactic structure and the syntactic phrase of the element to which the clitic affixes at the surface phrase structures (PF). That is, the syntactic phrase to which the clitic belongs does not correspond to the syntactic phrase of its hosts.

Syntactic structure

(43) Sa-saay   Alchico [$_{NP}$nii   Rospita] [$_{NP}$ra   paa] (Yagua)

   $_{AGR}$-give Alchico 3sg$_{OBJ}$ Rospita   InAn$_{OBJ}$ bread

Surface phrase Structure

(44) Sa+saay Alchico+niiRospita+ra paa (Yagua)

Syntactic structure

(45) [s' 'o [s [v' [NEGpi] iam-hu cikpan]g Huan]] (Papago)

        AUX   NEG there work ART John

Surface phrase Structure

(46) [[[pi+'o] iam-hu cikpan]g Huan]   (Papago)

    'John is not working there'

For the Yagua example in (44), Payne (1986) shows that certain definite specifiers like

-*nii* and -*ra* are syntactically part of the NP but phonologically part of the word that

precedes them (whatever that word may be). In the Papago example in (46) the Auxiliary

suffix/enclitic is in first position in the syntax but given its requirement for a host to its

left the Auxiliary appears suffixed to the first element of V'. Thus, the Auxiliary appears

at PF in a position other than that at syntactic structure. It is crucial to note that when a

constituent appears in Topic or Complementizer position the Auxiliary maintains its

second position at surface structure, attaching to the element on its left.[27]

---

27 Unfortunately, Marantz (1989) does not provide examples with constituents in Complementizer or Topic position.

It is apparent that the PF structure of the examples above cannot be accounted

for by X-bar principles and constraints on syntactic movement alone. Marantz (1989)

shows that these PF structures are derived by principles that map S-structure to linearly

ordered surface structures, where the relevant relation between elements is that of

adjacency. To be exact, the affixation of the clitic to its host is the result of Morphological

Merger that in turn is determined by the relation of adjacency that holds between the

clitic and its host. [28] Adjacency is only concerned with the peripheral elements of

phrases and crucially not with the syntactic status or category of the given elements. The

host must be the head of the phrase at PF, which is defined as the left-most element if the

grammar looks at it from the left or the right-most element if the grammar looks at it

from the right. This implies that to be adjacent to a phrase at PF means to be adjacent to

the head of the phrase. Consider the definition of Morphological Merger proposed by

Marantz (1989) given in (47) below.

(47) Morphological Merger

At any level of syntactic analysis, independent syntactic constituents X and Y

standing in a relation at that level (or heading phrases standing in a relation) may

---

28 Marantz (1989) discusses the relations between the clitic and other elements in their environment as well. In this study, I will only discuss the relation between the clitic and its host. The relation of the clitic with adjacent elements other than its host does not affect the present analysis.

merge into a single word, X+Y, projecting the relation between (the constituent headed by) X and (the constituent headed by) Y onto the affixation relation X+Y. In accordance with the Projection Principle, the other relations involving X and Y (and constituents headed by X and Y) must continue to be projected in the usual way.

Given this definition for adjacency and Morphological Merger, let us now return to the examples in (43) through (46) and see how Marantz's theory of Morphological Merger accounts for the distribution of the clitics.

In Yagua, the definite specifier enclitics merge with the rightmost constituent of the phrases to the clitics' left. Since the grammar is looking to the phrase from its right, the right-most element of the phrase constitutes the PF head of the phrase and affixation of the two elements is insured given that the adjacency relation between the clitic and the host is satisfied.

In the Papago example, the Auxiliary enclitic has no potential (phonological) host to its left and therefore merges with the other element to which it is adjacent, the PF head of the phrase to its right. Here, the grammar is looking from the left meaning that the relevant head for adjacency is the leftmost element of the phrase. Given that an adjacency relation holds between the clitic and the relevant PF head of the phrase, the

two elements can merge. Recall however, that if a phrase is in Topic or Comp position to the left of the Auxiliary clitic the clitic must merge with the element it is in a left adjacency relation with, the right-most head of the phrase to its left. According to Marantz (1989), the obligatory encliticization of the Auxiliary to an element on its left (when possible) is predicted, since, being specified as a suffix, the enclitic has a left-looking requirement which must be satisfied when possible.

The Morphological Merger analysis presented thus far shows that the distribution of clitics can be accounted for by processes and relations other than those specific to the syntax (S-structure) proper. The question to be answered now is whether a similar analysis to that above could also account for the distribution of the definite article suffix/enclitic in Romanian with no mention of head-movement and the HMC. The answer is no. Conclusive evidence justifying this answer comes from the fact that clitic constructions with the definite article clitic predicted by a Morphological Merger analysis alone are ungrammatical in Romanian as shown in the following section.

4.2 THE ROMANIAN DATA

A Morphological Merger analysis (with no movement in the syntax) for the distribution of the definite article in Romanian makes the following two predictions: in an

environment where (1) the definite article is in an adjacency relation with a phrase on its left, its enclitic status requires that it merge with the right-most element of this phrase; this being the PF head of the phrase relevant for adjacency; or (2) if no host is available to its left the definite article enclitic is required to merge with the left-most element of the phrase to its right; this being the relevant PF head of the phrase.

(48) [$_{QP}$toți [$_{DP}$[$_D$ -i   [$_{NP}$copii]]]
        all   -the   children

(49) a. *toți -i   copii
         all -the children
         'all the children'

      b. toți copii   -i
         all   children -the
         'all the children'

The ungrammaticality of the surface structure in (49)a is unexpected under a Morphological Merger Analysis. For the purpose of providing the clitic with a host, the grammar is looking from the right to the right-most element in the phrase preceding the

clitic, this being the PF head of the phrase significant to adjacency. This element is the quantifier *toţi*. Since there is an adjacency relation between the definite article enclitic and the quantifier, Morphological Merger in conjunction with the left-looking requirement of enclitics/suffixes predict that the definite article can only merge with the available host to its left, namely, the quantifier *toţi*. This implies that the surface structure of example (49)b actually violates the adjacency constraints of Morphological Merger. Thus, the grammaticality judgments in (49) are in fact the reverse of those predicted by Morphological Merger. Crucially, in opposition to the languages discussed in the previous section in Romanian the syntactic position of the clitic is the same at surface structure.

Let us now look at the second prediction, where the definite article has no available host to its left and must therefore merge with the only PF head it is adjacent with, namely, the left-most element of the phrase to its right (looking from the left). The syntactic and surface structures depicting the appropriate environment are provided in (50) and (51) below.

(50) [DP[D -ul [DetP acest [NP băiat]]]]

    -the   this   boy

    'this boy'

(51) a. *acest -ul băiat

            this   -the boy

            'this boy'

    b. băiat -ul acesta

            boy -the this

            'thisboy'

Again, the ungrammaticality of (51)a is unexpected under a strictly morphological/phonological account. The only legitimate host for the definite article under a Morphological Merger analysis is the demonstrative *acest*. This is determined by the appropriate adjacency relation that holds between the clitic and the demonstrative – the left-most element of the phrase adjacent to the clitic (looking from the left), thus the PF head of the phrase relevant to the adjacency relation between the clitic and its host. The adjacency requirement between the clitic and the demonstrative is satisfied and no host to the left of the clitic is available. It follows that the merger of the clitic with the demonstrative is not only possible according to Morphological Merger, but also obligatory. Still, the surface structure in (51)a is ungrammatical. Even more problematic is the grammaticality of example (51)b, the surface structure of which violates the adjacency constraints on Morphological Merger. Here, the noun, an element that the clitic

is not in an adjacency relation with, is the host. The noun is not the PF head of the phrase adjacent to the clitic because it is not the left-most element of the phrase adjacent to the clitic, DetP. Since there is no adjacency relation between the clitic and the noun, merger of these two elements is in violation of Morphological Merger and thus the affixation of the clitic on the noun is predicted to be ungrammatical. For a second time, the surface structures with definite article clitics in Romanian diverge from the predictions made by a strictly Morphological Merger analysis. Also, as was the case for the example in (49)b the surface position of the grammatical surface structure (51)b is the same as that of the syntactic structure. It is important to note that the same facts hold for constructions containing AP$_A$s. In order to test whether Morphological Merger can account for the Romanian data I have provided in this subsection syntactic environments parallel to those given by Marantz (1989) for Yagua and Papago. In spite of the similarities of the syntactic structures between Yagua and Papago on the one hand and Romanian on the other, the surface structures prove quite different. In Yagua and Papago the position of the clitics at surface structure differs from their position at syntactic structure; while in Romanian the position of the clitics is the same at syntactic and surface structure. Crucially, in Romanian the positions of other elements in the DP show alternations between syntactic and surface structure. Precisely, in the examples given in

(49)b and (51)b it is the noun that shows positional alternations, as predicted by a movement analysis of the noun.

In this section, I showed that the distribution of the definite article suffix/enclitic in Romanian cannot be accounted for by an analysis based solely on principles and processes outside those of the syntax (S-structure) proper. Specifically, I showed that an analysis based solely on Morphological Merger as proposed by Marantz (1989) cannot support the Romanian data. In conclusion, at this stage, the only analysis that can account for the distribution of the definite article clitic in Romanian is a syntactic analysis in accordance with X-bar principles and constraints on the syntactic process of move-α.

5. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I argued that the distribution of the Romanian definite article suffix/enclitic can be accounted for in terms of head-movement of the host element to D^0. This analysis relies on the assumption that adjectives are base generated in two structurally distinct positions. The position referred to as A_A is the head of a phrase that is part of the extended projection of NP; while the position labeled AP_B -Adjective is in the specifier or adjoined to NP (or some intermediate functional category). The

head-movement to D^0 hypothesis coupled with the before mentioned structural assumption provides an account for asymmetries among adjectives and their distribution with respect to the definite article, syntactic environments that proved problematic for previous analyses.

The following evidence was brought in support of the head-movement to D^0 analysis. First, I showed that instances where the noun hosts the definite article can only be accounted for by movement of the noun head to D^0. Having established that nouns head move to D^0, I then argued that adjectives hosting the definite article are also the result of head-movement, specifically, movement of A_As to D^0. This was done by demonstrating that A_As (1) block head-movement of the noun to D^0, (2) bypass the same elements as the noun; and (3) are blocked by the same elements as the noun. Here, the head-movement analysis is reinforced by the fact that the indefinite article, the element that blocks noun and adjective movement to D^0, does itself head move to D^0 and hosts the definite article. Included is an account of the morphological variation of the demonstrative with respect to the movement of adjectives and nouns past it.

Finally, I defend the syntactic nature of the affixation of the definite article suffix/enclitic by showing that an analysis based solely on Morphological Merger, without movement in the syntax, cannot account for the data considered.

While the head-movement analysis and DP structure proposed in this work

account for previously problematic restrictions on the distribution of the definite article

and asymmetries among adjectives, a number of different issues arise. Let us consider the

following questions that remain unanswered in the current study.

First, what kind of adjective phrase is the AP_A (including the XP, sister to A_A)?

Precisely, why does it not have the distribution of a typical adjective phrase, as modifier

of a noun, for instance? One possible reason for the distinct syntactic behavior of these

adjectives may be directly related to their non-predicative nature.[29] Prenominal only

adjectives can never occur in a postcopular construction. Moreover, as I show in chapter

4, these adjectives are also bared from occurring in celPs, a special type of predicative

construction, which, importantly can host all other predicative phrases and distributes

itself like a predicative modifier.

Yet another question arises from the structural distinction between AP_As and

AP_Bs proposed here. What determines whether the adjective occurs in the AP_A versus the

AP_B -Adjective position, in the case of adjectives that can be both prenominal and

postnominal, that is, AP_As or $AP_{B/C}$s,? This too remains an open question for now. Further

---

[29] In the literature, prenominal only AP_As are also referred to as non-intersective, in opposition to $AP_{B/C}$s which are intersective. For an account including the semantics of intersective versus non-intersective readings of adjectives I refer the reader to the works of Siegel (1976a,b), Larson and Segal (1995), and Larson (2001). Note however, that the APs discussed in these works are not necessarily the same with the APs discussed in the present chapter.

research on the topic should include an investigation into the semantics of the two types

of adjectives. As was shown, adjectives exhibit meaning variations that directly correlate

with their occurrence in AP_A or in AP_B position. Therefore, a study on the nature of this

particular meaning variation among adjectives may provide an answer to our puzzle.

CHAPTER III

POSTNOMINAL APs AND DP-INTERNAL MOVEMENT

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I investigate the two postnominal positions of APs in Romanian, which can be distinguished on the basis of their placement relative to the complement of the noun: APs that precede the complement of the noun as in (1)a or APs that follow the complement of the noun as in (1)b. The two examples in (1) are semantically parallel.[1]

(1) a. o poză   frumoasă a   muntelui

      a picture beautiful   of mountain

      'a beautiful picture of the mountain'

(2) b. o poză   a   muntelui frumoasă

      a picture of mountain beautiful

      'a beautiful picture of the mountain'

The data in (1) raises two questions. First, where are postnominal APs generated: to the left or the right of the noun, consistent with what we might call symmetric theories of syntactic adjunction, or to the left of the noun only, as claimed by the antisymmetric theory of Kayne (1994). Second, what sort of movement is necessary to derive the word-

---

[1] Alboiu (pc) comments that while in the DPs in (1) the semantic interpretation (truth conditional value) is the same, there is a pragmatic variation. In the present work, pragmatic variations are not considered. For an investigation of pragmatic related movement operations in Romanian see Alboiu (2002).

order in the DP in (1)a, head-movement or phrasal movement.[2] In what follows I will present an empirical argument for the symmetric approach to syntactic adjunction based on evidence suggesting that Romanian postnominal APs can be generated to the left or to the right of the noun. Specifically, I will attempt to show that APs that precede the complement of the noun, as in (1)a, are generated to the left of the noun; and APs that follow the complement of the noun, as in (1)b, are generated to the right of the noun. The argument hinges on the fact that only the symmetric approach predicts solely the attested pairings between linear order and semantic interpretation. The antisymmetric approach can generate the attested readings by means of remnant movement, but only at the cost of also generating additional, unattested readings. However, I also show that it is possible to supplement the antisymmetric analysis with a pair of assumptions that would yield the correct results. That is, by placing specific constraints on remnant movement the unattested data can be blocked while allowing the attested data to be derived.[3] Crucially, one of the constraints requires that noun fronting be only derived by head-movement. Thus, in this chapter, I argue in favour of a noun head-movement account, since both the symmetric and antisymmetric theories rely on head-movement to derive the empirical observations. I believe this is an interesting consequence, particularly in light of recent attempts within the antisymmetry framework which argue against the existence of head-movement, as in Cinque (2003a, 2004, 2005) and Shlonsky (2004), among others.

In order to determine the syntactic position of postnominal APs, this study will focus on DPs that have two essential properties. First, the DP must contain a noun that takes a complement, since it is the placement of the APs relative to the complement of the

---

[2] In (1)a, the AP intervenes between the noun and its complement. Assuming that the noun and its complement are generated as sisters, it must be the case that this example involves movement.

[3] In footnote 9, I discuss a ungrammatical word-order that neither of the two theories can block.

noun that distinguishes the two positions. I will assume that the noun and its complement are generated as sisters, and therefore, an AP intervening between these two represents evidence for movement. Second, in order to infer the syntactic position of APs relative to one another and the noun I will look at the interpretations that obtain between sequences of APs — that is, their relative scope. This line of argument rests on the assumption that scope relations reflect hierarchical structures.

This chapter is organized as follows. First, I present the claims made by the two theories and the predictions that ensue. Then, I introduce the pertinent data and discuss in detail the interpretations of APs and how they relate to scope interactions. In section 4, I present the derivations needed by the two theories to obtain the empirical word-order – interpretation pairings. In section 5, I propose an alternative antisymmetric analysis, where the locality of remnant movement and the type of noun fronting are constrained such as to account for the data under consideration. The aim of this section is to explore what kind of conclusions can be reached about the antisymmetric approach, in particular what kinds of constraints would have to be assumed given the facts about Romanian. Finally, I provide a brief conclusion.

2.   THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS
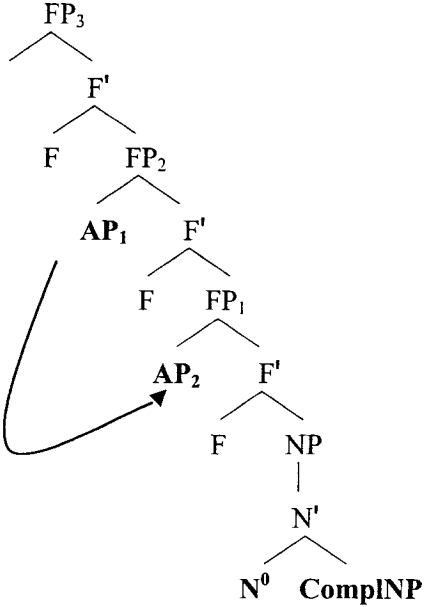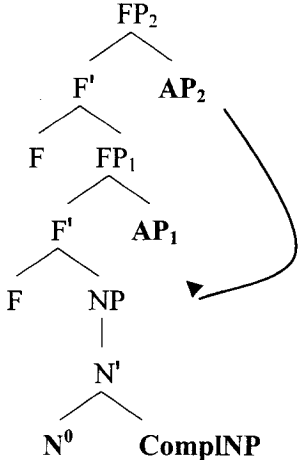
The aim of the present chapter is to determine whether postnominal APs in Romanian are adjoined to the left or the right of the noun. This query bears directly on the distinction between the antisymmetric versus the symmetric theories of syntactic adjunction. Antisymmetry claims that syntactic adjunction/attachment is only to the left; conversely,

symmetry allows syntactic adjunction/attachment both to the left and to the right. The postnominal surface positions of Romanian APs provide an apparent challenge to the antisymmetric theory, since under this theory both surface word-orders in (1) can only be obtained by movement. In this section, I show the exact predictions made by the two theories with respect to the syntactic placement and interpretation of APs in the two postnominal positions.

2.1 PREDICTIONS ON THE SYNTACTIC POSITIONS OF POSTNOMINAL APS

The main distinction between antisymmetry and symmetry is the possibility to have rightward adjunction. Therefore, the two theories assume different ways for generating postnominal APs that follow the complement of the noun (henceforth abbreviated as ComplNP). Under the antisymmetric approach all APs are generated to the left of the noun in a structure like (3)a. Under the symmetric theory, APs can be generated either to the left of the noun as in (3)a or to the right as in (3)b.

(3) theoretically possible syntactic positions for postnominal APs

a. structure compatible with the antisymmetric and symmetric theories	b. structure compatible with the symmetric theory only
FP₃ 　／＼ 　　F' 　／＼ 　F　FP₂ 　　／＼ 　AP₁　F' 　　　／＼ 　　　F　FP₁ 　　　　／＼ 　　　AP₂　F' 　　　　　／＼ 　　　　　F　NP 　　　　　　｜ 　　　　　　N' 　　　　　／＼ 　　　N⁰　ComplNP	FP₂ 　／＼ 　F'　AP₂ ／＼ F　FP₁ 　／＼ 　F'　AP₁ ／＼ F　NP 　　｜ 　　N' 　／＼ N⁰　ComplNP
The curved arrows indicate the direction of scope predicted by the base structure	

The structure in (2a) as is, without any additional movement, results in a surface order where APs are prenominal.[4] To obtain the surface order where the APs intervene between the noun and its complement, [N AP AP ComplNP], both theories must use movement. This is a necessary hypothesis if we assume that the noun and its complement are generated as sisters and so, there is no possible position for the APs between the noun and its complement. That is, for a structure like (2a) to ultimately derive the [N AP AP ComplNP] surface order, the noun head or a remnant NP containing the noun only must

---

[4] As was discussed in detail in chapter 2, prenominal APs are also possible in Romanian. However, I will not consider their distribution in this chapter. Thus, I will ignore the [AP N ComplNP] surface order henceforth.

move to the left of the APs to some functional head F^0 or its specifier respectively.[5]

To obtain the [N ComplNP AP AP] surface order the antisymmetric approach, which can only generate APs to the left in a structure like (3)a, needs to posit movement to the left of the noun and its complement or of a constituent including them. Conversely, the symmetric approach can generate the APs to the right of the noun and its complement, as in (3)b, thus, no additional movement is needed to obtain the surface order.

2.2   PREDICTIONS ABOUT THE INTERPRETATIONS OF POSTNOMINAL APs

Distinct syntactic positions of certain APs relative to each other and to the noun entail distinct interpretations. This statement is based on the assumptions that scope relations reflect hierarchical structures and that predicative phrases are interpreted in their base generation position (as assumed in Sternfeld 2003 for instance). Consequently, under these assumptions, the two theories of adjunction predict specific and distinct correlations between syntactic position and the scope relations that obtain among APs.

2.2.1   SCOPE PREDICTIONS MADE BY SYMMETRY

Under the symmetric approach, the difference between the two postnominal positions of APs is, crucially, in their being generated in distinct syntactic configurations. APs that intervene between the noun and its complement are generated to the left of the noun and APs that follow the noun and its complement are generated to the right of these elements as in (3)a and (3)b respectively. Therefore, in a DP with the word-order [N AP$_1$ AP$_2$

---

[5] The surface order where APs intervene between the noun and its complement can also be obtained by positing the structure in (3)b and movement of the complement phrase to the right, past the APs. I will not consider this possibility in detail here, as shown later the attested scope facts are not compatible with this derivation.

ComplNP] we expect the surface initial AP to have scope over the surface second AP given that the linearly first AP is generated hierarchically higher than the second one. Conversely, for a DP with the order [N ComplNP AP_1 AP_2] symmetry predicts that the surface second AP will have the surface first AP in its scope, since here, it is the linearly second AP that is generated higher than the first one. So, symmetry predicts that each one of the two surface orders correlates with a different and only one interpretation. The table in (4) below provides the word-order – scope predictions made by the symmetric account.

(4) Symmetric predictions on the direction of scope

surface word-order	scope interpretation
[N AP_1 AP_2 ComplNP]	AP_1 has scope over AP_2
[N ComplNP AP_1 AP_2]	AP_2 has scope over AP_1

2.2.2 SCOPE PREDICTIONS MADE BY ANTISYMMETRY

Under antisymmetry, all postnominal APs, and all APs indeed, are generated to the left of the noun in a structure like (3)a. This syntactic structure predicts an interpretation where the leftmost AP will have widest scope. So, with both word-orders [N AP_1 AP_2 ComplNP] and [N ComplNP AP_1 AP_2] antisymmetry predicts the first surface AP to have scope over the second one. However, as will be discussed in detail later, these are not the attested word-order – scope correlations. In order to account for the empirical findings, I will show that antisymmetry must appeal to remnant movement that is similar to the movement it requires to obtain the surface order where APs follow the complement of the noun. By introducing and in fact necessitating remnant movement antisymmetry allows for a wider number of surface-order – scope correlations, since the constituents

(adjectives, nouns and the complement of the noun) can move apparently freely. As a result, although at first sight the antisymmetric approach appears to be more restrictive in terms of surface order – scope pairings it generates, the movement operations it assumes result in predicting two distinct scope interpretations for each of the two word-orders under investigation – that is, it generates all the logically possible pairings presented in the table in (5) below.

(5) Antisymmetric predictions on the direction of scope

surface word-order	scope interpretation
[N AP_1 AP_2 ComplNP]	AP_1 has scope over AP_2
	AP_2 has scope over AP_1
[N ComplNP AP_1 AP_2]	AP_1 has scope over AP_2
	AP_2 has scope over AP_1

In conclusion, both symmetry and antisymmetry are equally well equipped to derive the word-orders under investigation. When APs precede the complement of the noun, both theories generate them to the left of the noun and the surface structure is obtained by leftward movement of the head noun or by remnant movement of a constituent containing only the overt noun. The difference between the two theories arises in the derivation of DPs where APs follow the complement of the noun. Here, symmetry simply generates the APs to the right of NP (or N^I), while antisymmetry generates all APs to the left of the noun and derives the surface order by movement to the left of some constituent that includes the noun and its complement. Different predictions made by the two theories also obtain in relation to pairings between surface order and interpretation: symmetry

predicts that each of the two orders corresponds to exactly one interpretation, while antisymmetry correlates each of the two word-orders to two possible scope directions.

3.   TWO EMPIRICAL GENERALIZATIONS ON THE INTERPRETATION OF POSTNOMINAL
APs

The next step in establishing the direction of AP attachment and in ultimately determining which of the two theories best accounts for the Romanian data is to determine the correlations that obtain between surface orders and scope interpretations for the DPs under investigation. Here, I will show that when both APs precede the Complement of the noun the interpretation is associated with a structure where the linearly first AP_1 has scope over the linearly second AP_2; and when both APs follow the ComplNP the interpretation is compatible with a structure where the linearly second AP_2 has scope over the AP preceding it linearly. These findings are in fact consistent with the predictions made by the symmetric approach to adjunction.

The DPs chosen to determine the scope relation between postnominal adjectives contain a 'picture noun' that takes a complement and is modified by two adjectives as exemplified by the italicized DP in (6).[6] Here, the modified NP is *o poză a lui Madona* meaning 'a picture of Madonna' and the adjectives are *frecventă* meaning 'frequent'/'occurs often' and *unică*. The adjective *unică* has two possible meanings in Romanian (as it does in English) 'only one of its kind'/'singular' or 'only one'/'a single';

---

[6] Often times morphemes that can be used either as adverbs or as adjectives in Romanian are only distinguishable in that adjectives exhibit agreement with the noun. In the singular, masculine and neuter, adjectives do not exhibit overt agreement with the noun. Thus, to ensure that the adjectives used in determining scope facts are indeed adjectives and not adverbs (modifying an adjective) I have only used feminine singular or plural nouns, since they do trigger overt agreement on the adjectives.

in this study I only consider the second meaning.[7]

(6) ediți -a   asta conține o poză   frecventă unică a Madonei
    issue –the this contains a picture frequent unique of Madonna
    'this issue contains a frequent unique picture of Madonna'

Recall that, theoretically, there are two possible interpretations for DPs like the one in (6) each corresponding to a different scope relation: one where *frecventă* c-commands *unică* and a second where *unică* c-commanding *frecventă*. To determine the direction of scope I used a truth value judgement test in which native speakers of Romanian were presented with the scenario given in (7) and two contexts (provided in the following subsection) each of which allows for only one of the two theoretically possible interpretations. The task was to monitor the truth values of the sentences containing the DPs under investigation (DPs containing the different orders of APs relative to ComplNP) within each of the two contexts. Ultimately, the scope direction was established by pairing up the word-orders with the interpretations they received. The test and results are discussed in detail in the following subsections.

(7) Scenario: The editor of Paris Match Magazine has a total of 7 pictures of Madonna (the singer). Depending on the space allotted to Madonna related scandals he can include one or more pictures of her in a given issue.

---

[7] Other DPs with similar structures and that behave in a parallel manner are the following.
(i) o remarcă intenționată greșită a lui Bush
    a comment intentional false of Bush
    'an intentional false comment of Bush'
(ii) o reacție   neașteptată negativă a Canadei
    a reaction unexpected negative of Canada
    'an unexpected negative reaction on of Canada'

110

3.1 APs that Precede the Complement of the Noun

In what follows, I will establish the scope direction that obtains between modifying adjectives that intervene between the noun and its complement, as in the italicized DP in (6). To do so, I will start by providing the contexts in which the DPs are to be tested and then provide a step by step presentation of the theoretically possible interpretations and how they apply in each of the contexts provided.

Keeping in mind the scenario in (7), suppose that, in *Paris Match,* throughout the year 2001, the distribution of the 7 pictures of Madonna available to the editor is that listed in context 1, table 1.

Context 1: In the year 2001, the pictures of Madonna printed in *Paris Match* Magazine followed the distribution in table 1.

Table 1: Context 1

January	3, 7, 5
February	3, 7
March	3, 7, 2
April	3, 7, 6
Mai	3, 7
June	3, 7
July	3, 7, 4
August	2
September	2
October	2
November	1
December	4

August-December are all issues that contain a **unique** (only one) picture of Madonna

Only picture **2 is frequent** among the unique pictures

Given context 1, let us first presume that the DP in (6) has the interpretation where *frecventă* has scope over *unică*. According to this supposition, the constituent [*poză a*

Madonei] ('picture of Madonna') is first restricted to the AP *unică* and then the constituent [*unică poză a Madonei*] ('unique picture of Madonna') is further restricted to the AP *frecventă*. Pictures of Madonna that are unique are those pictures that appear as the only picture of Madonna within a given issue. In context 1, pictures that satisfy this criterion (description) are pictures 2, 1, and 4, which appear in the issues from August through December. Now, let us further restrict this set of pictures (of Madonna that are unique) to a picture that is frequent. Among this set of pictures – only picture Nr. 2 is frequent. So, if frequent is taken to take scope over unique the interpretation predicted is that in (8). Note that picture Nr. 2 is not frequent as such, in the overall distribution of the pictures, but only with respect to the set of pictures of Madonna that are unique/single.

(8) Interpretation for frequent c-commanding unique
    A picture (of Madonna) that is frequent with respect to unique/single pictures of
    Madonna.

Let us now consider the interpretation the DP in (6) would obtain if *unică* were to c-command *frecventă*. Under this assumption, the constituent [*poză a Madonei*] ('picture of Madonna') is first restricted to the AP *frecventă* and then the constituent [*frecventă poză a Madonei*] ('frequent picture of Madonna') is further restricted to the AP *unică*. Looking at the distribution in context 1, the pictures of Madonna that are frequent (appear often) are pictures Nr. 3 and Nr. 7 in the issues from January through July. Now, let us attempt to further restrtict the set of frequent pictures of Madonna to a unique one. That is, to a single/only one picture of Madonna that is frequent with the intended interpretation in (9). Again, here, uniqueness/singlehood of the picture is taken with respect to those pictures that are frequent.

(9) Interpretation for unique c-commanding frequent

A picture (of Madonna) that is unique/single with respect to frequent pictures of Madonna.

Crucially, the distribution of pictures in context 1 is such that there is no picture that would correspond to a DP with the interpretation in (9), because pictures Nr. 3 and Nr. 7 are equally frequent and as such no one of them can be said to be 'a single frequent picture of Madonna'. That is, given context 1, the interpretation in (9) where *unică* c-commands *frecventă* is not possible.

When tested in context 1, the example in (6) was found to be true and the DP it contains was taken to refere to picture Nr. 2. Thus, the correlation between the interpretation and the surface order in the DP in (6) indicates that when APs intervene between the noun and its complement the direction of scope is from left to right, i.e. the AP that is linearly precedent is also hierarchically higher than the AP that is linearly in second position, corresponding to the partial syntactic structure in (10) (which in turn reflects the structure in (2a)).

(10) [$_{FP}$ frecventă [$_{FP}$ unică   [$_{NP}$ poză   a   Madonei]]]
         frequent   unique   picture   of   Madonna

As we saw above, there is no picture in Context 1 that can be associated with the interpretation in (9), where *unică* c-commands *frecventă*. In fact, for a DP where APs precede the complement of the noun to obtain this interpretation we need to reverse the order of the two APs as in (11).

(11) ediția   asta conține o poză   unică frecventă a Madonei
    issue-the this contains a picture unique frequent of Madonna
    'this issue contains a unique frequent picture of Madonna'

(12) [FP unică   [FP frecventă [NP poză   a Madonei]]]
     unique   frequent   picture of Madonna

If the findings thus far are correct and the direction of scope for APs that intervene between the noun and its complement is from left to right as indicated in the partial structure in (12), we expect that there is some context where the DP in (11) is true with the interpretation in (9), but false under the interpretation in (8). This context is provided below as context 2.

Context 2: In the year 2002 the pictures of Madonna printed in *Paris Match* Magazine followed the distribution in table 2.

Table 2: Context 2

January	7, 1, 3
February	7, 4
March	7, 3
April	7, 1
Mai	7, 5
June	7, 2
July	7, 5
August	1, 4
September	2
October	3
November	4
December	5

Pictures 1 - 5 appear a few times throughout the year

picture 7 is the **only one** among these that is **frequent**

In light of context 2, assume first that the DP in (11) has the interpretation where *unică*

114

has scope over *frecventă*. Here, the pictures that are frequent, that is, appear a number of times throughout the year, are pictures 1-5 and 7 (between January and August). Now, if we restrict the set of pictures that are frequent to a single/only one picture of Madonna that is frequent, we find that picture to be picture Nr. 7, as it is the only picture of Madonna that is consistent with the interpretation in (9).

Next, consider the interpretation in (8), where *frecventă* has scope over *unică*, in light of context 2. Actually, there is no picture in context 2 that can be associated with this interpretation. Here, the pictures of Madonna that are unique/single (picture in an issue) are pictures 2-5 between September and December. However, within this pool of single pictures of Madonna no one of them can be said to be frequent, as none of these pictures occurs more than once. Thus, in context 2, the interpretation in (8) is not possible. When tested in context 2, the example in (11) was found to be true and the DP it contains was taken to refer to picture Nr.7. Once again, this result is consistent with the hypothesis according to which the scope of APs that precede the complement of the noun exhibits left to right scope direction.

Crucially, in contexts 1 and 2 the sentences in (6) and (11) are in complementary distribution. That is, sentence (6) is true in context 1 but false in context 2 and sentence (11) is false in context 1 and true in context 2. These findings are important as they show that there is no ambiguity with respect to the direction of scope and the DPs in (6) and (11) are each associated with one and only one interpretation.   To conclude this subsection, in DPs where APs intervene between the noun and its complement the AP that precedes linearly also takes scope over the linearly following AP. Since the left to right direction of scope is the only one attested, it can be claimed that for

the [N **AP₁** **AP₂** ComplNP] word-order we have strict directionality of scope.

3.2 APs that follow the Complement of the Noun

When APs follow the complement of the noun, as exemplified in (13), the direction of scope is opposite to that previously observed (for APs that intervene between the noun and its complement). Here, scope is from right to left, where the AP that is in second surface position has scope over the AP that surfaces in first position.

(13) a.   ?ediția   asta conține o poză a Madonei frecventă unică
            issue-the this contains a picture of Madonna frequent unique
            'this edition contains a unique frequent picture of Madonna'

    b.   ?ediția   asta conține o poză a Madonei unică frecventă
            issue-the this contains a picture of Madonna unique frequent
            'this issue contains a frequent unique picture of Madonna'

To obtain the scope facts for [N ComplNP AP₁ AP₂] sequence the same truth value judgement test as in the previous subsection was used – the sole difference consisted in the word-order – all else being equal. Since there are no differences in methodology, I will simply report the results and dispense with the step by step account.

The DP in (13)a, where *frecventă* surfaces before *unică*, is correlated with the interpretation in (9). That is, (13)a is false in context 1 but true in context 2. Conversely, the DP in (13)b, where *unică* surfaces before *frecventă*, is correlated with the interpretation in (8). That is, (13)b is true in context 1 but false in context 2. Again, note that the truth values for the two DPs in (13) are in complementary distribution in contexts

1 and 2, indicating that each of the word-orders is associated with only one interpretation and ambiguity is not present. Thus, the scope facts for the DPs in (13) suggest that in DPs where the APs follow the complement of the noun the AP that is linearly in second position is hierarchically higher, c-commands, the AP that surfaces in first position as exemplified in the partial structure in (14) representing the DP in (13)a.

(14) [[[$_{N'}$ poză a Madonei] frecventă $_{NP}$] unică $_{NP}$]
       picture of Madonna frequent   unique

Two main generalizations emerge from the word-order – interpretation tests presented in this section. First, the same linear order of (the two) APs correlates with distinct scope interpretations depending on the position of the (two) APs relative to the complement of the noun. Specifically, when APs precede the complement of the noun the interpretation is consistent with a left to right scope direction; conversely, when APs follow the complement of the noun the interpretation is consistent with a right to left direction of scope. Second, each word-order correlates with only one scope interpretation, suggesting that each word-order correlates with only one syntactic structure.

4.   THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE EMPIRICAL OBSERVATIONS

The empirical word-order scope pairings observed in the previous section are consistent with the symmetric theory of adjunction, which proposes that the APs under discussion here are base generated in their surface position and the scope facts fall out directly from this assumption. The specific predictions here are that APs that intervene between the

noun and its complement are generated to the left of the noun and as a result the AP that surfaces in left most position will also be hierarchically higher than the APs that follow it. Conversely, APs that surface to the right of the noun's complement are base generated to the right of the noun and therefore the right most surfacing AP will be hierarchically higher than the APs preceding it. Crucially, the symmetric account predicts that each one of the two word-orders is associated with one and only one interpretation – the exact pairings that are attested.

The antisymmetric theory of adjunction predicts that all APs are generated to the left of the noun. A direct result of this assumption is that, on the basis of base generation alone, the scope of APs should always follow a left to right direction, since precedence is taken to entail hierarchical dominance. However, in the case of Romanian, APs that follow the complement of the noun, the attested scope effect is distinct and in order to account for it antisymmetry is forced to posit movement. In what follows, I will attempt to show that by opening up the possibility for what appears to be unconstrained remnant movement in these constructions antisymmetry gives rise to possible derivations that result in word-order – interpretation pairings that are unattested in Romanian. That is to say, antisymmetry overgenerates.

As mentioned, both theories under consideration are equally suited to derive the empirical observations, as demonstrated by the derivations in (15)- (18). The trees in (15) and (15) represent the derivations that are predicted under both antisymmetry and symmetry for the attested DPs, where adjectives intervene between the noun and its complement and the direction of scope is from left to right. In (15), the fronted position of the noun is derived by head-movement of the noun to the head of an intermediate

functional phrase; while (15) derives the fronted position of the noun by first moving the complement of the noun to the specifier of some intermediate functional phrase and subsequently moving the remnant NP to a yet higher specifier of a functional phrase. Example (15) is included here to show that an alternate derivation is available, with the effects of head-movement but derived by remnant movement.

(15) Antisymmetric and Symmetric derivation for [N AP$_1$ AP$_2$ ComplNP] with Noun movement
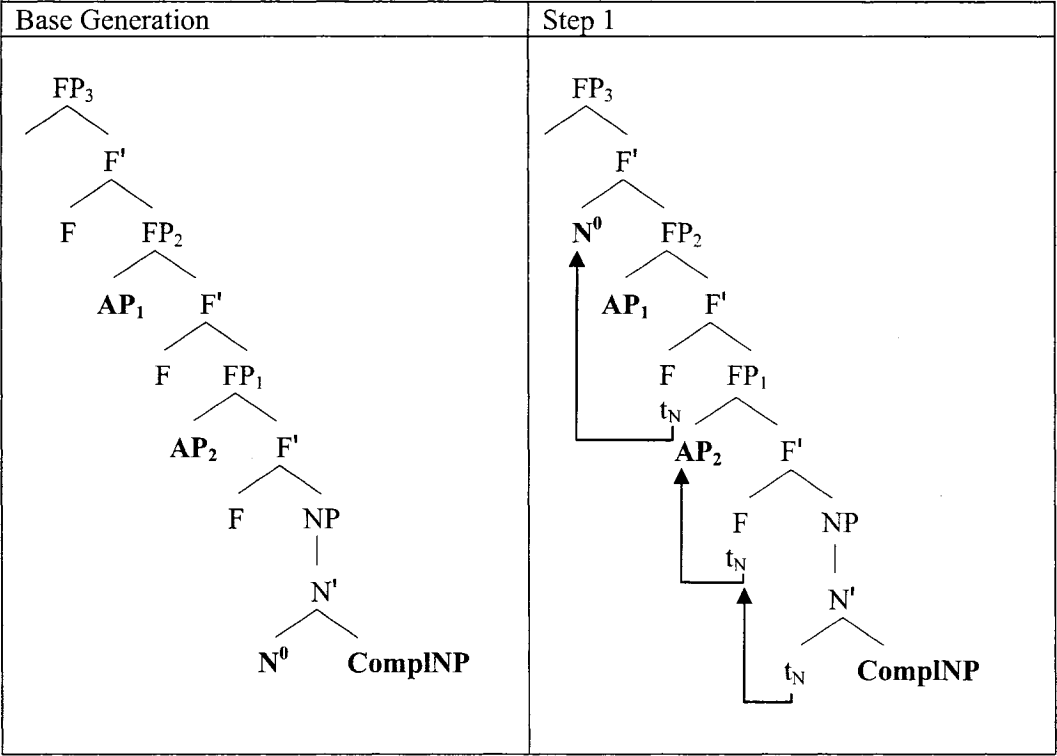
Base Generation	Step 1

(16) Antisymmetric and Symmetric derivation for [N AP1 AP2 ComplNP] with NP movement

Base Generation	Step1

FP$_4$
   F'
  F   FP$_3$
    AP$_1$ F'
       F   FP$_2$
       AP$_2$ F'
          F   FP$_1$
              F'
            F   NP
               N'
          N^0 **ComplNP**
	FP$_4$
	   F'
	  F FP$_3$
	    AP$_1$ F'
	       F FP$_2$
	       AP$_2$ F'
	          F FP$_1$
	    ComplNP F'
	          F NP
	              N'
	        N^0 $t_{ComplNP}$

120

```
Step 2

                          FP₄
                ┌──────────┴──────────┐
               NP                     F'
                │                ┌────┴────┐
               N'                F        FP₃
          ┌────┴────┐                 ┌───┴───┐
         N⁰      t ComplNP          AP₁      F'
                                        ┌────┴────┐
                                        F        FP₂
                                            ┌────┴────┐
                                          AP₂        F'
                                                ┌────┴────┐
                                                F        FP₁
                                                    ┌────┴────┐
                                                 ComplNP      F'
                                                        ┌────┴────┐
                                                        F        t_NP
```
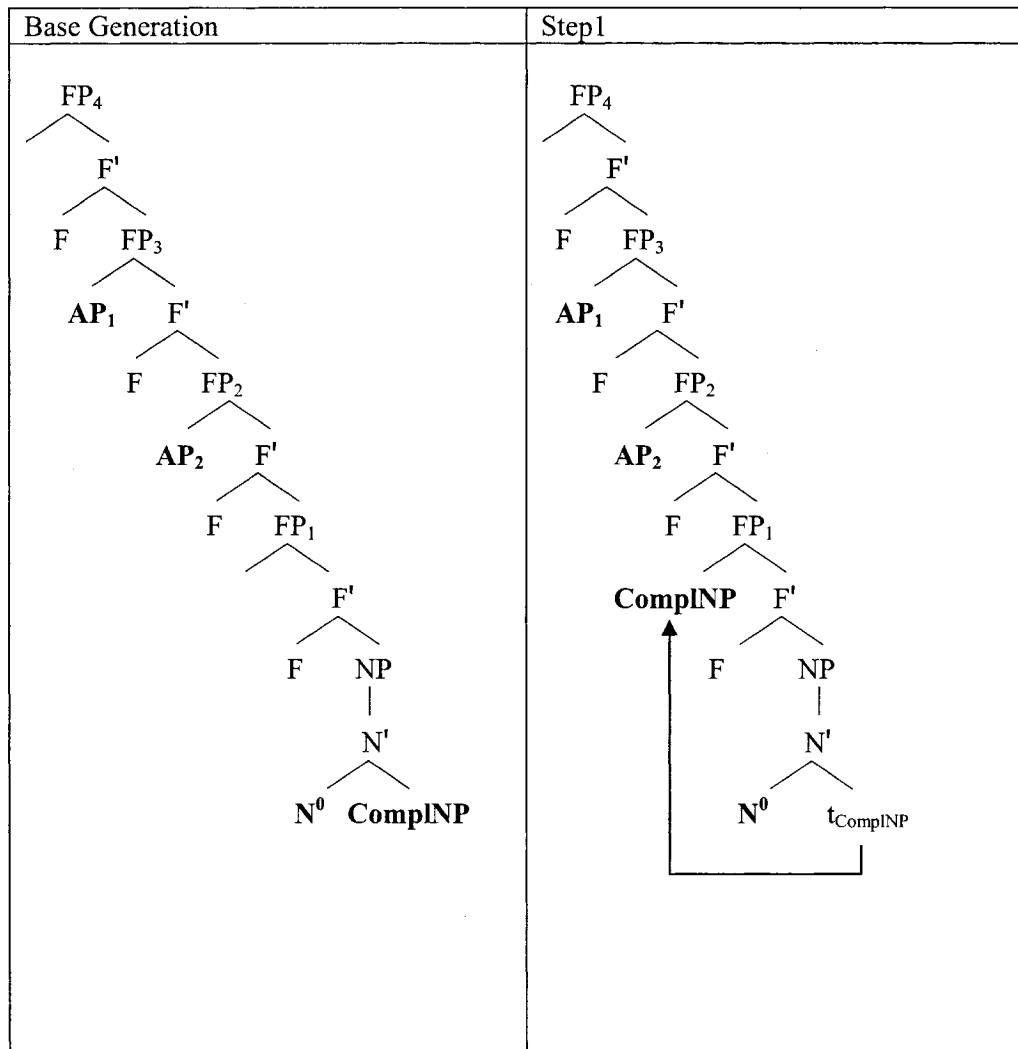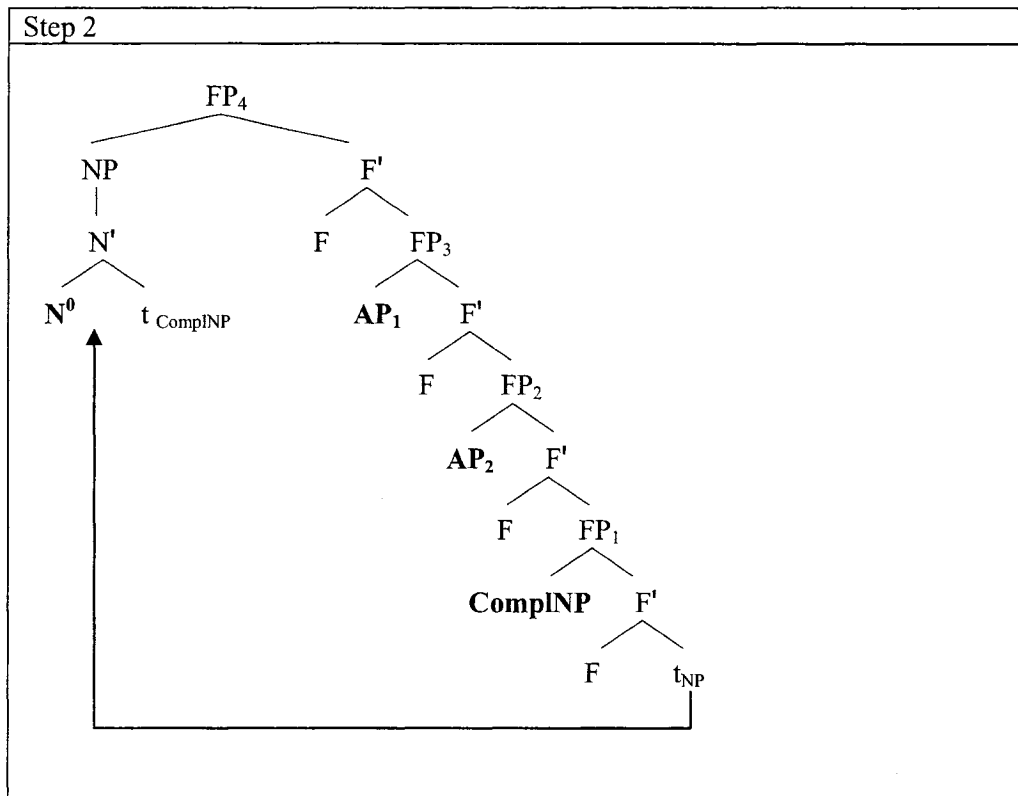
The tree in (17) below shows one of a number of possible derivations predicted by antisymmetry that can be used to obtain the attested DPs where adjectives follow the complement of the noun and the direction of scope is from right to left. This word-order – scope pairing forces antisymmetry to appeal to movement of one AP over the other, because strict left adjunction imposes that the AP that is hierarchically higher be base generated to the left of the AP that it c-commands. As a result, for these derivations it is crucial that the adjective that ultimately surfaces as the second AP is base generated to the left, in a position preceding (and crucially hierarchically higher than) the adjective that will surface as the first AP.

(17) Antisymmetric derivation for [N ComplNP AP₁ AP₂]

Base Generation	Step 1

Step 2
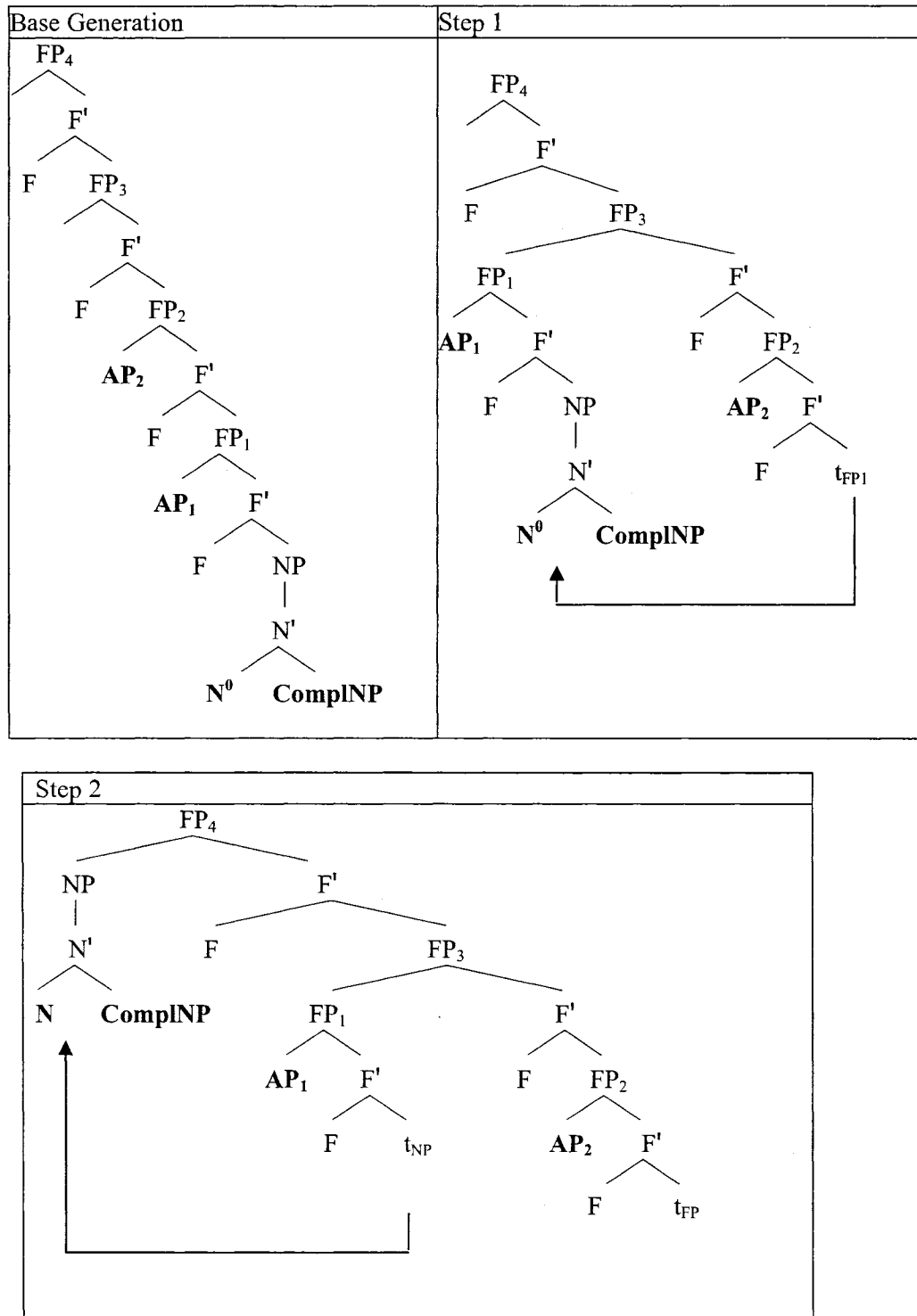
The same word-order – scope pairing derived in (17) is obtained under the symmetric

account by simply base generating the APs in a position to the right of the complement of the noun as shown in (18). Here, the adjective surfacing as the second AP is base generated to the right and higher than the linearly first AP, thus, the word-order and the hierarchical structure reflected in the attested interpretation fall out from the base generation and no additional movement is necessary.

(18) Symmetric generation of [N ComplNP AP_1 AP_2]

Base Generation and Surface Structure

$$FP_2$$
$$F' \quad AP_2$$
$$F \quad FP_1$$
$$F' \quad AP_1$$
$$F \quad NP$$
$$N'$$
$$N^0 \quad ComplNP$$
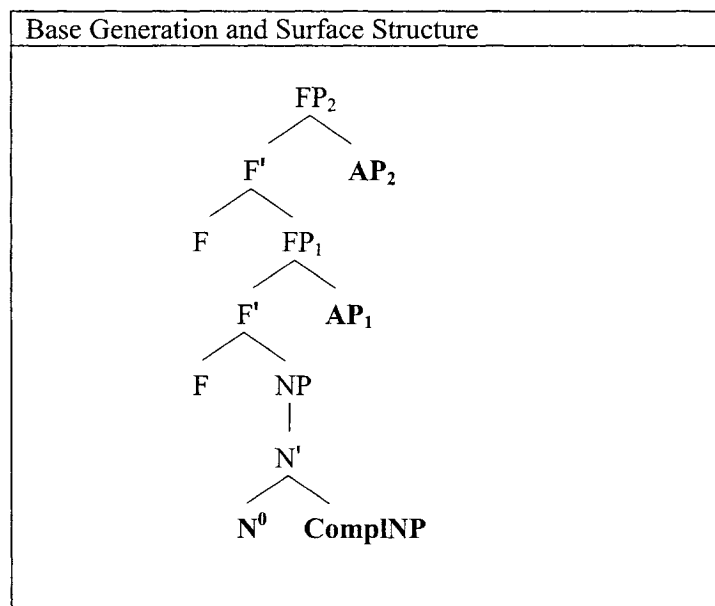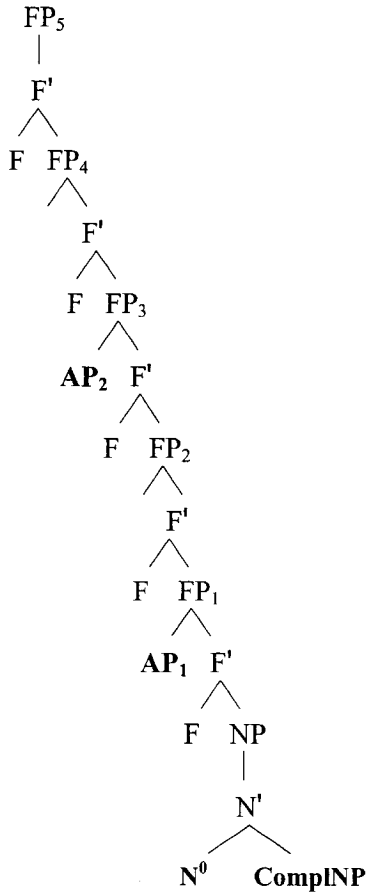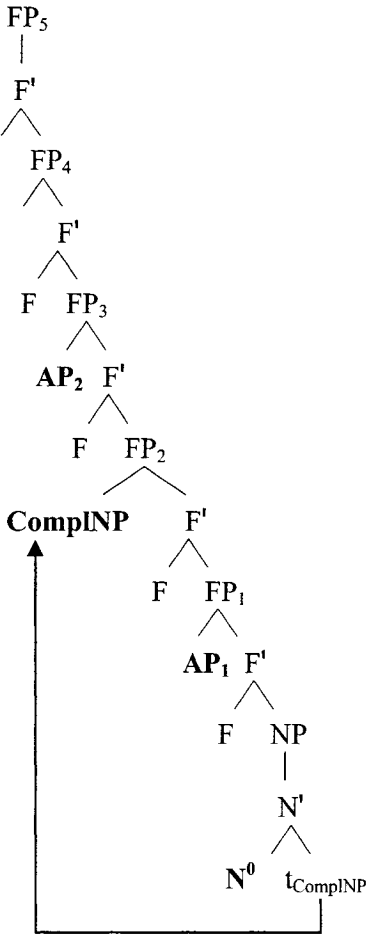
So far, we saw that the attested word-order – scope pairings can be obtained by both theories equally well (while possibly more elegantly so under the symmetric account). The symmetric theory base generates postnominal APs either to the left or to the right of the complement of the noun, while the antisymmetric account generates the APs always to the left of the noun. Antisymmetry derives the position of APs that follow the complement of the noun and their corresponding interpretation by movement, including

remnant movement. Crucially, the implementation of the very same type of movements that antisymmetry necessitates to derive attested forms, as in (17), results in predicting word-order – scope combinations that are not attested in Romanian. Specifically, as established in section 3, in DPs where the adjectives intervene between the noun and its complement an interpretation with a right to left scope direction is not available; and in the case of APs that follow the complement of the noun a left to right scope interpretation is not attested. However, these word-order – scope correlations are readily available under the antisymmetric theory as exemplified by the derivations in (19) and (20) below.

(19) Theoretically possible but unattested antisymmetric derivations:

[N AP₁ AP₂ ComplNP], where the curved arrow indicates direction of scope

Base Generation	Step 1
FP₅ | F' /\\ F FP₄ /\\ F' /\\ F FP₃ /\\ **AP₂** F' /\\ F FP₂ /\\ F' /\\ F FP₁ /\\ **AP₁** F' /\\ F NP | N' /\\ N⁰ **ComplNP**	FP₅ | F' /\\ F FP₄ /\\ F' /\\ F FP₃ /\\ **AP₂** F' /\\ F FP₂ /\\ **ComplNP** F' /\\ F FP₁ /\\ **AP₁** F' /\\ F NP | N' /\\ N⁰ t_{ComplNP}

Step 2	Step 3

FP$_5$

F'

F   FP$_4$

FP$_1$ F'

AP$_1$ F'   F   FP$_3$

F NP   AP$_2$ F'

N'   F   FP$_2$

N^0 t$_{ComplNP}$ ComplNP   F'

F   t$_{FP1}$

FP$_5$

NP   F'

N'   F   FP$_4$

N   t$_{ComplNP}$ FP$_1$ F'

AP$_1$ F'   F   FP$_3$

F   t$_{NP}$ AP$_2$ F'

F   FP$_2$

ComplNP   F'

F   t$_{FP1}$

(20) Theoretically possible but unattested antisymmetric derivations:

[N ComplNP AP₁ AP₂], where the curved arrow indicates direction of scope

Base Generation	Step 1
FP₃ 　F' F　FP₂ 　AP₁　F' 　　F　FP₁ 　　AP₂　F' 　　　F　NP 　　　　N' 　　　N⁰　ComplNP	FP₃ NP　F' N'　F　FP₂ N　ComplNP AP₁　F' 　　　F　FP₁ 　　　AP₂　F' 　　　　F　t_{NP}

5. Constraining Remnant Movement

In this section, I show that the antisymmetric theory can account for the data presented in this chapter, provided that we place restrictions on phrasal movement. Thus, I propose a couple of constraints on remnant movement, which insure that the word-order − scope pairs that are attested can be derived, while crucially blocking the unattested ones. The constraints I propose are provided in (21) below. Constraint (1) restricts the locality of remnant movement. Constraint (2) prevents movement of an NP that only consists of the overt noun.

(21) Constraints on remnant movement

    (1) a. Remnant movement can only bypass one constituent/phrase
          in the extended nominal projection

      b. Remnant movement cannot proceed successive-cyclically

    (2)   Fronting of N alone is derived by head-movement – not phrasal remnant
        movement

In what follows, I return to the antisymmetric derivations in (15) - (20). I do so in order to show how the constraints in (21) can derive the attested data yet block the unattested ones. Let us start with the derivations of the attested word-order – scope pairings.

5.1   Deriving the Attested Data

In this section, I show how the attested data under discussion in this chapter can be derived under an antisymmetric analysis where remnant movement is constrained by the conditions in (21).

For the surface word-order and scope in (22), antisymmetry need only appeal to some form of noun fronting. According to constraint (2) in (21) above, noun fronting must be obtained by head-movement as opposed to remnant NP movement.

The derivation in (22) is acceptable under the constraints in (21). Here, the only element moving is the noun and it proceeds successive/cyclically, since there is no restriction on successive head-movement that would block the derivation in (22). Recall, however, that we had previously considered an alternative derivation for this word-order, one that involves remnant movement of the NP. Crucially, under the constraints in (1) of (21), the word-order in question cannot be derived by remnant NP movement. The NP remnant movement derivation is provided in (23).

(22) Antisymmetric derivation for [N AP_1 AP_2 ComplNP] with Noun head-movement

Base Generation	Step 1
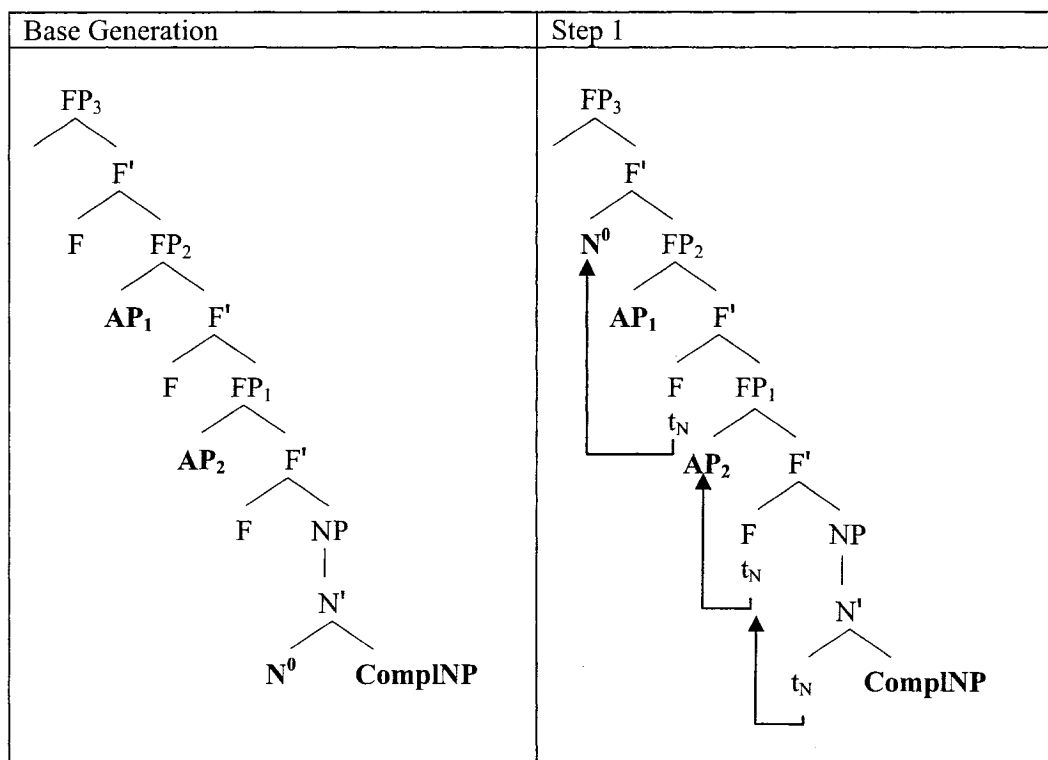
Step 2 in the derivation in (23), however, obviously violates constraint (2) under (21) whereby noun fronting must be done by head-movement, not phrasal movement. Let us consider each step in the derivations in (23). The derivation in step 1 is in line with the conditions in (21). Here, ComplNP moves to the immediately higher Spec/FP. That is, it only crosses one phrase and it does so only ones. Step 2 in the derivation is however problematic, even if we make abstraction of condition (2) of (21).

(23) Antisymmetric derivation for [N AP1 AP2 ComplNP] with NP movement

Base Generation	Step1
FP$_4$ 　F' F　FP$_3$ 　AP$_1$　F' 　F　FP$_2$ 　AP$_2$　F' 　F　FP$_1$ 　F' 　F　NP 　N' 　N^0　ComplNP	FP$_4$ 　F' F　FP$_3$ 　AP$_1$　F' 　F　FP$_2$ 　AP$_2$　F' 　F　FP$_1$ ComplNP　F' 　F　NP 　N' 　N^0　t$_{ComplNP}$
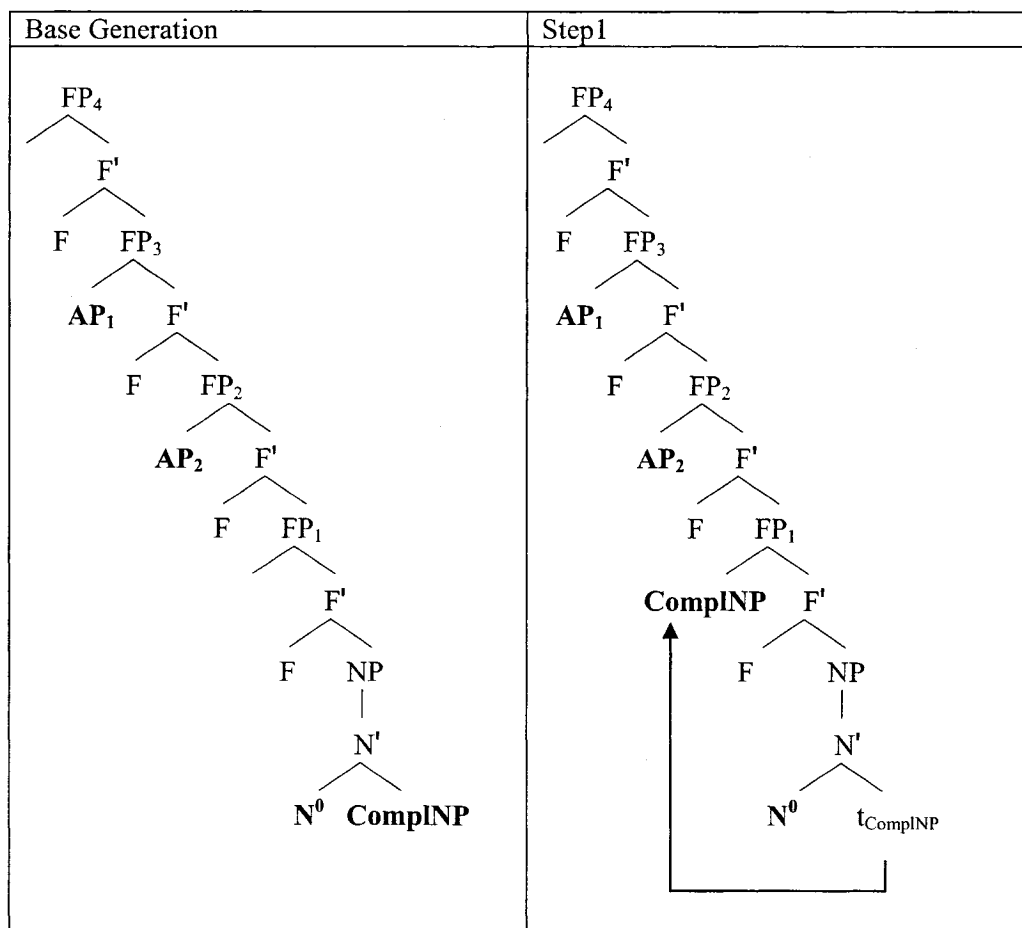
In step 2, movement of the remnant NP must bypass 3 constituents. Whether moving over all three constituents at once or moving successive cyclically, movement of the NP here would necessarily violate the constraints in (1). In other words, a derivation where noun fronting is obtained by remnant NP movement is blocked under an antisymmetric theory that is constrained by the restrictions in (1) of (21). Thus, to account for the attested [N AP1 AP2 ComplNP] word-order – scope pair, noun fronting must be derived by noun head-movement. I conclude that, given the constraints in (21), the derivation needed to

130

obtain the attested DP under consideration is that in (22) above.

```
┌─ Step 2 ────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                              │
│                        FP₄                                   │
│                      ╱     ╲                                 │
│                  NP           F'                             │
│                  │          ╱    ╲                           │
│                  N'        F      FP₃                        │
│                 ╱  ╲             ╱   ╲                        │
│               N⁰    t CompINP  AP₁    F'                     │
│               ▲                      ╱  ╲                    │
│               │                    F     FP₂                 │
│               │                         ╱   ╲                │
│               │                       AP₂    F'              │
│               │                             ╱  ╲             │
│               │                           F     FP₁          │
│               │                                ╱   ╲         │
│               │                          CompINP    F'       │
│               │                                    ╱  ╲      │
│               │                                  F     t_NP  │
│               └──────────────────────────────────┘          │
│                                                              │
└──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
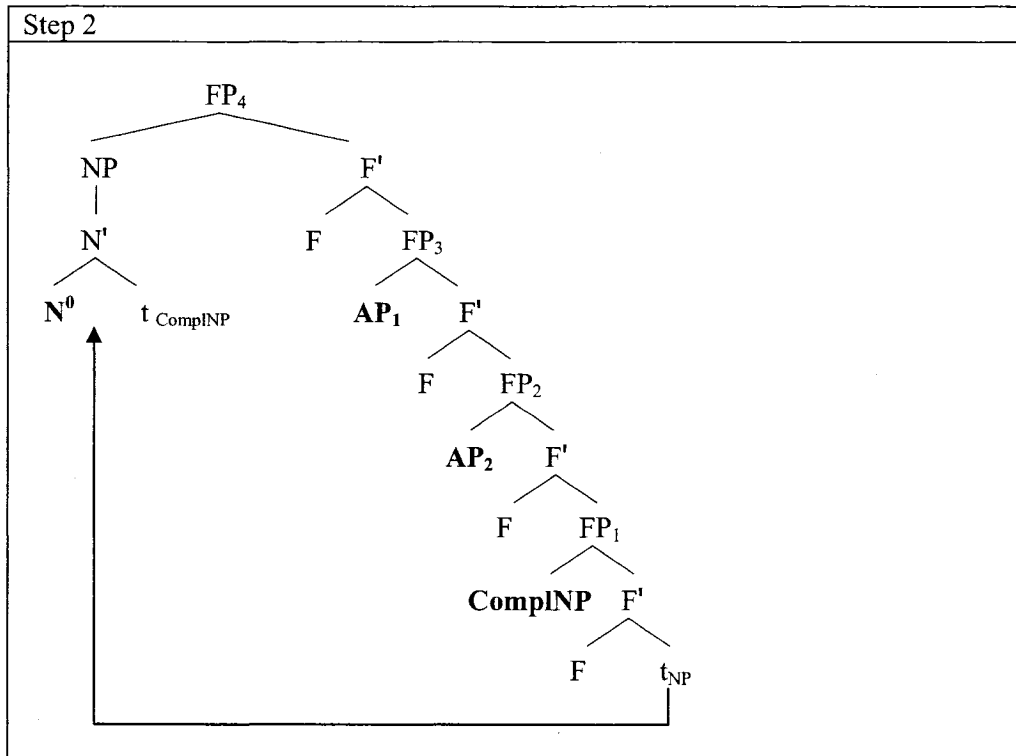
The second attested word-order – scope pair is presented in (24). Here, the APs are generated to the left of the noun and the complement. Importantly, here, the APs are generated in the reverse order from that in which they surface. Therefore, the derivation in (24) must front the noun, the complement of the noun and the lower AP_1. The derivations in steps 1 and 2 below do so without violating the conditions on movement in (21). In the first step, the constituent that is moved is FP_1, which contains the lowest AP1 and the NP as a whole. Importantly, FP_1 only bypasses one intervening phrase and does so only once. That is, the conditions under (1) in (21) are respected.

(24) Antisymmetric derivation for [N ComplNP AP_1 AP_2]

Base Generation	Step 1

FP₄
  F'
F FP₃
    F'
   F FP₂
    AP₂ F'
       F FP₁
        AP₁ F'
           F NP
              N'
            N⁰ ComplNP
	FP₄
	  F'
	 F FP₃
	   FP₁ F'
	  AP₁ F' F FP₂
	     F NP AP₂ F'
	        N' F t_FP1
	      N⁰ ComplNP
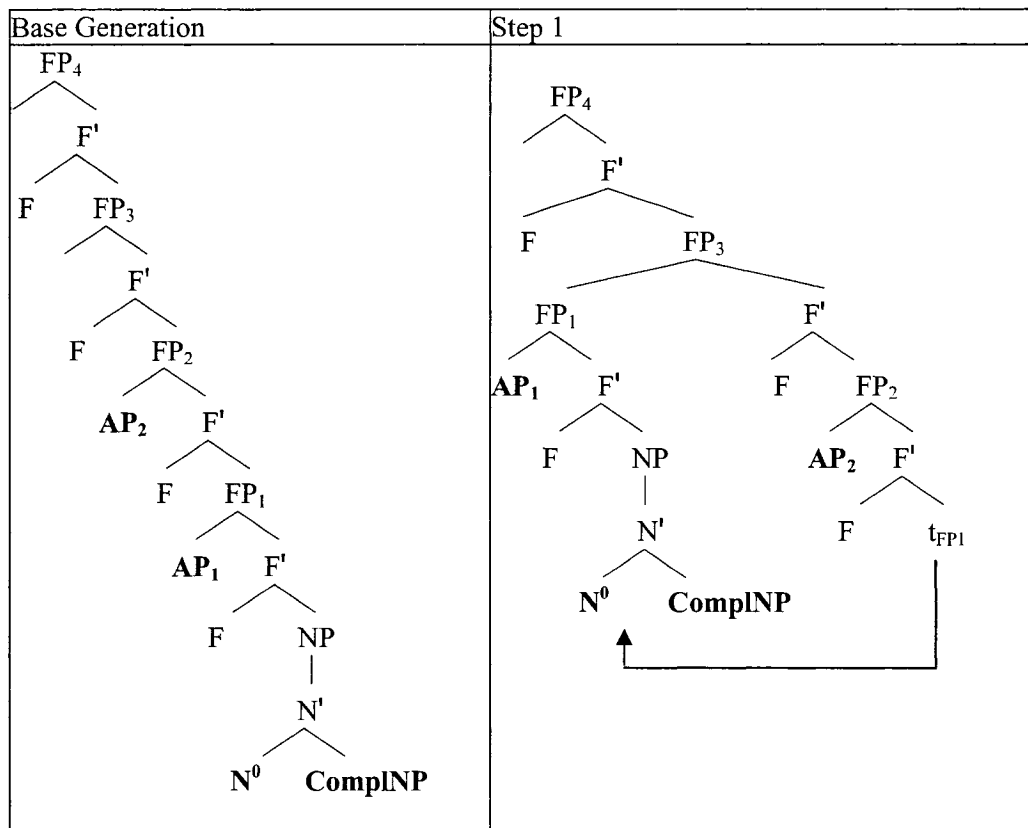
In step 2, the NP moves out of FP_1 in Spec/FP_3 and moves to Spec/FP_4. This movement too only crosses one phrase in the extended nominal projection and is not cyclic – in accordance with constraint (1).[8] Importantly, here the noun can front because this movement includes the complement of the noun as well. That is, it is not movement of a remnant NP that only contains the noun head. As a result, the movement in step 2 is also in agreement with constraint (2).

---

[8] Note that although in step 2 NP (remnant) moves out of FP1 and FP3, the derivation is consistent with the way I formulated the constraint in (20) (1a).

```
Step 2
                    FP₄
            ┌────────┴────────┐
          NP                  F'
          │            ┌──────┴──────────┐
          N'           F              FP₃
         ╱ ╲                    ┌──────┴────────┐
        N   ComplNP           FP₁              F'
            ▲               ╱  ╲            ╱    ╲
            │             AP₁   F'         F     FP₂
            │                  ╱ ╲              ╱   ╲
            │                 F   t_NP        AP₂    F'
            │                                      ╱   ╲
            └──────────────────────┘              F     t_FP1
```
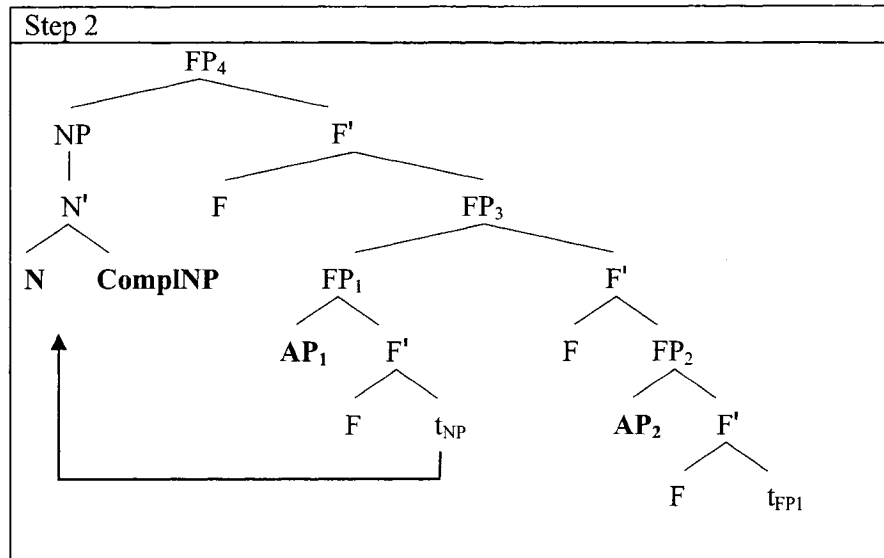
Thus far, we saw that the attested word-order – scope pairs can still be accounted for under an antisymmetric analysis where remnant movement is constrained by the conditions in (21). Next, I show how the conditions on movement proposed in (21) block the occurrence of unattested word-order – scope pairs that are otherwise predicted in the absence of the constraints.
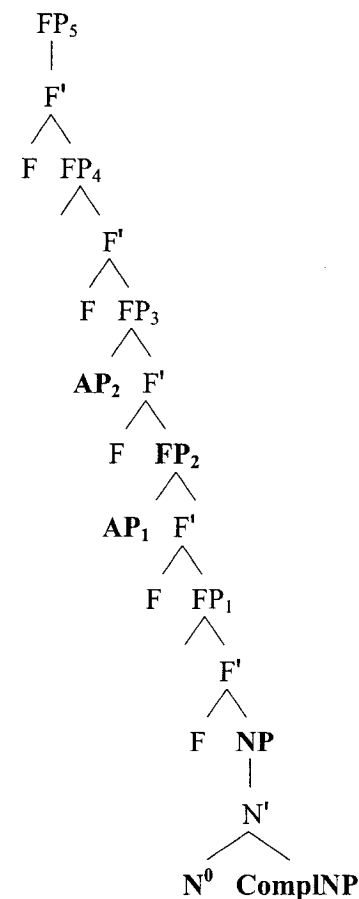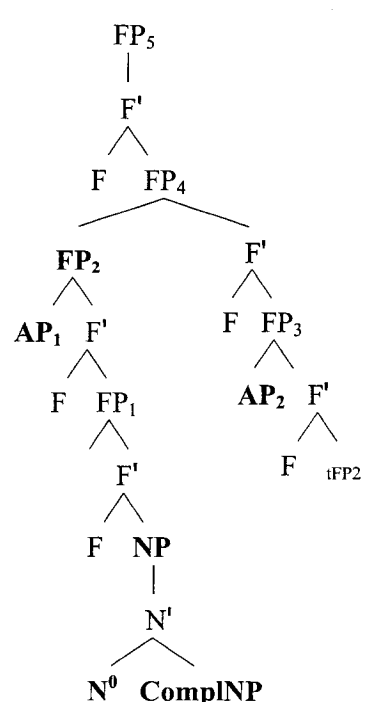
5.2   BLOCKING THE UNATTESTED DATA

The first word-order – scope pair that is blocked by the constraints proposed here is provided in (25). Here, the APs intervene between the noun and its complement and scope of the APs is from right to left. Under antisymmetry, right to left scope direction obligatorily implies that the base generation order of the scope bearing phrases, here the APs, is opposite to their surface order. This is depicted in the base generation structure below. To obtain the [N AP1 AP2 ComplNP] word-order from the [AP2 AP1 N ComplNP] base generation, AP1 must move past AP2, while leaving ComplNP behind.

Crucially, this word-order cannot be obtained under the conditions in (1) of (21). According to condition (1)a remnant movement can only bypass one phrase. So, for AP1 to cross AP2, we must move the phrase immediately dominating AP1, which is FP2, to Spec/FP3. This derivation is provided in step 1 A of the structures in (25). However, when FP_2 moves leftwards, it automatically takes the NP along, including the complement. This movement results in the unwanted word-order [AP1 N ComplNP AP2]. Since antisymmetry does not allow right ward adjunction there is no way at this point by which we can get ComplNP to follow AP2. Therefore the derivation in (25) step 1 A cannot be obtain the desired word-order. As I show next, neither can the alternative derivation in (25) step 1 B.

(25) Blocked unattested antisymmetric derivations:

[N AP$_1$ AP$_2$ ComplNP], where the curved arrow indicates direction of scope

Base Generation	Step 1 A
FP$_5$ | F' /\ F FP$_4$ /\ F' /\ F FP$_3$ /\ AP$_2$ F' /\ F FP$_2$ /\ AP$_1$ F' /\ F FP$_1$ /\ F' /\ F NP | N' /\ N^0 ComplNP	FP$_5$ | F' /\ F FP$_4$ FP$_2$ F' AP$_1$ F' F FP$_3$ F FP$_1$ AP$_2$ F' F' F tFP2 F NP N' N^0 ComplNP

Let us consider the alternative derivation in (25) step 1 B, where we first move the complement out of NP. Again, movement can only cross one phrase, so ComplNP must move to the specifier of the first FP dominating NP, here Spec/FP1. Crucially, ComplNP can only move to the specifier of a phrase that is located below the FP hosting AP1. If ComplNP were to move to a higher Spec/FP, it would violate condition (1)a. Again, leftward movement of AP1 past AP2 would take ComplNP along. Thus, even if we have

135

noun head-movement past both APs, the word-order we obtain – [N AP2 AP1 ComplNP]

– is still not the desired one, which is [N AP_1 AP_2 ComplNP].

Step 1 B

FP_5
|
F'
/\
F FP_4
  /\
  F'
  /\
  F FP_3
    /\
    AP_2 F'
      /\
      F FP_2
        /\
        AP_1 F'
          /\
          F FP_1
            /\
            ComplNP F'
              /\
              F NP
                |
                N'
                /\
              N^0 $t_{ComplNP}$
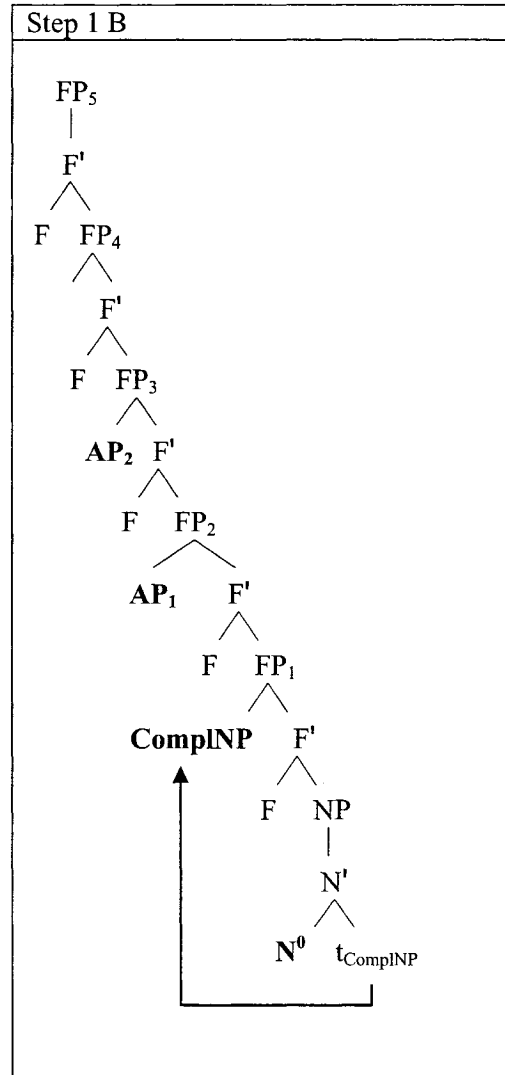
So far, we saw that the constraints in (21) can block one of the unattested word-orders.

Let us now consider the second undesirable word-order prevented by these constraints.

In (26), the noun and the complement precede both APs, the scope of which

follows a left to right pattern. Under antisymmetry, a left to right scope predicts that the

136

APs are generated in the order they surface. Thus, we don't have to prevent movement of one AP over the other. What needs to be blocked here is NP movement past the two APs, as illustrated in step 1 of example (26). Crucially, NP movement here bypasses two constituents at once, thus violating (1)a of (21). Moreover, even if NP were to bypass only one constituent, and lend in a Spec/FP that intervenes between the two APs, the resulting word-order – [AP1 N ComplNP AP2] – would still be the wrong one. More importantly, further movement of the NP would violate condition (1)b of (21), according to which phrasal movement is not successive/cyclical. Thus, the constraints in (21) would be sufficient to block the word-order – scope pairing and the derivation in (26).

(26) Blocked unattested antisymmetric derivations:
[N ComplNP AP_1 AP_2], where the curved arrow indicates direction of scope

Base Generation	Step 1
FP_3 　F' 　F　FP_2 　AP_1　F' 　　F　FP_1 　　AP_2　F' 　　　F　NP 　　　　N' 　　　N^0　ComplNP	FP_3 NP　F' N'　F　FP_2 N　ComplNP AP_1　F' 　　　F　FP_1 　　　AP_2　F' 　　　　F　t_{NP}
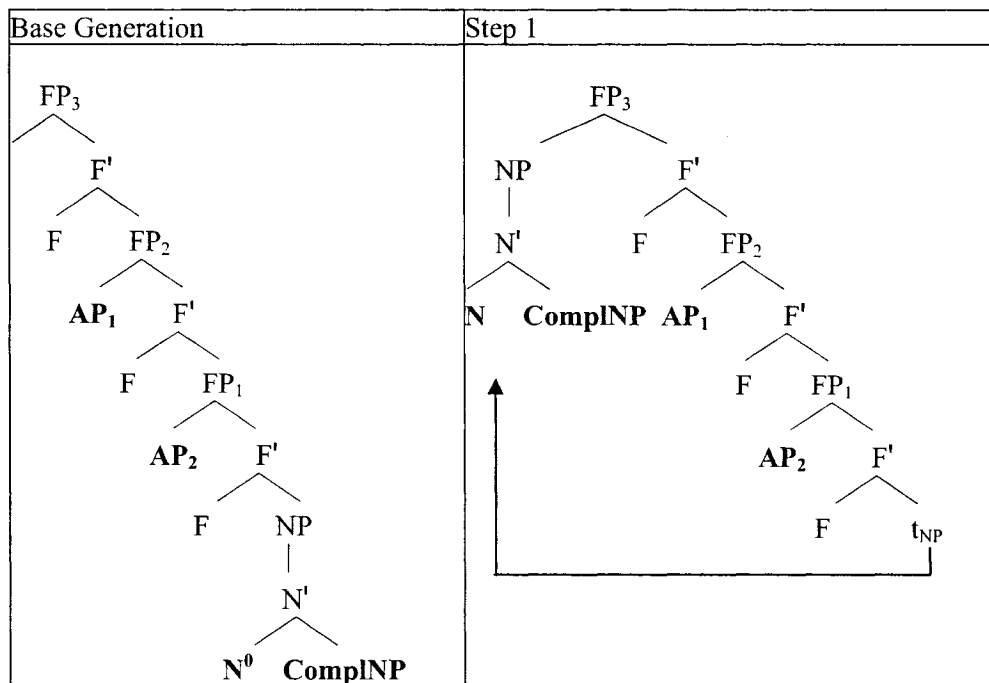
In this section, I showed that by supplementing the antisymmetric theory with two

constraints on the locality and nature of movement we can account for the word-order –

scope pairs observed in Romanian postnominal APs. Thus, at this point it appears that the

symmetric and antisymmetric theories are equally able to account for the data under

consideration. Crucially, however, in order to adopt the antisymmetric theory the

constraints in (21) must be adopted as well. However, I believe that the ad hoc nature of

these constraints makes the antisymmetric approach less plausible. Still, if it can be

shown that these constraints have additional motivation (or if an alternative account can

be given for the data presented in this chapter) the two approaches would be on a par.[9]

6.   CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I argued that APs that surface postnominally in Romanian are

syntactically generated to the left or to the right of the noun, an account that is consistent

with the symmetric approach to syntactic adjunction. Specifically, I showed that the

symmetric theory makes two predictions about the pairings of particular surface orders

---

[9] The parity of the two approaches also holds with respect to their inability to block [N AP1 ComplNP
AP2] sequences which are ungrammatical in Romanian, irrespective of the scope directionality of the APs.
Under symmetry, each AP can be generated on either side of the NP, where either AP1 or AP2 can be
hierarchically higher. That is, both left to right and right to left scope of the APs is predicted. Similarly, the
antisymmetric approach also predicts this word-order and the two scope directionalities, even if it obeys by
the constraints in (20), as shown below.

Under antisymmetry, for left to right scope, the DP is generated as: [AP1 AP2 N ComplNP]. After N
successive cyclic head-movement we obtain [N AP1 t_N AP2 t_N ComplNP]. Next, the remnant NP
containing ComplNP can move to the specifier of an FP located above AP2 but below AP1 resulting in [N
AP1 ComplNP AP2 t_{NP}]. Since noun fronting is obtained by head-movement and remnant movement
crosses only one phrase and only takes place once the conditions in (20) are not violated.

A DP with right to left scope direction is generated as: [AP2 AP1 N ComplNP]. Again, the N undergoes
successive cyclic head-movement resulting in: [N AP2 t_N AP1t_N CopmlNP]. Next, we move the FP hosting
AP1, which takes along the remnant NP containing ComplNP. This constituent moves to an FP above AP2
but below N (after it head moved) ultimately obtaining [N AP1 ComplNP AP2]. Here too, noun fronting is
obtained by head-movement and phrasal movement (containing the remnant NP) crosses only one phrase
and only takes place once in accordance with the conditions in (20).

At this point, I do not have a definitive solution for blocking the unattested [N AP1 ComplNP AP2] DPs
and thus, leave this issue for further research. A tentative solution for the symmetric approach would be a
constraint on the generation of APs, whereby, within a DP, APs must be consistently generated either on
the left **or** on the right of NP, but crucially not on both sides.

with particular interpretations. APs that intervene between the noun and its complement obtain an interpretation that reflects a left to right scope direction and APs that follow the complement of the noun receive the interpretation that is consistent with a right to left scope direction. These two predictions appear to be borne out. I also attempted to show that the antisymmetric approach makes wrong predictions, by generating impossible interpretations derived with the same type of movements it necessitates to obtain the attested interpretations. These findings suggest that the symmetric approach is the more desirable theory, as it accounts for all and only (almost) the attested distribution patterns of postnominal APs in Romanian. Still, I also provided a version of antisymmetry that places certain constrains on the locality and type of remnant movement. These conditions insure that the attested data can be derived while the unattested data are blocked.

An important factor in this chapter is again head-movement. Under both the symmetric and antisymmetric accounts fronting of the noun can be obtained by appealing to head-movement. In fact, one of the conditions on movement necessary to preserve the antisymmetric account requires that fronting of the noun be derived by head-movement. In other words, to maintain an antisymmetric account for the Romanian DP, head-movement of the noun is necessary.[10] These findings are important for multiple reasons. For the purposes of the present study, the additional evidence for noun head-movement presented in this chapter, further confirms the findings in chapters 2 and 4, where head-movement of the noun is independently needed. These findings also bring renewed support for an N^0 head-movement analysis for Romance languages, as proposed in Bernstein (1991; 1993), Cinque (1993; 1994), Cornilescu (1992; 1995), Giusti (1995;

---

[10] Even under the symmetric account, a derivation of noun fronting via head-movement is the more desirable derivation, since it only involves one movement as opposed to two movements needed by the antisymmetric account.

2002) among others. In recent work, head-movement of N^0 has fallen out of grace in favour of phrasal/remnant movement accounts. Specifically, Cinque (2003a; 2004; 2005) proposes an analysis of DPs in general, and of Romanian DPs in particular, where DP internal word-order variations are derived by XP phrasal movement as opposed to N^0 head-movement. In conclusion, it appears that an account of the Romanian DP must appeal to N^0 head-movement even when making abstraction of its movement to the DP domain. As was done in chapter 2, in the next chapter, I provide more evidence that movement of the noun to the DP domain is an instance of head-movement. In fact, in chapter 4, I show that noun fronting is cyclic N^0 head-movement, parallel to the cyclic N^0 head-movement needed in this chapter to account for the attested word-order – scope pairs in (22).

CHAPTER IV

THE SYNTAX OF *CEL*

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter further examines the internal structure of Romanian DPs. In chapter 2, the focus was placed on the structure and movements in the upper domain of the DP. On the other hand, chapter 3 centers on the structure and movements in the lower domain of the DP. In this chapter, both the upper and lower domain of the DP are investigated. This is done by investigating the syntactic positions and properties of *cel*, an element that can occur in the higher and lower domain of definite DPs. A succinct illustration of the distribution of *cel* is provided in (1).

In (1)a, *cel* is DP initial. Here, it precedes the cardinal, the prenominal adjective, AP_A, and the noun, thus, indicating a relatively high position in the DP. Conversely, in (1)b *cel* follows the noun, suggesting that it occupies a lower position in the DP. Thus, *cel* can surface in two distinct positions in the DP.[1] I will refer to these two positions of *cel* as prenominal and postnominal, based on their typical surface position relative to the noun.[2]

---

[1] *Cel* can also be used pronominally. That is, it can occur without an overt noun as in (i). In the present study pronominal *cel* is not consider.
(i) cele două
    cel two
    'the two'

[2] Throughout this chapter, the 'prenominal' versus 'postnominal' position of elements is taken to be relative to the surface position of the noun after obligatory short head-movement to X^0, as discussed in chapter 3. Importantly, 'prenominal' and 'postnominal', here, are not used relative to the base generation position of the noun nor relative to its surface position after having moved as far as D^0.

(1) a. **cele** două biete   fete
     cel   two wretched girls
     'the two wretched girls'

   b. biete   *(-le)   fete **cele** două
      wretched -the   girls cel două
      'the two wretched girls'

As exemplified by the definite interpretation of the DPs in (1), *cel* always occurs in definite DPs. Importantly, however, prenominal versus postnominal *cel* have a different distribution with regard to the definite article suffix. Let us first consider postnominal *cel*. In (1)b, definiteness is contributed by the definite article suffix hosted by the adjective. Here, the presence of the definite suffix is obligatory, as indicated by the asterisk. In other words, postnominal *cel* must cooccur with an overt definite article. Conversely, in (1)a, prenominal *cel* is not accompanied by an overt instance of the definite marker and still the DP is interpreted as definite. Moreover, the absence of prenominal *cel* in (1)a results in the indefinite interpretation of the DP. It appears, thus, that there is a direct correlation between the presence of prenominal *cel* and the definite interpretation of the DP in (1)a. So, in the data in (1) prenominal and postnominal *cel* exhibit an asymmetric distribution relative to the definite article suffix.

Summing up, there are three main generalizations on the distribution of *cel*. First, *cel* can only occur in a definite DP. Second, *cel* can surface in two distinct positions in the DP: prenominally or postnominally. Third, prenominal and postnominal instances of *cel* have an asymmetric distribution with respect to the definite article suffix. These three main observations generate a number of theoretical questions. This study addresses

the following four. (1) What are the syntactic positions of prenominal and postnominal *cel*? (2) What syntactic property/phenomenon is responsible for the distinct distribution of prenominal and postnominal *cel* with respect to the definite article suffix? (3) Is the surface position of prenominal versus postnominal celPs derived only by their distinct generation site or also by movement of other elements past them? (4) How different, syntactically are prenominal and postnominal *cel*?

The present chapter provides a unified syntactic proposal of prenominal and postnominal *cel* that accounts for the issues listed above. The analysis I propose is summarized next. I put forward that prenominal and postnominal *cel* form a constituent with the phrase immediately following them. The resulting phrase, which I call celP, is a predicative modifier in the DP. I assume that celP occupies the specifier of /is adjoined to some functional phrase (FP) in the extended nominal projection. Specifically, prenominal celP occupies the specifier of/is adjoined to an FP that is high in the domain of the DP, which I argue, is the same position occupied by demonstratives and prenominal possessive phrases. The position of prenominal celP is represented in (2)a. On the other hand, postnominal celP occupies the specifier of/is adjoined to lower FPs, as in (2)b. Here, I argue that postnominal celP occupies the same position occupied by other postnominal modifiers such as AP_{BS}, PPs and relative clauses. Finally, I propose that the asymmetric distribution of prenominal versus postnominal celPs with respect to the overt definite article suffix is related to their respective syntactic positions. I hypothesize that prenominal celP can license a covert definite article. This licensing property is also found with demonstratives, which I claim compete for the same structural position with prenominal celP. In (2)a, the covert definite article is represented by the [+definite]

feature in D^0. This analysis explains the possibility of DPs with prenominal celP to occur without an overt definite article suffix, yet still be interpreted as definite. In opposition, postnominal celP, just like the other postnominal modifiers APs and PPs, cannot license a covert definite article. Consequently, postnominal celP must cooccur with a definite article, given that celPs, prenominal and postnominal, can only occur in definite DPs. The syntactic structures I propose for prenominal and postnominal celP are provided in (2)a and (2)b respectively.

(2) a. Prenominal celP

```
                    DP
                    |
                    D'
              ┌─────────┐
              D         DetP
           [+def.]   ┌──────────┐
                    celP       DetP'
                     △      ┌────────┐
                 cele două  Det      XP
                 cel  two            |
                                     X'
                                ┌─────────┐
                               X⁰        NP
                            distrugeri    |
                            destructions  N'
                                     ┌────────┐
                                    N⁰       DP
                                    t_N       △
                                        ale oraşu-l  -ui
                                        of  city  -the-G
```

144

b. Postnominal celP

```
                        DP
                        |
                        D'
                     ___|___
                    /        \
                   D        ( DetP)
         distrugeri  -le       |
         destructions-the    DetP'
                           ___|___
                          /       \
                        Det       XP
                        t_N        |
                                   X'
                                ___|___
                               /       \
                             X⁰        FP
                             t_N      __|__
                                     /     \
                                  celP     F'
                                   △     __|__
                                        /     \
                            cele două  F      NP
                            cel  two   t_N     |
                                               N'
                                            ___|___
                                           /       \
                                         N⁰        DP
                                         t_N        △
                                          ale oraşu-l  -ui
                                          of city  -the-G
```
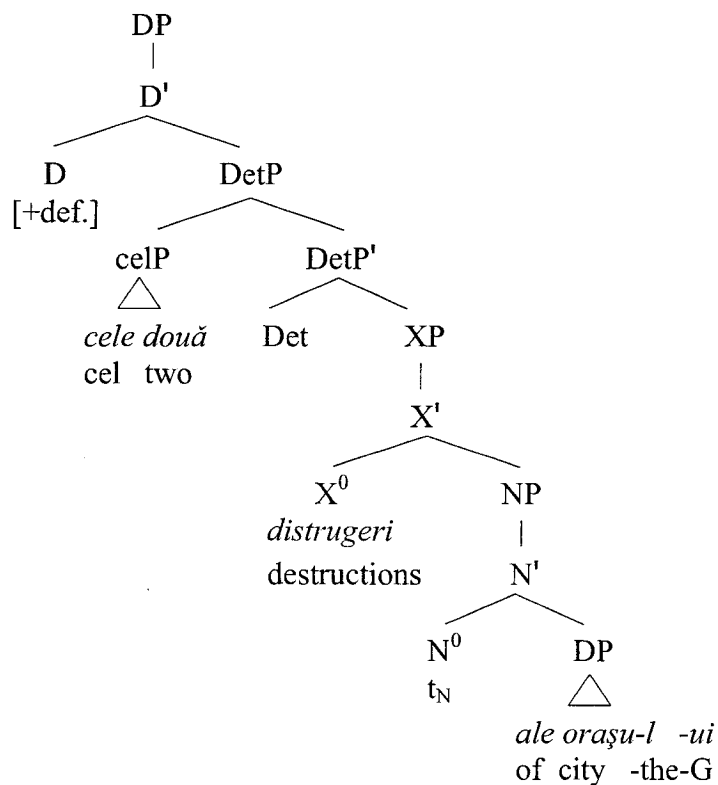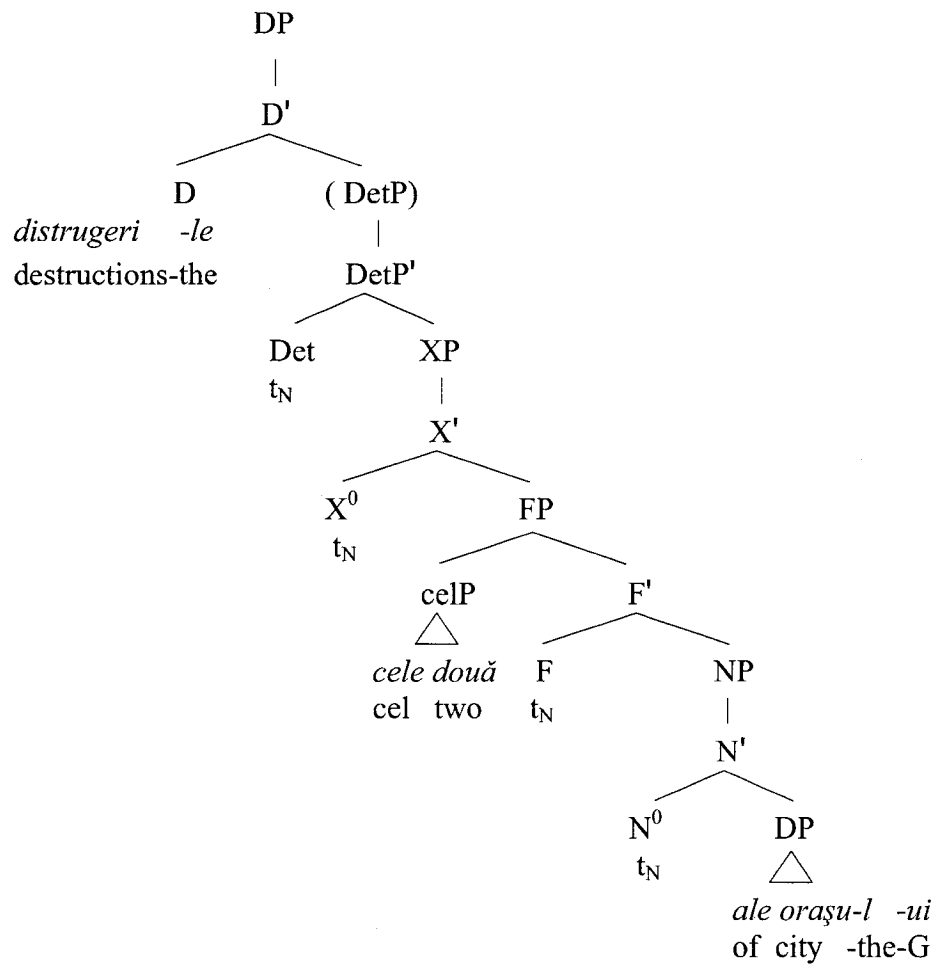
The account of *cel* proposed in the present study differs in significant ways with previous analyses. One of the most in depth analysis for the distribution of *cel*, to my knowledge, is provided by Cornilescu (1992).[3] According to her proposal, prenominal and postnominal *cel* play different roles in the DP. Specifically, she proposes that prenominal *cel* occupies the D^0 position of the main DP and obligatorily selects for a cardinal phrase as its sister, as in (3)a. Conversely, postnominal *cel* is the head of a postnominal DP that

---

[3] Coene (1999) also provides a comprehensive analysis of *cel*, however her analysis ignores prenominal *cel*, which is in fact the core of the preent study.

lacks an overt nominal head and occupies an adjunct position in the main DP. The syntactic structure she proposes for postnominal *cel* is provided in (3)b below.

(3) a. Cornilescu (1992) prenominal *cel*   b. Cornilescu (1992) postnominal *cel*

```
        DP                                      DP
        |                                       |
        D'                                      D'
       /  \                                    /  \
      D    DetP                               D    NP
      |     |                                 |   /  \
    cele    Det'                             -L  N'   DP
    cel    /  \                             -the |    |
         Det   NP                               N⁰   D'
          |   /  \                               |  /  \
        două AP   N'                            măr D   NP
        two  △    |                           apple |  /  \
                                                   cel N'  AP
           importante  N                          cel |   △
           important  legi                           [e] roşu
                      laws                                red
```
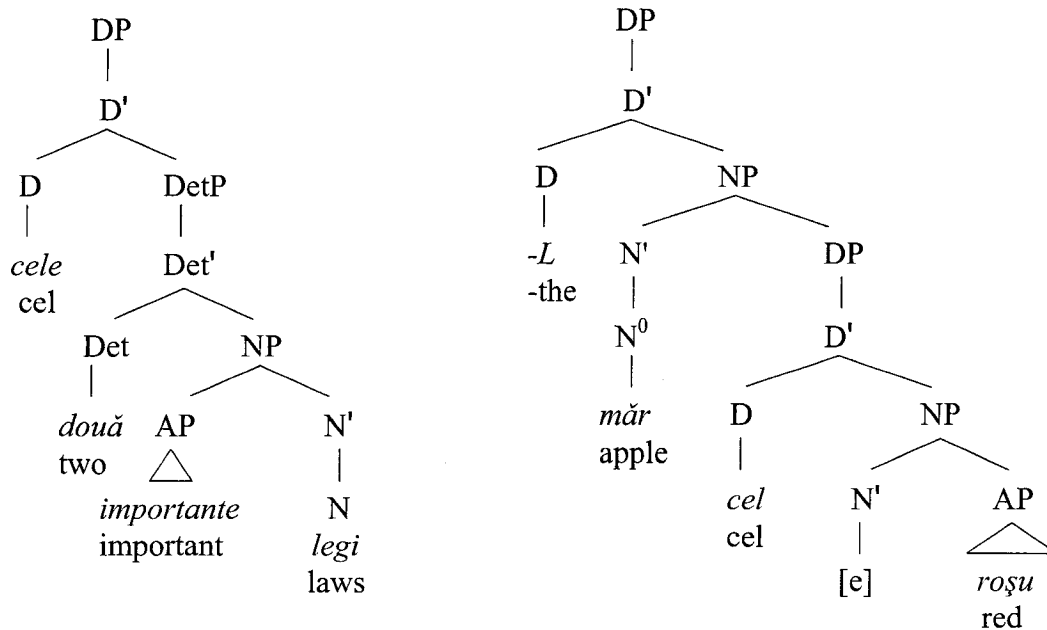
The analysis in Cornilescu (1992) and the one put forward in the present work do not differ only with respect to the syntactic function and position of *cel*. Rather, as was elaborated on in chapter 2, the two accounts also differ with respect to their assumptions on the syntactic positions and movements of other elements in the DP. Specifically, the two accounts propose distinct syntactic positions for prenominal adjectives and demonstratives. In addition, the suffixation of the definite article on adjectives is obtained by AP to Spec/DP movement under Cornilescu (1992, 1995). Conversely, the analysis put forward in this study accounts for the affixation of the definite suffix on adjectives by A_A to D^0 head-movement. Crucially, these assumptions on the internal syntax of the DP interact significantly with the syntactic analysis of *cel*. Consequently, in accounting for

146

the syntactic distribution of *cel*, the present chapter will also consider the other relevant assumptions on the internal structure of the DP.

This chapter is organized as follows. I begin with a presentation of the basic data pertaining to the distribution of *cel* and the theoretical issues that ensue. Section 3 illustrates the proposal put forward in the current study. First, I show that *cel* cannot be analyzed as an instance of D^0. Next, I argue that *cel* and the phrase immediately following it form a constituent referred to as celP. The following two subsections are dedicated to establishing the syntactic positions occupied by prenominal and also addresses postnominal celP. Specifically, I argue that prenominal celP occupies the same position as demonstratives. I conclude section 3 with a discussion on the co-occurrence of 'regular' celP and superlatives. In section 4, I present a review of the DP internal structure and movements proposed in Cornilescu (1992, 1995). The tenets of Cornilescu's proposal in section 4 constitute a prelude for the subsequent section. Section 5 provides a comprehensive comparison between the analyses of *cel* proposed in Cornilescu (1992, 1995) and that argued for in the present work. Here, I highlight the advantages presented by the current account. This is done by showing that my proposal accounts for the relevant data without appealing to conditions or filters on surface structure. In addition, I show that this analysis provides a more unified structure, where prenominal and postnominal celP have the same function in the DP – that of predicative modifiers. I conclude the chapter with a brief summary of the findings presented and briefly discuss some of the theoretical implications of the proposal.

2. PRELIMINARY DATA AND THEORETICAL ISSUES

In this section, I present the distribution of *cel* in the environment of an overt noun and highlight the main syntactic generalizations. Next, I present the two principal theoretical issues that arise from the empirical generalizations: (1) the asymmetric distribution of prenominal versus postnominal *cel* relative to the definite suffix; and (2) the structural positions of prenominal and postnominal *cel* in the DP.

2.1 PRELIMINARY DATA

This subsection presents commonly cited data and empirical generalizations regarding the distribution of *cel* in the environment of an overt noun. Relative to an overt noun, *cel* can occur either prenominally or postnominally. *Cel* is also used to form superlative constructions, which I consider separately. Making abstraction of superlative *cel*, only one *cel* can occur within a DP, irrespective of its prenominal or postnominal position. Let us first look at prenominal instances of *cel*.

2.1.1 PRENOMINAL *CEL*

Prenominally, *cel* can only immediately precede a numeral expression. In (4)a, and (4)b *cel* immediately precedes a cardinal or an ordinal expression respectively. In (4)c and (4)d *cel* immediately precedes a vague adjectival numeral.[4]

---

[4] The term "vague adjectival numeral" is taken from Zamparelli (1996) and it identifies quantity denoting expressions in their adjectival/cardinal use as opposed to quantifiers. Note that in Cornilescu (1992) the cardinals and the cardinality expressions *prea puțini*, 'too few', *prea mulți* 'too many' and *câteva* 'a few' are treated as quantifiers.

(4) a. cele trei fete

   cel three girls

   'the three girls'

b. cea de a treia fată

   cel of third girl

   'the third girl'

c. cele cîteva flori   Cornilescu (1992)

   cel few flowers

   'the few flowers'

d. cei prea puțini prieteni pe care îi are   Cornilescu (1992)

   cel too few friends Pe which he has

   'the too few friends that he has got'

However, not all prenominal elements can be preceded by prenominal *cel*. For instance, prenominal adjectives (APₐs) cannot immediately follow prenominal *cel*, as exemplified by the ungrammaticality of (5)a and (5)b.

(5) a. *cele biete   fete

   cel wretched girls

   'the wretched girls'

b. *cele frumoase fete

   cel beautiful girls

   'the beautiful girls'

Note that all grammatical DPs in (4) receive a definite interpretation. Crucially, here,

149

there is no overt instantiation of the definite article suffix or of any other definite element. This observation suggests that the presence of prenominal *cel* is somehow linked to the definite interpretation of these DPs.

2.1.2 POSTNOMINAL *CEL*

Postnominally, *cel* can occur both between the noun and its complement and following the complement of the noun. The elements that postnominal *cel* can immediately precede include those that can follow prenominal *cel* as well as postnominal modifiers such as AP_Bs or PPs. [5] In (6)a/a', postnominal *cel* is immediately followed by the cardinal. In (6)b/b' and (6)c/c' postnominal *cel* immediately precedes an AP_B and a PP respectively.[6] In (6)a, (6)b and (6)c, postnominal *cel* and the phrase immediately following it intervene between the noun and its complement. In the prime lettered examples, postnominal *cel* and the phrase immediately following it follow the complement of the noun.

(6) a. fete   *(-le)   cele   două ale Mariei

      girls *(-the) cel   two   of   Mary

      'Mary's two girls'

    a'. fete   *(-le)   Mariei cele   două

       girls *(-the) Mary   cel   two

       'Mary's two girls'

---

[5] In Cornilescu (1992) relative clauses are also cited to appear following postnominal *cel*, though deemed slightly awkward i.e. (1 question mark). I will not address postnominal [cel –RC] sequences due to the inconsistent judgements received from other native speakers of Romanian. Thus, I leave these constructions for future research.

[6] In (6)a the presence of *cel* is obligatory, while in (6)b and (6)c the presence of *cel* is optional. This observation correlates with the fact that a simple cardinal cannot be generated in a position below the surface position of N^0 after short head-movement to X^0. Conversely, AP_Bs and PPs typically surface in postnominal position; that is, below X^0.

b. fete *(-le) cele mari ale Mariei

   girls *(-the) cel big of Mary

   'Mary's big girls'

b'. fete *(-le) Mariei cele mari

   girls *(-the) Mary cel big

   'Mary's big girls'

c fete *(-le)   cele din   Bucureşti ale Mariei

   girls *(-the) cel from Bucharest of Mary

   'Mary's girls from Bucharest'

c'. fete *(-le) Mariei cele din   Bucureşti

   girls *(-the) Mary cel from   Bucharest

   'Mary's girls from Bucharest'

As observed by Cornilescu (1992), certain postnominal elements are barred from immediately following postnominal *cel*. These elements include the complement of the noun, possessors and thematic adjectives, as exemplified in (7).

(7) a. *frate -le cel al Mariei   Cornilescu (1992)

     brother-the cel of Mary

     'Mary's brother'

b. *echip -a   cea a lui Ion   Cornilescu (1992)

     team -the cel of   John

     'John's team'

c. *colonizare -a   cea   romană   a   Daciei   Cornilescu (1992)

colonization-the cel   roman   of   Dacia

'the Roman colonization of Dacia'

The generalization that emerges from the grammaticality distinction between (6) and (7) is that postnominal *cel* can precede modifiers/adjuncts but not phrases that have a thematic relation with the head noun.

Just like DPs with prenominal *cel*, DPs with postnominal *cel* also receive a definite interpretation.[7] In other words, DPs with postnominal *cel* are obligatorily marked for definiteness by the definite article suffix. Here, the source of definiteness is the definite article suffix, which is obligatory, as indicated by the asterisk preceding the parentheses in (6).

2.1.3   SUPERLATIVE *CEL*

Finally, let us consider *cel* in superlative constructions. In Romanian, superlative constructions are formed by the element *cel* followed by the comparative construction. Superlative expressions can occur prenominally and postnominally, where they can precede or follow the complement of the noun. In (8), superlative *cel* appears to have the combined distribution of prenominal and postnominal *cel* with respect to the definite article.

---

[7] In fact, *cel* can never occur in an indefinite DP. This is illustrated in (i) below. Here, postnominal *cel* is banned from a DP that is overtly marked by a typical indefinite determiner like 'a' or 'some' respectively.
(i) a. *o fată cea înaltă
         a girl cel tall
         'a tall girl'
     b. *nişte fete cele înalte
         some girls cel   tall
         'some tall girls'

(8) a. cea mai frumoasă poză a Mariei
         cel more beautiful picture of Mary
         'the most beautiful picture of Mary'

   b. poz   *(-a) cea mai frumoasă a Mariei
      picture *(-the) cel   more beautiful of Mary
      'the most beautiful picture of Mary'

   c. poz   *(-a) Mariei cea mai frumoasă
      picture *(-the) Mary cel   more beautiful
      'the most beautiful picture of Mary'

In (8)a, the DP with a prenominal superlative phrase is interpreted as definite although the definite article suffix is absent. In (8)b, c, the DP with a postnominal superlative phrase must be marked for definiteness by the definite article suffix. Thus, there appears to be a parallel between the distribution of *cel* in superlative *cel* on the one hand and 'regular' prenominal and postnominal *cel* on the other. However, as I show in section 3.3.5, in certain environments superlative *cel* and prenominal *cel* have a different syntactic distribution.

Importantly, the elements that immediately follow prenominal *cel* are different from those that immediately follow superlatives *cel*. As shown in section 2.1.1, prenominal *cel* can only be immediately followed by cardinals or vague adjectival numerals, elements that can occur prenominally even in the absence of *cel*. Moreover, prenominal *cel* cannot be immediately followed by any kind of AP whether typically prenominal, AP_A, or typically postnominal, $AP_{B/C}$. In opposition, prenominal and postnominal superlative *cel* typically precedes a comparative expression that contains

153

AP$_{B/CS}$, including postnominal-only type AP$_{BS}$. Due to the differences between regular prenominal *cel* and superlative *cel* just mentioned, I will consider these two instances of *cel* separately throughout the chapter.

In subsection 2.1 above, I introduced the basic subset of data that has been discussed in previous literature and will be investigated in the present study. Next, I take a closer look at the asymmetric distribution of prenominal and postnominal *cel* relative to the definite article. Here, I consider the empirical generalizations and the theoretical issues that ensue.

2.2   THE DEFINITENESS GENERALIZATIONS

In this section, I focus on the two generalizations regarding prenominal and postnominal *cel*. (1) The correlation between the presence of prenominal and postnominal *cel* and the definite interpretation of the DP they occur in. (2) The asymmetric distribution of prenominal and postnominal DPs relative to the definite article suffix. First, I discuss the relevant data, and then I briefly sketch two potential accounts of these data.

As previously mentioned, all DPs that contain *cel*, whether prenominal or postnominal, are interpreted as definite. This fact is easily explainable for DPs with postnominal *cel*, as in (6), where the definite article suffix is present and obligatory. Here, the source of definiteness is unambiguously the definite article suffix. Consequently, the correlation between the presence of postnominal *cel* and the definiteness of the DP can be simply stated in terms of definiteness compatibility. That is, postnominal *cel* is only compatible with a definite DP. This hypothesis is strengthened by the data in (9). Here, postnominal *cel* is ungrammatical in indefinite DPs, which are clearly marked as

indefinite by the determiners 'some' and 'a'.

(9) a. *nişte fete cele mari
       some girls cel big
       'some big girls'

b. *o fată cea din Bucureşti
    a girl cel from Bucharest
    'a girl from Bucharest'

So, postnominal *cel* can only occur in a DP that is overtly marked as definite. In indefinite DPs postnominal *cel* is ungrammatical. It is obvious at this point that postnominal *cel* does not and cannot contribute definiteness to the DP. Rather, it is simply compatible with a DP that is definite and overtly marked as such.

The source of definiteness in DPs with prenominal *cel* is more elusive though. As already mentioned, prenominal *cel* can occur in a DP that is otherwise not overtly marked for definiteness. Crucially, the DP in question obligatorily receives a definite interpretation. In example (4)a repeated here as (10)a, there is no instance of the definite article or of any other definiteness denoting element. Still, the DP is necessarily interpreted as definite. These facts suggest that *cel* is itself related to the source of definiteness. This claim seems to be strengthened when comparing (10)a with (10)b. Here, the only overt element that distinguishes these two DPs is the presence versus the absence of *cel*. Crucially, here, the presence versus the absence of *cel* directly correlates with the definite versus the indefinite interpretation of the DP. Thus, in (10)a, the only explicit element that correlates with the definite interpretation is prenominal *cel*.

(10) a. cele trei fete

      cel   three girls

      'the three girls'

   b. trei   fete

      three girls

      'three girls'

      #'the three girls'

Based on the comparison between (10)a and (10)b alone, one could argue that in the former example *cel* is in D^0 and thus functions as the definite determiner of the DP. In fact, such an analysis is proposed by Cornilescu (1992). This proposal is outlined in the following section and discussed in detail in sections 4 and 5.

In this study, I will argue against the hypothesis that *cel* occupies the D^0 position and acts as the definite article. Rather, I propose that in DPs like (10)a *cel* is in a syntactic position below D^0, the same position that hosts demonstratives. I further argue that the D^0 head is covert and contains the [+definite] feature – the source of definiteness. Thus, I propose that the definiteness issue of DPs with prenominal and postnominal *cel* alike is a matter of compatibility between *cel* and an overt or covert [+definite] D^0.

So far, I demonstrated that the presence of prenominal and postnominal *cel* directly correlates with the definite interpretation of the DP hosting it. I also showed that there is an asymmetric distribution of prenominal versus postnominal *cel* vis-à-vis the definite article suffix. Postnominal *cel* can only occur in the presence of an overt instance of the definite suffix. Meanwhile, prenominal *cel* can occur without an overt definite marking and the DP hosting it is still interpreted as definite. Two potential proposals can

account for this last empirical observation. According to the first analysis, proposed by Cornilescu (1992), *cel* is a definite determiner that occupies the D^0 position. Conversely, the account put forward in the present work proposes that prenominal *cel* is in a position below D^0. Here, the D^0 head is covert and has the [+definite] feature, thus the definite interpretation of the DP. These two competing analyses have distinct structural implications, which I outline in the following subsection.

2.3   TWO POTENTIAL SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES

Let us first consider the structural implications of the assumptions on *cel* proposed by Cornilescu (1992). Here, prenominal *cel* is taken to occupy the D^0 position, where it acts as the definite determiner. The argument here is that in (10)a prenominal *cel* is not preceded by a definite article and the only overt element that distinguishes it from the indefinite (10)b is prenominal *cel*. Obviously, the same analysis cannot be maintained for the postnominal occurrence of *cel* in (6). Recall that DPs with postnominal *cel* are already marked by the definite suffix in D^0. Moreover, the definite suffix must precede, not follow, postnominal *cel*. Therefore, a different structure must be called upon to account for DPs with postnominal *cel*. In particular, to maintain the claim that *cel* is in D^0, postnominal *cel* must be taken to introduce an additional DP. Indeed, here, the assumption is that postnominal *cel* introduces an adjunct DP, which is embedded in the main DP headed by the definite suffix. This adjunct DP cannot have an overt noun and its only apparent function is to introduce an adjunct AP, PP or numeral. In other words, an analysis where *cel* is in D^0 must assume distinct syntactic structures for DPs with prenominal *cel* and DPs with postnominal *cel*. When *cel* is prenominal there is only one

DP and D^0 is occupied by *cel*. Conversely, when *cel* is postnominal there are two DPs a main DP with an embedded adjunct DP. The main DP is headed by the definite suffix and its host and the adjunct DP is headed by *cel*. Moreover, prenominal *cel* occurs in a DP with an overt noun but the DP headed by postnominal *cel* cannot have a lexically specified noun head. In conclusion, the assumption that *cel* is in D^0 predicts that DPs with prenominal *cel* have 1 DP versus DPs with postnominal *cel*, which have 2 DPs. The syntactic positions of prenominal and postnominal *cel* proposed by Cornilescu (1992) are provided in (3), repeated here as (11).

(11) a. Cornilescu (1992) prenominal *cel*   b. Cornilescu (1992) postnominal *cel*
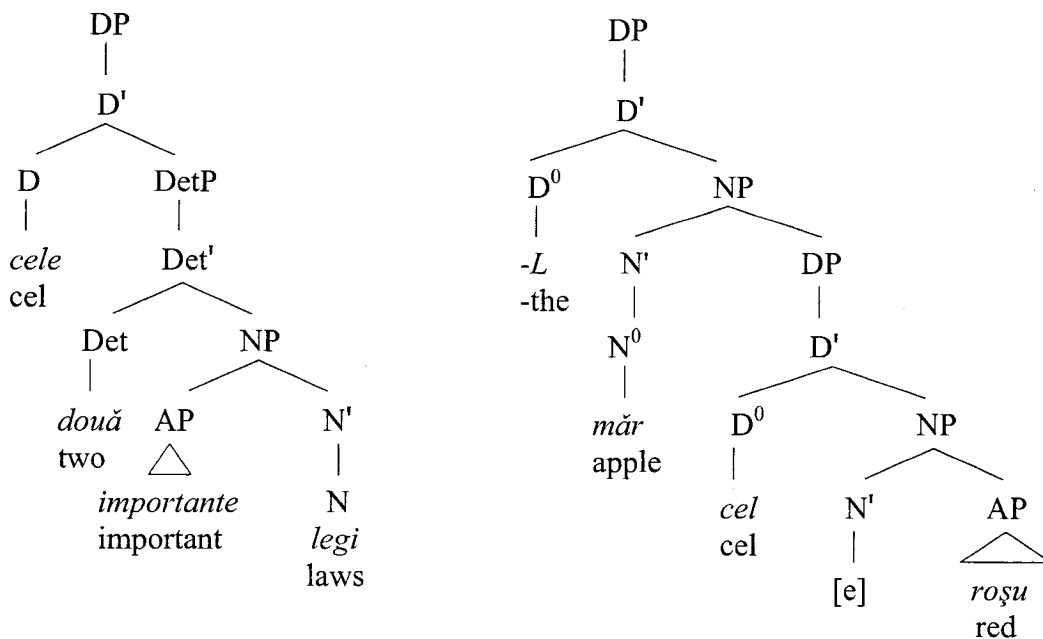
As illustrated by the trees in (11), the assumption that *cel* is in D^0 results in notably different syntactic structures for DPs with prenominal *cel* versus DPs with postnominal

158

cel. Alternatively, under the analysis I put forward, DPs with prenominal and postnominal *cel* have very similar syntactic structures. Here, *cel* is not taken to be in D^0. Rather, I propose that *cel* and the constituent immediately following it form a phrase, call it celP. I claim that prenominal celP occupies the specifier of a functional phrase that is just below D^0, as in (12)a. From this position, prenominal celP, just like demonstratives, can license a covert definite article in D^0. The covert D^0 contains the [+definite] feature, as can be seen in (12)a. These assumptions account for the definite interpretation of DPs with prenominal celP even in the absence of an overt instance of D^0. Postnominal celP, on the other hand, is in the specifier of a lower functional phrase, as depicted in (12)b. Like all other postnominal modifiers, postnominal celP cannot license a covert definite article. This licensing inability of postnominal celP coupled with it being restricted to definite DPs make the overtness of the definite suffix mandatory.

(12) a. Prenominal celP

```
                    DP
                    |
                    D'
             ┌──────┴──────┐
             D            DetP
          [+def.]      ┌────┴────┐
                     celP      DetP'
                      △     ┌────┴────┐
                  cele două Det       XP
                  cel  two            |
                                      X'
                               ┌──────┴──────┐
                              X⁰            NP
                           distrugeri        |
                           destructions     N'
                                      ┌──────┴──────┐
                                     N⁰            DP
                                     t_N            △
                                              ale oraşu-l  -ui
                                              of city  -the-G
```

160

b. Postnominal celP

```
                    DP
                    |
                    D'
                 ___|___
                D        ( DetP)
      distrugeri  -le         |
      destructions-the      DetP'
                          ___|___
                        Det       XP
                        t_N        |
                                   X'
                                ___|___
                             X^0       FP
                             t_N     ___|___
                                  celP       F'
                                   △      ___|___
                              cele două  F       NP
                              cel  two   t_N      |
                                                  N'
                                               ___|___
                                             N^0       DP
                                             t_N        △
                                                   ale oraşu-l  -ui
                                                   of city  -the-G
```
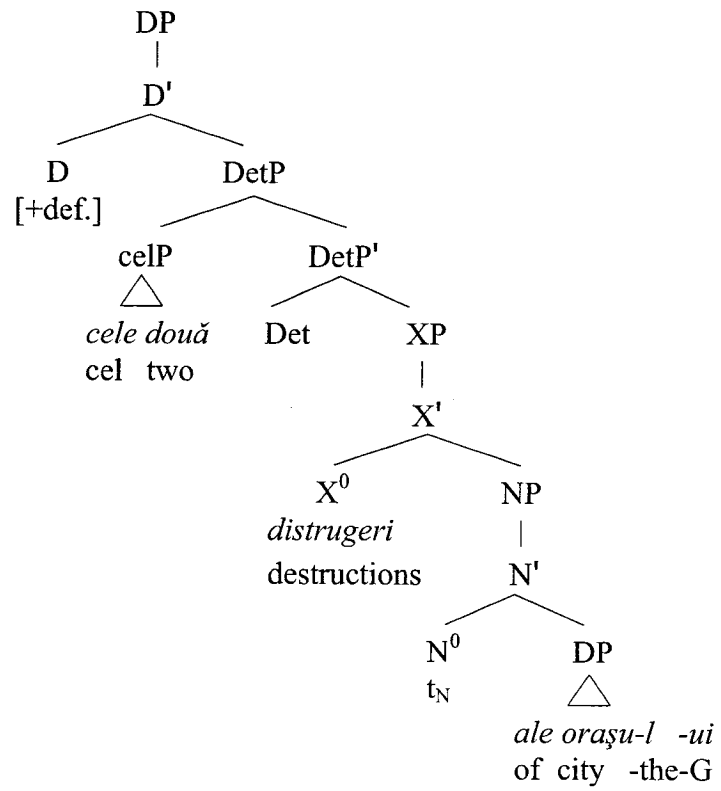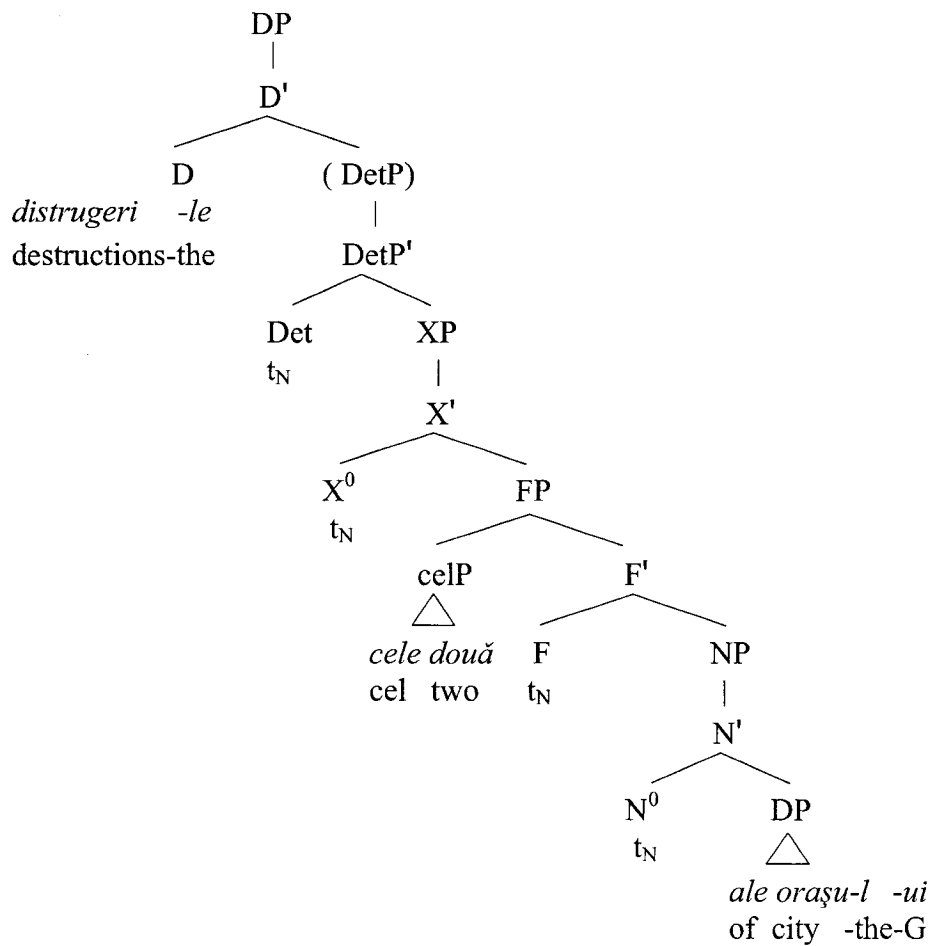
Let us return to the asymmetric distribution of prenominal versus postnominal *cel* with respect to the overt definite marker. Under the current proposal, this asymmetry is accounted for by the syntactic position of celP and the licensing properties associated with this position.[8] Importantly, the proposal put forward here provides a unified account for DPs with prenominal and postnominal *cel*. The only difference between the two DPs is the position in which celP occurs. As I show in the following section, the possibility of

---

[8] A different analysis is needed to account for the distribution of pronominal uses of *cel*, which are not considered in the present study.

licensing a covert D^0 is a property that also accounts for the distribution of demonstratives. Therefore, this licensing property is not an ad hoc stipulation meant to solely explain the distribution of prenominal *cel*. Rather, it is a mechanism independently needed to account for the syntactic structure of the Romanian DP.

Thus far, I presented the essential data on the distribution of prenominal and postnominal *cel* and the empirical generalizations that obtain. I also outlined two potential syntactic accounts and their theoretical implications. Next, I provide a detailed exposition of the syntactic proposal I put forward in the current study. Here, I introduce new data and discuss the syntactic distribution and properties of other DP internal elements.

3.   AN ANALYSIS OF PRENOMINAL AND POSTNOMINAL *CEL*

In this section, I present the main arguments in support of the proposal I put forward. First, I argue that *cel* does not occupy the D^0 position. Second, I show that *cel* and the phrase immediately following it form a constituent, which I refer to as celP. In the next subsection, I establish the syntactic position occupied by prenominal celP. Here, I also consider the cooccurrence possibilities of prenominal *cel* relative to demonstratives and superlative *cel*.

The argument at the basis of the present chapter is that *cel* is not an instance of D^0, but rather the head of an adjunct phrase in the extended nominal projection. As outlined in the previous section, the two competing analyses of *cel* differ exactly with respect to the treatment of *cel* as an instance of D^0. Crucially, in both proposals, the

162

evidence for or against the D^0 status of *cel* comes from its prenominal use. That is to say, the main source of contention between the two proposals concerns the distribution of prenominal *cel*. In contrast, both approaches under consideration are in agreement on the analysis of postnominal *cel* as being part of/heading an adjunct phrase. In fact, if we were to make abstraction of the existence of prenominal *cel*, there is no property of postnominal *cel* that would suggest its being an instance of D^0. Given the predominant significance of prenominal *cel* for the purposes of the present argument, this section focuses mainly on the distribution of prenominal *cel*. Still, throughout this section, the distribution of postnominal *cel* is addressed, albeit, not comprehensively so.[9]

3.1. *CEL* IS NOT IN D^0

A number of properties of *cel* can tempt one to assume that *cel* generally, and prenominal *cel* in particular, is an instance of D^0. In this subsection, I wish to disclose the misleading nature of these properties. Here, I argue that neither prenominal nor postnominal *cel* should be treated as an instance of D^0. The evidence I bring is three fold. First, I propose that, in spite of appearances, *cel* is not morphologically complex. Second, I show that *cel* does not have syntactic functions attributed to D^0 in Romanian. Specifically, following Grosu (1994) I claim that *cel*, unlike the definite suffix, is unable to assign morphological genitive case. Finally, I introduce new data, where prenominal *cel* is preceded by the definite article suffix. Here, I argue that it is the suffix that occupies the D^0 position. It follows that prenominal *cel* must occur in a position below D^0.

---

[9] An account of postnominal *cel* is provided in sections 5.4.2 and 5.4.3.2.

3.1.1 THE MORPHOLOGY OF *CEL*: WHAT-THE...?

At first sight *cel* appears to be morphologically composed by the invariable root/stem *ce* 'what' and the definite article suffix *–L* 'the'. Just like the definite suffix *-L*, *cel* agrees in number, gender and case with the head noun. The paradigm of *cel* and its purported morphological structure are illustrated in the table below.

(13) Misleading *cel* as *ce*-D, 'what-the'

		masculine	feminine	neuter
singular	N/Acc	ce-l	ce-a	ce-l
	G/D	ce-lui	ce-lei	ce-lui
plural	N/Acc	ce-i	ce-le	ce-le
	G/D	ce-lor	ce-lor	ce-lor

The misleading morphological composition of *cel* does in fact have a historical explanation. According to Coene (2004), *cel* descends historically from the Latin demonstrative pronoun of distance *ille* preceded by the demonstrative adverb *ecce*. Following diachronic changes, a form like the classical Latin *ecce-illum* evolved to modern Romanian *cel*; and *ecce-illam* to *cea*. Thus, the apparent morphological composition of *cel* as *ce*-D can be explained as a vestige of the Latin demonstrative form. In fact, even synchronically, *cel* and the distal demonstrative *acel* 'that' bare an uncanny resemblance, as portrayed in the table in (14).[10]

---

[10] Note that Coene (1999) proposes that both *cel* and the distal demonstrative *acel* are in fact morphologically complex elements that are derived in the syntax, where the *–L* is analyzed as the definite article suffix in D^0. Crucially, in her analysis prenominal *cel* is not considered; moreover, she seems to assume that *cel* can never be followed by a lexical noun, which is in fact not the case.

(14) *cel* and the distal demonstrative

		cel	demonstrative
SG.	masc.	cel	acel
	fem.	cea	acea
PL.	masc.	cei	acei
	fem.	cele	acele

In (14), the demonstrative *acel* 'that' also misleadingly appears to be morphologically composed by *ace-L*. Actually, the only difference between the *cel* and the *acel* forms is the invariant initial vowel *a* in the demonstrative forms. Crucially, however, there is no evidence, to my knowledge, that modern Romanian demonstratives include the discrete morphological definite suffix *-L*. A proposal along these lines would be difficult to maintain, given that Romanian demonstratives can be preceded by the definite article, which is generally accepted to occupy D^0. By analogy, it can be assumed that *cel* does not contain the definite suffix either. As I show in subsequent sections, *cel* and demonstratives exhibit other similarities as well. Thus, I conclude that *cel* does not consist of the definite article suffix *-L*. This conclusion is based on evidence from the historical evolution of *cel* and from *cel*'s similarities with the synchronic forms of the distal demonstrative. In the next subsection, I show that *cel* also lacks syntactic properties pertaining to the definite article in D^0.

3.1.2 *CEL* DOES NOT FUNCTION LIKE D^0: EVIDENCE FROM CASE ASSINGMENT

As argued by Grosu (1994), *cel* lacks a crucial syntactic property/function associated with the Romanian definite article *-L* generated in D^0 – that of assigning morphological case. To understand *cel*'s failure to assign genitive case, let us first briefly illustrate how

165

genitive case assignment works in Romanian. Here, I adopt the main tenets of Grosu's (1994) theory for genitive case assignment in Romanian. Having outlined the workings of genitive case assignment, I proceed to prove that *cel* lacks the capability to assign case. I conclude that *cel* is not an instance of D^0 and briefly discuss the advantageous implications of this assumption on Grosu's (1994) analysis of genitive case assignment.

According to Grosu (1994), genitive possessors can only be licensed by a token of *-L*. In order to assign genitive case, the definite article *-L* must satisfy two conditions.[11] It must govern and be adjacent to the possessor. The following set of data is from Grosu (1994). Here, he demonstrates that the possessor (or complement of the noun) cannot receive morphological genitive case from a token of *-L* hosted by a noun, if one of the conditions for morphological case assignment is not satisfied.

Let us first look at DPs where all conditions for morphological genitive case assignment are satisfied. Thus, in (15), the definite article suffix hosted by the noun is a token of *-L* and can therefore license a genitive possessor. Moreover, the definite suffix is both adjacent to and governs the possessor phrase. Consequently, the DPs in (15), where the possessors bear morphological genitive marking, are grammatical.

(15) a. Portretu -l   rege-l -ui
       portrait -L   king-L-GEN
       'the portrait of the king'

    b. întîlnire-a   Mari -ei   cu   comandantu-l
       meeting-L   Maria-L(Gen) with commander -L
       'Maria's meeting with the commander'

---

[11] Grosu (1994) uses the symbol *-L* to represent the various morphological forms of the definite article in D^0.

c. întîlnire-a   cu   comandantu-l Mari-ei
   meeting-L   with   commnader-L Maria-L(Gen)
   'the meeting with Maria's commander'
   *'Maria's meeting with the commander'

The DPs in (16) are ungrammatical because the adjacency condition is not satisfied. Here, the definite article suffix is a legitimate genitive possessor licensor and governs the possessor. However, the definite suffix here is not adjacent to the possessor. In (16)a the demonstrative intervenes between –L and the possessor. In (16)b, the adjacency is interrupted by an adjective. Thus, the failure to satisfy the adjacency requirement alone suffices to render the DP ungrammatical.

(16) a. *Portretu-l acesta rege-l   -ui
        portrait-L this   king-L -GEN
        'this portrait of the king

   b. *Portretu -l frumos   rege-l -ui
      portrait -L beuatiful king-L -GEN
      'the beautiful portrait of the king'

The ungrammaticality of the examples in (17) is triggered by the absence of the definite article in the main DP. In all the examples in (17), the potential host for the definite article is the head noun. Specifically, in (17) a the head noun is *Ştefan* and in (17)b - (17)d the head noun is *portret* 'portrait'. As can be noticed, none of these nouns bears the definite article necessary to license the possessor. Thus, although, the head nouns in (17) are adjacent to and govern the possessor, the absence of the definite article renders these

DPs ungrammatical.

(17) a. *Ştefan   Moldov -ei
        Stephen Moldovia-GEN
        'Stephen of Moldovia'

b. *acest portret   rege-l -ui
    this portrait king-L -GEN
    'this portrait of the king'

c. *(nici) un portret   rege-l -ui
    (no) a   portrait king-L-GEN
    'no/a portrait of the king'

d. *Rege-l -ui   portret
    king -L-GEN   portrait
    'the king's portrait'

Finally, in (18), the condition on government is violated, while the other two conditions are satisfied. The token of –L hosted by the main noun is adjacent to the genitive phrase but cannot assign case because it does not govern the genitive phrase. Here, the possessor is contained within another maximal projection that lacks an instance of –L. Thus, the violation of the government condition renders the DP in (18) ungrammatical.

(18) *Rege-le [CP[NP/DP cărui   portret] atîrnă pe   perete
        King-L   whose portrait hangs on   wall
        'the king whose portrait is hanging on the wall'

The ungrammatical examples in (16) - (18) can be rendered grammatical by simply inserting the complex genitive assigning element *aL* in front of the possessor phrase. The grammatical counterparts for examples (16) - (18) are provided in (19).

(19) a. Portretu-l acesta al rege-l -ui
portrait-L this   aL king-L -GEN
'this portrait of the king'

b. Portretu -l   frumos   al rege-l -ui
portrait -L   beuatiful aL king-L -GEN
'the beautiful portrait of the king'

c. Ştefan   al Moldov   -ei
Stephen aL Moldovia -GEN
'Stephen of Moldovia'

d. acest   portret   al rege-l -ui
this   portrait aL king-L -GEN
'this portrait of the king'

e. (nici) un portret   al rege-l -ui
no/   a   portrait aL king-L -GEN
'no/a portrait of the king'

f. al Rege-L-ui   portret
aL king-L-GEN portrait
'the king's portrait'

g. Rege-le al [CP[NP/DP cărui portret] atîrnă pe perete
King-L aL   whose portrait hangs on wall

169

'the king whose portrait is hanging on the wall'

As noted by Grosu, "...a+L may not be used (in the kind of construction under consideration) if it is not needed for overt genitive Case assignment. Thus, its use is disallowed when a bona fide definite article fulfils the conditions for GEN Case assignment..." This statement is supported by the grammaticality contrast between (20)a and (20)b.

(20) a. copilu -l   tău   /Mari-ei   /profesoru -l -ui
        child -the your /Mary-theG /professor -the-G
        'Your /Mary's / the professor's child'

    b. *copilu -l   al tău /Mari-ei   /profesoru -l -ui
        child -the aL your /Mary-theG   /professor -the-G
        'Your /Mary's / the professor's child'

In (20)a, the –L suffix hosted by the noun is a bona fide instance of the definite article in D^0. In addition, all other conditions for case assignment by –L in D^0 are fulfilled: -L governs and is adjacent to the possessor. Since morphological case is assigned by -L, the use of the genitive assigning preposition al is superfluous. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (20)b can be traced to the unnecessary use of al.

Crucially, the distribution of cel in terms of genitive case assignment is complementary to that of the definite article –L. That is, cel cannot assign morphological genitive case even if it both governs and is adjacent to the possessor.[12] This is

---

[12] In the environment of an overt head noun cel must be immediately followed by a numeral or a modifier. Crucially it cannot immediately precede a possessor. It follows that in this environment cel cannot be

exemplified by the ungrammaticality of (21)a. Since *cel* cannot assign genitive case, the genitive assigning preposition *aL* is inserted to salvage the derivation. Thus, the DP in (21)b is grammatical because the use of *aL* is necessary.

(21) a *cea ta/Mari-ei/ profesoru-l-ui

      cel your/Mary-theG professor-the-G

      'Your's /Mary's / the professor's'

    b. cea a ta/Mariei/ profesoru-l-ui

      cel aL your/Mary-D (gen) professor-the-G

      'Your's /Mary's / the professor's'

The examples in (20) and (21) show that the definite article suffix in D^0 can assign morphological genitive case. In contrast, *cel* cannot assign case and the preposition *aL* must be inserted to fulfil this function. In other words, *cel* lacks the capability to assign genitive case. In conclusion, *cel* is missing functional properties associated with the definite determiner in D^0 because *cel* does not occupy the D^0 position.

In contrast to the present proposal, Grosu (1994) analyses *cel* as [ce-l]. That is, he assumes that *cel* contains the definite article suffix and is in D^0. This assumption requires him to further propose that although *cel* is in D^0, it is neutralized in its "categorial specifications" and/or in "the functional/categorial distinction". Thus, to block genitive case assignment by *cel*, Grosu (1994) must include additional constraints in his

---

adjacent to the possessor. If the adjacency condition is violated, it is impossible to monitor *cel*'s true case assigning capabilities. The failure of the possessor to bear morphological genitive case can be equally the result of the adjacency violation or of *cel*'s incapacity for case assignment. To test the case assignment capability of *cel*, the pronominal form of *cel* must be used because it can immediately precede the possessor. Here, the adjacency requirement is satisfied and failure of morphological case assignment is directly linked to *cel*'s functional properties.

formulation of $-L$'s case assignment properties. Specifically, he proposes that "GEN case assignment is not a property of the mere morpheme $-L$ (as I earlier maintained in Grosu 1988a)), but of $-L$ *qua* D, and – more generally – *qua* syntactic category."

Under the present proposal, the inability of *cel* to assign case is explained by the fact that *cel* is not in D^0. Let us incorporate this assumption to Grosu's (1994) proposal. Then, no additional assumptions on neutralization of "categorial specifications" and/or of "the functional/categorial distinction" are necessary. Rather, we can simply state that genitive morphological case is assigned by the element in D^0. Of course, the government and adjacency conditions of $-L$ and the possessor must still be satisfied.

In this subsection, I claimed that *cel*'s lack of functional properties pertaining to the D^0 position can be explained if we assume that *cel* is not in D^0. I also showed that this analysis of *cel* can rid previous proposals on case assignment of additional constraints. An additional piece of evidence supporting the view that *cel* is not in D^0 comes from the parallel behaviour of *cel* and demonstratives. Demonstratives, just like *cel*, cannot assign genitive morphological case. Thus, *cel* and demonstratives also lack the same functional properties. Due to their possibility to cooccur with and follow the definite article $-L$ in D^0, demonstratives are generally assumed to be generated in a position below D^0. If the parallel syntactic behaviour of demonstratives and *cel* is factual, we expect that prenominal *cel* can also cooccur and follow the definite article in D^0. This is indeed the case, as I show in the following section.

3.1.3 *CEL* IS BELOW D^0

In this subsection, I provide clear evidence that *cel* is not in D^0. Rather, I claim that prenominal *cel* is in a position below D^0 and that there are in fact two positions below D^0 where prenominal *cel* can occur. Here, I introduce data that was not discussed in the literature, to my knowledge. These data illustrate that prenominal *cel* cooccurs with, and follows, a bona fide instance of the definite article suffix in D^0. I also claim that prenominal superlative *cel* occupies a position below D^0. This argument relies on the cooccurrence of prenominal superlative *cel* with a demonstrative or a non-superlative (henceforth regular *cel*) prenominal *cel*.

One of the main arguments for analyzing *cel* as an instance of D^0 comes from its prenominal use. Here, the indefinite versus definite reading of a DP with a cardinal or prenominal vague adjectival numeral is overtly distinguished only by the presence of *cel*. Therefore, it appears that prenominal *cel* is the source of definiteness and thus an instance of D^0. This view makes three predictions. First, prenominal *cel* cannot cooccur with the definite article suffix in D^0. Second, only one prenominal *cel* can occur within a DP. Third, if prenominal *cel* cooccurs with a demonstrative, prenominal *cel* precedes the demonstrative. The third prediction relies on the assumption that demonstratives are generated in a position below D^0, as was argued in chapter 2. As I show next, neither of these predictions is borne out.

Let us start with the first inaccurate prediction, whereby *cel* cannot cooccur with a definite article suffix in D^0. In fact, prenominal *cel* can cooccur with the definite article suffix, as illustrated in (22)a. Here, the definite article suffix hosted by the A_A precedes

the prenominal instance of regular *cel*.[13] Assuming the findings in chapter 2 to be correct, the definite suffix hosted by A_A is in D^0. It follows that in (22)a D^0 is occupied by A_A+D and prenominal *cel* is in a lower position. The DP in (22)b shows that regular prenominal *cel* obligatorily follows the definite article hosted by the adjective.

(22) a. biete-le   cele două fete

wretched-the cel two girls

'the wretched two girls'

b. *cele (două) biete   -le fete

cel two   wretched-the girls

'the wretched two girls'

To further support the claim that the definite article hosted by the adjective is indeed an instance of D^0, consider the grammaticality of the example in (23). Here, the possessor can only bear morphological genitive case. The use of the case assigning preposition *aL* results in ungrammaticality. Following Grosu (1994), the only potential genitive case assigner in (23) is the definite suffix hosted by the adjective. The fact that it is the definite article suffix that assigns case in (23) is supported by the ungrammaticality of the use of *aL*. As shown in the previous section, the use of the case assigning preposition *aL* is barred if morphological case can be assigned by the definite article in D^0. It follows that the definite suffix on A_A has the case assigning property associated with the D^0 position, and, therefore, is in D^0. Also note that the other two conditions for case assignment by D^0 are satisfied here. The definite article hosted by A_A is adjacent and governs the possessor.

---

[13] Note that a restricted number of prenominal adjectives cannot occur in a DP like (22)a. Unfortunately, there does not seem to be an evident classification of these adjectives.

Following Grosu's (1994) assumptions on genitive case assignment, the definite suffix hosted by the adjective is a legitimate instance of the definite article in D^0.

(23) biete   -le (*ale) mele fete

     wretched-the aL   my   girls

     'my wretched girls'

Thus far, I demonstrated that a legitimate token of the definite article suffix in D^0 can cooccur with regular prenominal *cel*. Moreover, in this configuration prenominal *cel* must follow the suffix in D^0. Next, I provide, two more pieces of evidence supporting the claim that *cel* is not in D^0. First, I discuss examples with more than one instances of prenominal *cel* in the same DP. Second, I show that prenominal superlative *cel* must follow the demonstrative when they cooccur.

In (24)a there are two instances of prenominal *cel*. The first is the regular *cel* and the second is superlative *cel*. Even if the first *cel* is in D^0, the second one cannot be assumed to be an instance of D^0 as well, as there is only one D^0 position in a DP. Therefore, at least one of the two instances of *cel* must be in a syntactic position below D^0. In other words, there must be a position below D^0 that can accommodate at least the superlative *cel* or the phrase superlative *cel* is part of. The ungrammaticality of (24)b shows that superlative *cel* not only can, but must follow the regular prenominal *cel*. Recall that in the data in (22) regular prenominal *cel* must follow the definite article. It follows that there are at least two positions below D^0 that can be occupied by the regular and the superlative prenominal *cel*. This claim is supported by the grammaticality of (24)c.

(24) a. ?cele două cele mai frumoase fete
        cel   two cel   more beautiful girls
        'the two most beautiful girls'

    b. *cele mai   frumoase cele două fete
        cel   more beautiful cel   two girls
        'the two most beautiful girls'

    c. ?biete   -le   cele două cele mai   frumoase fete
        wretched-the cel   two cel   more beautiful girls
        'the two most beautiful wretched girls'

In (25)a, prenominal superlative *cel* cooccurs with the demonstrative. Crucially, superlative *cel* must follow the demonstrative, as indicated by the grammaticality variation between (25)a and (25)b. Assuming that the demonstrative is generated below D^0, as was agued for in chapter 2, it must be the case that prenominal superlative *cel* is also in a position below D^0.[14]

(25) a. ?aceste cele mai recente articole
        these   cel more recent articles
        'these most recent articles'

    b. *cele mai recente aceste articole
        cel more recent these   articles
        'these most recent articles'

---

[14] More detailed discussions and alternative analyses of the data in this subsection are provided in subsequent sections.

In this subsection, I argued that there are at least two syntactic positions below D^0 that can host prenominal instances of *cel*. Evidence for this claim was brought by examples (22) - (25), which illustrate the cooccurrence of prenominal *cel* with the definite article suffix, other instances of prenominal *cel*, and demonstratives.

In this section, I argued that prenominal *cel* should not be analyzed as an instance of D^0. From a morphological analysis perspective I showed that the supposed [ce+D] composition of *cel* has a diachronic explanation and is not synchronically necessary. Then, I showed that *cel* lacks an important syntactic function associated with the definite article enclitic, that of assigning morphological genitive case. Finally, I demonstrated that prenominal *cel* occurs below D^0. More so, I claim that there are at least two syntactic positions below D^0 that can host prenominal instances of *cel*.

The data discussed in this section, provide evidence that prenominal *cel* cannot be analyzed as an instance of D^0. Analogously, there is even less motivation for analyzing postnominal *cel* as the head of an adjunct DP. Moreover, the analysis of *cel* as D^0 also misses the generalization that both prenominal and postnominal *cel* form a separate constituent with the phrase immediately following it.[15] Thus, in the next section, I propose an analysis that accounts for this generalization. Specifically, I argue that *cel*, prenominal and postnominal, does not represent a phrase in the extended nominal projection by itself. Rather, I show that *cel* and the phrase immediately following it form a discrete constituent. For expository purposes, I refer to the resulting constituent as celP.

---

[15]Importantly, the resulting phrase is not an argument in the extended nominal projection, but rather a modifier. Evidence for the modifier/adjunct status of celPs and the constituents they contain is provided in section 5.4.3.

3.2   *CEL* + xP = CELP

In this section, I argue that prenominal and postnominal *cel* forms a discrete constituent with the phrase immediately following it. I refer to this resulting constituent as celP.[16] A rudimentary illustration of the configuration I propose is provided below.

(26) [cel – cardinal] = celP

```
              DP
              |
              D'
         ____/‾\____
        D           FP
      [+def.]    __/‾\__
        celP        ... NP
        /\          /\
      cele două     fete
      cel  two      girls
```
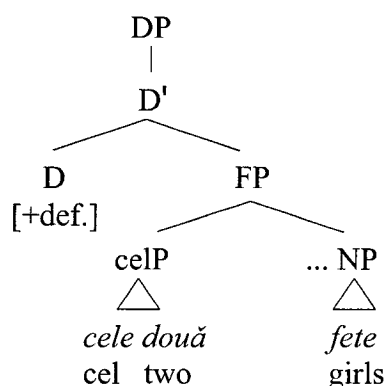
In previous literature, notably Cornilescu (1992, 1995), the constituent status of postnominal *cel* and the phrase it precedes is uncontroversial. However, prenominal *cel* is considered a determiner in Cornilescu (1992, 1995) and Grosu (1994), where *cel* is to occupy the D^0 position. Given that I dispute this last assumption, throughout this section, I center on the distribution of prenominal *cel*. The challenge here is to prove that prenominal *cel* and the phrase it immediately precedes form a separate constituent. The evidence I bring in favour of the celP hypothesis is presented as follows. First, I show that no other element can intervene between *cel* and a cardinal. Second, I show that DP internal movement bypasses [cel-cardinal] sequence as a unit. Finally, I show that the [cel

---

[16] The term celP is for expository purposes only. The exact nature of the categorial properties of *cel* is beyond the scope of the present study. However, I refer the reader to Ceone (1999) for an analysis of the internal sxtructure of *cel*-phrases.

– cardinal] sequence exhibits the distributional patterns of a constituent. That is, [cel-cardinal] sequences can surface in various positions within the DP. To simplify the exposition, I mainly use data where *cel* is followed by cardinal numerals.[17] However, I use the term 'cardinal' to comprise both cardinal numerals and vague adjectival numerals.

3.2.1 [CEL – CARDINAL] SEQUENCE CANNOT BE INTERRUPTED

In arguing that *cel* forms a separate constituent with the phrase immediately following it, I first show that the [cel – cardinal] sequence cannot be interrupted by another element. As was mentioned in section 2.1.1, prenominal *cel* must be <u>immediately</u> followed by a cardinal numeral or a vague adjectival numeral. That is, other elements, such as prenominal adjectives, can never intervene between *cel* and the cardinal. Interestingly, this is a property particular to *cel* among prenominal categories. For example, the demonstrative, in SpecDetP, and the definite article, in D^0, can also be immediately followed by prenominal adjectives (or nouns), in addition to cardinals and vague adjectival numerals. [18] Also, the definite article can be immediately followed by the demonstrative. Let us first compare the acceptable word-orders in DPs with a demonstrative with the word-orders in DPs containing prenominal *cel*.

One of the differences between *cel* and demonstratives observed by Cornilescu (1992) is that the demonstrative can be followed either by an [AP$_A$ – cardinal] sequence or by a [cardinal – AP$_A$] sequence as demonstrated in (27)a and (27)b. Conversely, *cel* can only be immediately followed by a numeral and never by an AP$_A$. This is

---

[17] The distributional patterns of cardinals also hold for vague adjectival numerals.

[18] The syntactic position I propose for demonstratives is argued for and discussed in detail in chapter 2. There, I claim that demonstrative phrases are in the specifier of (or adjoined to) a functional phrase that is the complement of D^0. Following Cornilescu (1992) I call this phrase DetP.

demonstrated by the grammaticality distinction between (27)c and (27)d.

(27) a. aceşti **doi foşti** preşedinţi

these two former presidents

'these two former presidents'

b. aceşti **foşti doi** preşedinţi

these former two presidents

'these two former presidents'

c. cei doi foşti preşedinţi

cel two former presidents

'the two former presidents'

d. *cei foşti doi preşedinţi

cel former two presidents

'the two former presidents'

The examples in (27)a and (27)b show that the position of the cardinal and of the AP_A are interchangeable when following a demonstrative. Conversely in (27)d the AP_A may not intervene between *cel* and the cardinal, suggesting that *cel* and the cardinal form a constituent.

Interestingly, AP_As and cardinals can also switch places in DPs with an overt definite article hosted by an adjective, but cannot do so in the presence of prenominal *cel*.[19] In (28)a and (28)b the order of the cardinal and that of the AP_A in situ can switch.

---

[19] For the purposes of the present argument please disregard the first adjective which hosts the definite article in examples (28). The elements under immediate investigation here are the definite article, the second adjective and the cardinal.

Conversely, in the presence of prenominal *cel* only the [cardinal – AP$_A$] word-order is available, c.f. (28)c and (28)d. Here, *cel* must immediately precede the cardinal. If the AP$_A$ intervenes between *cel* and the cardinal, the DP is rendered ungrammatical.

(28) a. bieți   -i   **doi** **foşti**   preşedinți
     wretched-the **two** **former** presidents
     'the wretched two former presidents'

   b. bieți   -i   **foşti**   **doi** preşedinți
     wretched-the **former** **two** presidents
     'the wretched two former presidents'

   c. bieți   -i   cei **doi** **foşti**   preşedinți
     wretched-the cei **two** **former** presidents
     'the wretched two former presidents'

   d. *bieți   -i   cei **foşti**   **doi** preşedinți
     wretched-the cel **former** **two** presidents
     'the wretched two former presidents'

The data in (27) and (28) show that in DPs with a demonstrative or a definite article the relative position of cardinals and AP$_A$s is interchangeable. However, if prenominal *cel* is present, it obligatorily precedes the cardinal. In other words, the [demonstrative – cardinal] or a [definite article – cardinal] sequence can be interrupted by another element. Conversely, the [cel –cardinal] sequence cannot. I take these observations to suggest that the [cel-cardinal] string forms a discrete constituent within the DP, call it celP.

In line with the findings in the previous section, the distinct distribution patterns

of the definite article suffix and *cel* suggest that they do not occupy the same syntactic position. Moreover, in this subsection, we saw that prenominal *cel* also has a distinct distribution from demonstratives, which are taken to occupy a lower position in the DP. As I show in section 3.3.2, however, prenominal celP does have the same distribution as the demonstrative. Until then, I would like to bring more evidence supporting the existence of celP. To this end, I present next an example of syntactic movement that bypasses the [cel – cardinal] sequence as a unit.

3.2.2 MOVEMENT PAST [CEL-CARDINAL] SEQUENCES

In this section, I claim that the [cel – cardinal] sequence also acts like a constituent with respect to the syntactic movement of other elements past it. Specifically, I show that an adjective generated below [cel – cardinal] can bypass this sequence as a syntactic unit.

In the environment of an overt definite article suffix, an adjective can bypass the [cel – cardinal] sequence, provided that the adjective bears the definite article. The data supporting this statement is provided in (29). In the grammatical DP in (29)a the prenominal adjective follows [cel – cardinal] sequence. Conversely, in the ungrammatical (29)b the adjective cannot precede [cel – cardinal], suggesting that prenominal adjectives are generated below the [cel – cardinal] sequence. In (29)c, however, the adjective can precede [cel – cardinal]. Crucially, in this position, the prenominal adjective obligatorily hosts the definite suffix, c.f. (29)b and (29)c. As was established in chapter 2, in Romanian, the host of the definite article moves to DP initial position. Thus, in (29)c, the prenominal adjective moved to DP initial position from its generation position below [cel – cardinal], indicated by the trace. In other words, movement of the adjective bypasses

182

the [cel – cardinal] sequence as a syntactic unit.

(29) a. cele două biete   fete
       cel two wretched girls
      'the wretched two girls'

b. *biete   cele două fete
   wretched cel two girls
   'the wretched two girls'

c. biete   -le cele două t_A fete
   wretched-the cel two   girls
   'the wretched two girls'

In chapter 2, it was determined that the movement of adjectives to DP initial position is an instance of A_A-to-D^0 head-movement. Let us assume these findings to be correct. Then, the DP in (29)c is obtained by movement of the A_A past the [cel – cardinal] sequence. The grammaticality of (29)c indicates that the [cel – cardinal] sequence is transparent to A_A-to-D^0 head-movement. This, in turn, suggests that neither prenominal *cel* nor the cardinal is an intervening head in the extended nominal projection. A closer look at A^0 to D^0 movement past prenominal celP is given in section 3.3.3. So far, I showed that no element can intervene between prenominal *cel* and the cardinal. I also showed that the [cel – cardinal] sequence can be passed over by head-movement as a constituent. Next, I show that the [cel – cardinal] sequence also distributes like a constituent.

3.2.3 THE DISTRIBUTION OF [CEL-CARDINAL] SEQUENCES

The third reason for proposing that the [cel-cardinal] sequence is a phrase is that it distributes like a syntactic constituent. Specifically, [cel – cardinal] can occur in three distinct positions in the DP, as illustrated in (30). In (30)a, [cel-cardinal] occurs prenominally. In (30)b it is in postnominal position, where it intervenes between the noun and its complement.[20] Finally, in (30)c, [cel – cardinal] occurs in the postnominal position following the complement of the noun.

(30) a. cele   două   fete

      cel   two   girls

     'the two girls'

   b. biete   -le fete **cele două** ale Mariei

      wretched-the girls cel   two   of Mary

     'Mary's poor two girls'

   c. fete-le   Mariei **cele două**

     girls-the   Mary cel   two

     'Mary's two girls'

---

[20] In (30)b, the definite article is hosted by a prenominal adjective. Thus, outside of the obligatory short head-movement of N^0 to X^0, no additional movement of the noun must be assumed. Consequently, it can be deduced that [cel – cardinal] occupies a position below X^0, but above the generation position of N^0. Again, the [cel – cardinal] sequence is bypassed by an element, here the noun. Conversely, in (i) below, it is not clear whether the [cel – cardinal] sequence is generated above or below X^0.

(i) fete -le **cele două** ale Mariei
    girls -the cel two of Mary
    'Mary's poor two girls'

Here, the noun moved all the way to D^0. Since head-movement of N^0 to X^0 can bypass postnominal [cel – cardinal], it is possible to assume that N^0 to D^0 movement can bypass a [cel – cardinal] generated above X^0. A more detailed discussion on N^0 to D^0 movement past prenominal celP is presented in section 3.3.4.

184

In (30), the same string of syntactic elements, [cel – cardinal], occurs in three different positions within the DP. Moreover, occurrences of [cel – cardinal] cannot be interrupted by another element or constituent, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of the DPs in (31). In (31)a, the [cel – cardinal] sequence is interrupted by the noun; in (31)b it is interrupted by the noun and its complement; and in (31)c it is interrupted by the complement of the noun. As was the case of prenominal [cel – cardinal] sequences, in (27)d and (28)d above, in (31) below, the occurrence of another element between *cel* and the cardinal results in ungrammaticality.

(31) a. *biete   -le   **cele** fete **două** ale Mariei
         wretched-the   cel   girls two   of Mary
         'Mary's wretched two girls'

    b. *biete   -le   **cele** fete ale Mariei **două**
         wretched-the   cel   girls of Mary   two
         'Mary's wretched two girls'

    c. * fete-le   **cele** ale Mariei **două**
         girls-the cel   of Mary   two
         'Mary's poor two girls'

Examples (30) and (31) show that the [cel – cardinal] sequence can occur in three DP internal positions and this sequence cannot be interrupted by any other element or constituent. Moreover, recall that postnominally *cel* can also be immediately followed by a postnominal-type $AP_{B/C}$. Crucially, in examples (30)b, c and (31), one can simply replace the cardinal with a postnominal $AP_{B/C}$ and the grammaticality judgments remain

185

the same. I interpret these data to indicate that *cel* and the phrase immediately following it form a constituent. This constituent distributes syntactically as a discrete unit.

In this section, I argued that *cel* and the element immediately following it form a distinct syntactic constituent. First, I showed that [cel – cardinal] sequence cannot be interrupted by any other element, while [demonstrative – cardinal] sequences can. Next, I showed that adjectives bypass the [cel – cardinal] sequence as a unit. Finally, I illustrated how the [cel – cardinal] sequence can occur in three different positions in the DP. I conclude that the syntactic distribution patterns of *cel* and the phrase immediately following are those of a constituent. As a result, I hypothesize henceforth that *cel* and the element immediately following it form a phrase. For expository purposes, this phrase is referred to as celP.

Thus far, I argued that *cel* does not occupy the D^0 position and that *cel* and the phrase immediately following it form the phrase I refer to as celP. In the next section, I determine the position occupied by prenominal celP.

3.3   THE SYNTACTIC POSITION OF PRENOMINAL CELP

In this chapter, I propose a unified analysis of *cel*, where both prenominal and postnominal *cel* is the head of an adjunct phrase – celP – that occupies the specifier of / is adjoined to an FP of the main DP. I also argue against the theory that *cel* is in D^0 or in the head position of a functional phrase of the extended nominal projection. In this section, I put forward that prenominal celP is in the specifier of / adjoined to a functional phrase just below DP. I also claim that in this position celP, just like demonstratives, can license a covert D^0. Throughout the section, I compare the behaviour of prenominal celP with

that of demonstratives. I demonstrate that these two phrases have a parallel syntactic behaviour and are in complementary distribution. I conclude that regular prenominal celP (vs. superlative celP) and demonstratives occupy the same syntactic position.

First, I consider the asymmetric distribution of prenominal and postnominal celPs relative to the overtness of the definite article suffix. Here, I show that prenominal celP and demonstratives have the same distribution with respect to the overtness of the definite article enclitic and argue that both these phrases have the property of allowing for a covert D^0. In order to establish the precise syntactic position of prenominal celP, I monitor its position relative to the other prenominal elements including AP_As and the definite article. Then, I monitor the behaviour of celP relative to head-movement to D^0. Here, I demonstrate that head-movement can bypass prenominal celP. Finally, I look at the cooccurrence patterns of regular prenominal celP with superlative celP and with demonstratives.

3.3.1 THE SOURCE OF DEFINITENESS

In this subsection, I propose an account for the two main issues relating to the interaction of *cel* with definiteness: (1) the correlation between the presence of *cel* and the definite interpretation of the DP; and (2) the asymmetric distribution of prenominal versus postnominal celP with respect to the overtness of the definite article. I claim that prenominal celP, is generated in a syntactic position below DP, from which it can license a covert D^0, which has the [+definite] feature.[21] Conversely, postnominal celP is in syntactic position that does not have this licensing property. Let us first briefly consider

---

[21] The term 'license' is used here in its general use – 'allows for'. It is not meant as a technical term implying a precise syntactic mechanism.

the relevant data in light of previous literature.

Cornilescu's (1994) proposal that *cel* occupies the D^0 position is mainly based on the following observation. DPs with prenominal *cel* are obligatorily interpreted as definite, although the definite article suffix or any other overt definite marker is absent. Conversely, by simply removing the instance of *cel*, the DP is rendered indefinite. The correlation between the presence of prenominal *cel* and the definite interpretation of the DP is illustrated by the definite versus indefinite readings in (32)a and (32)b respectively.

(32) a. [$_{DP}$ cele trei fete]
       cel   three girls
    'the three girls'

   b. trei   fete
     three   girls
     'three girls'
     #'the three girls'

Based on the generalization under discussion, Cornilescu (1994) assumes that, in (32)a, *cel* is the source of definiteness of the DP and consequently occupies D^0. Moreover, she extends the proposal that prenominal *cel* is in D^0 to account for all instances of *cel*. Thus, in DPs with a postnominal instance of *cel*, as in (33) below, two DPs must be assumed.[22] In the main DP, definiteness is contributed by the obligatory definite article suffix and postnominal *cel* heads an adjunct DP embedded in the main DP.

---

[22] Obviously, the cooccurrence of postnominal *cel* with the definite article suffix and the postnominal position of *cel* make it impossible to envisage that postnominal *cel* occupies the D^0 position of the main DP.

(33) a. [$_{DP}$ fete *(-le) [$_{DP}$ cele trei]]

  girls -the   cel   three

  'the three girls'

In this subsection, I present an alternative analysis that follows suit to the findings in the previous two sections. Namely, that *cel* is in a position below D^0 and that *cel* and the phrase following it form the constituent celP. Here, the hypothesis is that, in the presence of prenominal celP, DP is projected but D^0 can be overt or covert. When covert, D^0 is specified with the [+definite] feature, which is responsible for the definite interpretation of the DP. Furthermore, I propose that while prenominal celP is in a syntactic position that can licenses a covert D^0, postnominal celP is not. Let us then review the data illustrating the asymmetry between the position of celP relative to the noun and the possibility for a covert definite article suffix.

Recall that celP can occur in three distinct positions: before the noun, following the noun and preceding the complement of the noun, and following the noun and the complement of the noun. When celP is prenominal the definite article suffix can be overt or covert, as illustrated in (34). In (34)a, celP is the first element of the DP, the definite article suffix is missing, yet, the DP receives a definite interpretation. In (34)b, the prenominal instance of celP follows an overt instantiation of the definite suffix, here, hosted by a prenominal adjective.[23]

(34) a. cele două fete

  cel   two   girls

---

[23] Note that the data in (34)c is not considered in Cornilescu's (1994) proposal. A detailed discussion on the implications of these data on her analysis is provided in sections 5.1 and 5.2.

'the two girl'

b. biete   -le cele două fete

   wretched-the cel   two   girls

   'the two wretched girls'

In opposition to prenominal celP, when celP is postnominal, preceding or following the complement of the noun, the definite article suffix is obligatory. This generalization holds independently of whether the definite article suffix is hosted by the noun or by the adjective. In (35)a and (35)b postnominal celP must be preceded by the overt definite article, and is hosted by the noun (in the absence of an AP_A). The same phenomenon is observed in (35)c and (35)d, only that here the definite suffix is attached to the adjective.

(35) a. fete *(-le) cele două ale Mariei

      girls -the cel   two of Mary

      'Mary's two girls'

   b. fete *(-le) Mariei cele două

      girls -the Mary cel   two

      'Mary's two girls'

   c. biete   *(-le) fete   cele două ale Mariei

      wretched-the girls cel   two of Mary

      'Mary's two wretched girls'

   d. ?biete   *(-le) fete ale Mariei cele două

      wretched-the girls of Mary   cel   two

      'Mary's two wretched girls'

Importantly, in (35), the absence of the definite article in the environment of a postnominal celP results in ungrammaticality. This is indicated by the asterisk outside the parentheses around celP. In example (35)b, c and d celP is clearly in a position following the noun in X^0 (the position of N^0 after short head-movement). In (35)b, celP follows not only the noun but also the complement of the noun and, according to the findings in chapter three, the post-complement position is obtained by right adjunction to NP or some FP. In (35)c and (35)d the host for the definite article is the adjective. Therefore, it can be assumed that the noun remains in X^0, the syntactic position above postnominal celP. Conversely, in (35)a, it is not clear whether celP is "prenominal" or postnominal. Here, the noun surfaces at the left edge of the DP. As argued in chapter two, the noun occupies this position when it moves to D^0, where it must host the definite article. If so, it is not clear, whether on its way to D^0, the noun bypassed a celP generated before or after X^0. Crucially, in either case, a noun preceding celP obligatorily bears the definite article. If the noun in (35)a bypassed a prenominal celP, it did so because it moved to D^0, where it must bear the definite article. If the noun in (35)a bypassed a celP generated below X^0, it still has to bear the definite article because postnominal celP can only occur in a DP overtly marked by the definite article suffix. Since no prenominal adjective is present to serve as host it is the noun that has to move into D^0.[24]

Let us sum-up the main empirical observations that emerge from the data in (34) and (35). Grammatical DPs with a prenominal or postnominal celP are always definite. DPs with prenominal celP can occur with or without an overt definite article suffix. Conversely, DPs with postnominal celP must be overtly marked with the definite article

---

[24] I address this issue again from a different prospective in section 3.3.4. Here, I provide the syntactic representations of these DPs, where I illustrate the movements that take place.

suffix.

The above observations indicate that the mere presence of celP in a DP does not suffice to satisfy the definiteness requirements of the DP, since DPs with postnominal celP must be overtly marked by the definite suffix. Rather, only when celP is in prenominal position can the definiteness requirement of the DP be satisfied in the absence of an overt definite article. However, as established in section 3.1 and 3.2 *cel* is not in D^0, rather celP occupies a position below D^0. Consequently, it cannot be assumed either that *cel* is in D^0 or that celP is in Spec/DP. This claim is strengthened by the fact that prenominal celP can cooccur with an overt instance of the definite article suffix in D^0 – that must precede it. However, one can hypothesize that the syntactic position where prenominal celP occurs has some characteristic that contributes to the definiteness of the DP, in the absence of an overt definite article suffix. Specifically, I propose that an element in this syntactic position can license a covert D^0, which has the [+definite] feature. Thus, the definite interpretation of a DP with prenominal celP is either the result of the [+definite] feature of the covert D^0 or of the overt reflex of the [+definite] feature – the definite suffix in D^0. Importantly, the definite interpretation of DPs with celP is not directly contributed by *cel* or celP as such.

In a sense, I account for the correlation between celP and the definite interpretation of the DP it occupies in terms of compatibility. That is, celP, whether prenominal or postnominal, is only compatible with a definite DP. The syntactic position of prenominal celP has the possibility of licensing a covert [+definite] D^0. As a result, prenominal celP may occur without a definite suffix. The position of postnominal celP, just like that of other postnominal adjuncts, cannot license a covert D^0. As a result,

postnominal celP can only occur in a DP where the [+definite] feature is overtly marked.

Let us assume that the account I propose is correct. That is, some position in the high spectrum of the DP, where prenominal celP is generated, is linked with the property of licensing a covert D^0 with the [+definite] feature. Then, we expect to find DPs, where another element in that position can allow for a covert D^0 yet receive a definite interpretation. In addition, we predict these elements to display other syntactic similarities with celP. Indeed, these predictions are borne out. The elements in question do exist – the demonstratives – and they do exhibit a number of syntactic similarities with prenominal celP. In the next section, I show that the licensing property proposed for the syntactic position of prenominal celP is independently needed to account for the distribution of demonstratives. Moreover, as I show throughout section 3, prenominal celP and demonstratives have a parallel syntactic behaviour.

3.3.2 PRENOMINAL CELP AND DEMONSTRATIVES: SAME SYNTACTIC POSITION

In this subsection, I argue that the syntactic position of prenominal celP and demonstratives has the property of licensing a covert [+definite] D^0. I do so by demonstrating that prenominal celP and demonstratives have the same distribution with respect to the overt versus covert status of the definite article.

Let us now consider the similar distribution of prenominal celP and demonstrative with respect to the overtness of the definite article. The data in (36) show that, just like prenominal celP, demonstratives can occur in the absence of an overt instance of the definite article suffix. In (36)a and (36)b prenominal celP is DP initial. In (36)c and (36)d it is the demonstratives that occupy the same position. However, in all DPs in (36), there

is no instance of the definite article suffix. Crucially, though, the DPs in (36) are obligatorily interpreted as definite in spite of the missing definite article suffix. I take this observation to suggest that the DPs in (36) contain a covert D^0 specified as [+definite].

(36) a. [cele trei]   fete
      cel three girls
      'the three girls'

    b. [cele cîteva] fete
       cel few   girls
       'the few girls'

    c. aceste fete
       these girls
       'these three girls'

    d. acele fete
       those girls
       'those girls'

Two hypotheses could be formed to account for the examples (36). According to the first, the DP is projected and D^0 is covert but contains the [+definite] feature. According to the second, hypothesis, the DP is altogether absent and the examples in (36) are not DPs. Rather, the highest projection here is an FP, say DetP, which is located just below DP.[25] As indicated thus far, I argue for the first hypothesis.

      Let us consider another observation that can be used in favour of the claim that,

---

[25] Under this analysis, it must be assumed that the definite interpretation of these FPs is solely the result of a lexical property or feature of the demonstrative and in the case of celP a lexical property or feature of *cel*.

in the examples in (36), the DP is projected. Demonstratives and prenominal celP can be preceded by an overt instance of the definite article suffix, as can be seen in the examples (37). In (37)a and (37)b, prenominal celP is preceded by an overt definite article suffix; while in (37)c and (37)d it is a demonstrative that is preceded by an overt definite article. Assuming that the definite article suffix is in D^0, it must be the case that the DP is projected in all examples in (37).

(37) a. biete   *(-le)   cele trei   fete
         wretched -the   cel   three girls
         'the three wretched girls'

     b. biete   *(-le) cele   cîteva fete
         wretched-the   cel   few   girls
         'the few wretched girls'

     c. biete   *(-le) aceste(a) fete
         wretched-the   these   girls
         'these wretched girls'

     d. biete   *(-le) acele(a) fete
         wretched-the   those   girls
         'those wretched girls'

There is no reason to assume that nominal expressions containing prenominal celP or demonstratives have two significantly distinct structural variants. One that is a DP, like (37); and one that is some other FP generated lower than the DP, supposedly like (36). On the contrary, I propose that both sets of data in (36) and (37) have the same structure, that

is, they are both DPs. Then, the examples in (36) and (37) only differ in that D^0 is covert in (36) and overt in (37).[26]

Due to the enclitic/suffixal nature of the Romanian definite article, the presence of an overt definite suffix necessarily involves movement of some element to the DP domain (D^0).[27] Therefore, in establishing the syntactic structure of DPs with an overt definite article one must always consider the movement of the element hosting it. In (37), both celP and demonstratives can be preceded by an adjective provided that the adjective hosts the definite article. The obligatory presence of the definite suffix on the adjective is indicated by the asterisk outside the parentheses. Thus, it must be assumed that, here, the adjective must move to the domain of the DP. What remains to be established is if the adjective moved from a position above or below celP or demonstratives.

Suppose that the adjective is generated in a position above prenominal celP or demonstratives. Then, the ungrammaticality resulting from the missing definite article in (37) can be explained in terms of definiteness incompatibility. As we saw in (37), for a definite DP starting with an adjective to be grammatical it must have an overt definite suffix. This suggests that prenominal adjectives cannot license a covert [+definite] D^0. Moreover, celP and demonstratives are generally only compatible with a definite DP. It follows that celP and demonstratives cannot occur in a DP where the definite D^0 is neither licensed to be covert nor overtly marked.

The second possibility is that the adjective is generated in a position below that of prenominal celP or demonstratives. Then, the DP initial position of the adjectives in (37) results from movement of the adjective past celP or the demonstratives. Importantly,

---

[26] Moreover, the fact that both celP and the demonstrative can cooccur with a preceding definite article strongly weighs against a theory assuming that *cel* or the demonstrative are generated in D^0.
[27] For a detailed account on movement to D^0 in Romanian see chapter 2.

the adjectives in (37) can only precede prenominal ceIP or demonstratives if they host the definite article. In other words, adjectival movement to DP initial position is only warranted if the adjective hosts the definite article. This suggests that movement to the DP domain is triggered / licensed by the need of the definite article enclitic for a legitimate host.

In this study, I put forward that AP_As are always generated in a position below prenominal ceIP and demonstratives. Thus, movement of adjectives to the DP domain can bypass prenominal ceIP and demonstratives and is only warranted if the adjective hosts the definite article. The evidence supporting this structure comes from the findings in chapter 2 as well as tests provided in the following subsection. More precisely, according to the findings in chapter 2, prenominal adjectives (AP_As) are generated below demonstratives. If the claim that demonstratives and prenominal ceIP occur in the same syntactic position is correct, it must be that AP_As are also generated below ceIP. This is indeed the case, as demonstrated in the next subsection, where I bring additional evidence that AP_As are generated below prenominal ceIP and demonstratives. Furthermore, I show that movement to D^0 can bypass prenominal ceIP and demonstratives.

Before we move on to the next subsection, I would like to address two more predictions made by the present proposal. Assume that prenominal ceIP and demonstratives can license a covert D^0 and they are generated above AP_As. Then, we predict that a DP with either a demonstrative or a prenominal ceIP in initial position and a following AP_A is (1) grammatical; and (2) interpreted as definite. These two predictions are borne out, as illustrated in (38). In (38)a, b and (38)c, d, prenominal ceIP and demonstratives, respectively, surface in DP initial position and are followed by AP_As.

Crucially, all DPs in (38) receive a definite interpretation.

(38) a. cele trei biete   fete
        cel   three wretched girls
        'the three wretched girls'

     b. cele cîteva biete   fete
        cel few   wretched girls
        'the few wretched girls'

     c. aceste biete   fete
        these wretched girls
        'these wretched girls'

     d. acele biete   fete
        those wretched girls
        'those wretched girls'

In this section, I showed that prenominal celP and demonstratives have the same distribution with respect to the overt versus covert status of the definite article in D^0. Here, I argued that both prenominal celP and demonstratives are generated in a position below D^0, where they can license a covert [+definite] D^0. Furthermore, I argued that AP_{AS} can be generated below prenominal celP and demonstratives, suggesting that prenominal celP and demonstratives occupy a relatively high position in the DP. Throughout section 3.3 I contend that the similar syntactic behaviour of prenominal celP and demonstratives is derived from the fact that they have the same structural position.[28] As I show in the

---

[28] In addition, demonstratives cannot cooccur with regular celPs, which strengthens the argument that these

following two sections, these two elements also share the syntactic property of allowing head-movement to D^0 past them. Thus, in the next section, I argue that prenominal-type adjectives (A_As) that precede celP or demonstratives must bypass them.

3.3.3 A_A MOVEMENT PAST CELP

Thus far, I determined that prenominal celP and demonstratives have the same syntactic behaviour with respect to the overt versus covert status of the definite article. Furthermore, I claimed that prenominal celP and demonstratives are generated below D^0 but in a relatively high position in the DP. In order to establish more conclusively the syntactic position of prenominal celP, I will now monitor its position and behaviour relative to prenominal adjectives and their movement. Throughout this section, I continue to highlight the syntactic similarities of prenominal celP and demonstratives, which I claim reflect the fact that they occupy the same syntactic position. I will argue for the syntactic structure illustrate by the trees in (39) below representing the structures of (37)a and (37)c. Here, the adjective is generated in a position below celP or the demonstrative respectively and the DP initial position of the adjective results from A^0 to D^0 head-movement. Recall that adjectival head-movement to D^0 is argued for in chapter 2.

---

two phrases occupy the same syntactic position. I consider the cooccurrence possibilities of celPs, demonstratives and superlatives in section 3.3.5.

(39) a. Tree for A⁰ bypassing celP

```
                    DP
                    |
                    D'
            ┌───────┴────────┐
            D              FP/DetP
        biete  -le      ┌─────┴──────┐
      wretched-the    celP        FP'/Det P'
                       △        ┌────┴─────┐
                   cele trei  F/Det       AP_A
                   cel three   t_A         |
                                         AP_A'
                                       ┌───┴───┐
                                      t_A    NP/XP
                                              △
                                            fete
                                            girl
```
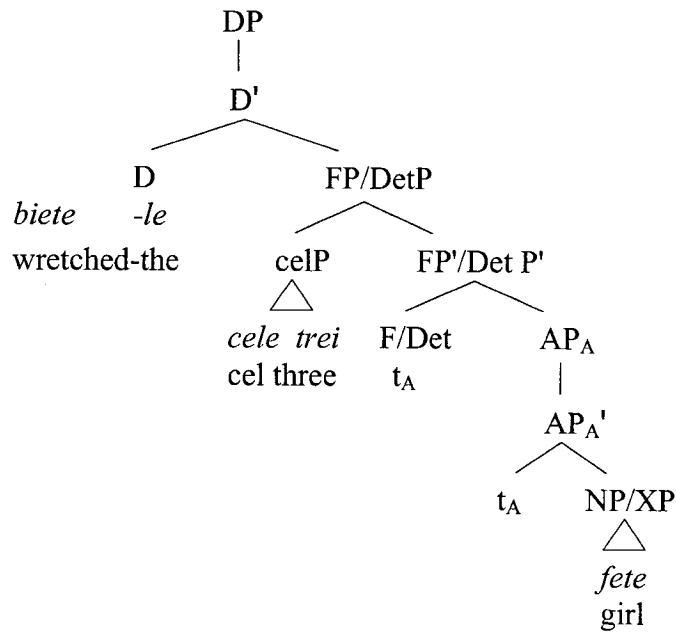
'the wretched three girls'

b. Tree for A⁰ bypassing the demonstrative

```
                    DP
                    |
                    D'
            ┌───────┴────────┐
            D              FP/DetP
        biete  -le      ┌─────┴──────┐
      wretched-the    DemP        FP'/Det P'
                       △        ┌────┴─────┐
                    aceste     F/Det      AP_A
                    these       t_A        |
                                         AP_A'
                                       ┌───┴───┐
                                      t_A    NP/XP
                                              △
                                            fete
                                            girl
```
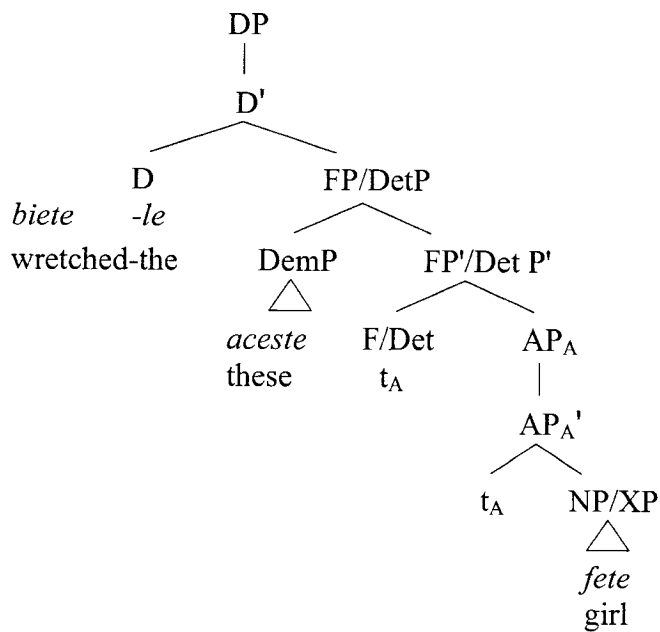
'these wretched girls'

In fact, the underlying position for celP, demonstratives and AP_As I propose for the DPs in (37)a, and (37)c corresponds to the surface structure of the examples in (38)a and (38)c respectively. Here, the adjective stays in situ and the definite D^0 is covert.

Note that, the data in (37) and (38) alone are amenable to an alternative structure and analysis to that proposed above. One could argue that DPs with a covert definite article have a different structure from DPs with an overt definite article. Even under this alternative analysis, the syntactic structure of DPs with a covert D^0 would be along the lines of the base generation structure in (39). However, the structure of DPs with an overt definite suffix would be different from the one I propose in (39). Specifically, in DPs, where the adjective is DP initial and hosts the definite article its position is not the result of the adjective moving past celP or the demonstrative. Rather, in these DPs adjectives are generated above celP and demonstratives. In what follows, I show that, even in the presence of a definite article suffix, AP_As are base generated in a syntactic position below celP and demonstratives. As mentioned, the data in (37) and (38) are not sufficient to choose between the analysis I propose and the alternative analysis just outlined above. However, I devised a test that brings conclusive evidence in support of my proposal.

The DPs to be tested include a celP or a demonstrative, an overt definite article and, essentially, two AP_As. Only one element, here an adjective, can move to serve as host for the definite article.[29] Consequently, we can determine where AP_As are base generated by monitoring the position of the second AP_A, which remains in situ, relative to prenominal celP and the demonstrative. If the second AP_A must follow prenominal celP

---

[29] In line with my proposal in chapter 2, I assume that it is the higher A_A that moves to D^0 and hosts the definite article. Head-movement of an A_A past a higher A_A would result in an HMC violation.

and demonstratives, we can conclude that prenominal adjectives are always generated in a position below celP and demonstratives. Therefore, they occur DP initially only as a result of movement past celP and demonstratives. This is indeed the case as exemplified in (40).

(40) a. bieți   -i   cei doi **foști**   preşedinți
          wretched-the cel two **former** presidents
          'the wretched two former presidents'

b. *bieți   -i   **foști**   cei doi   preşedinți
          wretched-the **former** cel two   presidents
          'the wretched two former presidents'

c. bieți   -i   aceşti(a) **foști**   preşedinți
          wretched-the these   **former** presidents
          'these wretched former presidents'

d. *bieți   -i   **foști**   aceşti(a) preşedinți
          wretched-the **former** these   presidents
          'these wretched former presidents'

The only difference between the DPs in (40)a and (40)c versus (40)b and (40)d is the location of the second adjective. In the grammatical (40)a and (40)c the adjective in situ follows prenominal celP and the demonstrative respectively. Conversely, in the ungrammatical (40)b and (40)d the adjective in situ precedes prenominal celP and the demonstrative. Thus, it can be deduced that AP_As are not generated above celP or above demonstratives. In addition, the ungrammaticality of (40)b and (40)d implies, yet again,

that movement of an adjective to DP initial position is warranted under the condition that the definite article needs a host.

Thus far, we have established that in DPs with or without an overt definite article, AP_As are generated below prenominal celP and demonstratives. That is, the underlying structure of DPs with celP and demonstratives is the same regardless of the overt versus covert status of the definite article. However, the distinct surface structure of DPs with an overt versus a covert definite article is directly determined by the overtness distinction. That is, overt movement of the adjective to the DP domain results from the overt status of the definite enclitic that needs a host. I conclude that the underlying structure of DPs with an overt definite article is the same as that of DPs with a covert [+definite] D^0, given that at this point in the investigation, there is no evidence to the contrary.

So far, we established that prenominal celP and demonstratives behave the same in licensing a covert definite D^0 and in allowing adjectives to bypass them. It remains to be determined if movement of the adjective is phrasal or head-movement. In chapter 2, I claimed that the affixation of the definite article on adjectives and on nouns is the result of head-movement of the A_A into D^0. Crucially, there, I also argued that A^0 to D^0 movement bypasses demonstratives. In this section, we determined that prenominal celP and demonstratives equally allow adjectives to move past them. Consequently, assuming that adjectival movement past demonstratives is head-movement, movement of adjectives past prenominal celP must also be head-movement. Note that I have argued thus far that *cel* is not a head in the extended nominal projection; rather, it forms the separate phrase celP. Moreover, celP, particularly the superlative kind, is syntactically complex. It follows

203

that head-movement past prenominal celP is expected, since, according to the HMC and to Relativized Minimality, only a head, not a phrase could block head-movement. Conversely, if adjectival movement were a case of phrasal movement to Spec/DP, the intervening prenominal celP should block this movement. In other words, the syntactic behaviour of prenominal celP relative to adjectival movement supports the theory that the adjective head moves into D^0.

Since both prenominal celP and demonstratives allow head-movement of A_As to D^0 to bypass them, they cannot be heads in the extended nominal projection but phrases. I conclude that prenominal celP and demonstratives are generated in the specifier of (or adjoined to) a functional phrase in the extended nominal projection. The phrase hosting prenominal celP and demonstratives is below DP but above AP_As. The syntactic positions I propose for prenominal celP and demonstratives are those illustrated in the tree structures in (39). Let us now look at the ramifications of the structure I propose on DP internal movement of the noun, particularly Noun movement to D^0.

3.3.4 N^0 MOVEMENT PAST CELP

One of the predictions made by the account I put forward in this study is that noun movement to D^0 can also bypass prenominal celP. This prediction arises from the claims made in chapter 2 coupled with the syntactic position I propose for prenominal celP. Specifically, in chapter 2, the suffixation of the definite article is analyzed as an instance of head-movement to D^0. Thus, a noun bearing the definite article is assumed to have undergone head-movement to D^0. In the present chapter, I argued that prenominal celP occupies the specifier (or is adjoined to) an FP just below DP. It follows that N^0 to D^0

movement should bypass prenominal celP. In what follows, I attempt to provide empirical evidence that supports the hypothesis whereby N^0 to D^0 movement can bypass prenominal celP. I will argue that head-movement of the noun past celP is possible, however, much of the argumentation relays on deductions based on our findings so far.[30] Let us first consider the relevant data, represented by the DP in (41)a. Here, the noun is in a DP initial position where it hosts the definite article and celP follows it. As previously mentioned, the difficulty of determining conclusively whether noun movement bypasses celP in examples like (41)a lies in that celP can also be generated postnominally as in(41)b.[31] Here, the definite article is hosted by the prenominal adjective. Therefore, outside of the obligatory short head-movement of N^0 to X^0, no further movement of the noun should be assumed. It follows that the postnominally surfacing celP in (41)b is in fact generated in a position below X^0.

(41) a. fete*(-le) cele două (ale Mariei)

       girls -the cel two of Mary

    'the two girls (of Mary)'

---

[30] Unfortunately, I could not device a test that would clearly establish the "prenominal" position of celP prior to X^0 to D^0 movement. This is due to the fact that all celPs that can occur prenominally can also occur postnominally (outside of N^0 to D^0 movement). The same holds for all elements that can follow prenominal celP but precede X^0/N^0, but, crucially, do not block X^0 to D^0 movement. That is to say, no prenominal only element seems to exist to the right of celP that would serve as a landmark/control for the prenominal status of the celP.

[31] The ungrammaticality of (41)a in the absence of the definite article can be equally explained whether celP is prenominal or postnominal. If, here, celP is prenominal the noun can move to DP initial position only in the environment of an overt definite article. As we established for adjectives, movement to DP initial position is only warranted by an overt definite article that needs a host. If celP is postnominal it must occur in the environment of a definite article suffix because: (1) celP is only compatible with a definite DP; and (2) postnominal celP is in a syntactic position that cannot license a covert definite article. Thus, here, the ungrammaticality is also of no assistance in determining the underlying position of celP.

b. biete   -le   fete cele două ale Mariei

wretched-the girls cel two of Mary

'Mary's two wretched girls'

Thus, the surface order in (41)a alone does not provide the necessary evidence to determine if celP is in a position below or above X^0. The two potential structures for the DP in (41)a are provided in (42). Note that I ignore N^0 to X^0 movement in the structures in (42), as it is not directly relevant here. In (42)a celP is generated prenominally, above X^0, but movement of the noun to D^0 results in the postnominal surface position of celP. In (42)b, celP is generated in the postnominal position, below X^0, and movement of X^0 to D^0 does not affect the surface word-order here.

(42) a. "Prenominal" celP surfacing postnominally

```
                    DP
                    |
                    D'
            ┌───────────────┐
            D            FP/DetP
         fete-le        ┌──────────┐
         girls-the    celP      F'/Det'
                       △      ┌──────────┐
                  cele două  F/Det      XP...
                  cel two     $t_X$       |
                                         X'
                                          |
                                         $t_X$
```

b. Postnominal celP surfacing postnominally

```
                    DP
                    |
                    D'
            ┌───────────────┐
            D            FP/DetP
         fete-le            |
         girls-the       F'/DetP'
                       ┌──────────┐
                     F/Det       XP
                     $t_X$        |
                                 X'
                              ┌──────────┐
                            $t_X$       FP
                                     ┌──────────┐
                                   celP        F'
                                    △           |
                               cele două      $t_X$
                               cel two
```
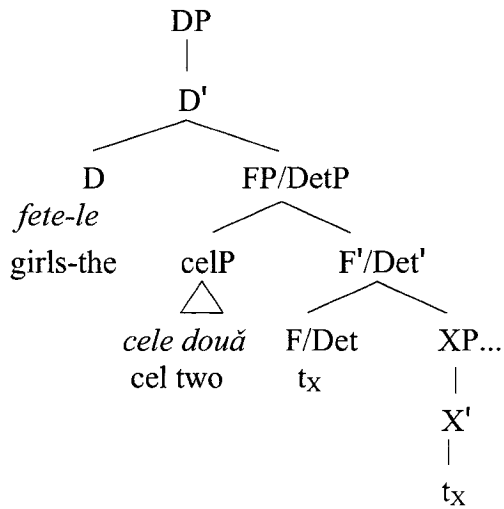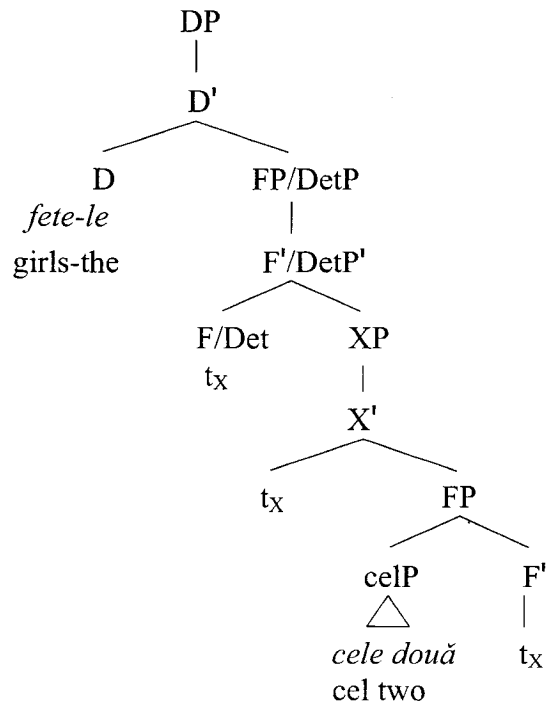
Even in the absence of unambiguous data, it can still be determine if N^0 to D^0 movement can bypass prenominal celP. This will be done by establishing links among the information we gathered thus far on prenominal celP, on the one hand, and on head-

207

movement to D^0, on the other. First of all, as was shown in chapter 2, the categories that N^0 to D^0 movement can bypass coincide with the categories that A_A to D^0 movement can bypass. As we saw in the previous subsection, prenominal A_A can bypass prenominal celP. Thus, we can infer that the N^0 to D^0 head-movement can bypass prenominal celP as well.

In addition, prenominal celP has the same behaviour as demonstratives with respect to A_A to D^0 movement. That is, they are both transparent to adjectival head-movement past them. Given this, and all other similarities between prenominal celP and demonstratives, we expect that they also have the same behaviour with respect to N^0 to D^0 movement. Although I discuss N^0 to D^0 movement past demonstratives in chapter 2, I will still review the relevant facts here. Crucially, in the case of demonstratives we know for a fact that noun movement to DP initial position bypasses them. As opposed to celP, demonstratives are always generated in a position higher than XP. That is demonstratives are never postnominal in the sense used in the present chapter, where postnominal means below the position of N^0 after obligatory short head-movement to X^0.

There are two sets of data that serve as evidence for the structurally prenominal position of demonstratives. First, demonstratives can follow the noun only if the noun hosts the definite article as can be seen by comparing (43)a with (43)b. This suggests that the surface DP initial position of the noun is only warranted when the noun is in D^0 and thus the surface postnominal position of the demonstrative is the result of N^0 to D^0 movement past the demonstrative.

    (43) a. fete -le   acestea
           girls -the these

'these wretched girls'

b. *fete aceste(a)

   girls these

   'these wretched girls'

The proposal that the noun can precede the demonstrative only when it undergoes N^0 to D^0 movement, and thus bypasses the demonstrative, is strengthened when we compare examples (44)a and (44)b in the second set of data. Here, when the host of the definite article is an A_A, the demonstrative must precede the noun, as in (44)a. The postnominal position of a demonstrative that is not the host of the definite article is always ungrammatical, as exemplified by (44)b. Thus, the data in (43) and (44) show that demonstratives are generated in a position preceding the noun (in X^0) and that the DP initial position of the noun is the result of N^0 to D^0 movement that bypasses demonstratives.

(44) a. biete   -le aceste(a) fete

        wretched-the these   girls

        'these wretched girls'

   b. *biete   -le fete acestea

        wretched-the girls these

        'these wretched girls'

On the one hand, demonstratives behave the same with respect to N^0 to D^0 and to A_A to D^0 movement. That is, N^0 to D^0 movement and A_A to D^0 movement can bypass

demonstratives. On the other hand, demonstratives and prenominal celP behave the same with respect to A_A to D^0 movement. That is A_A movement to D^0 can equally bypass demonstratives and prenominal celP. Thus, it can be deduced by transitivity that the noun can bypass prenominal celP as well.

Next, I would like to show that a prediction made by the hypothesis whereby head-movement of the noun can bypass prenominal celP is in fact borne out. This prediction is that N^0 to D^0 movement past prenominal celP is only blocked by an intervening A_A but not by an intervening prenominal celP. That is, N^0 to D^0 movement past celP is only ungrammatical when it violates principles of grammar that are unrelated to the presence of prenominal celP. In the ungrammatical DP in (45)a, the presence of the AP_A insitu, following celP, prevents the noun from occurring DP initially, even if it hosts the definite article. In contrast, in the grammatical (45)b, the noun can occur DP initially and host the definite article. The only difference between (45)a and (45)b is the presence versus the absence of the intervening A_A. Crucially, the essential word here is *intervening*. It is not the mere cooccurrence of prenominal celP and an AP_A that results in ungrammaticality, as illustrated by the grammaticality of (45)c. Rather, by comparing the ungrammatical (45)a with the grammatical (45)c, it can be determined that it is the movement of the noun to DP initial position, crucially in the presence of an A_A, that triggers the ungrammaticality. In other words, the ungrammaticality of (45)a is the result of the intervening A_A blocking head-movement of N^0/X^0 to D^0 past it – an HMC violation.

(45) a. *fete -le cele două biete
       girls -the cel two wretched

‘the two wretched girls’

b. fete -le   cele două

   girls -the cel   two

   ‘the two girls of Mary’

c. cele două biete   fete

   cel   two wretched girls

   ‘the two wretched girls’

d. biete   -le   cele două fete

   wretched-the cel   two girls

   ‘the two wretched girls’

Finally, in (45)d, which is the grammatical counterpart of (45)a, overt D^0 included, it is the A_A that moves to D^0 to host the overt definite article. Here, no HMC violation is incurred since A_A only bypasses the phrasal prenominal celP, which, as determined earlier, is transparent to head-movement to D^0. Thus, in (45), the only ungrammatical instance where N^0 bypasses prenominal celP is explained by an HMC violation triggered by the intervening A_A. More importantly, there is no evidence at this point in the investigation suggesting that N^0 to D^0 movement cannot bypass prenominal celP.

The primary goal of this subsection was to determine the syntactic position and properties of prenominal celP. As a result, I centred thus far on isolating prenominal celP with respect to the possibility of N^0 to D^0 movement past it. However, an interesting piece of evidence supporting the theory that N^0 to D^0 head-movement can bypass

prenominal celP comes from the distribution of postnominal celPs.[32] Of particular importance here are postnominal celPs that intervene between the noun and its complement, as exemplified in (46).

(46) a. biete   -le fete cele două ale Mariei
        wretched-the girls cel two of Mary
        'the two wretched girls of Mary'

In chapter 3, I argued that AP_Bs, and possibly other adjuncts, that intervene between the noun and its complement occupy a position higher than that of the base generation of the noun. Following Cinque (1994), I claim that the surface postnominal position of these adjunct phrases results from short head-movement of the N^0 to an intermediate functional head. This functional head is referred to, in the present work, as X^0 and lies below AP_As but above AP_Bs. Supposing that this proposal is correct, it is safe to assume that further movement of the noun from X^0 to D^0 is also an instance of head-movement.

In this subsection, I claim that noun head-movement to D^0 can bypass prenominal celP. Much of the evidence provided here arises from previously established generalizations on the behaviour of the relevant categories. Here, I also show that short head-movement of the noun can also bypass postnominal celP. Thus, I conclude, this subsection by proposing that N^0 to X^0 to D^0 movement is an instance of cyclic head-movement that can bypass prenominal and postnominal celP alike.

So far, I established that prenominal *cel* is not a head in the extended nominal projection. Rather, *cel* forms celP with the phrase immediately following it. I also

---

[32] A closer look at the syntactic distribution and position of postnominal celP is provided in section 5.4.2.

claimed that celPs and demonstratives are generated in a syntactic position below D^0 and above AP_As. In this position, prenominal celP and demonstratives can licence a covert [+definite] D^0 as well as allow head-movement of N^0 or A^0 to D^0, when the definite article is overt. Throughout this section, I pointed to the parallel syntactic behaviour of prenominal celP and demonstratives. I take the similar syntactic behaviour of these two categories to indicate that they occupy the same syntactic position. If this is indeed the case, we expect prenominal celP and demonstratives to be in complementary distribution. I address this issue in the next section. Thus, before finalizing my proposal on the syntactic position of prenominal celPs, I discuss their distribution with respect to other phrasal categories that occupy a prenominal position (above XP). Specifically I consider the cooccurrence patterns of regular prenominal celP on the one hand and prenominal superlative celPs and demonstratives on the other.

3.3.5 THE COOCCURRENCE PATTERNS OF PRENOMINAL CELPS AND DEMONSTRATIVES

In this subsection, I continue to investigate the higher domain of the DP. This time, however, I look at phrasal elements that occur prenominally. Specifically, I present an account for the cooccurrence patterns of regular prenominal celP with superlative prenominal celP and demonstratives. Throughout this chapter, regular celP and superlative celP were considered separately, mainly due to their distinct internal composition described in section 2.1.3. In this subsection, I further substantiate this differentiation by demonstrating that in specific environments they have a distinct syntactic distribution. Here, I continue to argue for the syntactic structure proposed thus far and show that it accounts for the new set of data introduced in this subsection.

Moreover, I bring further evidence supporting the hypothesis whereby prenominal celP and demonstratives occupy the same syntactic position. Specifically, I show that in addition to having the same syntactic distribution, prenominal celP and demonstratives are also in complementary distribution.

3.3.5.1 COOCCURRENCE OF 2 PRENOMINAL CELPS

Let us first consider the cooccurrence of two prenominal celPs: a regular celP and a superlative celP. Regular celPs and superlative celPs can cooccur in prenominal position but they must respect a precise order. Specifically, regular celPs must precede superlative celPs as can be deduced from the grammaticality variation in (47) below.

(47) a. [cei doi] [cei mai corupți] președinți

      cel two cel most corrupt presidents

      'the most corrupt two presidents'

   b. *[cei mai corupți] [cei doi] președinți

      cel most corrupt cel two presidents

      'the most corrupt two presidents'

The examples in (47) have two main implications. First, there must be more than one syntactic prenominal position, functional phrase, available to host the two celPs.[33] Second, the fact that they have to be ordered in a specific way suggests that regular celPs and superlative celPs have, at least partially, different syntactic properties. While the last statement seems tentative at this point, its validity is reinforced when we consider two

---

[33] This statement presupposes that maximal projections are hosted in the specifiers of functional phrases and each functional phrase has only one specifier.

other distribution properties of superlative celPs. First, superlative celPs can precede a simple cardinal as in example (48) below. This implies that the obligatory ordering effect in (47) is not due to a semantic constraint on superlative celPs scoping over cardinals, rather it bears on the syntactic properties of regular celPs with respect to superlative celPs.

(48) a. cei mai corupți doi președinți
      cel most corrupt two presidents
      'the most corrupt two presidents'

The second argument supporting the distinction between superlative celPs and regular celPs consists of the observation that they have a different distribution with respect to demonstratives. While demonstratives can cooccur with a superlative celP as in (49)a; they cannot co-occur with a cardinal celP, irrespective of their relative order, as illustrated in (49) b and (49)c.[34]

(49) a. acești cei mai corupți președinți
      these cel most corrupt presidents
      'these most corrupt presidents'

   b.*aceste cele două fete
      these   cel two   girls
      'these two girls'

---

[34] Note that the constraint on the co-occurrence of a demonstrative with a cardinal celPs a holds even when the definite article is overt and hosted by an A or an N. However, for most speakers, demonstratives are incompatible with cardinal celPs even when the latter are in postnominal position.

c. * cele două aceste fete

  cel two these girls

  'these two girls'

Again, the cooccurrence restriction on demonstratives and cardinal celPs cannot be attributed to a semantic incompatibility between demonstratives and cardinals, since simple cardinals can cooccur with demonstratives as in (50)a and (50)b.

(50) a. aceste două fete

  these two girls

  'these two girls'

b. fete -le acestea două

  girls-the these two

  'these two girls'

Also note that, in (50)b, head-movement of the noun can bypass both the demonstrative and the cardinal. Importantly, in Romanian, cardinals can never follow the noun outside of N^0 to D^0 movement or when the cardinal is in a celP. It follows that, in (50), the cardinal is base generated above X^0, and X^0 to D^0 movement bypasses the cardinal. It can then be assumed that the cardinal in (50) is also in the specifier of or adjoined to a functional phrase. As a result, the grammaticality distinction between (49)b and (50)a cannot be attributed to a head versus phrase distinction between the cardinal and the regular celP containing a cardinal. Nor can the complementary distribution of demonstratives and prenominal regular celP be blamed on the lack of functional phrases to accommodate both phrases. The Spec/FP hosting the cardinal in (50) should, in theory,

also be able to host the celP in (49)a. Instead, I take the complementary distribution of prenominal regular celP and demonstratives to be a reflex of their competing for the same, specific, syntactic position. In other words, there is a high, prenominal FP the specifier of which demonstratives, prenominal celPs and prenominal possessive phrases all compete for[35].

Thus far we determined that prenominal superlative celP and regular celP exhibit differences in their syntactic behaviour. Next, I show that the parallel I established in the previous sections between demonstratives and prenominal celPs still holds if we restrict the set of prenominal celPs to regular celPs. First, in light of the cooccurrence of prenominal regular and superlative celPs we must assume the existence of an additional prenominal syntactic FP capable of hosting the superlative celP. This FP, is also present in DPs containing a demonstrative. As we saw above, while demonstratives and regular celPs cannot cooccur, irrespective of their ordering; demonstratives and superlative celP can. Thus, if demonstratives and regular prenominal celP compete for the same prenominal position we expect that the obligatory ordering effect seen for regular celP and superlative celP also holds for demonstrative and superlative celP. This is in fact the case, as shown by the ungrammaticality of example (53)b. Here, a DP where the superlative celP precedes the demonstrative is ungrammatical as opposed to its grammatical counterparts in (49)a and (51)b, where the superlative celP follows the demonstrative.

The parallel between prenominal [demonstrative – superlative celP] and [regular celPs – superlative celP] sequences also holds with respect to head-movement of A^0 and

---

[35] I outline the distribution of prenominal possessive phrase later in this section.

N^0 to D^0 past both former phrasal constituents. This is attested by the data set in (51). In examples (51)a and (51)b, an A_A can occur DP initially where it hosts the definite article and the prenominal regular celP or the demonstrative and the superlative celP follow the A_A-host. Here, we can determine that the regular celP, demonstrative and superlative celP are prenominal because the second AP_A, which has not undergone movement, follows the three prenominal phrases under investigation. Thus, it can be concluded that, in (51)a and (51)b, the A_A has bypassed the regular and the superlative celP as well as the demonstrative. In addition, examples (51)c and (51)d show that generating an AP_A in a position preceding the cardinal celP or demonstrative and the superlative celP results in ungrammaticality. This is consistent with the hypothesis that AP_As are generated below demonstratives and prenominal regular celPs and can only precede them if they head moved past them to an overt D^0.

(51) a. cunoscuți-i   cei doi cei mai corupți foști   președinți
       known   -the cel two cel most corrupt former presidents
       'the two known former most corrupt presidents'

    b. cunoscuți-i   acești(a) cei mai corupți foști   președinți
       known -the these   cel most corrupt former presidents
       'these two known former most corrupt presidents'

    c. *cunoscuți-i   foști   cei doi cei mai corupți președinți
        known   -the former cel two cel most corrupt presidents
        'the two known former most corrupt presidents'

    d. *cunoscuți-i   foști acești(a) cei mai corupți președinți
        known   -the former these   cel most corrupt presidents

'these two known former most corrupt presidents'

The noun can also be claimed to head-move past the cardinal celP or demonstrative and the superlative celP. In examples (52)a and(52)b, the noun is DP initial and hosts the definite article suffix. Here, the demonstrative and the celPs surface in a position following the noun in D^0.

(52) a. preşedinţi -i   cei doi   cei mai   corupţi
        presidents-the cel   two cel   most corrupt
        'the most corrupt two presidents'

    b. preşedinţi -i   aceştia cei   mai   corupţi
        presidents -the these   cel   most corrupt
        'these most corrupt presidents'

Note, however, that the surface word-order of the DPs in (52) is ambiguous between two structures. One where the regular and the superlative celP are generated in a position above X^0 and another one where the regular and superlative celPs are base generated in a position below X^0. However, I established in the previous section that N^0 to X^0 to D^0 movement can bypass demonstratives, prenominal and postnominal celPs alike. Thus, it can be assumed that X^0 to D^0 movement can also bypass two of these categories within the same DP. Moreover, in chapter 2 and in the previous section, we saw that A^0 to D^0 movement can bypass the same categories that X^0 to D^0 movement can. Since in (51) the A^0 can move to D^0 past the prenominal [demonstrative – superlative celP] and [regular celPs – superlative celP] sequences, we can assume that the noun can do so too.

Although the present study is not concerned with possessive phrases, a few important observations regarding their distribution in prenominal position should be made. Prenominally, possessive phrases have the same distribution as demonstratives and regular prenominal celP, not only with respect to licensing a covert D^0 but also regarding head-movement past them. Moreover, in prenominal position, demonstratives, celPs and possessive phrases are all in complementary distribution. Still, a prenominal demonstrative or celP can co-occur with a postnominal possessive phrase. This last observation is important because it indicates that the prenominal complementary distribution is not due to a semantic incompatibility between these three phrases. Rather, it is due, as I suggest, to each of these three phrases competing for only one available syntactic position.

Before concluding this section, I would like to turn to the issue of licensing of a covert definite D^0. Recall that the licensing of a covert definite D^0 regards DPs that receive a definite interpretation in the absence of an overt definite article suffix. Moreover, I claimed that, in the Romanian, it is the FP immediately below DP that has the property of licensing a covert definite D^0, that is the left most overt element as the demonstrative in (53)a and the prenominal regular celP in (53)c. As previously noted, when the prenominal superlative celP cooccurs with a regular prenominal celP or a demonstrative, the demonstrative or the regular celP must precede the superlative celP. This can be observed by comparing (53)a versus (53)b and (53)c versus (53)d. Thus, in (53)a and (53)c, the demonstrative and the regular celP respectively, are in the licensing position. Conversely, the superlative celP is in a syntactic position below that responsible for licensing a covert definite article.

(53) a. [aceşti] [cei mai corupţi] preşedinţi

      these   cel most corrupt presidents

     'these most corrupt presidents'

b. *[cei mai corupţi] [aceşti] preşedinţi

    cel most corrupt   these   presidents

    'these most corrupt presidents'

c. [cei doi] [cei mai corupţi] preşedinţi

    cel two   cel most corrupt presidents

    'the most corrupt two presidents'

d. *[cei mai corupţi] [cei doi] preşedinţi

    cel most corrupt   cel two presidents

    'the most corrupt two presidents'

Interestingly, DPs where the superlative celP is the first element are also interpreted as definite although the definite article suffix is absent, as in (54). This suggests that, when the prenominal superlative celP is DP initial, it too can occupy a position from which it can license an overt definite D^0.

(54) a. cei mai corupţi preşedinţi

    cel most corrupt presidents

    'the most corrupt presidents'

There are two plausible accounts for the possibility of the prenominal superlative celP to occur with a covert D^0. Prenominal superlative celPs always occupy a syntactic position that is lower than that occupied by demonstratives and cardinal celPs. Then, it must be

assumed that this position also has the property of licensing an empty D^0. Alternatively, in the absence of a cardinal celP or demonstrative the superlative celP occupies (by generation or movement) the same syntactic position the former phrases would occupy if present. At this point I am not aware of any syntactic test or counterexample that would help me choose between the two alternate accounts. Thus, I leave the question open for now.

In this section, I brought further evidence for the differentiation of superlative celPs and regular celPs. Moreover, I showed, yet again, that prenominal regular celP and demonstratives have a parallel syntactic behaviour, here with respect to the prenominal superlative celP. I also demonstrated here that prenominal regular celP and demonstratives are in complementary distribution, as they cannot cooccur. I interpret these observations to indicate that prenominal regular celP and demonstratives (and possessive phrases) all compete for the same syntactic position – position from which they can license a covert definite D^0.

In section 3.3, I presented an account for the syntactic properties and positions of celP. Here, I centered on the distribution of prenominal celP. The findings of section 3.3 are included in the summary for section 3 as a whole, which I provide next.

3.4   SHORT REVIEW OF THE ACCOUNT FOR (PRENOMINAL) CELPS

Thus far, I proposed that *cel* does not occupy the D^0 position. Rather, it forms a constituent with the immediately following phrase. For expository purposes, I referred to the resulting phrase as celP. I further claimed that prenominal celP occupies the specifier of some functional phrase that is just below DP but above the generation site of AP_AS.

From this position celP can license a covert definite D^0, just like demonstratives can. In contrast, postnominal celP occupies the specifier (or is adjoined to) a lower FP, a position from which it cannot license a covert definite D^0. Throughout the section, I drew attention to the parallel syntactic properties and distribution of prenominal celP and demonstratives. More so, I demonstrated that these two categories are in fact in complementary distribution. I interpreted these empirical generalizations to illustrate that prenominal (regular) celP occupies the same syntactic position as demonstratives (and possibly as possessive phrases). Finally, I demonstrated that prenominal regular celP, is syntactically different from prenominal superlative celP. I claim that superlative celP occupies the specifier of a functional projection (FP) that is below that of a prenominal (regular) celP or demonstratives, when present. Yet, prenominal superlative is still above XP, where X^0 hosts the noun after short head-movement. The structure I propose is given in (55).

(55) Tree for A^0 bypassing prenominal celPs

```
                              DP
                              |
                              D'
                     _____/_____
                    D⁰              FP/DetP
                  bieţi-i         ___/\___
              wretched-the   celP (reg.)   F'/Det'
                                 △      ___/\___
                              cei trei  F/Det      FP
                              cel three  t_A     ___/\___
                                    celP (sup.)        F'
                                       △          ___/\___
                                 cei mai corupţi   F       AP_A
                                 cel more corrupt  t_A       |
                                                           A_A'
                                                        ___/\___
                                                       t_A     AP_A
                                                                 |
                                                               A_A'
                                                           ____/\____
                                                          A        NP/XP
                                                        foşti        △
                                                        former    preşedinţi
                                                                  presidents
```
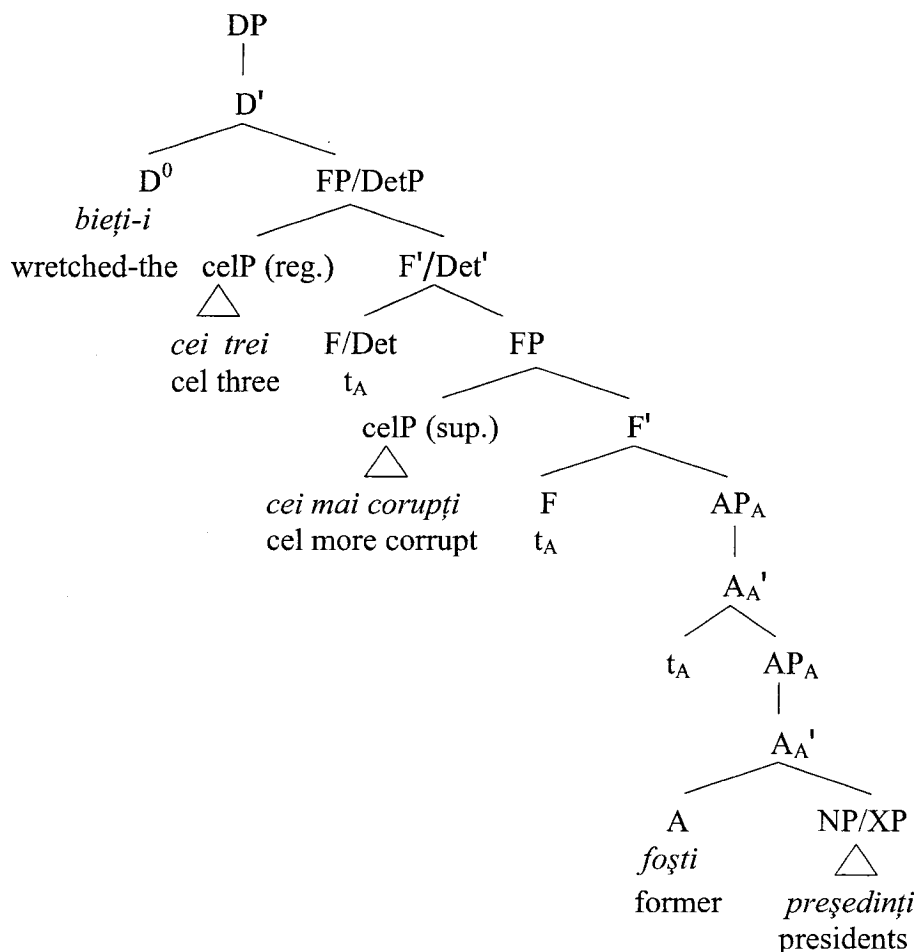
'the wretched three most corrupts presidents'

In (55), both prenominal celPs are in the specifier positions of FPs that are higher than the generation site of AP$_A$s. Here, the regular celP is (obligatorily) above the superlative celP. Note that the prenominal regular celP in (55) can be replaced with a demonstrative and grammaticality of the DP would be preserved. The higher A$_A$ head-moves to D^0, in order to host the definite article suffix. In doing so the A$_A$ bypasses the two celPs. If the D^0 in (55) were missing, the first A$_A$ would be in situ position. Under this supposition, the prenominal (regular) celP would license a covert definite D^0 in place of the overt definite

suffix.

Thus far, I presented the core of my account on the distribution of prenominal and postnominal *cel*. In this chapter, I also want to put my proposal in the context of previous literature on *cel*, particularly on prenominal *cel*. To this end, I will compare my proposal to that in Cornilescu (1992, 1995), since Cornilescu (1992) provides the most comprehensive study of prenominal *cel*, to my knowledge.[36] Since *cel* interacts extensively with the other DP internal elements, it is essential that one consider the syntactic properties of the other elements in the DP. Therefore, the subsequent presentations and discussions also make reference to the syntactic properties of nouns, adjectives, demonstratives and cardinals. However, recall that Cornilescu's (1992, 1995) assumptions on the DP internal syntactic structure and movements differ significantly from those in the present study. Thus, to set up the comparison between the account on *cel* in Cornilescu's (1992, 1995) and the one argued for thus far, I present in section 4 a review of the structure and DP internal movements proposed by Cornilescu (1992;1995).

4. CORNILESCU (1992, 1995), DP INTERNAL STRUCTURE AND MOVEMENTS

This section is an overview of the DP internal structure and movements proposed in Cornilescu (1992, 1995). I center on her views on those categories that interact most with *cel*. Specifically, I introduce her assumptions on the syntax of the definite article,

---

[36] Coene (1999) also presents an extensive analysis of *cel*. Her account centers on pronominal and postnominal *cel*, which she analyzes as a determiner-like complex element that surfaces in the specifier of a DP that acts as a modifier in the main DP. Note that her analysis of postnominal *cel* is similar to that proposed by Cornilescu (1992). Crucially, Coene (1999) does not consider prenominal *cel*, which is the central point of the current analysis. For this reason, I refer to Coene (1999) only sparsely, but strongly encourage the reader to consider it.

demonstratives, cardinals, adjectives and nouns. I start the section by presenting the structural position and movements of the latter two categories, nouns and adjectives, as analyzed in Cornilescu (1992, 1995).

4.1.   AP POSITION AND N-MOVEMENT

In this subsection, I present Cornilescu's analysis of the position of APs at the same time as discussing noun movement because the two are closely linked.

In Cornilescu (1992), two separate but similar potential accounts are provided for the generation site of APs. In the first, all APs are analyzed as phrases that are generated as sisters of N' either to the left or to the right of the head noun. According to the second account, APs are generated as specifiers of NP, to the left of the head noun. The postnominal surface position of the APs is the result of N^0 head-movement to the left. The tree structure in (56)c below taken from Cornilescu (1992) ((27), page 204) exemplifies the position of an AP that is generated to the left of the noun, but surfaces to the right of the noun as a result of leftward N^0 head-movement.

(56) a. fată foarte frumoasă
         girl very   beautiful
         '(a) very beautiful girl'

     b. *fată foarte biată
          girl very   wretched
          '(a) very wretched girl

c. AP position and N^0 head-movement in Cornilescu (1992)[37]
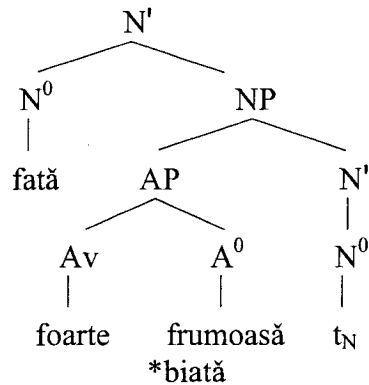
In (56)c, the AP *foarte frumoasă* 'very beautiful' is generated to the left of the base generation site of the head noun. However, the noun undergoes leftward head-movement and the AP surfaces postnominally.[38]

An important inclusion in the tree in (56)c is the ungrammatical occurrence of the adjective *biet* 'wretched'. Recall that certain Romanian adjectives like *biet* - 'wretched', which are commonly referred to as attributive adjectives, always surface prenominally. [39] Crucially, in (56)c, the position of the AP in conjunction with the leftward noun head-movement predict that attributive APs also surface postnominally. In

---

[37] The tree in this example is not an exact rendering of the original one illustrated in Cornilescu (1992). There, the AP is sister to N^0 not to N'. However, the original tree is in contradiction with her description in the text, where she explicitly claims that APs are sisters to N'. Therefore, I provide here a tree that reflects her written claims. I assume the sisterhood of AP to N^0 in the original is a typographical error.

[38] Since the noun in 56 does not host the definite article and the NP is interpreted as indefinite, it must be assumed that the noun has not head moved all the way to D^0, rather it occupies an intermediate position in the DP, similar to the position I have referred to as X^0 throughout this work. In other words, the N^0 head-movement to this intermediate position (also referred to as short noun movement) is independent of noun movement to D.

[39] An additional, but unrelated factor that contributes to the ungrammaticality of the AP in (56)b is the presence of the degree adverb *foarte* 'very' as modifier of the adjective *biată* 'wretched'. In Romanian, APs that can only surface prenominally such as *biet* 'wretched', *fost* 'former' or *sărac* with the meaning 'pitiable' can generally not be modified by a degree adverb like *foarte* 'very'. For the purposes of the present discussion I will disregard the presence of the adverb, given that I am only interested in the grammaticality asymmetries that relate to the position of the adjective. What is important here is that the prenominal adjective, whether preceded by a degree adverb or not, is ungrammatical in this environment.

order to block the ungrammatical form in (56)b, Cornilescu appeals to "...an S-structure restriction on always prenominal adjectives...". Her precise formulation of this restriction is given in (57).

(57) An attributive adjective must end up in a position where it c-commands its lexical head.

The condition in (57) guarantees that the NP in (56)b is ungrammatical. However, it is not clear to me if it does so by somehow blocking short head-movement of the noun past the AP. This would imply that short head-movement of the noun is not obligatory.

In a different article, Cornilescu (1995) assumes that APs are generated in the specifiers of functional projections that are part of the extended nominal projection: "Adjectives of various types are generated as Specs of these functional projections in a fairly rigid word-order, which might be the one shown in (5) [provided here as (58)]. Prenominal adjectives, cardinals, ordinals, quantitative adjectives which may have a functional role, becoming part of complex quantifiers or determiners at S-Structure or LF, are generated in higher positions than descriptive adjectives, and are rigidly ordered among themselves"

(58) $[_{QP}Q^0[_{DP}$ Dem$[_{D'}D^0[_{NumP}$ Adj $[[_{Num0}$ Cardinals$][_{GenP}$ Lexical Q's $[_{Gen'}Gen^0$ $[_{NomP}APs$ $[_{Nom'}Nom^0$ NP$]]]]]]]]]$

She further proposes that the postnominal surface position of some elements in the structure in (58), notably that of the APs generated in Spec/NomP (Nominalizer

Projection), results from leftward (possibly obligatory) head-movement of the noun past these APs. Importantly, the landing site of short noun head-movement is understood to be below the generation site of demonstratives, numerals and prenominally surfacing APs.

Let us summarize the claims in this subsection. All APs are generated as sister of N' - (1992); or as Specifiers of functional phrases in the extended nominal projection - (1995). The noun undergoes short head-movement leftward, bypassing only non-attributive APs that are generated in Spec/NP - (1992) or in the Specifier of a lower functional phrase - (1995). There is a surface structure constraint according to which attributive APs, prenominal APs, must c-command the noun at surface structure.

4.2 THE MORPHOLOGICAL INSTANTIATIONS OF DEFINITE D^0

Under Cornilescu (1992, 1995), the locus of definiteness is a D^0 that has the [+definite] feature. There are three ways in which definiteness can be lexicalized. D^0 can be occupied by the free standing morpheme *cel*, in (59)a; or by the enclitic *-L*, in (59)b. D^0 can also be covert, and contain the [+ definite] feature, as in(59)c. Here, the [+definite] feature in $D^0$is in a Spec-head agreement relation with an AP occupying Spec/DP. The agreement relation between D^0 and the AP in Spec/DP is lexically manifested as a definiteness agreement suffix hosted by the adjective heading the moved AP.

(59) the lexicalization of definiteness

a. DP   b.   DP   c.   DP
    | | ╱‾‾‾‾‾‾╲
    D'   D'   AP   D'
    | | △ |
    D   D   A + -L (agreement)   D
    | | [+definite]
   cel   (enclitic)-L |
                                                 Ø
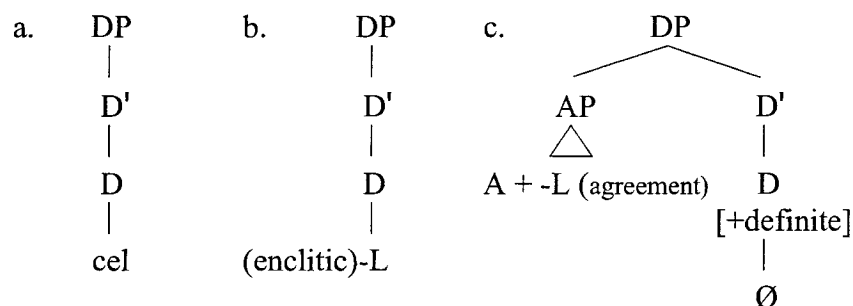
The DPs in (60) below exemplify the structures in (59) above. Thus, in (60)a *cel* represents the free standing definite article in D^0. In (60)b the definite article in D^0 is lexicalized as the suffix –L hosted by the noun *fete* 'girls'. Finally, in (60), the definite suffix hosted by the adjective represents the agreement marker between the AP in Spec/DP and the [+definite] feature in D^0.

(60) a. cele două fete
        cel two girls
        'the two girls'

     b. fete -le deştepte
        grils-the smart
        'the smart girls'

     c. bite   -le fete
        wretched-the gilrs
        'the wretched girls'

Note that the same morphological marker for definiteness, the suffix –L, is used when the

definiteness marker is in D^0, as in (59)b; or when it is realized in Spec/DP, as in (59)c. Thus far we saw that under Cornilescu (1992, 1995) there are three ways to encode definiteness. Let us now consider the environments and conditions under which the definite markers above occur.

4.2.1 THE POSITION OF PRENOMINAL *CEL*

This subsection presents Cornilescu's (1992, 1995) views on the lexicalization of definiteness as the free standing definite article *cel* in D^0. Here, I briefly outline her main assumptions on the syntactic position and selectional requirements of prenominal *cel*.

Prenominal *cel* is taken to occupy the D^0 position and encodes definiteness. Importantly, Cornilescu (1992) assumes that prenominal *cel* obligatorily selects for DetP as its sister. Quantifiers, including the cardinal, occupy the head of DetP. This selectional requirement is taken to account for the observation that prenominal *cel* must immediately precede a cardinal or an adjectival quantifier. The tree structure she proposes is provided in (61) below.[40]

---

[40] The elements I referred to as vague adjectival numerals are considered by Cornilescu to be quantifiers/determiners.

(61) Prenominal *cel* Cornilescu (1992, 1995)

```
                    D'
                   /  \
                 D⁰    DetP
                  |      |
                cele    Det'
                cel     /  \
                    Det     NP
                     |     /  \
                  două   AP    N'
                  two    △     |
                     importante N
                     important legi
                               laws
```
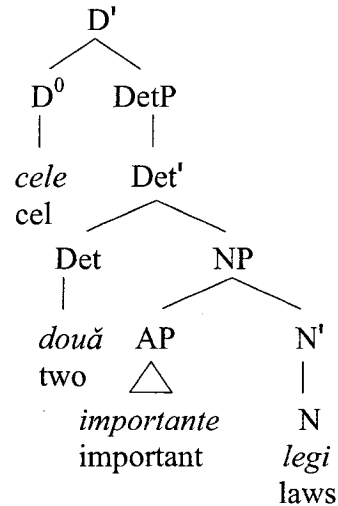
'the two important laws'

In (61) above, *cel* heads the DP and obligatorily takes as its sister a DetP headed by a quantifier/cardinal. The attributive AP is in Spec/DP, a position below the cardinal in Det^0. Next, I consider the distribution of the definite marker as a suffix.

4.2.2. THE SUFFIXATION OF -*L* AND MOVEMENT TO THE DP DOMAIN

In this subsection, I present Cornilescu's (1992, 1995) analysis of the definite marker –*L*. The definite marker occupies the D^0 position in (59)b above, while in(59) c it occurs inside the phrase in Spec/DP. According to Cornilescu (1995), the same morphological form of the definite suffix represents two distinct morpho-syntactic elements. These two elements differ in the following ways: (a) they occupy distinct syntactic positions, (b) they are created by distinct morpho-syntactic mechanisms, (c) they attach to different lexical categories and (d) they involve two different types of movement. Returning to (59)b and (59)c, two distinct morpho-syntactic mechanisms are responsible for the

suffixation of the -L in D^0 and the one in Spec/DP: cliticization and Spec-head agreement respectively. The hosts of the two types of -L are also distinct lexical categories. The host of the -L in D^0 is a noun while the host of the -L in Spec/DP is an adjective. Finally, the hosts of the two types of -L undergo two distinct types of movement. The host of -L in D^0, the noun, undergoes head-movement into D^0. Conversely, the host of the -L within Spec/DP, the adjective, moves to Spec/DP by phrasal movement of the AP. Let us now look at how these differences are represented in the structure and movements proposed. The tree structures in (62) and (63) illustrate the four differences between the two instantiations of the definite suffix proposed by Cornilescu (1995). Below, I discuss each of the realizations of –L in turn. Note that the trees I provide here are simplified so as to include only structure that is directly relevant for the purpose of the present arguments. The structure in (62) illustrates the cliticization of -L on a noun. Here, the definite marker is base generated in D^0 and cliticizes to the N^0 head *fată* that has head-moved from its base generation position in N^0 into D^0. On its way to D^0 the noun bypasses the AP that is generated in the specifier of an intermediate functional projection, FP. Movement of the noun past the AP results in the postnominal surface position of the AP. It is crucial that the adjective be generated in a specifier position (or adjoined). In this position, the AP is not an intervening c-commanding head and thus cannot block N^0 and D^0 head-movement past it. In other words, the Spec/FP position is transparent to head-movement past it. Thus no HMC or Relativized Minimality violation is incurred.[41]

---

[41] Assuming that head-movement is cyclic, on its way to D^0, N^0 would also move through intermediate heads that are empty, here through F^0.

(62) a.

```
                    DP
                    |
                    D'
          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
          D⁰                  FP
          |            ┌───────┴───────┐
       fat -a          AP              F'
                       △         ┌─────┴─────┐
                    frumoasă     F⁰          NP
                                 |           |
                                 t_N         N'
                                             |
                                             t_N
```
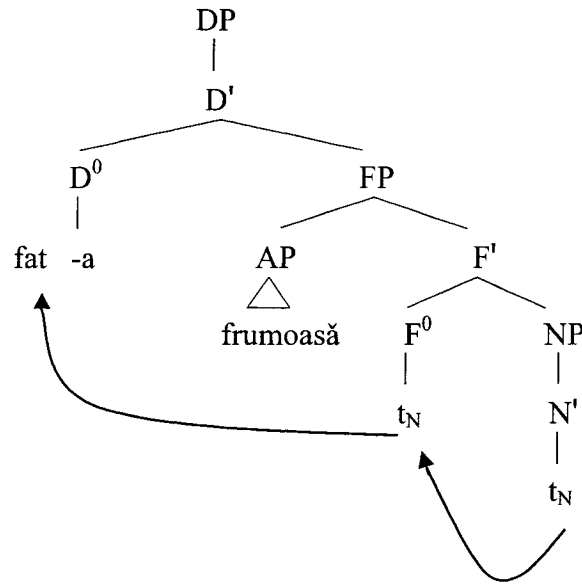
b. fat -a frumoasă

   girl -L beautiful

   'the beautiful girl'

Crucially, in (62), the adjective is not an attributive AP, given that according to Cornilescu (1992) attributive APs must c-command the noun at S-structure. Therefore, the FP here is one of the 'lower' FPs. That is, it occupies a position below that of the noun after short head-movement.

The structure in (63) illustrates the suffixation of -L on an adjective. Here, the definite suffix is realized within Spec/DP as an agreement suffix hosted by the head of the AP. The AP undergoes phrasal movement to Spec/DP. In (63), phrasal movement of AP to Spec/DP is represented by the solid line, while the agreement resulting from the spec-head relation between AP and the [+definite] feature in D^0 is represented by the dotted line.

(63) a.

DP
├── AP △ frumoas +a
└── D'
    ├── D⁰ [+def.] | Ø
    └── FP
        ├── t_AP
        └── F'
            ├── F⁰
            └── NP △ fată
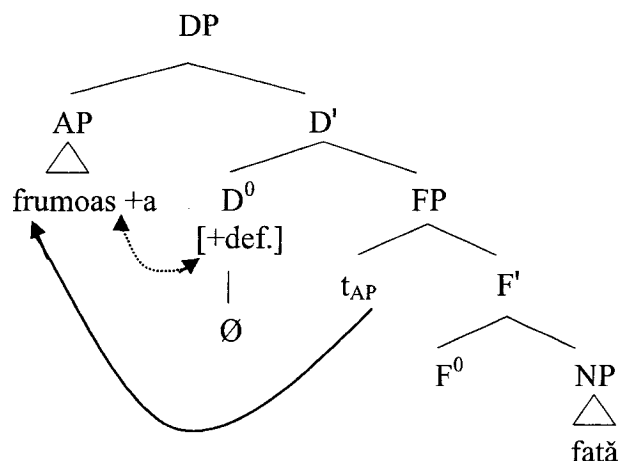
b. frumoas -a fată

beautiful-L girl

'the beautiful girl'

Note that, in (63), the FP, where the AP is generated, is taken to represent one of the 'higher' FPs, that is, a position higher than that of the noun after short head-movement.

Thus, according to Cornilescu (1992, 1995), the definite suffix in Romanian is obtained by means of two syntactic processes. N^0 to D^0 head-movement, where the definite clitic attaches to the noun; and AP to Spec/DP phrasal-movement, where the head adjective agrees with the [+definite] feature in D^0. Still, the syntactic structure and movements outlined above are not sufficient to account for certain restrictions on the distribution of the definite marker. To account for these restrictions, Cornilescu (1995) proposes an additional constraint, the "Doubly Filled Determiner" filter, which I present in the next subsection.

4.2.3 THE "DOUBLY FILLED DETERMINER" FILTER

In this subsection, I present the "Doubly Filled Determiner" filter proposed by Cornilescu (1995). First, I show why this filter is necessary for her account. Then, I introduce the

"Doubly Filled Determiner" filter and describe how it is implemented.

Cornilescu (1995) proposes the 'Doubly Filled Determiner" filter/constraint in order to account for the following two restrictions on the distribution of the definite marker in Romanian. First, the definite marker can be hosted either by a noun or by an adjective, but crucially, not by both categories concurrently, as corroborated by the ungrammaticality of example (64)a. Second, if the AP precedes the noun only the adjective may bear the definite marker, and not the noun, as exemplified by the grammaticality distinction between (64)b and (64)c.

(64) a. *frumoas -a fat-a

        beautiful -L girl-L

        'the beautiful girl'

b. frumoas -a fată

   beautiful -L girl

   'the beautiful girl'

c. *frumoasă fat -a

   beautiful girl -L

   'the beautiful girl'

These restrictions cannot be subsumed solely by the structure and movements proposed by Cornilescu (1992, 1995). Cornilescu (1995) assumes that the noun head moves to D^0 and the AP undergoes phrasal movement to Spec/DP, where both categories bear the definite article. These assumptions alone incorrectly predict that the DP in (64)a is grammatical, since here both the adjective in Spec/DP and the noun in D^0 host the

definite article. Thus, in order to account for the ungrammaticality of the examples in (64), Cornilescu must introduce a constraint that prevents both the noun and the adjective to be overtly marked for definiteness. In addition, in order to also account for the ungrammaticality of the DP in (64)c this constraint must explicitly state that only the adjective in Spec/DP can overtly bear the definite marker. Both these conditions are present in her formulation of the "Doubly Filled Determiner" filter presented in (65).

(65) The 'Doubly Filled Determiner" – Cornilescu (1995)
    (a) Only one of the definite markers in DP is lexicalized
    (b) The definite affix in Spec/DP is lexicalized.

The condition in (65)a blocks the ungrammatical DP in example (64)a by preventing two overt instances of the definite article to be lexicalized within the same DP. The condition in (65)b blocks the ungrammatical DP in (64)c by specifying that the definite marker must be lexicalized in Spec/DP. Since Cornilescu (1995) assumes that the "Doubly Filled Determiner" filter is active in Romanian, the ungrammaticality of the DPs in (64)a and (64)c can now be stated in terms of a violation of this filter.

The tree in (66) below represents the structure of the ungrammatical DP in (64)a, which is blocked by the "Doubly Filled Determiner" filter. Here, the definite determiner is overtly realized both as an agreement marker on the adjective in Spec/DP and as the definite clitic $-L$ suffixed on the noun in D^0.

(66)

```
                          *DP
              _____
             AP                       D'
             △                _____
        frumoas +a          D⁰               FP
                           [+def.]    _____
                             |      t_AP            F'
                            fat-a            _____
                                           F⁰               NP
                                           t_N               |
                                                             N'
                                                             |
                                                             t_N
```
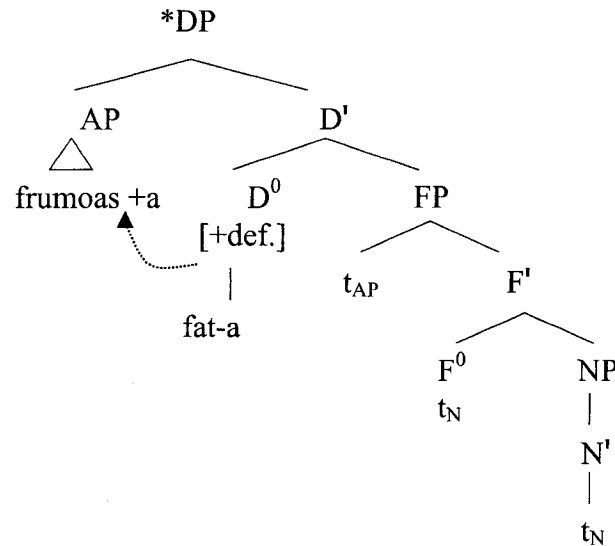
Let us summarize Cornilescu's (1992, 1995) proposal for the affixation of the definite article. On a noun, the suffixation of the definite marker is obtained by N^0 to D^0 movement, where the definite clitic generated in D^0 cliticizes on the noun. Affixation of the definite marker on an adjective is obtained by AP to Spec/DP movement where the AP in Spec/DP agrees with the [+definite] feature in D^0 and the definite suffix is an agreement marker. There is a "Doubly Filled Determiner" constraint whereby, in doubly filled DPs, definiteness marking is lexicalized only in Spec/DP.

4.3. THE POSITION OF DEMONSTRATIVES CORNILESCU (1992, 1995)[42]

This subsection outlines Cornilescu's (1992, 1995) claims on the syntactic position of demonstratives and their interaction with movement to the DP domain. In Cornilescu (1992), demonstratives are always generated prenominally, in a position that is higher than that of attributive APs. Here, she distinguishes two types of demonstratives, which

---

[42] Cornilescu' (1992, 1995) assumptions on demonstratives are also discussed in chapter 2 section 3.4.3.

have the same meaning: the short-form demonstrative and the long-form demonstrative. Morphologically, the two forms vary in that the long form has the additional ending $-a$: e.g. *acest* (short-form) versus *acest-a* (long-form) 'this'. According to Cornilescu (1992), these two types of demonstratives are also syntactically distinct in that they occupy different syntactic positions and consequently interact differently with movement past them as presented below.

4.3.1 THE SHORT-FORM DEMONSTRATIVE

The short form demonstrative, which surfaces prenominally, is the head of DemP, a functional projection in the extended nominal projection. N^0 to D^0 movement is blocked by the short-form demonstrative in Dem^0 because Dem^0 is in an intervening, c-commanding head relative to the position from which N^0 moves. Thus, movement of N^0 to D^0 past Dem incurs an HMC violation. The position of the short-form demonstrative and the blocking effect it has on N^0 to D^0 head-movement is represented in the tree below.

(67) The short-form demonstrative and its blocking effect on N^0 to D^0 movement

a.

```
                        DP
                        |
                        D'
                      /    \
                   D⁰       DemP
                băiatu-l      |
                  ⇑         DemP'
                          /      \
                     Dem           FP (high)
                      |           /      \
                    acest      AP          F'
                            ( attr.)      /    \
                                        F       NP
                                       tN       |
                                                N'
                                                |
                                                tN
```
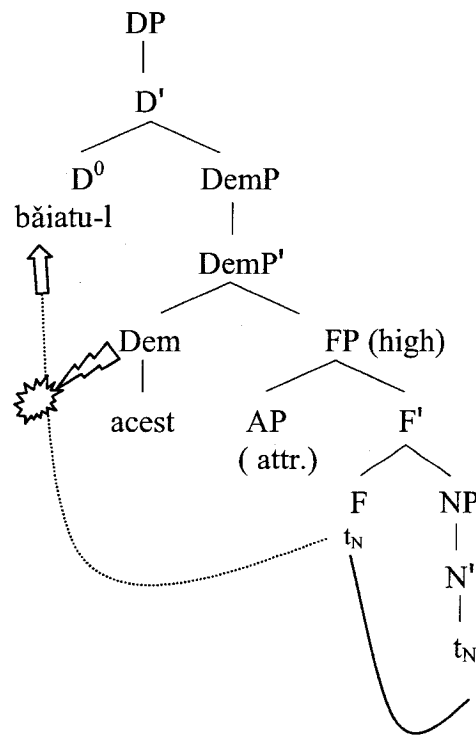
b. acest băiat

   this   boy

   'this boy'

c. *băiat-ul acest

   boy -the this

4.3.2 THE LONG-FORM DEMONSTRATIVE

The long-form demonstrative, which surfaces postnominally, is in the specifier of DemP. N^0 to D^0 movement past the long-form demonstrative is thus possible, since Spec/DemP is transparent to head-movement past it. The position of the long-form demonstrative and the possibility for N^0 to D^0 head-movement is represented in the tree below.

(68) The long-form demonstrative

a.
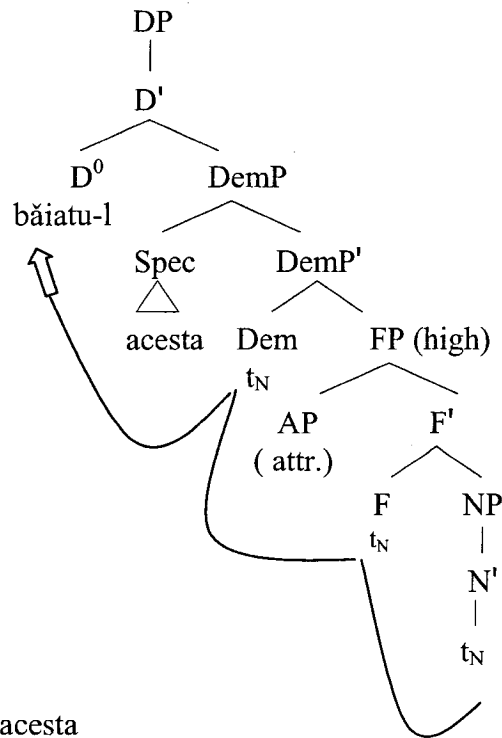
b. băiat-ul   acesta

   boy -the this

   'this boy'

4.4.   SUMMARY OF DP STRUCTURE AND MOVEMENTS IN CORNILESCU (1992, 1995)

This section lists Cornilescu's (1992, 1995) main assumptions on DP internal structure and movements relevant to this chapter.

➢ The definite marker

The definite article can be lexicalized by prenominal *cel* in D^0, the clitic $-L$ in D^0 or the definite agreement marker $-L$ in Spec/DP.

➢ The Noun

The noun undergoes short head-movement to the head of an intermediate functional projection. The F^0, where N^0 head moves, is located above the FP that hosts predicative APs but below the FPs that host attributive APs (prenominal only), cardinals and demonstratives.

[DP [FP Dem [FP Card [FP AP (attributive) [FP [F N [FP AP (predicative) [NP [N tN]]]]]]]]]

In definite DPs, the noun can head-move into D^0, where it hosts the definite marker clitic.

[DP [D N [FP Dem [FP Card [F P[F tN [FP AP (predicative) [NP tN]]]]]]]]

➢ The Adjectives

All APs are generated as Specifiers of NP or specifiers of functional projections

• Two sites for the generation of APs

Predicative APs: are base generated in the specifier of FPs that are "low" in the structure: accounts for APs that surface postnominally after short head-movement.

[DP [FP Dem [FP Card [FP AP (attributive) [FP [F N [**FP AP (predicative)** [NP [N tN]]]]]]]]]

Attributive APs: are base generated in the Specifier of FPs that are "high" in the structure: accounts (partially) for APs that surface prenominally.

[DP [FP Dem [FP Card [**FP AP (attributive)** [FP [F N [FP AP (predicative) [NP [N tN]]]]]]]]]

242

In definite DPs, APs can move to Spec/DP where they agree with the [+definite] feature in D^0. Agreement is lexicalized by an agreement definite suffix hosted by the adjective heading AP.

[$_{DP}$AP[$_D$Ø [$_{FP}$Dem[$_{FP}$Card[$_{FP}$ t$_{AP}$(**attributive**)[$_{FP}$[$_F$N[$_{FP}$AP(predicative)[$_N$ [$_N$t$_N$]]]]]]]]]]

[$_{DP}$AP[$_D$Ø [$_{FP}$Dem[$_{FP}$Card[$_{FP}$AP(attributive)[$_{FP}$[$_F$N[$_{FP}$ t$_{AP}$(**predicative**)[$_N$ [$_N$t$_N$]]]]]]]]]]

> ➤ Two Filters

I   S-Structure filter on only prenominal APs: "An attributive adjective must end up in a position where it c-commands its lexical head."

This filter insures that attributive APs always surface prenominally and accounts for the ungrammaticality of example (69). In a sense, this filter precludes N^0 to D^0 head-movement past attributive APs, which are in the specifier of an FP below D^0.

(69) *fete -le   biete

    girls-the poor

    'the poor girls'

II   The Doubly Filled Determiner Filter. (a) Only one of the definite markers in DP can be lexicalized; (b) The definite marker in Spec/DP is lexicalized.

This filter is meant to block the ungrammatical DPs in (70) below.

(70) a. *frumoas -a   fat -a

        beautiful-L   girl-L

        'the beautiful girl'

b. *frumoasă fat -a

    beautiful girl -L

    'the beautiful girl'

> ➤ Demonstratives

Demonstratives are located in DemP, a functional phrase in the extended nominal projection. Short-form demonstratives occupy the head position of DemP and block head-movement of N^0 to D^0. Long-form demonstratives occupy Spec/DemP and allow N^0 to D^0 head-movement.

Having presented the main tenets of the DP structure and DP internal movements proposed by Cornilescu (1992, 1995), I would like now to consider if and how her proposal can account for the distribution of prenominal *cel*, including the data I have introduced in this chapter and was not considered by her. Here, I will also compare her analysis with that I have argued for thus far.

5.   CORNILESCU (1992, 1995) COMPARED TO THE CURRENT PROPOSAL

In this section, I discuss how the work of Cornilescu (1992, 1995) and the account proposed in the present study compare in terms of accounting for the syntactic position and distribution of prenominal *cel*. Here, I attempt to show that the analysis I propose presents a number of advantages. That is, it not only accounts for the distribution of prenominal *cel* but also provides a more unified consistent structure and movements of elements while dispensing with additional filters. First, I will show that prenominal *cel* cannot be assumed to occupy the D^0 position under either Cornilescu's or my proposal.

Second, I will show that by assuming a different position for prenominal *cel* under the structure and movements proposed by Cornilescu (1992) more data can be accounted for. Next, I center on the distribution of prenominal *cel* relative to demonstratives and cardinals. Here, again, I draw comparisons between Cornilescu's (1992) analysis and the one proposed in the present work.

5.1   PRENOMINAL *CEL* IS NOT IN D^0

In this section, I introduce data that is problematic for Cornilescu's (1992, 1995) claim that prenominal *cel* occupies the D^0 position. Conversely, I show that these data are accounted for under the analysis I propose, where prenominal *cel* occupies a position below D^0. First, I explain why certain data are problematic for Cornilescu (1995). Then I show how these data are accounted for under the analysis proposed in this chapter. Finally, I provide an alternative to Cornilescu's (1992, 1995) analysis of prenominal *cel*. This alternative proposal attempts to account for the problematic data, while keeping her other claims on DP internal structure and movement unchanged.

Let us first consider the data in (71), which I claim is problematic for Cornilescu (1995). Note that DPs like (71), where an AP precedes prenominal *cel*, are not included in Cornilescu (1992, 1995).

(71) biete   -le cele două fete
     wretched -the cel two   girls
     'the wretched two girls'

Under Cornilescu (1995), the AP in (71) is in Spec/DP and prenominal *cel* is in D^0, as

exemplified in the tree in (72). Approximating Cornilescu (1995), the attributive AP in (72) is base generated in the specifier of a "higher" FP and undergoes phrasal movement to Spec/DP. Since prenominal *cel* and the cardinal *două* are heads in the extended nominal projection, these two elements are transparent to AP phrasal movement past them.

(72) Example (71) under Cornilescu (1995)

```
                DP
              /    \
          AP         D'
          /\        /  \
     biete-le      D⁰    DetP
                   |      |
                  cele   Det'
                        /    \
                     Det      FP
                      |       /  \
                    două    t_AP    F'
                           (attr.)  /  \
                                   F    NP
                                        /\
                                       fete
```
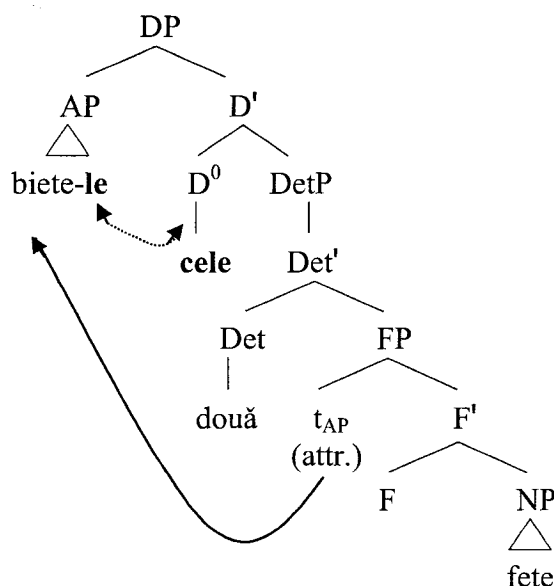
Crucially, the configuration in the DP spectrum, where both Spec/DP and D^0 are filled, is subject to the "Doubly Filled Determiner" filter, according to which (a) Only one of the definite markers in DP can be lexicalized and; (b) The definite marker in Spec/DP is lexicalized. Since in (71) the definite marker is lexicalized both on the adjective in Spec/DP and in D^0 as *cel*, it follows that (71) violates the "Doubly Filled Determiner" filter. In other words, Cornilescu's (1995) assumptions that prenominal *cel* is in D^0 in conjunction with the "Doubly Filled Determiner" filter incorrectly predict that the DP in

(71) is ungrammatical.

In order to account for the grammaticality of (71), two possible adjustments should be considered: either abandoning "The Doubly Filled Determiner" filter or proposing a distinct syntactic position for prenominal *cel*. As shown in section 4.2.3, "The Doubly Filled Determiner" filter is necessary under Cornilescu (1995) to account for the ungrammaticality of certain DPs that her theory would otherwise predict to be grammatical. Thus, abandoning this filter is not a viable option. Conversely, as I show in section 5.2 below, proposing a distinct syntactic position for prenominal *cel* can account for the grammaticality of (71) whilst preserving "The Doubly Filled Determiner" filter and its effects. But first, I would like to show how the analysis I argued for in this chapter accounts for the grammaticality of (71) as well as for the ungrammaticality of the DPs blocked by the "Doubly Filled Determiner".

According to my proposal, the definite suffix on adjectives and nouns is obtained by A_A <u>or</u> N^0 head-movement to D^0, where the definite marker cliticizes on its host. I also assume that prenominal *cel* forms a celP with the cardinal it precedes. celP is located in the specifier of a functional projection located below D^0 but above attributive AP_A. The structure I propose for (71) is provided in (73). Here, the A_A *biete* head moves to D^0 past the celP *cele două*, where it hosts the definite article.

(73) Example (71) my analysis

```
                        DP
                        |
                        D'
                      /    \
                    D       FP
                 biete-le  /   \
                   ▲    celP    F'
                   |     △     /   \
                    \  cele două  F    APₐ
                     \         |     |
                      \       tₐ    Aₐ'
                       \      ▲    /   \
                        \     |  tₐ   NP/XP
                         \___/|        △
                              \___/   fete
```
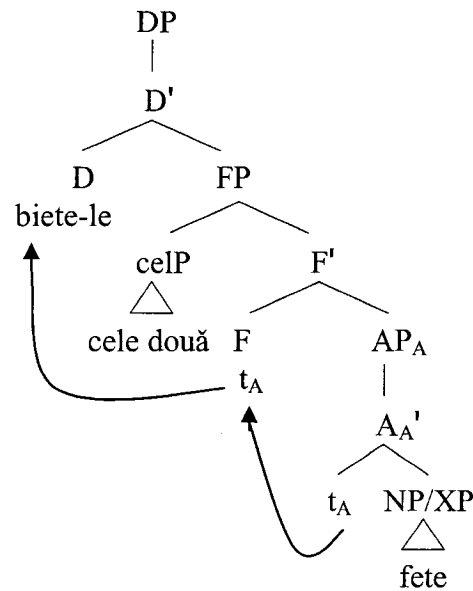
Importantly, the structural and movement assumptions I make circumvent the requirement for "The Doubly Filled Determiner" filter. Specifically, the ungrammaticality of the DPs in (74), which this filter is meant to account for, is subsumed under the structural and movement assumptions made by my proposal.

(74) a. *biete   -le fete -le
         wretched-the girls-the
         'the wretched girls'

     b.*biete   fete -le
         wretched girls-the
         'the wretched girls'

According to my proposal the only location for the definite suffix is D^0 and there is only one D^0 within a DP. It follows from these assumptions that DPs like the one in (74)a with

248

two instances of the definite suffix cannot be derived.[43] Also, since I assume that definite suffixation takes place in D^0, the only element to host the definite article is presumably the one that head-moved into D^0. Thus, in (74)b, the N^0 hosting the definite suffix is in D^0 and the adjective preceding it would be in a position above D^0. Given that under the current proposal adjectival movement to the left periphery is only warranted as A to D^0 head-movement, there is no position above D^0 for the adjective to move into. Therefore, the DP in (74)b is underivable under the current account.

So far, I presented certain data that are problematic for Cornilescu (1995) but are accounted for under the proposal argued for in the present work. Next, I propose an alteration to Cornilescu (1995) meant to account for the problematic data, while preserving her main claims on DP internal structure and movement.

5.2   MODIFIED STRUCTURE OF CORNILESCU (1992, 1995)

In this section, I suggest an alternative analysis to Cornilescu (1992, 1995), which accounts for the problematic example in (71) while preserving "The Doubly Filled Determiner" filter and her other assumptions on DP internal structure and movement. Specifically, I propose that prenominal *cel* occupies a position below D^0, possibly the same position occupied by short-form demonstratives. However, as I show later, even this modified version of Cornilescu (1992, 1995) still presents certain disadvantages which are not present under the analysis put forward in the current work.

---

[43] One exception may be conjoined prenominal adjectives where each adjective has its own definite suffix. Unfortunately, I do not have an analysis for this fact as yet. Note that Cornilescu's (1995) assumptions may be better equipped to account for these data.

5.2.1 PRENOMINAL *CEL* BELOW D⁰ UNDER CORNILESCU'S (1992, 1995)

Here, I propose a different position for prenominal *cel* while maintaining the other claims on DP internal structure and movement in Cornilescu's (1992, 1995). This altered structure is meant to account for the grammaticality of example (71), repeated here as example (75), by circumventing the effects of "The Doubly Filled Determiner" filter.

(75) biete   -le cele două fete
     wretched-the cel two girls
     'the wretched two girls'

Under Cornilescu (1992, 1995), the grammaticality of example (75) suggests that phrasal movement of AP to Spec/DP is not blocked (in the sense of Relativized Minimality theory) by the intervening prenominal *cel* or cardinal. Thus, it must be assumed that prenominal *cel* and the cardinal are heads in the extended nominal projection and therefore transparent to phrasal movement past them. Additionally, it must be assumed that *cel* and the cardinal occupy head positions of FPs that are successive. These FPs must be successive in order to account for the observation that the cardinal must immediately follow *cel*, that is to say, no element can intervene between *cel* and the cardinal. In fact, Cornilescu (1992) explains this observation in terms of a selection requirement, whereby *cel* obligatorily selects as its sister a phrase headed by the cardinal. The structural assumptions listed above are all present in the structure proposed in Cornilescu (1992) provided below as (76). However, as we saw in the previous subsection, this structure is subject to "The Doubly Filled Determiner" filter, thus incorrectly predicting (75) to be ungrammatical.

In order to avoid a configuration that is subject to "The Doubly Filled Determiner" filter for the DP in (75) I propose the structure in (77). Cornilescu's structure is meant to represent the DP in (76)b and the modified structure represents the DP in (77)b. The modified structure directly addresses the data I have introduced in this work relating to adjectival movement past prenominal *cel*.

(76) prenominal *cel* Cornilescu (1992)

a.
```
        D'
       /  \
      D    DetP
      |     |
    cele   Det'
          /   \
        Det    NP
         |    /  \
       două  AP   N'
            / \   |
          biete   N
                 fete
```
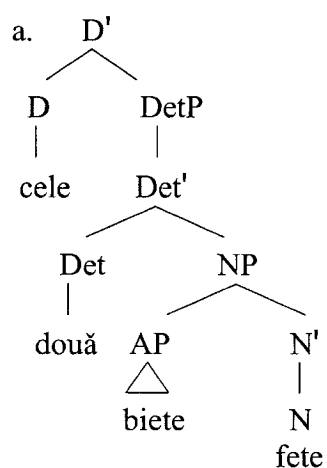
b. cele două biete   fete
   cel two wretched girls
   'the two wretched girls'

(77) modified Cornilescu prenominal *cel*

a.
```
                    DP
                  /    \
                AP      D'
                /\     /  \
          biete-le   D    DetP
                     |      |
                     Ø     Det'
                          /    \
                        Det    CardP
                         |       |
                        cele    Card'
                               /     \
                            Card      NP
                             |       /   \
                           două    t_AP    N'
                                           |
                                           N
                                           |
                                          fete
```
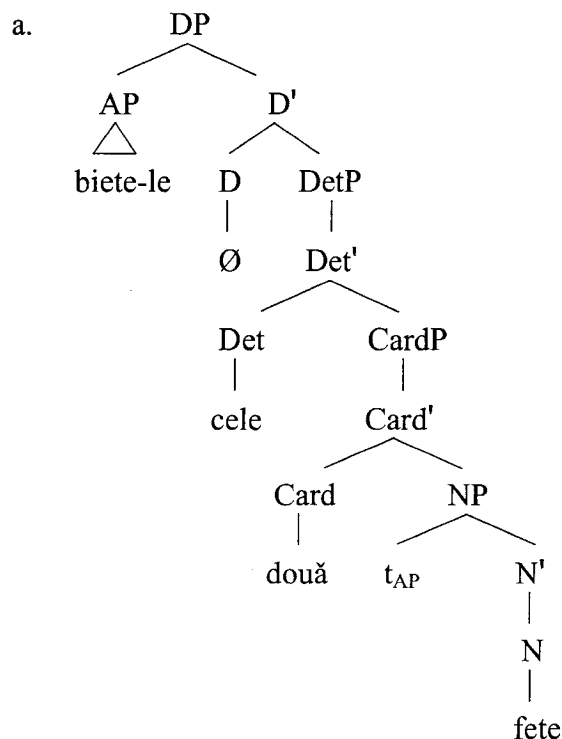
b. biete   -le cele două fete

   wretched-the cel two girls

   'the two wretched girls'

Let us now take a closer look at the modified structure in (77), which differs from the

original structure proposed by Cornilescu (1992), in (76), in that prenominal *cel* is not in

D^0, but rather in the head of the immediately lower functional phrase DetP.[44]

In the tree in (77), the AP that is base generated below prenominal *cel* and the

cardinal can bypass both latter elements and move to Spec/DP, where it acquires the

definite article affix by means of Spec-head agreement. Again, because prenominal *cel*

and the cardinal are heads in the extended nominal projection they are transparent to

---

[44] The structure in (77) is not fully parallel to Cornilescu's (1992) assumptions on the selection properties of prenominal *cel*. She claims that *cel* selects for a DetP headed by a cardinal or a quantifier. In (77) Det^0 is occupied by prenominal *cel*

phrasal movement of the AP to Spec/DP past them. Crucially, the structure in (77) accounts for the grammaticality of DPs like (75) and (77)b and for the ungrammaticality of the DPs blocked by "The Doubly Filled Determiner" filter. In (77), the "The Doubly Filled Determiner" filter is irrelevant for DPs like (75) and (77)b because only the AP in Spec/DP is in the DP domain, while prenominal *cel* is in the lower functional projection. However, for the DPs blocked by this filter, where the AP moves to Spec/DP and the noun moves to N^0 the filter is still applicable.

Note that the structure in (77) can also be used to account for the DP in (76)b, only that here the AP does not move to Spec/DP, rather it stays in situ.[45] It must be then assumed that for a definite DP like (76)b, the structure in (77) allows for a covert instance of the definite article. This assumption is not problematic for Cornilescu (1992, 1995) either. Recall that Cornilescu (1995) proposes herself that the definite article in D^0 can and must be covert in the case of "The Doubly Filled Determiner" filter.

In the section above I showed that Cornilescu's (1992, 1995) proposal, where prenominal *cel* is in D^0 and the "The Doubly Filled Determiner" filter is active, incorrectly blocks certain grammatical DPs. Conversely, the structure and movements I propose in the present work make the correct predictions. Next, I proposed a modification to Cornilescu (1992, 1995), which can account for the problematic data. Specifically, I proposed that prenominal *cel* occupies a position below D^0. In the next two sections, I show how this modified structure can account for other phenomena as well. Here, I also compare Cornilescu's modified structure to the structure I put forward in this chapter.

---

[45] In trying to simplify the structure and movements involved in the DP and to keep as close as possible to the structure given in Cornilescu (1992), I ignored here the precise position of the prenominal APs and the issue of N^0 to X^0 movement. Recall that Cornilescu (1992, 1995) also adheres to movement of N^0 to some intermediate functional head past APs that surface postnominally.

5.3   PRENOMINAL *CEL* AND DEMONSTRATIVES

In this section, I monitor how Cornilescu (1992), the modified version of Cornilescu (1992, 1995) and the analysis I propose account for the complementary distribution of prenominal *cel* and demonstratives. I claim that neither Cornilescu (1992), nor the modified structure of Cornilescu (1992, 1995) can fully account for the complementary distribution of prenominal *cel* and demonstratives. Here, I also introduce an additional set of assumptions made in Cornilescu (1992) relating to the binding properties of demonstratives, prenominal *cel* and cardinals. Conversely, I show that the structural assumptions put forward in this work fully account for the complementary distribution of prenominal *cel* and demonstratives. In (78), both demonstratives and celP are taken to occupy the same syntactic position. Thus, their cooccurrence is not derivable given that they compete for the same syntactic position.

(78) Complementary distribution of demonstratives and celP

a.
```
        DP
        |
        D'
       /  \
      D     FP
    [+def]  /  \
         DemP   FP'
          △    /  \
        aceste F    APA
        these       |
                   APA'
                   /  \
                  A    NP/XP
                  |     △
                biete  fete
               wretched girls
```

b.
```
        DP
        |
        D'
       /  \
      D     FP
    [+def]  /  \
          celP   FP'
           △    /  \
       cele trei F   APA
       cel  three    |
                    APA'
                    /  \
                   A    NP/XP
                   |     △
                 biete  fete
                wretched girls
```

'these wretched girls'   'the three wretched girls'
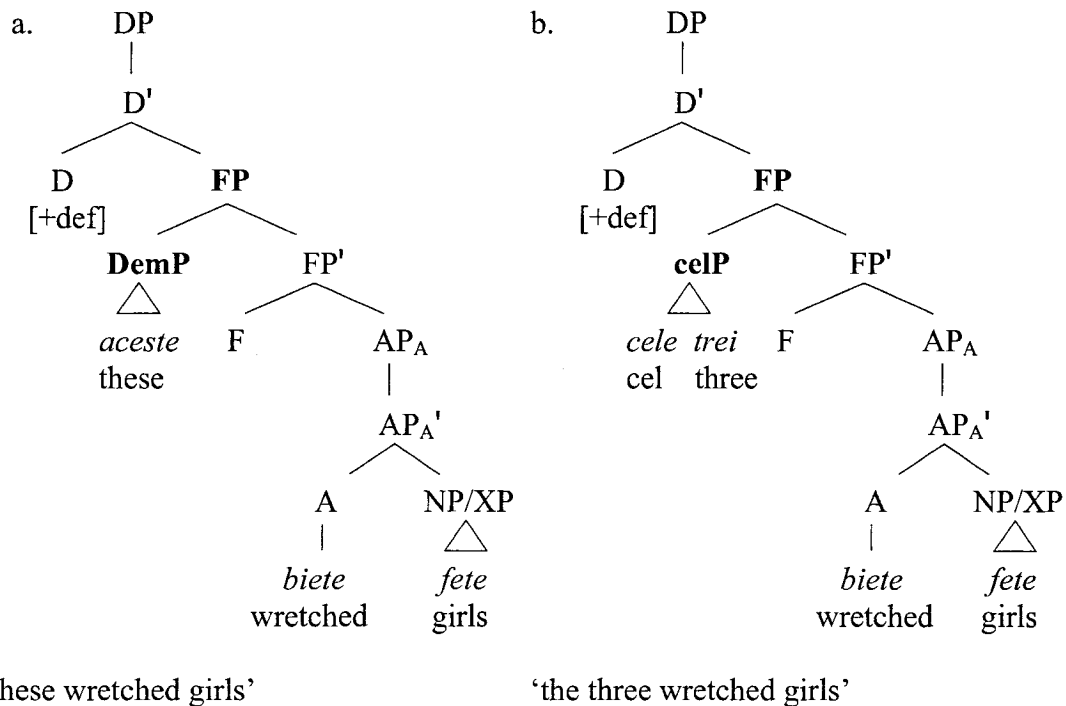
In section 5.3.1 below, I discuss Cornilescu's (1992) assumptions on prenominal *cel* and demonstratives and the predictions these assumptions make with respect to the complementary distribution of the elements under consideration.

5.3.1   CORNILESCU (1992) ON DEMONSTRATIVES AND PRENOMINAL *CEL*

In this section, I review and introduce some additional assumptions on the syntactic position and properties of demonstratives and prenominal *cel* proposed by Cornilescu (1992). Much of Cornilescu's (1992) analysis of demonstratives and prenominal *cel* considers the logical binder status of these elements. Here, a binder is understood as a determiner/quantifier that semantically binds the open argument position of the noun

phrase. Following Cornilescu's presentation style, I formulate the binder status of these elements in terms of their ability to license a lexical noun. Cornilescu (1992) also proposes the syntactico-semantic condition in (79).[46]

(79) The obligatory binder condition

A DP is well formed only if it has a (lexically specified) binder/determiner at least as early as the level of S-structure.

Next, I present the syntactic position and licensing properties of demonstratives as proposed in Cornilescu (1992). According to her, demonstratives have two positional variants, where short-form demonstrative *acest/acel* 'this/that' occupy the Det^0 head position; while long-form demonstratives *acesta/acela* 'this/that' occupy the Spec/DetP position. The positional variation accounts for the following two observations. First, short-form demonstratives always occur prenominally presumably because the short-form demonstrative in Det^0 position blocks head-movement of N^0 to D^0 past them, as in (80)a versus (80)b. Second, long-form demonstratives occur postnominally in the environment of N^0 to D^0 movement, presumably because the long-form demonstrative in Spec/DP allows N^0 to D^0 head-movement past it, as in (80)d.

(80) a. aceste fete

these girls

'these girls'

---

[46] Cornilescu (1992) has a more detailed discussion on her assumptions on semantic binding. In the present section I merely attempt to distil the crucial ones.

b. *fete -le   aceste

  girls-the these

  'these girls'

c. *acestea fete

  these   girls

  'these girls'

d. fete -le   acestea

  girls -the these

  'these girls'

The grammaticality distinction between (80)a and (80)c compel Cornilescu (1992) to make an additional assumption on the licensing properties of Det^0, reformulated in (81).

(81) Only head elements in Det^0 can license a lexical noun as their complement while elements in Spec/DetP cannot do so.

Let us now consider how (81) applies. In the grammatical DP in (80)a, the short-form demonstrative which occupies the Det^0 position can license the lexical noun immediately following it.[47] Conversely, in the ungrammatical DP in (80)c, the long-form demonstrative in Spec/DetP cannot license a lexical noun as its complement. The long-form demonstrative can only be immediately followed by a trace of the noun as in (80)d or by an empty noun (pro) as *acesta* 'this'.

Crucial for Cornilescu's explanation of the licensing properties of demonstratives

---

[47] In fact, according to this analysis, the short-form demonstrative must license a lexical noun given that the short-form demonstrative is ungrammatical when not followed by a lexical noun **acest* 'this'.

and cardinals is her discussion of the DPs in (82)a and(82)b.[48] According to Cornilescu, in (82)a, the long-form demonstrative can precede the lexical noun because the cardinal (or an appropriate quantifier) is in Det^0 and thus acts as a binder for the lexical noun. However, in (82)b the Det^0 position is occupied by the short-form demonstrative *aceste* and therefore the cardinal following it is taken to be a nominal specifier.

(82) a. acestea două fete

     these   two girls

     'these two girls

b. aceste două fete

     these   two girls

     'these two girls

The partial structures for the DPs in (82)a and (82)b are provided in (83) and (84) respectively.

---

[48] For the purposes of this section I will assume Cornilescu's judgments on the grammaticality of example (82)a. I would like to note however, that according to my grammaticality judgments as well as those of other native Romanian speakers the DP in (82)a is ungrammatical.

(83) prenominal long-form demonstrative Cornilescu (1992)

```
            DetP
           /    \
      acestea   Det'
               /    \
            Det      NP
             |       /\
           două    fete
```
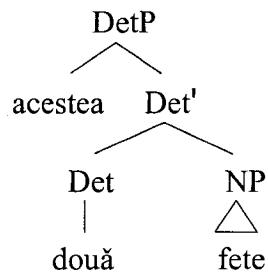
(84) Cornilescu (1992) prenominal short-form demonstrative

```
           DetP
            |
           Det'
          /    \
       Det      NP
        |      /    \
     aceste  CardP    N'
              /\       |
            două       N
                      fete
```
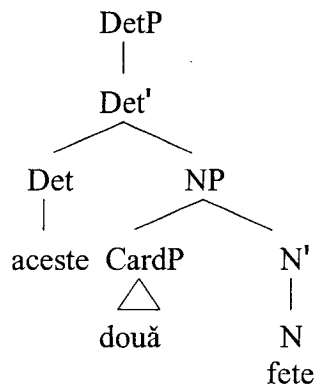
Thus far, we established Cornilescu's (1992) assumptions on the syntactic position of demonstratives and their licensing properties. Let us now determine how these assumptions interact with her analysis of prenominal *cel* and more importantly what predictions these assumptions make regarding the complementary distribution of prenominal *cel* and demonstratives.

As previously, mentioned in Cornilescu (1992) prenominal *cel* occupies the D^0 position and it obligatorily subcategorizes a DetP with an overt cardinal or quantifier in the head position, as in (85) below. Crucially, she assumes that this subcategorization requirement is the consequence of prenominal *cel*'s inability to license a lexical noun. Therefore, the cardinal or quantifier in Det^0 acts as a licensor for the lexical noun.

(85) prenominal *cel* Cornilescu (1992)

```
           D'
          / \
        D     DetP
        |      |
       cele   Det'
             / \
          Det     NP
           |      /\
         două   fete
```
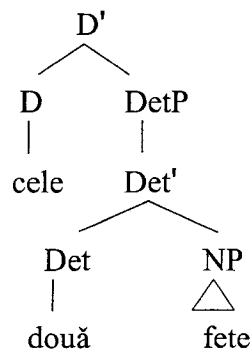
Next, I argue that the licensing properties and syntactic positions of demonstratives and prenominal *cel*, in (83) - (85), cannot fully account for the complementary distribution of demonstratives and prenominal *cel*. Specifically, I show that there is no evident premise under Cornilescu (1992) that can block the ungrammatical cooccurrence of prenominal *cel* and the long-form demonstrative in (86). However, the cooccurrence of prenominal *cel* and the short-form demonstrative is accounted for.

Let us first consider the DP in (86) and its purported structure in (87). Here, prenominal *cel* is in D^0 and its complement is a DetP, where Det^0 is occupied by a cardinal.

(86) *cele acestea două fete
     cel these two girls
     'these two girls'

(87) prenominal *cel* and long-form demonstratives Cornilescu (1992)

```
              D'
            /    \
           D      DetP
           |     /    \
         cele  acestea  Det'
                      /    \
                    Det     NP
                     |      /\
                   două    fete
```
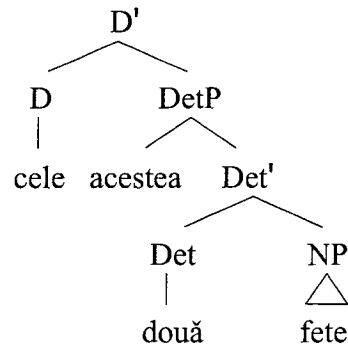
Thus, the selectional requirement of *cel*, in D^0, is satisfied since its complement is a DetP headed by an overt Det^0. Furthermore, the lexical NP is properly licensed by the cardinal in Det^0. So far, the structure is exactly that of the DP with a prenominal *cel* in (85). The only addition here is the long-form demonstrative in Spec/DetP. Crucially, there is nothing to prevent the long-form demonstrative in Spec/DP from cooccurring with the cardinal in Det^0 since this is exactly the structure proposed by Cornilescu in (83).[49] Moreover, the structure in (87) cannot be ruled out on the grounds of a lacking or an excessive number of logical binders for the lexical noun. According to Cornilescu's (1992) assumptions, the structure in (87), has one (and only one) logical binder - the cardinal in Det^0, which licenses the lexical noun. Conversely, as proposed by Cornilescu neither *cel* nor elements in Spec/DetP, here the long-form demonstrative, can license a lexical noun. In conclusion, the structural and licensing properties proposed in Cornilescu (1992) are not sufficient to predict the ungrammaticality of the DP in (86). However, as I show next, her assumptions do account for the complementary distribution of prenominal *cel* and short-form demonstratives.

---

[49] Indeed, the structure in (87) can be obtained by simply superimposing the structures in (83)(83) and (85).

In Cornilescu's (1992), the complementary distribution of prenominal *cel* and short form demonstratives is captured by building into her formulation what is the permissible content of Det^0 heading the DetP sister to prenominal *cel*. That is, the DetP following prenominal *cel* must consist of "...a quantifier phrase whose head is a cardinal numeral, an ordinal numeral, or a suitable lexical quantifier." These specifications play a crucial role in accounting for the complementary distribution of prenominal *cel* and short-form demonstratives by disallowing the short form demonstrative from occurring in Det^0, as in (88) below. Note that if no specification is made as to the precise content of Det^0, the short-form demonstrative would be an ideal candidate for that position. As exemplified by the structure in (89), prenominal *cel* in D^0 takes a DetP as its sister the head of which is lexically overt. Here, *cel* cannot license a lexical noun but either the cardinal or the short form demonstrative in Det^0 could in theory fulfill the role of licensor for the lexical noun. Crucially, the DPs in (88)b and (88)c are underivable because the cardinal and the demonstrative compete for the same syntactic position. Thus, given that the complement of prenominal *cel* can only contain cardinals, ordinals and certain quantifiers and this class of elements competes for the same position as short-form demonstratives the ungrammatical DPs in (88)a - (88)c are ruled out.

(88) a. *cele aceste fete
        cel   these girls
        'these girls'

b. *cele aceste două fete
        cel   these two   girls
        'these girls'

c. *cele două aceste fete

    cel   two   these girls

    'these girls'

(89) prenominal *cel* and short-form demonstratives Cornilescu (1992)

```
                    D'
                   /  \
                  D    DetP
                  |     |
                 cele  Det'
                       /  \
                     Det   NP
                      |    /\
                 două/*aceste  fete
```
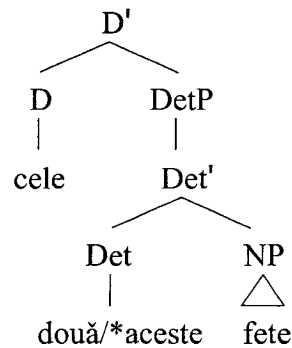
In this subsection I showed that the complementary distribution of prenominal *cel* and demonstratives can only be partly accounted for under Cornilescu's (1992) assumptions on the syntactic position and licensing properties of the elements under investigation. Next, I revisit the structure I proposed as an alternative to Cornilescu (1992, 1995) in light of the licensing conditions assumed in Cornilescu (1992) and the complementary distribution of demonstratives and prenominal *cel*.

5.3.2 RECONSIDERING THE MODIFIED STRUCTURE OF CORNILESCU (1992, 1995)

Here, I reconsider the modified structure for Cornilescu (1992, 1995) initially proposed in section 5.2. First, I argue that the modified structure in conjunction with the assumption on the licensing of lexical NPs, adapted from Cornilescu's (1992), cannot derive certain grammatical DPs. Second, I show that the modified structure cannot account for the complementary distribution of long-form demonstratives and prenominal *cel*.

According to Cornilescu's (1992) structure *cel* is in D^0 and the cardinal following it is in Det^0. In the modified structure I proposed, prenominal *cel* is in Det^0, therefore, the cardinal must occupy a position below Det^0. Since AP to Spec/DP phrasal movement can cross over the intervening cardinal, it must be assumed that the cardinal is in the head position of some functional projection, say CardP.[50] However, in addition to these structural and movement assumptions, Cornilescu (1992) also makes precise claims on the licensing properties of prenominal *cel* and cardinals. Let us now consider to what extent Cornilescu's licensing claims can be incorporated in the modified structure proposed here.

First, consider the modified structure of a DP with a prenominal *cel*, where the AP has moved to Spec/DP, as in (90).

---

[50] In DPs with an instance of prenominal *cel* the AP in situ must always follow the cardinal. Therefore, when an adjective occurs DP initially, where it precedes prenominal *cel* and the cardinal, it must be assumed that the AP started out from a position below the cardinal.

(90) modified Cornilescu (1992, 1995)

```
                        DP
                   ____/  \____
                  AP          D'
                  /\        __/ \__
             biete-le     D       DetP
             poor-the  [+def]       |
                                   Det'
                                 __/  \__
                              Det⁰       CardP
                               |           |
                              cele        Card'
                              cel        __/  \__
                                      Card      NP
                                       |      __/ \__
                                     două   t_AP    N'
                                     two             |
                                                     N
                                                     |
                                                    fete
                                                    girls
```
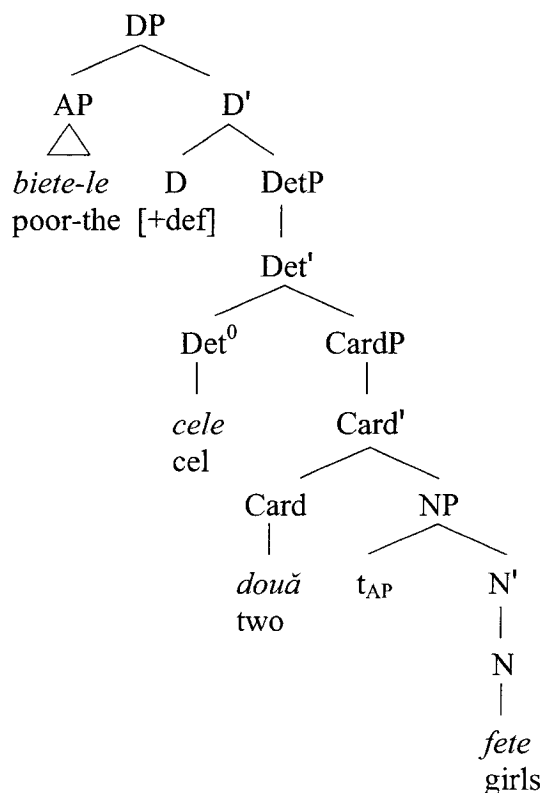
According to Cornilescu (1995), when AP is in Spec/DP, D^0 is "contentful", that is it has the [+definite] feature. It should then be assumed that although D^0 is lexically empty it still acts as a binder/licenser. This hypothesis is reinforced by the grammaticality of the DP in (91), where the only possible binder is the lexically empty D^0, but whose [+definite] feature is overtly realized as definiteness agreement hosted by the adjective.

(91) biete   -le   fete
     wretched-the girls
     'the wretched girls'

Thus, the structure in (90), where DP is projected and D^0 is specified for the definiteness

265

feature, has the necessary licensor for the NP. Cornilescu assumes that *cel* is not a potential licensor but the cardinal that it selects as head of its complement is. Crucially, in Cornilescu (1992) the cardinal following *cel* is in Det^0, one of the two positions she assumes have licensing capacity. Since in the modified structure the cardinal is in a lower functional phrase, it should not have licensing abilities if we adhere to Cornilescu's assumptions. If so, the grammaticality of the DP in (90) is explained licensing wise. Here, the D^0 acts as the unique licensor, given that neither *cel* nor the cardinal in $Card^0$ can license an NP. However, the assumption that the cardinal in $Card^0$ is not a binder for the lexical NP fails to account for the grammaticality of the DP in (92). Here, neither prenominal *cel* nor the cardinal in $Card^0$ are binders and thus (92) violates Cornilescu's (1992) "Obligatory Binding Condition" in (79), whereby "A DP is well formed only if it has a (lexically specified) binder/determiner at least as early as the level of S-structure".[51] It follows that the modified structure I propose for Cornilescu (1992) in conjunction with her assumptions on licensing properties incorrectly predict example (92) to be ungrammatical.

.

(92) cele două fete

   cel two girls

   'these two girls'

Even if we were to devise some binding stipulation in order to account for the grammaticality of (92), where, say, $Card^0$ can act as a licensor, the modified structure still

---

[51]Under Cornilescu (1992) it cannot be assumed that in all (definite) DPs the DP is projected and D^0 is lexically empty but has the [+definite], because then D^0 would co-occur with other binders such as short-form demonstratives, cardinals and quantifiers all of which are taken to be in Det^0. Thus, we would end up with two binders but only one lexical NP, an undesirable consequence.

fails to account for the ungrammatical data in (93).

(93) *acestea cele două fete
     these   cel   two   girls
     'these two girls'

Short of yet another stipulation, there is no syntactic principle under the modified structure to block the cooccurrence of the long-form demonstrative and prenominal *cel* in (93) where the long-form demonstrative is in Spec/DetP and prenominal *cel* is in Det^0. Still, the modified structure can account for the complementary distribution of short-form demonstratives and prenominal *cel*. Since both elements are taken to occupy Det^0, they are competing for the same syntactic position and are thus predicted not to co-occur.

In this section, I presented two shortcomings of the modified structure for Cornilescu (1992, 1995). First, I showed that the modified structure in conjunction with Cornilescu's assumptions on licensing properties is unable to derive certain grammatical DPs. Second, I showed that the modified structure cannot account for the complementary distribution of long-form demonstratives and prenominal *cel*. Next, I demonstrate that the analysis I argue for in this chapter can fully account for the complementary distribution of prenominal *cel* and demonstratives.

5.3.3 CURRENT ANALYSIS OF CELP AND DEMONSTRATIVES

In this section, I show that the complementary distribution of prenominal *cel* and demonstratives is accounted for by the analysis argued for in the present work. Here, demonstratives and prenominal celP (the *cel* – cardinal/quantifier sequence) are taken to

occupy the same syntactic position. Thus, since both demonstratives and prenominal celP compete for the same syntactic position, only one of the two can occur within a DP. The syntactic positions of demonstratives and prenominal celP I propose are provided in (94) and (95) respectively. Demonstratives, both long form and short form are generated in the specifier of a functional phrase that is just below DP and above AP_As.[52] The same syntactic position is occupied by prenominal celP, where celP is formed of prenominal *cel* and the cardinal or quantifier it precedes.[53] The A_A generated below demonstratives and celP is free to head move to D^0 past the former two categories. When the A_A stays in situ, I assume that D^0 is still projected and contains the [+definite] feature, but it is lexically covert.

(94) The syntactic position of demonstratives

```
           DP
          /  \
       Spec    D'
              /  \
            D      FP
         biete-le  /  \
        wretched DemP    FP'
                  △    /  \
               aceste  F    AP_A
                these        |
                            AP_A'
                            /  \
                           A    NP/XP
                           |     △
                        t_biete  fete
                                 girls
```

---
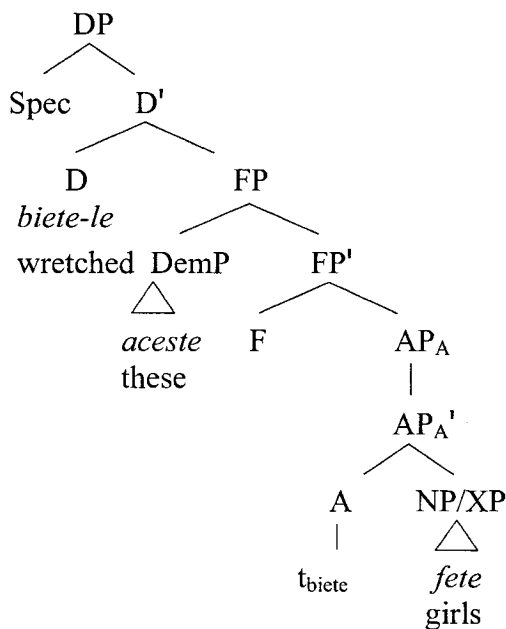
[52] For a more detailed discussion on the syntax and morphology of demonstratives put forward in this work I refer the reader to section 3.4.1 in chapter 2.

[53] The internal composition of celP will be discussed in section 5.4.3.

(95) The syntactic position of celP

```
                    DP
                   /  \
                Spec    D'
                       /  \
                      D     FP
                   biete -le  / \
              wretched-the  celP   FP'
                            / \    /  \
                      cele trei  F    AP_A
                      cel three        |
                                      AP_A'
                                      /  \
                                     A    NP/XP
                                     |     /\
                                  t_biete  fete
                                           girls
```
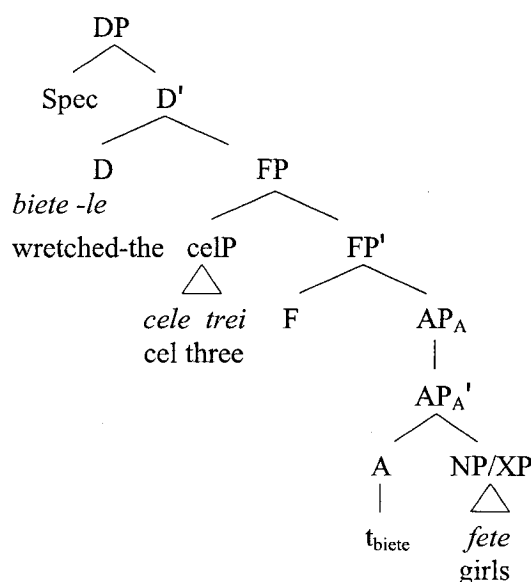
Another advantage of the analysis outlined above is that it addresses and accounts for the parallel distribution of demonstratives and prenominal celP. Cornilescu (1992) concludes that prenominal *cel* and demonstratives have different syntactic and semantic properties based on the fact that they have a different distribution. However, if we compare the distribution of demonstratives with prenominal celP (cel + cardinal/quantifier), we find them to have a parallel distribution and prove to be more alike than different.

In this subsection, I showed that the syntactic positions of demonstratives and prenominal instances of celP proposed in this work account for their complementary distribution. Important here was the proposal that prenominal *cel* and the cardinal/quantifier following it form a constituent, proposal which I have argued for in section 3.2. In the next subsection, I highlight the advantages of analyzing the [prenominal *cel* − cardinal/quantifier] sequence as a separate constituent, celP; over an

analysis where prenominal *cel* and the cardinal/quantifier are heads of successive phrases in the extended nominal projection.

5.4 A UNIFIED ANALYSIS OF CELP

In the previous sections, I centered on the syntactic structures and movements involved in DPs with prenominal *cel*. Thus far, I demonstrated how the syntactic position I propose for prenominal *cel* can account for empirical generalizations, such as the cooccurrence of prenominal *cel* with a definite suffix, and the parallel and complementary distribution of prenominal *cel* and demonstratives. In this section, I compare the syntactic distribution and structure of prenominal *cel* with those of postnominal *cel*. Here, I show that the account I argued for thus far also has as consequence a more unified and consistent analysis. First, I present Cornilescu's (1992, 1995) proposal, where prenominal and postnominal sequences of [cel – cardinal/quantifier] have different syntactic structures and distinct functions in the DP. Next, I show that in the analysis put forward in the present work, prenominal and postnominal celPs receive the same syntactic treatment. That is, they are taken to occupy the specifier position of or are adjoined to some functional phrase in the extended nominal projection and both function as modifiers. Here, I propose that the syntactic position occupied by postnominal celP is the prototypical position for phrasal predicative modifiers such as postnominal APs and PPs. Furthermore, I show that prenominal and postnominal celPs are also similar with respect to their internal make-up. Explicitly, the phrases that can appear in prenominal and postnominal celPs alike are restricted to predicative modifiers.

5.4.1. PRENOMINAL VERSUS POSTNOMINAL CELP

In what follows, I center on DPs with postnominal *cel*, as in (96)a and (96)b below. Here, the [cel – cardinal/quantifier] sequence surfaces after the noun, even in the absence of N^0 to D^0 movement, as in (96)b.

(96) a. fete -le t_N **cele două** t_N ale Mariei

        girls-the   cel two   of Mary

      'Mary's two girls'

    b. biete   -le fete **cele două** t_N ale Mariei

        wretched-the girls cel two   of Mary

        'Mary's two wretched girls'

In the next subsection, I present Cornilescu's (1992, 1995) account on the syntax of DPs with postnominal [cel – cardinal/quantifier] sequences similar to those in (96)a and (96)b. Importantly, here, I also monitor to what extent this account resembles the analysis she proposes for prenominal [cel – cardinal/quantifier] sequences.

5.4.1.1. PRENOMINAL VERSUS POSTNOMINAL CELP UNDER CORNILESCU

Under Cornilescu's (1992, 1995) structure and the modified structure of Cornilescu head-movement of N^0 to D^0 past 'prenominal' *cel* and the cardinal is not possible, since head-movement past these intervening heads would incur an HMC violation. Thus, to account for the postnominal surface position of the [*cel* – cardinal/quantifier] sequence in (96)a and (96)b, Cornilescu (1992, 1995) has to assume that, here, *cel* and the cardinal are generated in a position below that of the surface position of the noun (after short head-

movement). Given that under Cornilescu (1992, 1995) *cel* is in D^0, it must be that the [*cel*

– cardinal/quantifier] sequence following the noun in (96) is itself a DP or part of a DP.

Indeed, Cornilescu (1992, 1995) proposes that postnominal instances of *cel* head an

adjunct DP that functions as a modifier of the noun and is generated in the lower

"agreement area".[54] The structures she proposes for prenominal and postnominal

instances of *cel* are provided in (97) (a) and (b) respectively.

(97) Prenominal and postnominal *cel* Cornilescu (1992)

a.

```
        D'
       /  \
      D    DetP
      |     |
    cele   Det'
    cel   /    \
        Det     NP
         |     /  \
       două  AP    N'
       two   △     |
         importante N
         important legi
                  laws
```

b.

```
        D'
       /  \
      D⁰   NP
      |   /  \
    -le  N'   DP
    -the |    |
         N⁰   D'
         |   /  \
    distrugeri D⁰   DetP
    destruction |    |
             cele   Det'
             cel   /    \
                 Det     NP
                  |      |
                două    N'
                two    /  \
                     N⁰   DP
                     |    △
                   [pro]  ale oraşului
                          of the city
```

$D^0 = D^0$

b.

$b.$

---
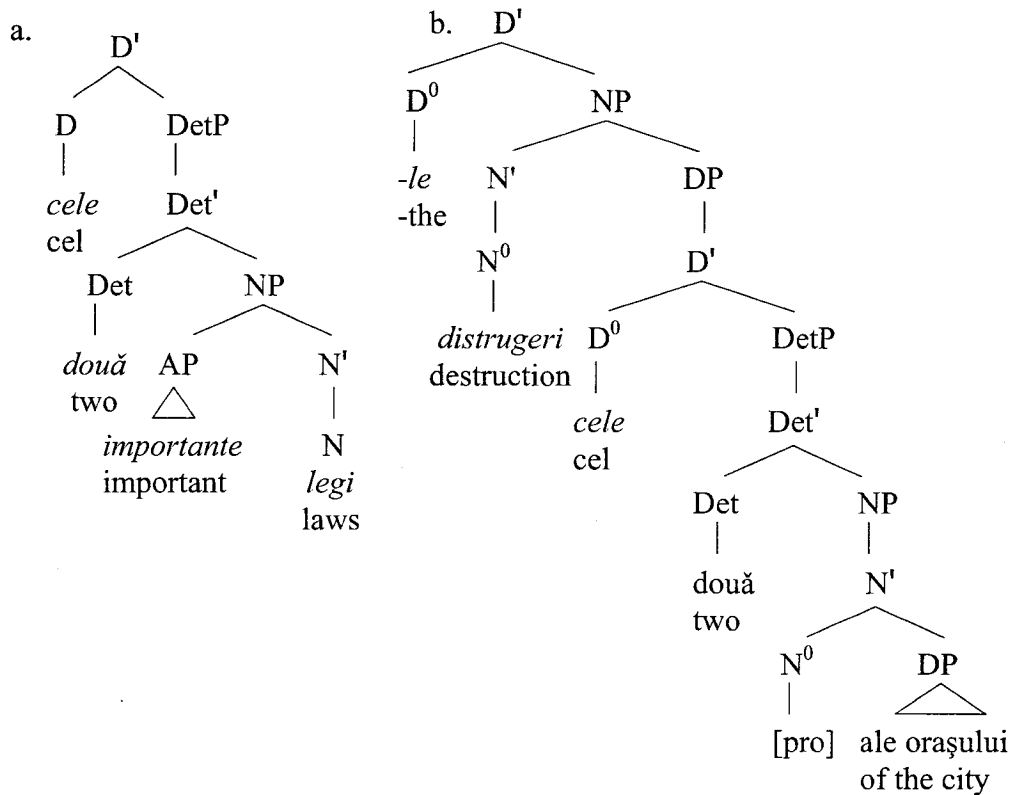
[54] In Cornilescu (1992) postnominal DP modifiers headed by *cel* are treated differently depending on whether *cel* precedes a cardinal versus *cel* preceding an AP or a PP. In Cornilescu (1995) postnominal *cel* preceding an AP or a PP is referred to as the adjectival article that is a sort of pronominal copy of the head noun.

According to Cornilescu (1992, 1995), the prenominal *cel* in (97)a heads the main DP and functions as an expletive determiner. On the other hand, the postnominal *cel* in (97)b heads an adjunct DP which functions as a modifier in the main DP. Also note that in (97)b the complement of the noun, *ale oraşului* 'of the city', is sister to the pro N, in the adjunct DP, not to the N^0 in the main DP, *distrugeri* 'destructions'. In a DP with a prenominal *cel*, the complement of the noun would be sister to the lexical noun of the main and only DP. Thus, under Cornilescu (1992, 1995) prenominal and postnominal instances of *cel* differ not only in their linear position but are considered to be distinct elements that have different functions within the main DP.

5.4.1.2 PRENOMINAL VERSUS POSTNOMINAL CELP IN THE PRESENT PROPOSAL

In contrast to Cornilescu's proposal, under the account I put forward, prenominal and postnominal instances of *cel* have similar syntactic positions and the same function in the DP.[55] Here, the [*cel* – cardinal/quantifier] sequence forms the constituent celP. Importantly, independent of its surface position relative to the noun, celP is always a modifier/adjunct that occupies the specifier of (or is adjoined to) some functional phrase in DP. These assumptions are represented in the structures in (98) and (99) below. The prenominally surfacing celP in (98) occupies the specifier of a high functional phrase, Spec/DetP. As argued thus far, this is the same position occupied by demonstratives. The postnominally surfacing celP in (99) occupies the specifier of a lower FP. Notice that the position of postnominal celP in (99) is the same as the position I previously proposed for postnominal APs, AP_Bs. For now let us assume that this is indeed the case. Evidence

---

[55] As I show later, *cel* can only be immediately followed by a predicative phrase. Here, I propose that *cel* always takes a predicative phrase as its complement and the resulting celP is a modifier.

supporting this assumption is presented in the next section.

(98) Prenominal celP

```
                        DP
                        |
                        D'
                 ┌──────┴──────┐
                 D            DetP
              [+def.]     ┌────┴────┐
                        celP       DetP'
                         △      ┌────┴────┐
                     cele două  Det      XP
                     cel  two             |
                                          X'
                                   ┌──────┴──────┐
                                  X⁰            NP
                              distrugeri         |
                              destructions      N'
                                          ┌──────┴──────┐
                                         N⁰            DP
                                         tₙ             △
                                                   ale oraşu-l  -ui
                                                   of  city  -the-G
```

274

(99) Postnominal celP

```
                            DP
                            |
                            D'
                      _____/_____
                     D          ( DetP)
              distrugeri  -le       |
              destructions-the    DetP'
                              ____/\____
                            Det          XP
                            t_N           |
                                          X'
                                    _____/\_____
                                  X^0            FP
                                  t_N        ___/\___
                                          celP        F'
                                          /\       __/\__
                                    cele două   F        NP
                                    cel  two   t_N        |
                                                          N'
                                                     ____/\____
                                                   N^0          DP
                                                   t_N          /\
                                                           ale oraşu-l  -ui
                                                           of  city  -the-G
```
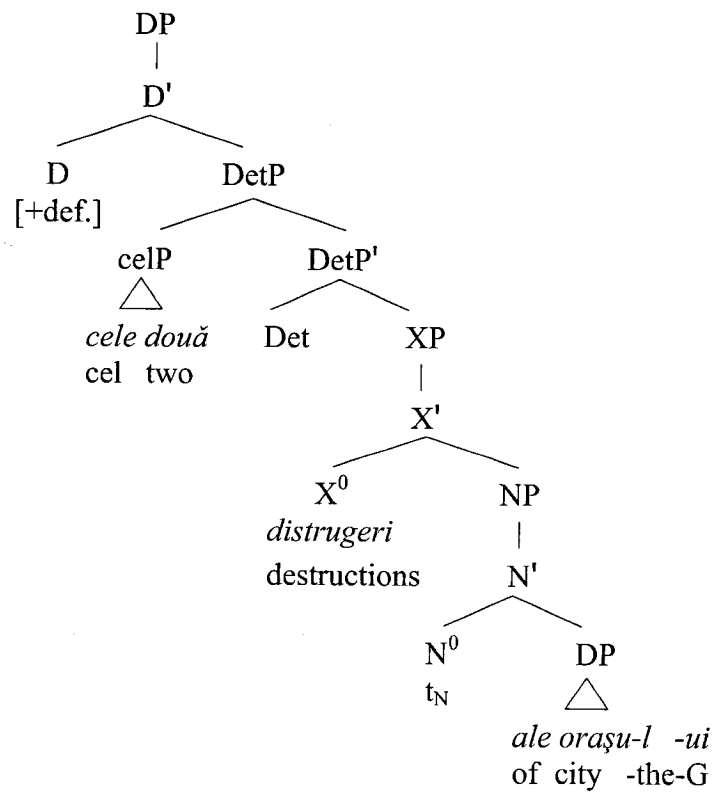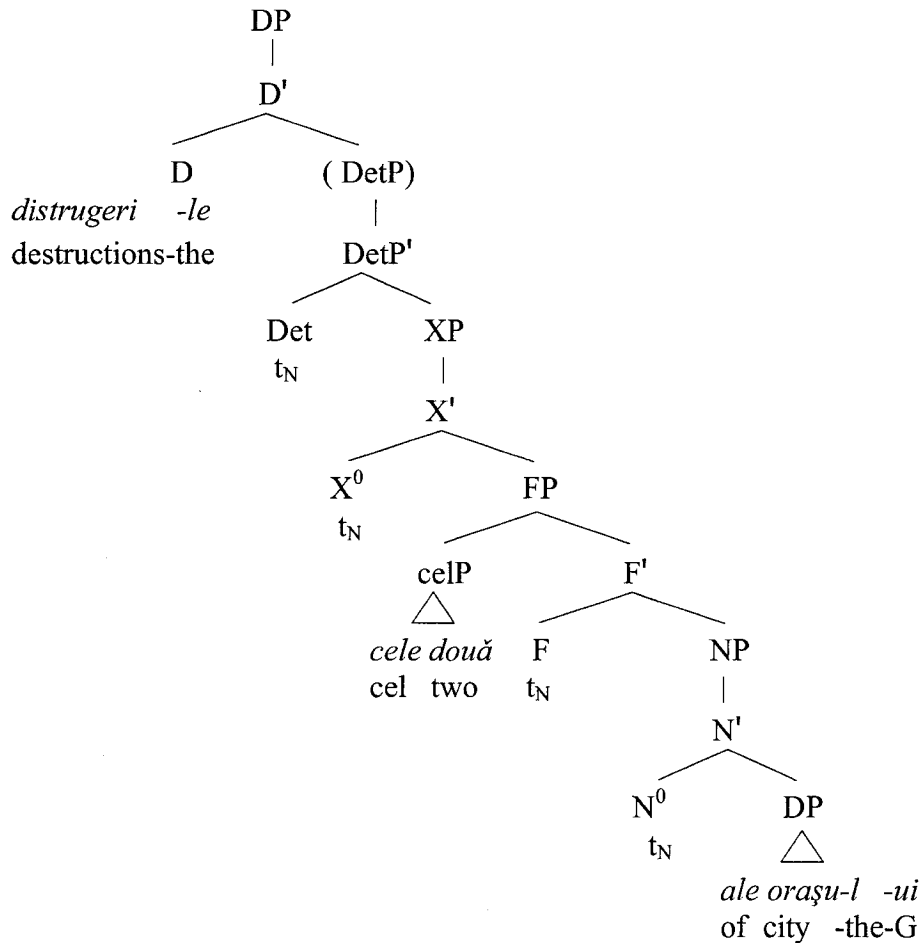
The celP in both (98) and (99) is located above the generation site of the noun. The prenominal versus postnominal surface position of celP is the consequence of two factors: (1) the generation site of celP, in the higher versus the lower FP; and (2) the extent to which the noun head moves in the DP. Thus, short head-movement of the noun bypasses 'postnominal' celP but not prenominal celP; while X^0 to D^0 movement can bypass 'prenominal' celP as well.[56] So, in (98), the noun in X^0 could head move all the

---

[56] Recall that, in this study, short head-movement of the noun is assumed to be obligatory movement. Thus, all elements that are generated above N^0 but below X^0 (the position occupied by N^0 after short head-movement) will surface postnominally.

way to D^0, where it would host the definite article. In this case, what I have referred to as prenominal celP, would surface after the noun in D^0, thus, in a sense postnominally.[57]

Another difference between the present account and that in Cornilescu (1992) is the syntactic position of the complement of the noun. Recall that in (97)a the complement 'of the city' is sister to the noun in the main DP, while in (97)b it is sister to the pro N^0 generated in the modifier DP. Conversely, in (98) and (99) the complement 'of the city' is always sister to the N^0 head of the main and only DP. This follows directly from the syntactic assumptions made here, where, only one DP is present and celP whether prenominal or postnominal is always an adjunct/modifier (with no possibility to assign a theta role).

Thus far, I showed that the syntactic structure proposed in this study provides a unified treatment of prenominal and postnominal celP. Here, both celPs occupy the specifier position of/are adjoined to some functional phrase in the extended nominal projection. The surface position of celP relative to the noun depends on two factors: (1) the relative "height" of the functional phrase that hosts the celP; and (2) the extent to which the noun head moves in the DP. Throughout this work, DP internal N^0 head-movement and the position of prenominal celP have been discussed at length. However, less was said about the syntactic distribution and position of postnominal celP. I will address this issue in the following subsection. Here, I propose that the syntactic position occupied by postnominal celP is the prototypical position for phrasal predicative modifiers such as postnominal APs, PPs and relative clauses.

---

[57] A more detailed account of the possibility of N^0 movement across prenominal celP was discussed in section 3.3.4.

5.4.2 THE DISTRIBUTION OF POSTNOMINAL CELP

In the previous subsection, I simply assumed that postnominal celP is generated in the specifier of a lower functional phrase within the extended nominal projection. In this subsection, I bring evidence to support this assumption. The main argument here is that postnominal celP occupies the same syntactic positions that are available for the other postnominal predicative modifiers. Here, I show that postnominal celPs have the same distribution as postnominal predicative APs, PPs and relative clauses.[58]

Besides cardinals and vague adjectival numerals, postnominal celP can also contain predicative APs and PPs.[59] In (100), postnominal *cel* can be followed by a cardinal, a predicative adjective, or a PP.

(100)   fete -le   cele două/deştepte/din   Bucureşti   ale Mariei

       girls-the cel   two/ smart/   from Bucharest   of   Mary

       'Mary's two girls; Mary's smart girls; Mary's girls from Bucharest.'

---

[58] CelPs with cardinal numerals and vague adjectival numerals can occur both prenominally and postnominally. However, celPs containing an AP or a PP are always postnominal. The prenominal occurrence of a celP containing an AP or a PP results in ungrammaticality, irrespective of the overtness of the definite article in D^0. This is exemplified in (i).

(i) *(biete   -le) **cele rănite/ din Bucureşti** fete ale Mariei
    (wretched-the) cel wounded/from Bucharest girls of Mary
    'Mary's poor two girls'

The distribution here is as follows. The prenominal position is reserved to celPs containing cardinals and vague numerals. That is, to phrases that occur prenominally even in the absence of *cel*. Conversely, all celPs that are possible in the environment of an overt noun, that is to say prenominally and postnominally, can occur in either of the two postnominal positions. (below X^0, the position of N^0 after short head-movement). Interestingly, cardinal celPs can surface postnominally in spite of the fact that, in Romanian, cardinal numerals can never be postnominal by themselves. That is, a cardinal numeral can only surface postnominally if it is embedded in a celP.

[59] In Cornilescu (1992) relative clauses are also cited to appear following postnominal *cel*, though deemed slightly awkward (i.e. 1 question mark). I will not address postnominal [cel –RC] sequences due to the inconsistent judgements received from other native speakers of Romanian. Thus, I leave these constructions for future research.

277

Next, I show that all postnominal celPs, whether they contain a cardinal, an AP, or a PP, have the same distribution as APs, PPs and relative clauses that are not preceded by *cel*. Specifically, postnominal celP, just like most predicative APs, PPs and relative clauses, can occur between the noun and its complement or after the complement of the noun.[60]

The examples in (101) represent postnominal celPs that intervene between the noun and its complement. In (102), a regular predicative AP, PP or a relative clause respectively intervenes between the noun and its complement.

➤ celP intervening between the noun and its complement

(101)   a. fete -le **cele două** ale Mariei
           girls -the cel two of Mary
        'Mary's two girls'

        b. fete -le **cele rănite**   ale Mariei
           girls -the cel wounded of Mary
        'Mary's wounded girls'

        c. ?fete -le **cele din Bucureşti** ale Mariei
           girls-the cel from Bucharest of Mary
        'Mary's girls from Bucharest'

➤ AP, PP and relative clause intervening between the noun and its complement

(102)   a. fete -le **rănite**   ale Mariei
           girls -the wounded of Mary's
        'Mary's wounded girls'

---

[60] An analysis of the syntactic positions of postnominal APs is provided in chapter 3.

b. fete -le **din Bucureşti** ale Mariei

girls -the from Bucharest of Mary's

'Mary's girls from Bucharest'

c. ?fete-le **care sunt rănite** ale Mariei

girls-the which are wounded of Mary's

'Mary's girls that are wounded'

The modifier position following the complement of the noun is represented in (103) and (104). In (103), postnominal celP follows the complement of the noun, just like the regular predicative modifiers in (104), where *cel* is absent. In fact, phrases in the syntactic position following the complement of the noun are referred to by Cinque (1993) as 'modifiers in predicative position'. Similarly, Zamparelli (2000) claims that in Romance languages this position is predicative in nature. Following these claims, I propose that, in Romanian too, a phrase that follows the complement of the noun is predicative.

➤ CelP following the noun and its complement

(103)   a. fete -le   Mariei **cele două**

girls -the Mary's cel   two

'Mary's two girls'

b. fete -le   Mariei **cele rănite**

girls -the Mary's cel   wounded

'Mary's wounded girls'

c. fete -le Mariei **cele din Bucureşti**

girls -the Mary's cel from Bucharest

'Mary's girls from Bucharest'

> AP, PP and relative clause following the noun and its complement

(104)   a. fete -le Mariei **rănite**

girls -the Mary's wounded

'Mary's wounded girls'

b. fete -le Mariei **din Bucureşti**

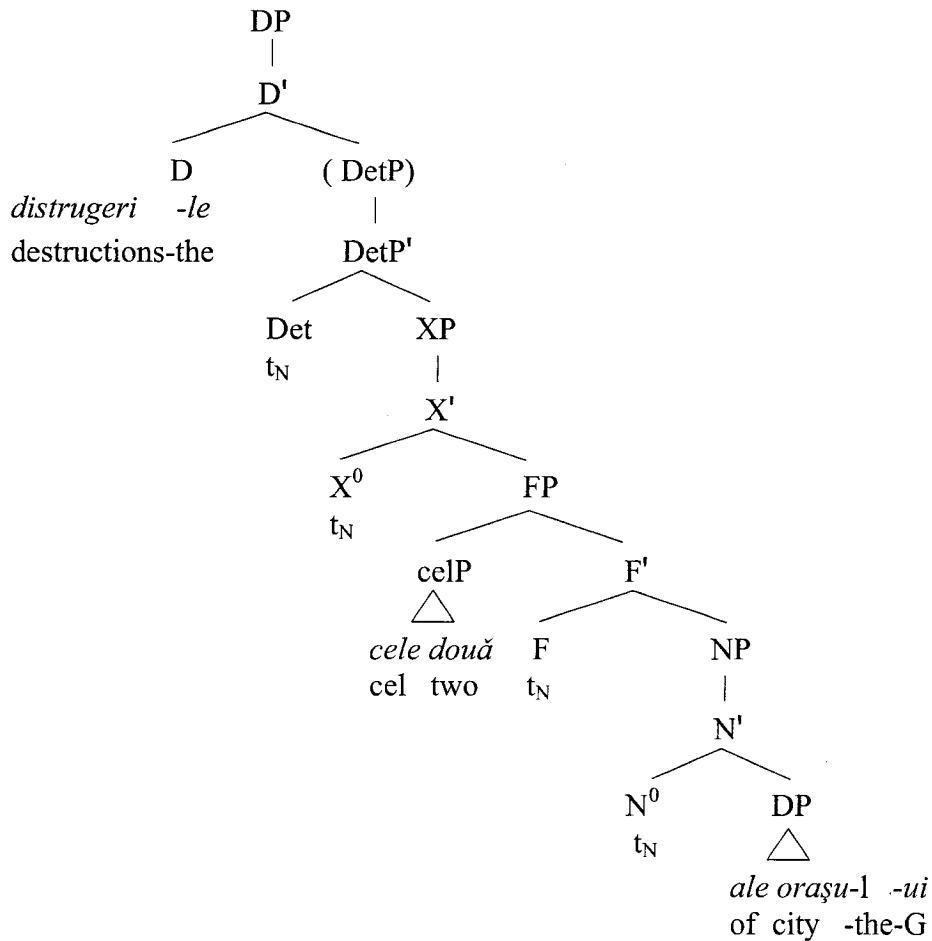girls -the Mary's from Bucharest

'Mary's girls from Bucharest'

c. fete-le Mariei **care sunt rănite**

girls-the Mary's which are wounded

'Mary's girls that are wounded'

Thus far, I showed that postnominal celPs have the same distribution as typical postnominal predicative phrases such as APs, PPs and relative clauses. This similarity suggests that the same syntactic positions that are available for postnominal predicative modifiers are also available for postnominal celPs. Consequently, I assume that postnominal celPs occupy the same syntactic positions as postnominal predicative APs, which I discussed in detail in chapter 3.[61] The syntactic positions I propose for postnominal celPs are provided below. The syntactic structure for celP that intervenes between the noun and its complement is the same we saw and discussed earlier in (99),
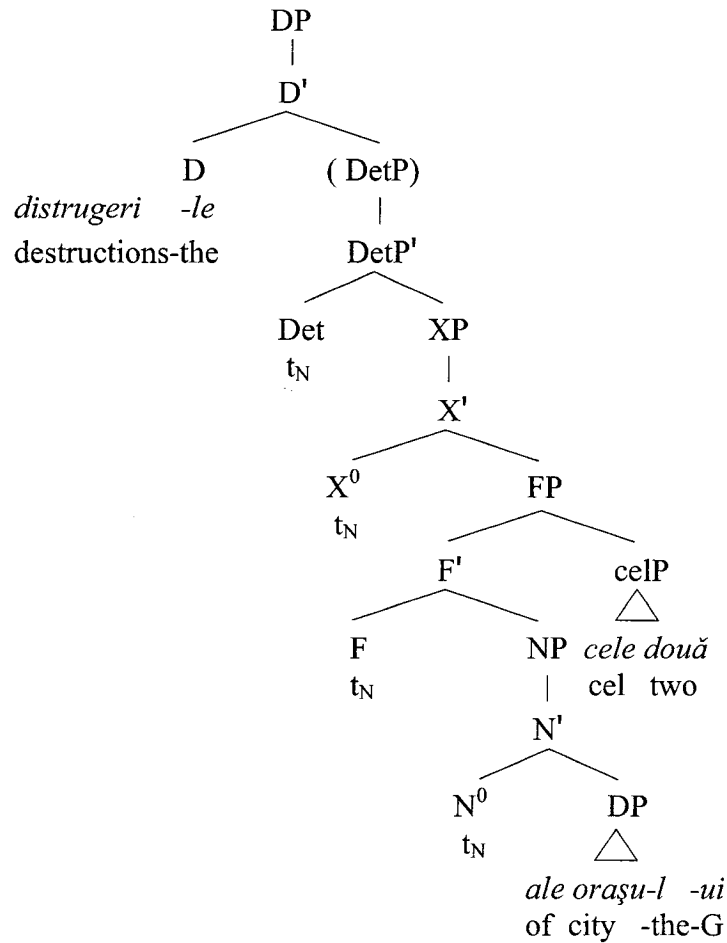
---

[61] Although there can only be one celP within a DP (making abstraction of superlatives), celPs can co-occur with other modifiers, just like modifiers can cooccur with one another. The co-occurrence of celP with other modifiers is predicted, if we accept that celPs are predicative modifiers. However, it is not clear to me why only one celP is possible in a DP.

repeated here as (105). I assume that when celP follows the complement of the noun, celP

is right adjoined in a structure like (106). The positions celP occupies in (105) and (106)

parallel those I put forward for postnominal APs in chapter 3.

(105)   Postnominal celP preceding the complement of the noun

```
                        DP
                         |
                        D'
                      /     \
                    D        ( DetP)
            distrugeri  -le      |
            destructions-the   DetP'
                              /    \
                           Det      XP
                           t_N       |
                                    X'
                                  /    \
                                X^0     FP
                                t_N    /    \
                                    celP      F'
                                     △      /    \
                               cele două   F      NP
                               cel  two   t_N      |
                                                   N'
                                                 /    \
                                               N^0     DP
                                               t_N      △
                                                    ale oraşu-l  -ui
                                                    of city  -the-G
```

(106)   Postnominal celP following the complement of the noun

```
                              DP
                              |
                              D'
                        _____
                       D         ( DetP)
                  distrugeri  -le    |
                  destructions-the  DetP'
                                 _____
                                Det       XP
                                tN        |
                                          X'
                                    _____
                                   X⁰          FP
                                   tN      _____
                                          F'        celP
                                      _____       △
                                     F       NP   cele două
                                     tN       |   cel   two
                                             N'
                                        _____
                                       N⁰        DP
                                       tN         △
                                          ale oraşu-l   -ui
                                          of  city  -the-G
```

In this section, I claimed that postnominal celPs occupy the same syntactic positions that are available to other postnominal modifiers. In the next section, I bring evidence that prenominal and postnominal celPs alike are modifiers that contain predicative modifiers.

5.4.3   THE PREDICATIVE CONTENT OF PRENOMINAL AND POSTNOMINAL CELP

So far, I argued in favour of a unified analysis for prenominal and postnominal celP. In this regard, the two fundamental claims I make are the following: (1) *cel* forms a

constituent with the phrase immediately following it and (2) the resulting celP is a modifier/adjunct that occupies the specifier position of some functional phrase within the extended nominal projection. The position of prenominal celP in the specifier of a high FP was established in section 3. The position of postnominal celP in the specifier of a lower FP was argued for in the previous section. In this section, I introduce yet another significant parallel between prenominal and postnominal celP, this time relating to their internal make-up. Specifically, I show that the content of prenominal and postnominal celPs alike is restricted to predicative modifiers. Let us now investigate the predicative status of the phrases in prenominal celP

5.4.3.1 PREDICATIVE MODIFIERS IN PRENOMINAL CELP

In this section, I argue that the set of phrases allowed in prenominal celP is restricted to prenominal predicative modifiers. First, I show that the phrases allowed in a prenominal celP are prenominal predicative modifiers. Then, I show that prenominal AP_As, which are often also analyzed as modifiers, can not occur in a celP. I claim that this is precisely because they are not predicative modifiers.[62]

Let us first consider the phrases that can occur in prenominal celP. As Cornilescu (1992) observes, prenominal cel can be followed only by a cardinal, an ordinal expression, or a quantifier (here, a vague adjectival numeral) such as *prea puțin/mult* 'too few/many' or *cîteva* 'a few'.[63] Prenominal celPs with cardinal and vague adjectival numerals are exemplified in (107).

---

[62] In fact, under the structure I propose prenominal A_As are not modifiers. Rather, they are heads in the extended nominal projection.

[63] Ordinal expressions have a more complex structure, irrespective of the presence of *cel*. However, I do not consider them in this study and leave them for investigation at a later stage. Superficially though, celPs with ordinal expressions appear to exhibit the same behaviour as the other prenominal celPs.

(107) a. cele **două** fete

cel two girls

'the **two** girls'

b. cele prea puține/multe fete

cel **too few/ many** girls

'the too few/many girls'

Zamparelli (1996, 2000), following Milsark (1974), claims that cardinal numerals and vague adjectival numerals can be analyzed as cardinality predicates that have the role of modifiers. These are exactly the type of elements that can follow prenominal *cel* in (107). Crucially, these cardinal expressions can be analyzed as predicative phrases.[64]

The predicative nature of the phrases following prenominal *cel* is also supported by the fact that they can occur in postcopular position, as exemplified in (108) below. The possibility of a modifier phrase to occur in postcopular position is usually considered to constitute evidence for the predicative nature of a phrase.

(108) a. fete -le sunt **două** ??(la număr)

girls-the are two in number

'the girls are two in number'

b fete -le sunt prea puține/multe

girls-the are too few/ many

'the girls are too few/many'

---

[64] In Zamparelli (1996), cardinal numerals are in the predicative determiner phrase PDP: In this position, cardinal numerals and vague adjectival numerals are simply modifiers that provide information about the cardinality of a "plural-individual". This is in fact the exact interpretation in the examples in (107).

While (108)a is rather awkward if we omit *la numǎr* 'in number', just as it is in English, (108)b is fully acceptable. Importantly, in (107) and (108) alike, the cardinal numeral and the vague adjectival numeral have the same interpretation – they provide information about the cardinal property of the plural noun 'girls'.[65]

Given the findings above, I propose that the phrases immediately following prenominal *cel*, namely, numeral cardinals and vague adjectival numerals, are predicative modifier phrases. This proposal is based on the observation that these phrases can occur in postcopular position and on the evidence presented in Milsark (1974) and Zamparelli (1996; 2000).

Thus far, I showed that the phrases allowed inside prenominal celP are predicative modifiers. Next, I provide conclusive evidence suggesting that prenominal celP not only allows, but in fact is restricted to predicative modifiers.

In theory, other prenominal modifiers should also be able to occur in a prenominal celP. The most likely candidates here would be prenominal AP_As, especially since postnominally APs do occur inside celP. However, prenominal AP_As are not only ungrammatical inside celP, but, crucially, they are also ungrammatical in postcopular position. The previous observations are exemplified in (109) and (110). Here, the (a) examples represent the grammatical position of the prenominal A_A in a definite DP, where the adjective is DP initial and hosts the definite article. The ungrammaticality of the (b) examples is due to the presence of the prenominal AP_As inside the prenominal

---

[65] Another argument for the adjectival nature of cardinals is brought by Grosu (1994). He observes that cardinal numerals lack a property typical for functional categories – that of bearing genitive case morphology. Grosu (1994) argues that, in Romanian, only functional elements can bear the genitive article suffix. In contrast, lexical categories, such as nouns and adjectives can never do so. In terms of their genitive case bearing capability, cardinals pattern with lexical categories, not with functional categories. That is, cardinals cannot host the genitive suffix; rather, they must be introduced by a preposition. Based on this evidence, Grosu (1994) concludes that Romanian cardinals are adjectives and not determiners.

celP. Finally, the ungrammatical (c) examples show that prenominal AP$_A$s cannot occur in postcopular position, suggesting that they are not predicative.[66]

(109) a. biat   -a   fată
           wretched-the girl
           'the wretched girl'

     b. *cea biată   fată
           cel wretched girl
           'the wretched girl'

     c.*fat -a   este biată
           girl-the is   wretched
           'the girl is wretched'

(110) a. fost   -ul preşedinte
           former-the president
           'the former president'

     b. *cel fost   preşedinte
           cel former president
           'the former president'

     c. *preşedinte-le este fost
           president -the is   former
           'the former president'

---

[66] Prenominal-only type AP$_A$s, like *biet* 'wretched' and *sărac* 'poor/pitiable', with the meaning 'pitiable' are also claimed to be non-intersective. It is thus pertinent to claim that the non-predicative nature of AP$_A$s corroborates the structural position I propose in the present study – as heads in the extended nominal projection as opposed to phrasal predicative modifiers.

Throughout (109) and (110) there is a correlation between the impossibility of prenominal AP_As to occur in predicative environments and their ungrammaticality in prenominal celP. This correlation supports the present proposal, whereby, only predicative phrases are allowed in prenominal celPs.

Next, I show that the ungrammaticality of prenominal AP_As embedded in prenominal celP is not triggered by the absence of the definite article.[67] In (111)b, the definite article is overt and hosted by the prenominal adjective, while the second prenominal AP_A is embedded in a prenominal celP. Still, even in the presence of the overt definite article, the DP is ungrammatical. It can be thus concluded that the ungrammaticality in (111)b is triggered by the presence of the non-predicative AP_A inside a prenominal celP.

(111)   a. biet   -ul fost   preşedinte
            wretched-the former president
            'the wretched former president'

          b. *biet   -ul cel fost   preşedinte
            wretched-the cel former president
            'the wretched former president'

Thus far, I showed that only prenominal predicative modifiers can occur in a prenominal celP, while non-predicative phrases are banned from this construction. Thus, I propose that the set of prenominal phrases allowed to occur in prenominal celPs is restricted to predicative modifiers. In light of this proposal, we can now explain why prenominal celP

---

[67] Recall that in DPs, where celP is postnominal the definite article must always be overt. Thus, there are situations where the absence of the overt definite article causes the ungrammaticality of the DP, not the presence of a non-predicative phrase in celP.

allows cardinals and vague adjectival numerals but not prenominal AP_As: because the former two phrases are predicative, while the latter one is not. Next, I show postnominal celPs are also restricted to predicative modifiers.

5.4.3.2 PREDICATIVE MODIFIERS IN POSTNOMINAL CELP

In this section, I argue that the phrases in postnominal celPs are also restricted to the set of predicative modifiers. First, I show that the phrases that can occur in postnominal celP are predicative modifiers. Then, I show that postnominal phrases that are not predicative modifiers are prohibited from postnominal celP.

As already mentioned, in addition to cardinals and vague adjectival numerals, postnominal celP can also contain APs and PPs. Having established that prenominal cardinals and vague numerals are predicative, I center here on the predicative nature of the APs and PPs in postnominal celP.

To begin with, I show that the modifier phrases that can occur in postnominal celP are predicative. Here, the evidence is twofold. First, the modifier phrases in question can occur in the prototypical predicative position within the DP. That is, the position following the complement of the noun as in (112) - (113). Second, these modifier phrases can also occupy the postcopular position.

(112)   a. fete -le Mariei **cele rănite**
             girls-the Mary's cel   wounded
             'Mary's wounded girls'

        b. fete -le   Mariei **rănite**
             girls -the Mary's wounded

'Mary's wounded girls'

c. fete -le (Mariei) sunt **rănite**

girls -the (Mary's) are   wounded

'Mary's girls are wounded'

(113)   a. fete -le Mariei **cele din   Bucureşti**

girls -the Mary's cel   from Bucharest

'Mary's girls from Bucharest'

b. fete -le   Mariei **din   Bucureşti**

girls -the   Mary's from Bucharest

'Mary's girls from Bucharest'

c. fete -le (Mariei) sunt **din   Bucureşti**

girls -the (Mary's) are   from Bucharest

'Mary's girls from Bucharest'

The (a) examples in (112) and (113) show that postnominal celP can contain an AP and a PP respectively. In the (b) examples the AP and the PP under investigation occupy the 'post-complement' position, claimed to be the typical predicative position in the DP.[68] Finally, in the (c) examples in (112) and (113) the AP and PP modifiers are in postcopular position. Thus far, I showed that the postnominal modifiers AP and PP that can occur in postnominal celP can also occupy two of the prototypical predicative positions. For now, I conclude that postnominal celP can contain predicative modifiers. Next, I provide

---

[68] Recall that cardinal numerals can never occur postnominally outside a celP. Yet, I still claimed that they are predicative. Zamparelli (1996) claims that: "This isn't merely an idiosyncratic syntactic prohibition against numerals in a position closer to N." Rather, he attributes the cardinal's impossibility to be postnominal to the fact that "...more internal DP projections denote kinds." and cardinals are to occur in the predicative determiner phrase (PDP). See Zamparelli (1996) for an explanation on the distinction between the kind phrase layer (KIP) and the predicative determiner phrase (PDP) he proposes.

evidence that postnominal celPs are restricted to predicative modifiers. Here, I show that not all postnominal phrases are created equal. That is, certain APs and PPs cannot occur in postnominal celPs although they can occur postnominally. As I show, the reason for the impossibility of these postnominal phrases to occur in a postnominal celP is that they are not predicative modifiers.

Cornilescu (1992), observes that postnominal *cel* cannot immediately precede PPs or DPs that are in a thematic relation with the head noun. In (114) below, are just a few of the examples provided by Cornilescu (1992).

(114)　a. *frate　-le cel al Mariei　　　　　　　　　Cornilescu (1992)
　　　　　　 brother-the cel of Mary's
　　　　　　 'Mary's brother'

　　　　 a' frate　-le　 Mariei
　　　　　　 brother-the Mary's
　　　　　　 'Mary's brother'

　　　　 b. *distrugere -a　 cea a oraşului
　　　　　　 distruction-the cel of city's
　　　　　　 'the destruction of the city'

　　　　 b'. distrugere -a　 oraşului
　　　　　　 distruction-the city's
　　　　　　 'the destruction of the city'

If we assume that only predicative modifiers can occur in a postnominal celP, the ungrammatical DPs in (114) can be easily explained. Here, all the constituents in celP are

in a thematic relation with the noun and thus do not qualify as modifiers. Therefore, the condition on modifiers within postnominal celP is violated.

Cornilescu (1992) further notes that "The ban on theta-marked constituents is so strong that not even theta-marked referential adjectives are allowed in the postnominal *cel* construction, though these adjectives have got to be postnominal in Rumanian..."

(115) a. colonizare -a   română a Daciei   Cornilescu (1992)
          colonization-the Roman of Dacia
          'the Roman colonization of Dacia'

       b. *roman -a   colonizare   a Daciei
          roman -the colonization of Dacia
          'the Roman colonization of Dacia'

       c. *colonizare -a   cea română a Daciei
          colonization-the cel Roman   of Dacia
          'the Roman colonization of Dacia'

Crucially, although the relational/thematic AP *română* 'Roman' in (115) must be postnominal, it can not occur in the prototypical DP internal predicative position. That is it cannot follow the complement of the noun, as exemplified in (116)a. Moreover, the AP *română* cannot occupy the postcopular position either, as exemplified in (116)b.

(116) a. *colonizare -a   Daciei română
          colonization-the Dacia   Roman
          'the Roman colonization of Dacia'

b. *colonizare -a   Daciei este romană

colonization-the Dacia is   Roman

'the colonization of Dacia is Roman'

The ungrammaticality of the DPs in (116) seems to provide sufficient evidence to assume that the AP *romană* is not predicative. This assumption can then be used to explain the impossibility of this AP to occur in the postnominal celP in (115)c. Moreover, if Cornilescu's claim is correct, and the AP *romană* is in a thematic relation with the head noun, then, this AP does not qualify as a modifier as such. It follows that (115)c is ungrammatical simply because the phrase in postnominal celP is not a modifier, thus not predicative, as is the case of the thematic PPs and DPs in (114).

Having established that postnominal phrases that are not predicative cannot occur in postnominal celP, I conclude that all phrases in postnominal celP must be predicative modifiers.

In subsection 5.4.3, I argued that the set of phrases permissible in prenominal and postnominal celPs alike is restricted to predicative modifiers. I also showed that prenominal and postnominal celPs can occur in DP internal positions typical for predicative phrases. Based on these findings, I conclude that prenominal and postnominal celPs are predicative phrases as well. A possible structure of celP could be the one in (117). Importantly, I do not take *cel,* in (117), to be an instance of D.[69] Rather, I assume that *cel* represents agreement with the [+definite] feature in D^0. In addition, I assume *cel* is semantically vacuous. The predication expression embedded in the celP is therefore used to restrict the denotation of the constituent to which celP is attached.

---

[69] For the present purposes the specific category of *cel* is not relevant. Thus, I have used the celP notation throughout this chapter.

(117) potential internal structure of celP

```
            celP
             |
            cel'
           ╱  ╲
     ╱          ╲
  cel          CardP
   |             △
  cele          două
  cele          two
```
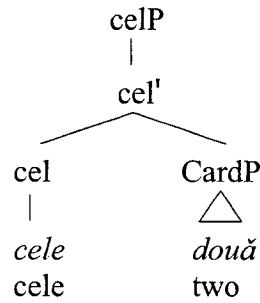
In section 3.4, I argued in favour of a unified syntactic analysis for prenominal and postnominal celP. Specifically, I claimed that both celPs occupy the specifier of some intermediate functional phrase in the extended nominal projection. Specifically, celPs that can surface prenominally are in the specifier of a high functional phrase, while celPs that surface postnominally are in the specifier of a lower functional phrase. The assumption that prenominal and postnominal celP have a similar syntactic treatment predicts that these two constituents ought to exhibit other similarities as well. Indeed, as I showed in section 3.4.3, the content of both prenominal and postnominal celPs is restricted to predicative modifiers.

5.5 SUMMARY

In section 5, I compared the present proposal with the accounts provided in Cornilescu (1992, 1995). I argued that the structure and DP internal movements I propose in the current work present a number of advantages. First, they provide a more unified analysis for prenominal and postnominal celPs. Under the current analysis, prenominal and postnominal celPs have very similar syntactic functions and positions in the DP. Namely, they are both adjunct/modifier phrases in the extended nominal projection, where

prenominal celP occupies the specifier of a higher functional phrase, while postnominal celP is in the specifier of a lower functional phrase. Here, I also show that these two phrases share the same constraints on their internal structure. Specifically, prenominal and postnominal celP alike can only embed predicative modifiers. I also argue that the generation site I propose for prenominal celP in conjunction with my account for N^0 or A_A head-movement to D^0 provide a more straightforward account. Many of the restrictions on movement and on surface representations follow from general principles of the grammar and from the structure I argued for. Therefore, in addition to accounting for the relevant data, my proposal also dispenses with surface filters and conditions that are necessary under the alternative accounts.

6   CONCLUSION AND FURTHER ISSUES

In this chapter, I provided an account for the syntactic properties and distribution of *cel* in the environment of an overt noun. I proposed that *cel* heads a predicative modifier referred to as celP. Like other DP internal modifiers, celP, occupies the specifier of or is adjoined to a functional phrase in the extended nominal projection. Importantly, celPs can only occur in definite DPs. Prenominal celP occupies the specifier of a high FP, which is just below DP. From this position prenominal celP can license a covert definite D^0. In this position, celP shares the licensing property with demonstratives and possessive phrases. In opposition, postnominal celP occurs in the specifier of an FP that is lower in the DP, just like all other postnominally surfacing modifiers. From this position celP cannot license a covert definite D^0. As a result, the definiteness of the DP where postnominal

294

celP occurs is obligatorily lexicalized by a definite suffix.

The findings in this section are in line with, and in fact further support, the findings in chapter 2. Before examining how, let us review the main claims made in chapter 2. There, I proposed that prenominal adjectives, A_As, are heads in the extended nominal projection, as illustrated in (55). In contrast, postnominal adjectives, $AP_{B/C}$s, are XPs in the specifier of or adjoined to an FP in the extended nominal projection. I also argued that the suffixation of the definite article in Romanian is always an instance of head-movement to D^0. Specifically, I showed that N^0/X^0 to D^0 or A^0 to D^0 head-movement takes place in the environment of an overt definite article. On their way to D^0, N^0/X^0 or A^0 movement can bypass demonstratives and cardinals, but N^0/X^0 to D^0 movement is blocked by an intervening A_A.

This chapter has considered the distribution of celP, which was claimed to be a modifier and, crucially, a phrasal category in the extended nominal projection. CelPs are obviously phrases, rather than heads, in the extended nominal projection, because they embed predicative phrases.[70] In addition, the complex structure of superlative celPs is also an indicator of their phrasal nature. Here, it was demonstrated that prenominal celP has the same syntactic distribution as demonstratives, which were claimed in chapter 2 to also be phrasal elements. This chapter also showed that adjectival or nominal movement to the DP domain can bypass intervening celPs, just as it can bypass intervening demonstratives and cardinals. Since adjectival and nominal movement to the DP domain can bypass celPs, which are clearly phrasal – it must be that this movement is head-movement: A^0 to D^0 or N^0 to X^0 to D^0 movement. Thus, the findings of this chapter

---

[70] Arguments in favour of the modifier status of celPs are provided in sections 5.4.2 and 5.4.3.

strengthen the claim that demonstratives and cardinals are either in specifier of or adjoined to an FP in the extended nominal projection.

In previous literature, notably Cornilescu (1992) for Romanian, demonstratives and cardinals were claimed to be determiners and sometimes heads in the extended nominal projection. The findings in this chapter, weigh against this account. First of all, here, demonstratives are shown to have the same syntactic distribution and properties as the prenominal celP modifier, a maximal projection. Also, it appears that it is not the demonstrative or celP as such that contribute definiteness. Rather, definiteness relates to the position in which these elements occur – the specifier of the functional projection just below DP. In other words, demonstratives and celPs are special kinds of modifiers but modifiers none the less. Let us briefly consider how these findings compare to those in previous literature on demonstratives and the overt versus covert status of the definite article.

Bruge (2002) proposes a movement analysis for the various positions of demonstratives in Spanish, which she extends to account for other languages as well. Just like in the present proposal, in Bruge (2002), the demonstrative is a maximal projection in the extended nominal projection, and is generated in the specifier of a functional projection. However, under her account the Spec/FP where all demonstratives are base generated is very low in the DP, even below many postnominally occurring modifiers. Therefore, when the demonstrative surfaces prenominally, its position is derived by phrasal movement of the demonstrative either to Spec/DP or to some intermediate Spec/FP. Moreover, movement of the demonstrative to Spec/DP is motivated by the need of the demonstrative to check it's [+referential] feature. This movement must take place

by LF. For Romanian, Bruge (2002) proposes that the demonstrative must move before Spell-Out at least to the intermediate Spec/FP and only optionally all the way to Spec/DP. However, it is not clear what motivates the movement of the demonstrative to the high-intermediate FP. This proposal is meant to explain the ban on postnominal demonstratives. Conversely, in languages where the demonstrative can or must surface postnominally checking of the [+referential] feature can or must be delayed until LF. In other words, word-order variation among languages is based on the strong/weak feature distinction. Bruge (2002) proposes that the [+referential] feature can be strong, weak or have both strong and weak properties, as is the case of Romanian.

Under this account, APs are also maximal projections and the suffixation of the definite article on adjectives must be obtained by AP to Spec/DP movement. Thus in Romanian, AP and demonstrative phrasal movement compete for the same Spec/DP position. Crucially, here, the demonstrative is generated below APs (particularly prenominal type APs). It follows that APs are intervening phrases with the same potential and need to check features in Spec/DP. Thus, demonstrative movement to Spec/DP and to the high-intermediate Spec/FP bypasses an intervening AP, which should constitute a Relativized Minimality violation.

In addition, in Bruge (2002) DPs where an adjective hosts the definite article and precedes the demonstrative are ungrammatical. She explains the alleged ungrammaticality as a Minimality violation of the AP moving past the demonstrative which is supposedly in an intermediate Spec/FP. It appears therefore, that an analysis where demonstratives are generated low in the structure and move to the prenominal surface position cannot account for the Romanian DPs considered in the present study.

Another account for the interaction of demonstratives and the definite article is provided by Giusti (2002). In this account, demonstratives are also treated as maximal projections that can move to Spec/DP.[71] In opposition, the definite article occurs in D^0 and is only used as a last resort option. That is, movement of an appropriate phrase to Spec/DP is favoured over lexicalization of the definite article in the head of D^0. These assumptions are to account for the fact that a demonstrative in Spec/DP does not cooccur with an overt definite article in D^0. Like Cornilescu (1995) Giusti (1995; 2002) also assumes the existence of a "Doubly filled Determiner" constraint.

Thus, in both Bruge (2002) and Giusti (2002) the demonstrative in Romanian must be at some point in the derivation in the high intermediate Spec/FP. In addition, the demonstrative can also move to Spec/DP. Sometimes it does so before Spell-Out sometimes after. Under the present account, the demonstrative and prenominal celP are generated in the high-intermediate Spec/FP. From this position they can license a covert D^0. No movement of the demonstrative or celP to Spec/DP is assumed here.

In this chapter, I provided an account for the distribution of *cel*. In doing so, I have further strengthened the assumptions made thus far on the structure and movements I proposed for the DP. In addition, the parallel behaviour of prenominal celP and demonstratives sheds new light on our understanding of demonstratives and their properties.

---

[71] Like in Bruge (2002), in Giusti (2002), APs are also maximal projections. The possibility of having an AP and a demonstrative in Spec/DP is not an issue. Here, she explicitly marks as ungrammatical DPs where an adjective hosts the definite suffix and is followed by a demonstrative.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to attain a better understanding of the syntactic principles and conditions that govern the DP-internal structure. This was done by investigating DPs in Romanian, which are of particular importance for the study of the DP-internal structure, due to their complex word-order variation. In this work, I centered on three DP-internal categories the syntactic behaviours of which contribute to the word-order variation in Romanian: nouns, adjectives and the definite article. Here, I attempted to show that the DP-internal word-order variation in Romanian can be explained by the distinct generation sites of the categories under consideration and/or by their syntactic movement. Specifically, I claimed that Romanian exhibits two 'levels' of overt nominal fronting: short noun movement and nominal movement to the DP domain. Second, I argued that adjectives in Romanian can be generated in three different positions and that certain adjectives can also undergo movement. I also showed that the presence of an overt definite article clitic correlates with movement of the noun or an adjective to DP initial position.

The principal claims made here on the syntax of Romanian DPs are the following. (1) Noun fronting is always obtained by head-movement. (2) Adjectives that surface prenominally are structurally distinct form those that surface postnominally: prenominal adjectives are heads and postnominal adjectives are maximal categories in the extended nominal projection. Moreover, APs that surface postnominally can be attached

to the left or to the right of the noun. (3) The only lexicalization of definite D^0 is the suffix –*L*, which cliticizes on a syntactic head that undergoes head-movement to D^0.

This study started by showing that the affixation of the definite article on nouns and adjectives can be derived by syntactic head-movement of the host element to D^0. The distributional asymmetries among adjectives with respect to the definite article are accounted for by hypothesizing that they occur in two structurally distinct positions. Adjectives that surface prenominally are heads in the extended nominal projection; while adjectives that surface postnominally are maximal projections. Here, I showed that prenominal adjectives (a) block head-movement of the noun to D^0, (b) bypass the same elements as the noun, and (c) are blocked by the same element as the noun.

In chapter 3, I provided an analysis for the two postnominal positions of APs. The evidence I provided hinged on the relative scope among APs. I claimed that APs surfacing between the noun and its complement are generated to the left of the noun and APs that follow the complement of the noun are generated to the right. The postnominal surface position of the former APs is derived by leftward noun head-movement as opposed to remnant phrasal movement. Here, I showed that the symmetric approach I support generates all and only attested word-order – scope pairings, while antisymmetry generates additional, unattested pairs.

Finally, I accounted for the asymmetric distribution of prenominal versus postnominal *cel* relative to the definite suffix. In previous literature, *cel* was analyzed as a free-standing expletive definite article that occupies D^0. In opposition to these previous analyses, I claim that *cel* heads a modifier phrase, say celP. I showed that prenominal celP has the same syntactic distribution and properties as demonstratives, including the ability

to license a covert definite D^0. Conversely, postnominal ceIP, like all other postnominal modifiers, lacks this licensing property.

Crucially, in this study, I demonstrated that the conditions and constraints that govern DP-internal movement of the noun and adjectives in Romanian are those developed by Travis (1984) – Head-Movement and the Head Movement Constraint. This is an important result, particularly in light of recent attempts in the literature that argue against the existence of head-movement in the DP, as in Cinque (2003, 2004, 2005) and Shlonsky (2004) among others.

REFERENCES

Abney, S. 1987. The English Noun Phrase and its Sentential Aspect. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT

Alboiu, G. 2002. *The features of Movement in Romanian.* Bucharest: The University of Bucharest Press

Arnaudova, O. 1995. "Bulgarian DPs and noun (adjective) movement to D". Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistics Association, ed. by Paivi Koshinev, *Toronto wP in Linguistics*, 1-12

Bernstein, J. 1991. DPs in French and Walloon: Evidence for parametric variation in nominal head movement" *Probus* 2, 1-26

Bernstein, J. 1993. The Syntactic Role of Word Markers in Null Nominal Constructions. *Probus* 5.1-2: 5-38

Bernstein, J. 1993. Topics in the Syntax of Nominal Structure Across Romance. CUNY Ph.D. Dissertation.

Bernstein, J.1997. Demonstratives and Reinforcers in Romance and Germanic Languages. *Lingua* 102: 87-113

Borer, H. 1994. The Projections of Arguments. In Elena Benedicto and Jeff Runner (eds.) *UMass Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 17. UMass, Amherst. Pp. 19-47.

Borer, H. (1996) The construct in review. In Jacqueline Lecarme et al. (eds.) Studies in Afroasiatic Grammar. The Hague: HAG. Pp. 30-61.

Bruge, L. 2002. "The Position of demonstratives in the Extended Nominal Projection", in Cinque,G.(ed.) Functional Structure in DP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, vol.1. New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp.15-52

Chosmky, N. 1995. The Minimalist Program. Cambridge, MIT Press

Cinque, G. 1994. "On the evidence for partial N movement in the Romance DP," in Cinque, G, J. Koster, J.-Y. Pollock, L. Rizzi & R. Zanuttini (eds.) Paths Towards Universal Grammar, Georgetown University Press, Georgetown. 85-110

Cinque, G. 1996. The 'antisymmetric' programme: theoretical and typological implications. *Journal of Linguistics* 32: 447-464.

Cinque, G. 2000. On Greenberg's universal 20 and the Semitic DP. *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics*, vol.10 (2): 45-61

Cinque, G. 2003a. "The dual source of adjectives and XP- vs. N-raising in the Romance DP", paper given at the Incontro annuale di dialettologia, Padova, June 26, 2003, at the CASTL Conference, Tromsø, October 2-4, 2003, and at NELS 34, SUNY at Stony Brook, November 7-9, 2003.

Cinque, G. 2004. A phrasal movement analysis of the Romanian DP. In A. Minuț and E. Munteanu (Eds.), *Studia linguistica et philologica in honorem D. Irimia*, 129-142. Iași: Editura Universității "A. I. Cuza."

Cinque, G. 2005. "Deriving Greenberg's Universal 20 and its exceptions", Linguistic Inquiry 36. 315-332

Coene, M. 1999. Definite Null Nominals in Romanian and Spanish. A Generative Approach to the internal Syntax of DP. PhD dissertation, Universiteit Antwerpen

Coene, M. 2004. "Adjectival articles". Ms., Antwerp University (F.W.O.-Flanders) http://www.linguist.jussieu.fr/~mardale/Volume_1.htm

Cornilescu, A. (1992) "Remarks on the determiner system of Rumanian: the demonstratives al and cel". *Probus* 4.189–260.

Cornilescu, A. (1995) "Rumanian genitive constructions", in G.Cinque and G.Giusti (eds.) Advances in Roumanian Linguistics, Amsterdam, Benjamins, pp.1-54

Delsing, L.-O. (1993a) "On attributive adjectives in Scandinavian and other languages," *Studia Linguistica* 47(2), 105-125

Delsing, L.O. (1993b) The Internal Structure of Noun Phrases in the Scandinavian Languages. A Comparative Study. Phd dissertation, University of Lund.

Delsing, L. O. 1998. Possession in Germanic. In Artemis Alexiadou and Chris Wilder, eds. Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the DP.Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 87-10

Dimitrova-Vulchanova and M., Giusti, G., 1998. Fragments of Balkan nominal structure. In: Alexiadou, A., Wilder, C. (eds.), Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the Determiner Phrase. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 333–360.

Dobrovie-Sorin, C. 1987. "A propos de la structure du groupe nominal en roumain. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 12, 123–152.

Duffield, N. 1992. "The Construct State in Irish and Hebrew Part I". *Belfast Working Papers in Language and Linguistics* 12. 1-67

Duffield, N. 1999. Adjectival Modifiers and the Specifier-Adjunct Distinction. In David Adger et al.(eds.) Specifiers: Minimalist Approaches. OUP. Pp. 126-145.

Embick, D. and R., Izvorski. 1995. Participle-auxiliary word-orders in Slavic. In Wayles Browne, ed., Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics 4: The Cornell University Meetings, 210-239. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications

Embick D. and R., Noyer 1999 Locality in Post-Syntactic Operations *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics*. 34. 265-317.

Embick D., and R., Noyer 2001 Movement Operations after syntax *Linguistic Inquiry* 32: 555-595.

Fassi Fehri, A. 1989. Generalised IP structure, case and VS order. In Itziar Laka & Anoop Mahajan (eds.) Functional Heads and Clause Structure. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics*. p. 75–113.

Fassi Fehri, A. 1993 Issues in the Structure of Arabic Clauses and Words. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Fassi Fehri, A. 1999. Arabic modifying adjectives and DP structures. *Studia Linguistica* 53: 105-154.

Fabri, R. 1993. Kongruenz und die Grammatik des Maltesischen. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Giusti, G, 1991. "The Categorial Status of Quantified Nominals", *Linguistiche Berichte* 136: 438-452.

Giusti, G, 1993 La Sintassi dei Determinanti. Unipress, Padua.

Giusti, G. 1995. Heads and modifiers among determiners: evidence from Romanian. In Guglielmo Cinque and Giuliana Giusti, eds., Advances in Roumanian Linguistics, 103-125.Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Giusti, G. 2002. The functional structure of noun phrases: a bare phrase structure approach. In: Cinque, G. (Ed.), Functional Structure in DP and IP. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 54–90.

Grimshaw, J. (1991). Extended projections. Ms, Brandeis University.

Grosu, A. 1988 "On the distribution of genitive phrases in Romanian", *Linguistics* 26, 931–949.

Grosu, A. 1994. Three Studies in Locality and Case. New York: Routledge. Higginbotham, James. 1985. On semantics. *Linguistic Inquiry* 16: 547-594.

Hazout, I. (1990) Verbal nouns: Theta-Theoretic Studies in Hebrew and Arabic. Ph.D. dissertation, UMass, Amherst.

Hazout, I. (1995) Action Nominalization and the Lexicalist Hypothesis. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 13(3): 355-404.

Kayne, R. S. 1994. The Antisymmetry of Syntax. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Longobardi, G. (1996) On the typological unity of Indo-European and Semitic genitive case. In Jacqueline Lecarme et al. (Eds.), Studies in Afroasiatic Grammar. The Hague: HAG. Pp. 179–214.

Larson, R. and G., Segal 1995. Knowledge of Meaning. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Larson, R. 2001.Title: Events and Modification in Nominals. semanticsarchive.net. submitted: 2001 02 12

Marantz. A. 1989 Clitics and phrase structure. In Mark Baltin & Anthony Kroch, (Eds.), Alternative Conceptions of Phrase Structure, 99-116. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Milsark, G. (1974). Existential Sentences in English. Ph. D. thesis, MIT, Cambridge, MA.

Mohammad, M. (1988) "On the Parallelism between IP and DP", in H. Borer (ed.) Proceedings of WCCFL 7, 241-254.

Payne, D. 1986. Derivation, internal syntax, and external syntax in Yagua. Paper presented at Milwaukee Morphology Meeting.

Pereltsvaig, A. 2004 "Head movement in Hebrew Nominals: a reply to Shlonsky", ms., University of Yale, to appear in Lingua

Radford, A. 1993. Head-hunting: on the trail of the nominal Janus. In Greville Corbett, Norman Fraser & Scott McGlashan, (Eds.), Heads in Grammatical Theory, 71-113. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ritter, E.1987. NSO orders in Modern Hebrew. Proceedings of the 17th North Eastern Linguistic Society, 521-537.

Ritter, E. 1988. A head-movement approach to construct-state noun phrases.Linguistics 26, 909–929.

Ritter, E. 1991. Two functional categories in noun phrases: evidence from Modern Hebrew. *Syntax and Semantics* 25, 37–62.

Rizzi, L. 1990. Relativized Minimality. Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press

Shlonsky, U. 1991a. Hebrew construct state nominals, Arabic verb-initial clauses and the Head Movement Constraint. Ms., Université du Québec à Montréal.

Shlonsky, U. 2004 The form of Semitic noun phrases. *Lingua* 114: 1465–1526.

Siegel, E. 1976a. Capturing the Adjective. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.

Siegel, E. 1976b. "Capturing the Russian Adjective," in B. Partee (Ed.) Montague Grammar. (pp. 293-309) New York: Academic Press.

Siloni, T. 1991. Noun raising and the structure of the noun phrase. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 14, 255–270.

Siloni, T. 1994 Noun Phrases and Nominalizations. Ph.D. Diss., Univ. de Genève.

Siloni, T. 1996. Hebrew noun phrases: generalized noun raising. In: Belletti, A., Rizzi, L. (Eds.), Parameters and Functional Heads. Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford, pp. 239–267.

Sproat, R. and C., Shih, 1991. "Prenominal Adjectival Ordering in English and Mandarin".
NELS 18, 465-489

Sproat, R. and C. Shih 1991. "The Cross-Linguistics Distribution of Adjectival Ordering
Restrictions," In C. Georgopoulos and R. Ishihara (Eds.), Interdisciplinary
Approaches to Language: Essays in Honor of S-Y Kuroda. (pp.565-593) Dordrecht:
Kluwer Academic Publishers

Stavrou, M. 1999. "The Position and Serialization of APs in the DP: Evidence from Greek",
In A.Alexiadou, G.Horrocks, and M.Stavrou (Eds.), Studies in Greek Syntax.
Dordrecht, Kluwer,

Stonham, J. and W., Yiu. 2003. Symmetry in Nuuchahnulth Syntax: The structure of the IP
and DP. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistics
Association, Dalhousie Univesity, Halifax.

Sternefeld, W. 2003. "Semantic vs. syntactic reconstruction". Ms., University of Tuebingen.

Szabolcsi, A. 1983. The possessor that ran away from home. *The Linguistic Review* 3.

Szabolcsi, A. 1994. The noun phrase. In: Kiss, E´ .K., Kiefer, F. (Eds.) The Syntactic
Structure of Hungarian. Academic Press, San Diego, CA.

Takano, Y. 2003. "How antisymmetric is syntax" *Linguistic Inquiry* 34. 516-526.

Taraldsen, T. 1990. D-projections and N-projections in Norwegian. In: Mascaro, J., Nespor,
M. (Eds.), Grammar in Progress. Foris, Dordrecht, pp. 419–432.

Travis, L. 1984. Parameters and effects of word order variation. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.

Travis, L. 1988. The syntax of adverbs. *McGill Working papers in Linguistics*: Special Issue
on Comparative Germanic Syntax, 280-310.

Ungureanu, M. 2003. "On DP structure in Romanian". *McGill Working papers in Linguistics* 18.103-146.

Ungureanu, M. 2004. "Head movement to D^0 in Romanian" proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association.

Ungureanu, M. 2005. "The direction of AP attachment in Romanian DPs" proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association.

Valois, D. 1991. The Internal syntax of DP. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Los Angeles.

Valois, D. 1991. "The Internal syntax of DP and adjectival placement in French and English", NELS 21, 367-382

Valois, D. 1996. On the structure of the French DP. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 41, 349–375.

Zamparelli, R. 1996. A null theory of bound-variable pronouns. In Proceedings of the First On-line Conference on Thematic Structures in Binding. Eastern Michigan University. http://www.emich.edu/ linguist/linconf/.

Zamparelli, R. 2000. Layers in the Determiner Phrase. PhD dissertation, Rochester University.