

## Session Notes 12 (30.06.2008)

The **first question** we dealt with was the question whether there is something like an EPP feature in the nominal domain. There seems to be a more or less clear-cut answer to this: There does not seem to be an EPP correlate in [Spec, DP] when compared with the structure of, say, the TP where the EPP feature is situated in [Spec, TP]. Haegeman (1999) likens the DP to the CP, and since the EPP feature only holds in the TP, it is per definition excluded that it holds in the DP. As to the issue of why a DP should be analogous to the CP, Haegeman says the following:

*“Comparing clauses and nominal projections, it is natural to consider VP and NP as parallel. VP and NP are the lexical projections. From this comparative perspective, the question arises whether we should compare DP to a functional projection of the IP-type (AgrP, TP), or rather to a functional projection of the CP-type. There is some suggestive evidence that DP is a CP-type projection”* (Haegeman 1999: 419).

The argument comes from the movement of wh-elements. Remember that in clauses, wh-elements can move to the [Spec, CP] position; the same seems to hold in the DP-internal application of wh-movement:

(1) This is [<sub>DP</sub> a [<sub>AP</sub> **very important**] decision].

(2) [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> **How important**] a decision] is this?

Just as in the full CP, the wh-element is moved to a [Spec, CP] position, the very same process goes on in the DP. However, one question here comes to my mind: Since the movement in CP seems to be triggered by some “force slot”, either a [Decl] in [Spec, CP] or a [±Q], how could this be conceptualized in Haegeman’s argument. Is there something like a “force slot” in the DP?

The **second question** dealt with the ordering of pre-nominal adjectives in the DP. Very generally speaking, I think it appropriate if I said that Haegeman wants to **eliminate Adjuncts**. In at least one of the previous sessions, we saw that Adger deals with them using Adjunction. Haegeman, however endorses a non-Adjunction approach. She says: *“It has repeatedly been observed that pre-nominal adjectives obey strict ordering restrictions. These restrictions are, moreover, universal”* (Haegeman 1999: 459). What this boils down to is a kind of adjectival hierarchy that goes something like *evaluating > size > colour*. (3) is an example of that:

(3) a beautiful big red ball  
*evaluating size colour*

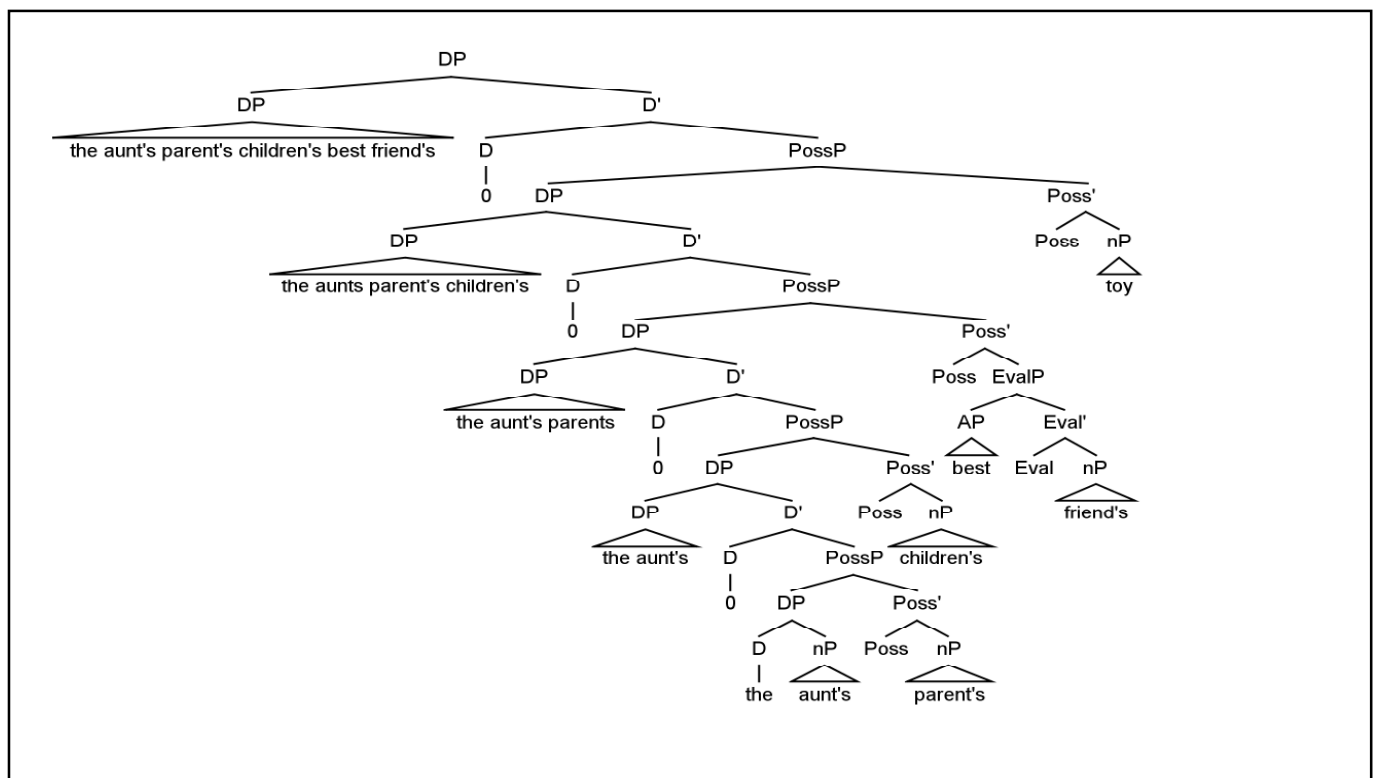
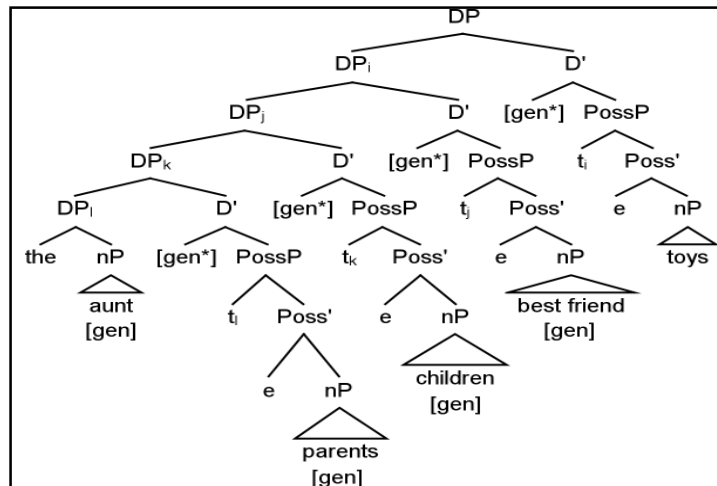
Now, what does restrict the ordering of the pre-nominal adjectives? There are certainly considerations of semantic scope that have to be taken into account here. One would really have to think about the lexico-semantic features of the adjectives and whether this has some impact on the ordering. Another interesting question is: Are there languages that overtly morphologically encode the hierarchical ordering of pre-nominal adjectives. From a feature checking point of view, as of yet, it would be totally unclear how featural selection processes could be accounted for. In (3), as far as I can see, it is totally not the case that “beautiful” somehow selects “big” – in fact, none of the adjectival elements is obligatory. But the Cinque hierarchy seems to imply obligatoriness. What if the slots are not filled out? Are they still there, then?

Haegeman says: “The hypothesis that APs are specifiers leads to an increase in the number of projections postulated in the DP” (Haegeman 1999: 460). The question is: What is the head of an evaluating phrase (EvP) or a size phrase (SiP) or a colour phrase (ColP)? Are there languages that encode these heads overtly? On page 464, Haegeman asks “whether the device of adjunction should be maintained at all as an option in the X'-framework”.<sup>1</sup>

**Question three** dealt with multiple embeddable PossPs. The classic posed by Iwanov<sup>2</sup> is:

(4) the aunt’s parent’s children’s best friend’s toys<sup>3</sup>

(4) is famously resolved by Benjamin and Michael. I here include both versions. The first version is that of Benjamin. The second version is that of Michael. I here quote his explanation of the representation.



<sup>1</sup> Just a personal aside: To abandon Adjunction is something that appeals to me. The problem is only how this could be encoded structurally in a tree representation. Maybe this is a borderline case where interface conditions and restrictions from the Syntactic System to the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) System come into play that can only hardly be represented in the syntax proper.

<sup>2</sup> Humoresque.

*What happens? “the aunt’s” moves from the Spec-Poss above the nP “parent’s” to the Spec-DP still further above; then the whole DP “the aunt’s parent’s” moves from Spec-Poss above the nP “children’s” to the DP still further above; then the whole DP “the aunt’s parent’s children” moves from the Spec-Poss above the nP “friend’s” to the Spec-DP still further above; and finally, the whole DP “the aunt’s parent’s children’s best friend’s” moves from the Spec-Poss position above the nP “toy” to the Spec-DP whose lexical head is “toy.”*

*In a syncretistic move, I have characterized “best friend’s” as an evaluative phrase, following Haegeman. Seen from that perspective, adjectival heads do seem to select nPs after all! Genitive case is valued by the null D and as a strong feature, triggers movement into Spec-DP.*

As Richard correctly remarked, the Haegeman representation would just stack Agreement Phrases until the job is done.

**Question four** came up when we were thinking about the closer specification of the Ns involved. As we know, this can be done by relative clauses. As we assume that relative clauses are full CPs, it is a kind of a problem to “bring the DP and the CP together”. How are the relative clauses incorporated into the DP? Since Haegeman does not talk about this phenomenon anywhere, we will have to wait until we reach the relevant chapter in Adger. As of jet, all the solutions seem to be speculative.

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<sup>3</sup> “BTW, the aunt’s parent’s children are her siblings, and we are talking about the toy that belongs to the sibling’s best friend – so even the meaning of this wonderful phrase is pretty straightforward” (M.S.). Thank you, Michael.