

Peter Kosta (University of Potsdam)

Multiple modification in Slavic as compared to Romance and Germanic Languages (the proof by degree phrases and comparatives)

Road Map

1. Introduction into and State of the Art on Multiple Modification
 - 1.1 Word Order and Ranking of Adjectives in Slavic, Germanic and Romance
 - 1.2 Adjectival Modifiers
 - 1.3 Contrast between English and Italian as Compared to Polish, Russian and Czech
2. Functional Projections and Semantic Classes of APs (Pereltsvaig and Kagan 2018)
3. The N-D-Movement-Analysis (Trugman 2005, 2007; Alexiadou & Wilder 2008)
4. References

1. Introduction into and State of the Art on Multiple Modification

In recent theories of Mainstream Generative Grammar, the hypothesis that Adverbial Phrases and Adjectives both in predicative and attributive position are specifiers has been born out as a General principle of UG. In Cinque (1999), Adjectives and Adverbs are Specifiers, and Adverbials are ordered in a head specifier agreement relation to their Functional Projections. Thus, Sentential and lower Adverbs are results of extended projections on functional heads via adjunction. Cinque (2010) gives a more elaborated cross-linguistic evidence, arguing that adjectives have two sources: They either enter the nominal phase as “adverbial” modifiers to the noun or as predicates of reduced relative clauses. Cinque argues that N-raising as such should be abandoned (but see for an alternative of Noun Raising in Russian APs in Trugman 2005, 2007) in favor of XP-raising--a conclusion also supported by evidence from other language families.

It is quite peculiar, but understandable, that in one of the most influential Studies in X-Bar-Structure Generative Syntax of the GB-Period (Jackendoff 1977), multiple Adjectives are not considered while other categories such as Quantifier Phrases, Numeral Phrases and Degree Phrases are potential extensions of the NP in English and many other languages seemingly obeying or following the Specifier rule in Jackendoff's constraint (cf. *ibidem*, p. 104).

The phenomenon of multiple modification of Nouns in complex Noun Phrases via Adjectives is not as straightforward as it seems, since in many languages, the ordering of Adjectives of the same Adjective class can involve semantic considerations, such as in French or in Polish, where the Adjective can stand either in front or behind the Noun and its syntactic position is designed for certain meanings, cf. (1) a. vs. b. in French and (2) a. vs. b. in Polish.

(1) a. La pauvre femme!
« Die Ärmste ! »

b. Edouard est tout de compassion: Une proie pour une femme pauvre
Edward ist mitfühlend... und eine leichte Beute für mittellose Frauen.
Edward is compassionate ... and easy prey for penniless women.

(2) a. W moim wieku nadal szukam formy, języka, aby świat jakoś wyrazić. Stale nocą notuję wiersze. Czy miał pan udane życie? (milczenie) Nie. Każdy **aktor komiczny** chciałby zagrać "Hamleta", a każdy *aktor tragiczny* marzy o roli wesołka.

b. Komiczny aktor/Zabawny aktor zaśmiał się

The funny actor started to laugh

In Polish, the canonical order of Adjectives, obviously depends on a Categorical Ordering principle which is called *kategoria cechowa* vs *kategoria gatunkująca* reminding on the differentiation between *stage* vs *individual level predicates*. In Russian, a new experimental study has shown that the ordering and hierarchy of attributive Adjectives follows a certain cartography in which – similar to Cinque's Adverbial ordering – certain classes of Adjectives follow certain positions in the functional layer of the DP (cf. Pereltsvaig and Kagan 2018). We will take up this line of argumentation as we proceed.

The Modifiers of the Noun Phrase in English, especially the attributive Adjectives, has had a long tradition and is until now not resolved (cf. for State of the Art and the different Approaches of both descriptive functional and generative grammars in detail in Veselovská 2018:81-86). A similar Problem seems to hold for any other language which can have multiple modifiers in the pre-nominal left periphery. In principle, all proposals can be summed up in two different assumptions: (A) prenominal adjectives are ordered after a semantic hierarchy, the more specific class of Adjective being closer to the nominal head, (B) prenominal adjectives are restricted as to their order by a structural hierarchy of projections based on a universal string of (functional) head projections related to the head (Cinque 1999, Adger 2003, Pereltsvaig and Kagan 2018, Veselovská 2018).

In my contribution, I shall give two alternative analyses of Multiple Modification of prenominal and postnominal Adjectives in some Slavic and some Romance languages.

The first Analysis is based on external Merge as first Merge, including as proof test the MGG Analysis of Degree Phrases of Ray Jackendoff's X-Bar Approach in which the functional Category Deg is taken as an additional proof of reordering between semantic classes of Adjectives which seem to hold cross-linguistically if not already as a candidate of a semantic hierarchy of UG (cf. Jackendoff 1977, and Alexiadou 2013: 474).

The Second, less attractive approach, is based on multiple adjunction and internal Merge (Move) of XPs (Cinque's 2010 XP raising analysis). The hypothesis will be that, firstly, both types of Analyses hold, but, secondly, they hold for different semantic classes of Adjectives (e.g. qualitative Adjectives are more free and less restricted for re-ordering than relational and quantitative Adjectives), and that Degree Phrases and Comparatives can shed more light on the falsification of each Single rule of recent theoretical approaches of multiple modification.

1.1 Word Order and Ranking of Adjectives in Slavic, Germanic and Romance

1.2 Adjectival modifiers

As a first approach I shall try to give a brief overview of the notion attributive Adjective or better adjectival attributes, supported by a cross-linguistic comparison of "adjectival attributes", or attributive adjectives in languages of several genetic origin and language type. I shall concentrate on the syntactic and morpho-syntactic behavior of adjectives inside noun phrases, in particular how they are formally licensed as dependent constituents in noun phrases.

Definition Adjectival Modifiers:

The notion "adjective" needs some clarification because adjectives do not constitute a universal syntactic category. Whereas in some languages, adjectives seem to constitute and are grammaticalized in a distinct word class (*pars orationis*), in other languages adjectives may not be clearly distinguishable from other parts of speech and/or constitute a flexible

category together with nouns or with verbs. In a third group of languages, adjectives do not exist as a distinct word class at all. This observation does not concern any kind of prejudgment about the semantic or cognitive category of qualitative, quantitative or relational property which - on contrary to the word class (*pars orationis*) - should and must be considered a universal category (as exposed in the discussion of UG properties of FLN in the narrow sense in Kosta and Krivochev 2012).

For the comparative survey of languages considered in this investigation, the term adjective has thus to be defined in a purely semantic sense as words with a lexical meaning referring to properties or qualities such as ‘high’, ‘beautiful’, ‘red’, etc. “Qualifying modifiers” (Rijkhoff 2002: 100, *passim*) in this broad sense are all lexical elements specifying properties of their referents. This definition excludes as opposed to the contribution by Pereltsvaig and Kagan (2018) all possessive pronouns, all demonstratives, all numerals, and words meaning ‘other’, all other elements of lexicon or grammar which may behave syntactically like adjectival modifiers in several languages. On the other hand, the semantic definition of adjectives includes adjectival nouns and adjectival verbs (cf. “nouny” and “verby” adjectives in Wetzer 1996: 25–34, *passim*) and even qualifying modifiers which are true verbs or true nouns in some languages. On the comparative concept of adjectives, see also Haspelmath (2010a: 670). In traditional functional grammars, adjectives constitute a flexible autosemantic element denoting a property; according to classical analysis, this property is a static feature, i.e. not running in time, a feature that can be attributed to objects or their classes. Therefore, an adjective may appear in two main syntactic contexts that are common in that they contain a noun (N) (or at least a “trace” of it) that identifies the object: as in (3a) in the attributive use of an adjective, or as a predicative use of an adjective in (3b), which then are either a member of the primary predication at the complement position of a copula *je veselý* in (1b), or they are in their secondary predicative position analyzed either as a category of resultative state in the possessive *habere*-construction with accusative in (3c), or as a depictive in the nominative case (3d):

- (3) a. *Veselý dědeček přijel na chatu.*
(The) cheerful grandfather came to the cottage.
- b. *Dědeček je veselý, protože se mu na chatě líbí.*
The grandfather is cheerful because he likes the cottage.
- c. *Dědečka_{TOP} máme strašně vtipného_{AKK}.*

The grandfather, we have (him) very cheerful.

d. *Dědeček se vrátil z chaty veselý.*

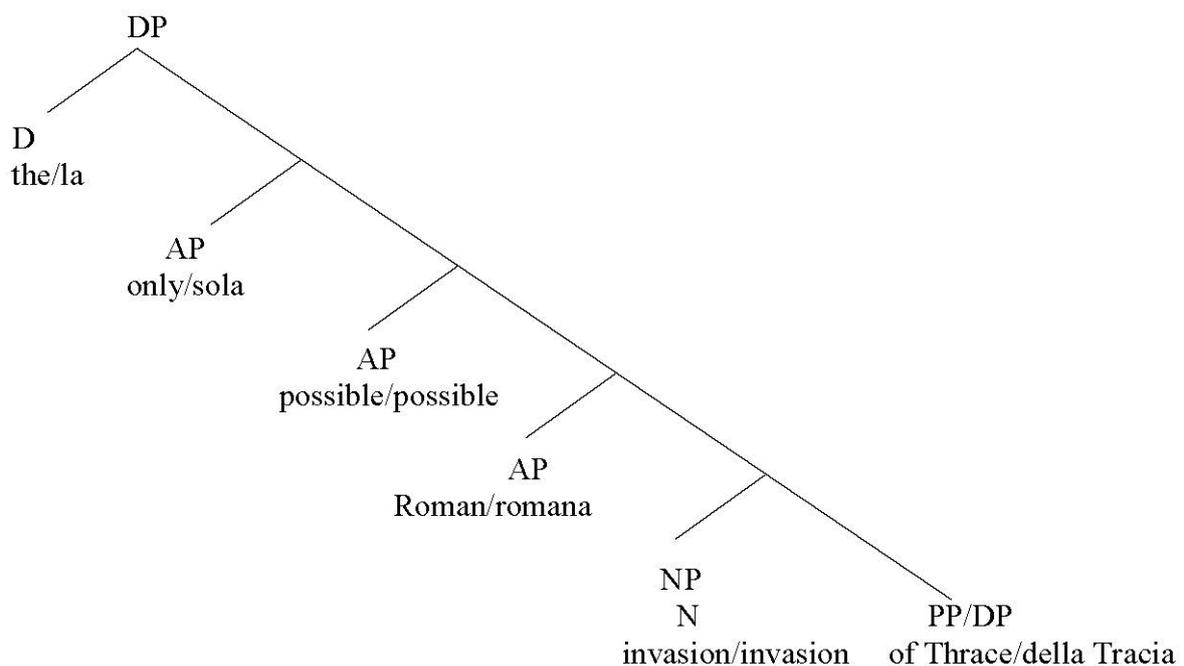
The grandfather returned from the cottage cheerful.

(Similar Examples are given in Karlík, and Čaha (2017): ADJEKTIVUM).

1.3 Contrast between English and Italian as Compared to Polish, Russian and Czech

In Cinque's analysis (1990, 1994), the DP-internal word order difference between Romance (Italian) and Germanic (English) as exemplified in (1) with Italian and English has not been derived as base-generated phenomenon (A to the left of the N in Germanic, thus obtaining the word order A-N vs both left or right of the N, thus getting A-N or N-A in Romance), but rather in terms of the Noun raising across some of the adjectives in Romance (but staying stuck in Germanic in the base-generated position), which has been derived from the identical universal underlying structure in UG (4):

- (4) a. La sola possibile invasione romana della Tracia (alethic reading) the only possible invasion Roman of-the Thrace
 b. The only possible Roman invasion of Thrace
 c. *La sola possibile romana invasione della Tracia the only possible Roman invasion of-the Thrace



The criticisms of his own analysis of 1990 and 1994 mentioned in Cinque (2010: xiv) include the following critical issues:

The head-movement analysis is unable to deduce and generalize the following obvious differences: ¹

1. In Italian, the prenominal position of adjectives necessarily induces the opposite meaning to the postnominal adjectives in Germanic (English); prenominal adjectives in Italian are mostly: individual-level, not restrictive, for adjectives such as *possibile* modal, non-intersective, absolute (not scalable in relation to the comparative scalar adjectives and non-comparative in terms of superlatives), specific (i.e. within an indefinite DP they get a specific reading) and rather evaluative than epistemic (in adjectives like *unknown*) and plural NP more dependent than discourse anaphoric (in adjectives like *different*).

In contrast, postnominal APs, if they occur in English or German, generally have the opposite meaning: they are stage-level predicates, restrictive, intersective, relative to a comparison class (for scalar adjectives), or have a comparative reading (for superlatives), have an implicit relative reading (for adjectives such as *possible*), they are non-specificity inducing, epistemic (rather than evaluative, for adjectives like *unknown*), and discourse anaphoric rather than NP dependent (for an adjective like *different*).

2. Postnominal adjective in Romance and prenominal adjectives in Germanic are systematically ambiguous between these two sets of readings.

3. The two prenominal readings in Germanic, and the two postnominal readings in Romance, are ordered in a mirror-image fashion: the AP in the outer position (leftmost in Germanic and rightmost in Romance) has the set of interpretations found (when that is possible) postnominally in Germanic, which Cinque (1990, 1994) derived from a reduced relative clause, but is now forced to capture in an alternative analysis as phrasal movement. We will try to show that neither an analysis of postnominal Adjectives in Germanic as reduced relative clause nor a phrasal Movement analysis is tenable from the point of view of a Radical minimalist model as presented in Krivochen and Kosta (2013) and further developed in Kosta (in prep.).

¹ Unfortunately, we have to replace the term Romance with Italian, because we will soon see that the peculiarity, which is frivolously denoted by Romance, is the position of the attributive adjectives in the individual Romance languages is not identical even in the example sentence chosen by Cinque (e.g., we will show that French shows a different order of Alethian modal and the other adjectives): *La seule invasion romaine possible de la Thrace*

A brief comparison with French shows that the differences shown by Cinque are not always correct, it turns out that the same sentence in French necessarily has a different order, because the modal adjective must be postponed, another word order variation leads either to ungrammatical output (5b), or the reading changes. In the habilitation thesis of Anja Neuß it has been shown that certain adjectives in French and Spanish (and partly in Italian and European Portuguese) are restricted to the postnominal position. It seems to be the case, that adjectives of origin must be closer and postponed to the nominal head than other adjectives, because if the adjective *romaine* is in the prenominal position like in (5b) the sentence is ungrammatical and if it is before the modal adjective than it is absolutely ruled out (5d):

- (5) a. La seule invasion romaine possible de la Thrace
 b. *La seule possible romaine invasion de la Thrace
 c. La seule possible invasion romaine de la Thrace
 d. La seule romaine possible invasion de la Thrace

In addition, although the Cinque study points to the sometimes very difficult oppositions to be distinguished, it is not shown that in English, there is a relatively fixed arrangement of adjectives, which is determined by the respective semantic class²:

(6) ORDERING PRINCIPLES OF MULTIPLE ADJECTIVES IN SVO AND SOV

In SVO and SOV languages, the order of prepositional adjectives is as follows: when a number of adjectives are used together, the order depends on the function of the adjective. The usual order is:

Quantity, Value/opinion, Size, Temperature, Age, Shape, Color, Origin, Material

What the adjective expresses	Examples
Quantity	four, ten, a few, several
Value/Opinion	delicious, charming, beautiful
Size	tall, tiny, huge
Temperature	hot, cold

² The same observation has been made in a book by Dixon (1977).

Age	old, young, new, 14-year-old
Shape	square, round
Color	red, purple, green
Origin	Swedish, Victorian, Chinese
Material	glass, silver, wooden

EXAMPLES

- (7) They have a lovely old red post-box.
- (8) The playroom has six small round plastic tables.
- (9) I bought some charming Victorian silver ornaments at the flea market.
- (10) She is selling her flashy 3-year-old Italian car.
- (11) It was a beautiful cold day.

If compared to any other SVO/SOV language, this order seems to have a quite stable distribution.

- (12) Sie haben einen schönen alten roten Briefkasten
- (13) Das Spielzimmer hat sechs kleine runde Plastiktische.
- (14) Ich habe auf dem Flohmarkt einige bezaubernde viktorianische Silberschmuckstücke gekauft.
- (15) Sie verkauft ihr auffälliges 3-jähriges italienisches Auto.
- (16) Es ist ein wunderschöner kalter Tag.
- (17) У вас хороший старый красный почтовый ящик
- (18) В игровой комнате шесть маленьких круглых пластиковых столиков.
- (19) Я купил несколько очаровательных викторианских серебряных украшений на блошином рынке.
- (20) Она продает свою привлекательную трехлетнюю итальянскую машину.
- (21) Прекрасный холодный день.

In Polish, there are postnominal adjectives expressing a steady, stable function of the noun, thus they belong to a special class of adjectives which must be postponed. The noun *skrzynka pocztowa* is taken to be a stable term of special language of the post, which cannot be in the prenominal position. The same is true for the composed noun *pokój zabaw* which cannot be replaced by *zabawny pokój* which would mean something very different, namely a room for fun.

- (22) Masz ładną starą czerwoną skrzynkę pocztową
- (23) Pokój zabaw ma sześć małych okrągłych plastikowych stołów.
- (24) Kupiłem uroczą wiktoriańską srebrną biżuterię na pchlim targu.
- (25) Sprzedaje swój przyciągający wzrok 3-letni włoski samochód.
- (26) To piękny zimny dzień.
- (27) Máte pěknou starou červenou poštovní schránku
- (28) Herna má šest malých kulatých plastových stolů.
- (29) Na bleším trhu jsem koupil nějaké okouzlující viktoriánské stříbrné šperky.
- (30) Prodává své poutavé tříleté italské auto.
- (31) Je to krásný chladný den.

Now, what happens if the same examples are translated into Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese, languages, which exhibit the distribution mentioned in Cinque (1990, 1994), and repeated in Cinque (2010).

- (32) Lei ha una bella vecchia cassetta postale rossa
- (33) La sala giochi ha sei piccoli tavoli rotondi di plastica.
- (34) Ho comprato alcuni affascinanti gioielli vittoriani in argento al mercato delle pulci.
- (35) Vende la sua accattivante auto italiana di 3 anni.
- (36) È una bella giornata fredda.
- (37) Vous avez une belle vieille boîte aux lettres rouge
- (38) La salle de jeux comporte six petites tables rondes en plastique.
- (39) J'ai acheté de charmants bijoux en argent victoriens au marché aux puces.
- (40) Elle vend sa superbe voiture italienne âgée de 3 ans.
- (41) C'est une belle journée froide.
- (42) Tienes un bonito y viejo buzón rojo
- (43) La sala de juegos tiene seis pequeñas mesas redondas de plástico.
- (44) Compré algunas joyas de plata victorianas encantadoras en el mercado de pulgas.
- (45) Ella vende su llamativo automóvil italiano de 3 años.
- (46) Es un hermoso día frío.
- (47) Você tem uma boa e velha caixa de correio vermelha
- (48) A sala de jogos possui seis pequenas mesas redondas de plástico.
- (49) Comprei algumas encantadoras jóias de prata vitoriana no mercado de pulgas.

(50) Ela vende seu carro italiano de 3 anos de idade.

(51) Está um lindo dia frio.

2. Functional Projections and Semantic Classes of APs (Pereltsvaig and Kagan 2018)

In my contribution I would like to compare the objectively empirically determined distribution and order of multiple modifiers in a DP with the approach of Pereltsvaig and Kagan (2018) as well as the previously published contribution by Svenonius (2008).

I assume that the hierarchy of adjectives from the respective functional projection of the semantic classes of adjectives and other functional projections generally accepted in the generative literature, such as e.g. NumP, DegP and the QP (in which elements how many and how few stand) depends. The notion DegP will be taken as a proof why some classes of adjectives do not move higher than their designated functional projection allows.

The provisional hierarchy of layers of different semantic classes of Adjectives is given in table 2. The important difference between pure semantic accounts and pure syntactic accounts is here that my classification argues for a 1:1 mapping of semantic classes on to syntactic representation syntactically expressed as α P-Layers of different syntactic level:

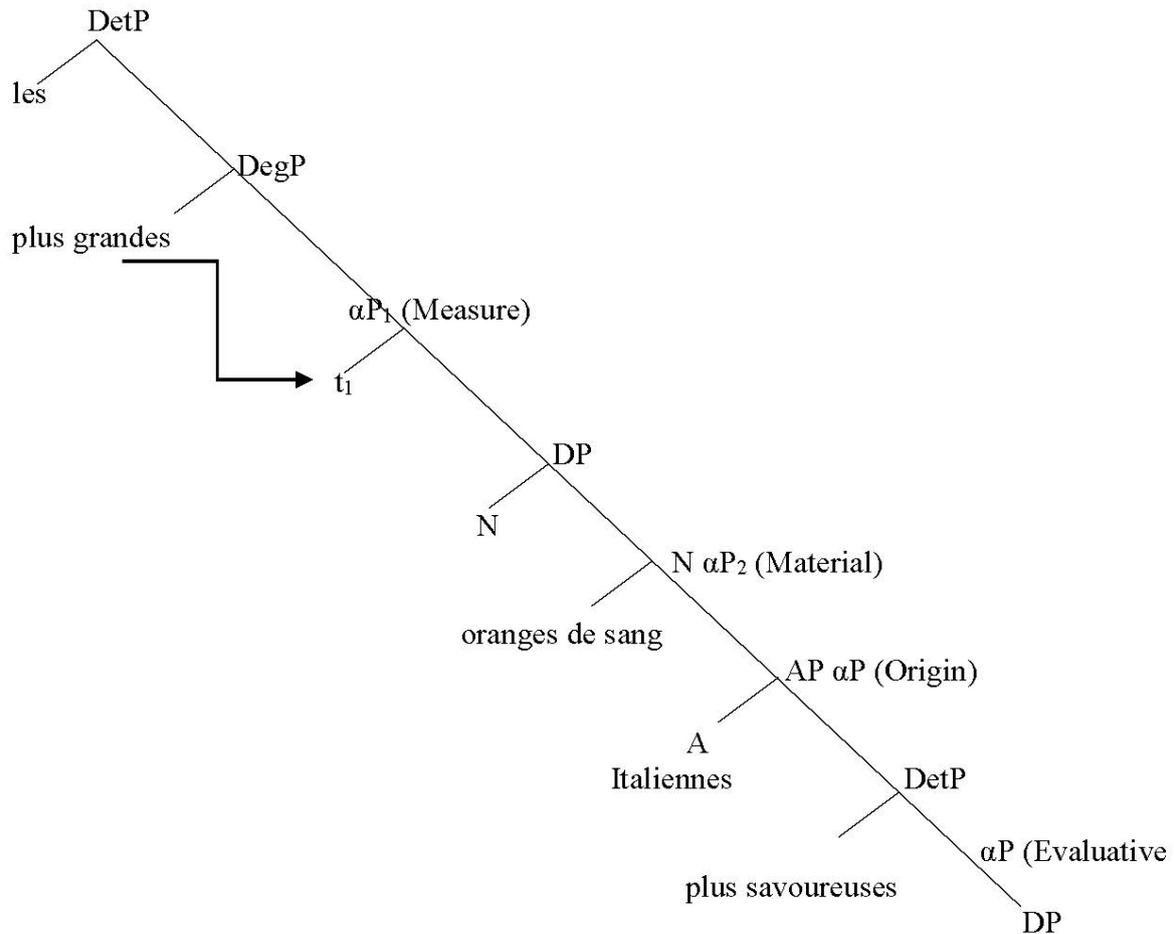
1. Det		Die
2. Quantity	= α P-Layer 1	zwei
3. Deg Phrase		
4. Evaluative Adjectives (Value)		schmackhaften
5. Scalar Adjectives of Size and Measure		größten
6. Scalar Adjectives of Temperature		heißesten
7. Shape		rundesten
8. Color		röttesten
9. Origin		Italienischen
10. Material		Blut-
11. NOUN		Orangen

In the present model of DP, the Degree Phrase (DegP) is dominated only by the Determiner Phrase and by the Quantifier Phrase (which hosts elements such as much, many, few or none), and it itself dominates all scalar adjective classes (size and measure adjectives; temperature, shape, color), but it is excluded from relational adjectives of the Origin and Material Class which cannot become part of a degree phrase, thus cannot be part of a comparative or superlative. The presence or absence of the Deg head is thus responsible for the visibility of features on the respective adjective head. Thus the Deg head is a potential Probe for the respective Adjective class. Only scalar adjectives of the class 4-8 can be subject of internal Merge to the Deg-head due to their potential Degree features. The default word order of the adjectives of the class 4-8 in SVO and SOV languages is determined by the semantics of the class and does not have any other motivation.

- (52) a. *Die zwei schmackhaftesten größten heißesten rundesten röttesten Italienischen Blutorangen lagen auf dem Tisch beim Empfang in Möwenpick und niemand traute sich sie zu essen.*
 b. *The two tastiest biggest hottest reddest Italian blood oranges were on the table at the reception in Möwenpick and no one dared to eat them.*
 c. *Два самых вкусных и самых горячих красных итальянских апельсина были на столе на приеме в Мёвеннике, и никто не осмелился их съесть.*
 d. *Dwie najsmaczniejsze, najgorętsze, najbardziej czerwone włoskie pomarańcze leżały na stole w recepcji w Möwenpicku i nikt nie miał odwagi ich zjeść.*
 e. *Dva nejchutnější největší nejžhavější nejčervenější italské krevní pomeranče byly na stole u recepcie v Möwenpicku a nikdo se neodvážil je jíst.*
- (53) a. *Le due più grandi arance rosse più saporite e più gustose erano sul tavolo della reception di Möwenpick e nessuno osava mangiarle.*
 b. *Les deux plus grandes oranges [italiennes] de sang italiennes les plus savoureuses étaient sur la table à la réception de Möwenpick et personne n'osait les manger.*

The examples in (53) a. and b. could maybe explained as multiattachments to the DegP in the way as given in (54) in which the lower and the upper copies of the degree phrase are spelled-out twice, but each adjective remains in its base-generated positions of the adjective class.

(54)



In the same vein, the cases of displacement of attributive postponed adjectives in Romance languages which mirror the word order of the SVO/SOV language type can be explained as well as cases in which the postponed adjectives in Polish (20), (21) are marked for the feature of stage level predicates.

Independent evidence which supports this assumption is taken from the secondary predicates in Russian and Polish, where a stage-level feature in the right-outer sentence brackets is assumed supported by depictive constructions of secondary predicates, which are compulsorily expressed in Russian as the case Instrumental.

- (55) a. *Она пришла домой усталая.*
 b. *Она пришла домой усталой.*

- (56) a. *Я считаю его пьяным.*
 b. *Я считаю его умным.*
 c. *Вернувшись с войны героями, мы и его считали героем.*

(57) *Иван выпил чай холодным.*

These constructions semantically characterize the transition from one state to another, and therefore resemble the distribution of stage-level vs. individual level attributive adjectives as we interpreted them in the first part of our contribution following Cinque (2010).

3. The N-D-Movement-Analysis (Trugman 2005, 2007; Alexiadou & Wilder 2008)

Various instantiations of N Movement within the extended nominal projection have been well researched and documented for Romance, Germanic and many other languages. N-movement is often invoked in accounts of definiteness of nominal expressions, as in Longobardi (1994, 1999, 2003), Ritter (1993), Giusti (1995, 1997, 2002) Bernstein (1997). In Cinque (1994), the N-D-Movement analysis is regarded as modifier-noun order variation, the same in Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1998), Rutkowski & Progovac (2005), among many others. In Alexiadou and Wilder (2008), reordering of multiple modification within a DP is motivated by the presence of so-called Determiner Spreading (DS), following Androutsopoulou (1995). However, the issue of DP-internal noun raising in East and West Slavic is still debatable, given the lack of general consensus on the existence of the Determiner projection in these languages (cf. for discussion in Krivochen & Kosta 2013).

The presence or absence of a Determiner Phrase (DP) has been taken as a reason why in some languages an extraction or partial extraction out of DP is forbidden, while other languages allow for it because there is no D head to block movement. Some linguists argued that there is no head movement in Slavic at all, even though a more elaborate nominal hierarchy is assumed (e.g. Alexiadou, Artemis, Liliane Haegeman and Melita Stavrou. (2007)), while others assume either a partial N-movement to some intermediate projection, such as Number, Measure, Possessor, or Agreement Phrase, or N-movement to D itself (Yadroff 1999, Schoorlemer 1998, inter alia). On the other hand, there is ample evidence in some formally not DP Slavic languages for the assumption of a D, thus DP. In Marušić and Žaucer (2014), a definite article *ta* in the AP in Colloquial Slovenian syntactically distinct from the demonstrative *tá* “this” is assumed which differs in the following respects: while the demonstrative *tá* agrees with the noun in case, gender and number, *ta* overtly expresses no agreement features, always staying invariant:

In Czech, the modification domain on the left side of the head noun consists of several distinguishable layers or domains, each of which contains a specific range of lexical entries. Despite the fact that Czech as many other Slavic languages are so called free word order languages (which I partly reject in my publications), the order of pre- and postnominal elements is fixed:

The first layer is the Determination and Quantification Layer which contains demonstratives and determiners, interrogative pronouns, indefinite and negative pronouns. The Quantification Layer entails general Quantifiers and dominates Numerals in Numeral Phrases, followed by Possessives. The order cannot be changed as (61) a vs b demonstrates:

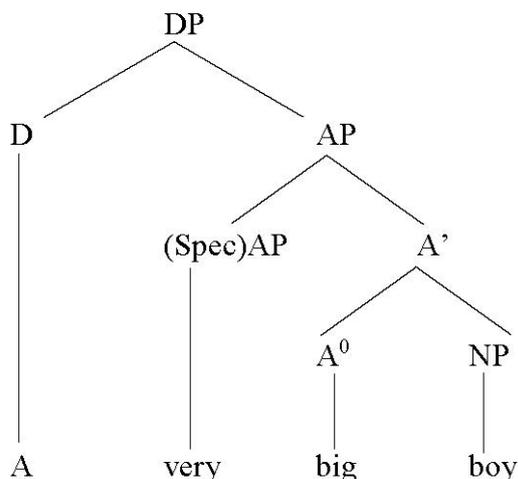
- (63) a. *Ti vaši tři kamarádi*
The your three friends
b. **Tři vaši ti kamarádi*
Three your the friends
c. **Vaši ti tři kamarádi*
Your the three friends
d. **Kamarádi ti vaši tři*
Friends the your three

Similar to English, and as opposed to Romance languages such as Italian and French, in Czech Adjectives can appear both pre- and postnominal. If they appear postnominal, they often have either a terminological character or they are stylistically marked in scientific contexts:

- (64) a. *skokan zelený*
frog green
pelophylax esculentus (terminology)
b. *zelený skokan*
green frog (generic)

Returning now to the attributive modifiers of Nouns (Adjectives), Abney (1987) proposes a structure analogous to the projection of functional heads: D selects AP and within the AP, each A selects NP (or another AP) as its complement. The schematic structure is given under

(65)



The scheme in (63) demonstrates following the universal pattern of phrase projection, how a DP is an NP c-commanded by its own functional head(s). According to Abney, adjectival premodifiers appear in the positions parallel to those of functional heads. The restriction on their occurrence and ordering are then to be based mainly on semantic criteria which we have already exposed above. Alternatively, like in Cinque's (1994) approach, they are presented as a result of subcategorization features of successive functional heads.

Cinque's (1994) cartographic approach on phrase structure gives an even more articulated analysis of prenominal modifiers and a more elaborated internal structure of DP (cf. Cinque 1990; 1994 and 2010). In his study "On the Evidence for Partial N-Movement in the Romance DP", Cinque (1994) argues that the distinct order of attributive Adjectives inside the DP in Romance and Germanic languages are derivable from the head movement of NO into a higher functional head (FH) position. In his conception, the head of NP (NO) is assumed universally to move in LF to the highest nominal functional projection, namely the DO position.

The difference between languages is explained as follows: in some languages the N-D-Movement does not take place overtly in syntax, thus it seems that the No remains in situ, but in others overt movement takes place in syntax. One could adopt this idea in examples such as (62) a vs b in Czech, but the motivation or trigger for movement should be taken not as a free rider but must/should be possibly motivated by some features which attract the nominal head. If we assume that the terminological use of the DP in (62) a is derived by N-D movement, whereas the non-terminological use (generic) is default, then a special functional feature should be assumed in DO in order to derive the Movement analysis. If we compare the use ofthetic vs categorial sentences in Russian of the type

(66) a. *Nastupila vesna* (thetic/unaccusative)

Ru

b. *Vesna nastupila* (categorial/unergative)

in which (66a) is a typicallythetic (rhematic) clause in which the sole argument is an unaccusative in which no movement takes place, where a situation is described in which the whole event is taken as a holistic event structure (without a Topic), and in which (66) b. is derived by N-D movement, in which the subject *vesna* is moved to a left peripheral position of Top⁰, most probably attracted by a Topic feature in the Force Phrase/TopP (following Rizzi 1997), the N-D movement has a trigger for economy reasons. The same could be assumed for the derivation of (64a) with the result that the Adjective *zelený* is a steady, non-changing property of the referent, whereas in (64b) the same adjective belongs to the class of stage-level predicates which can change their color with the referent, thus (64b) means that this frog is green but they might be also frogs which are brown etc. The reason why (66a) is ungrammatical while (66b) is quite normal is that characteristic individual level predicates cannot be modified by an adverb such as *very*, while stage-level predicates can:

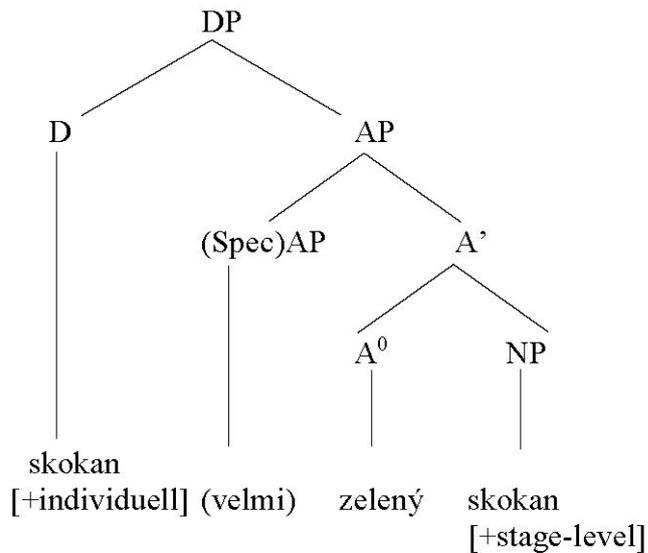
(66) a. **Skokan velmi zelený*

b. *Velmi zelený skokan* (Examples partly taken from Veselovská 2018:32)³

The scheme of these two now motivated N-D movements are given in (67)

(67)

³ Veselovská (2018:32) explains the postpositive position of attributive adjectives in terminology of science as influenced by the Latin paradigm but this does not make any sense since the corresponding terminus technicus in Latin does not have anything to do with green (*pelophylax esculentus*) and the first word is not Latin but Greek. Also we doubt that the context *Velmi zelený skokan* can be generic. Rather, the explanation alongside the stage-level vs individual level characteristic in Czech is supported by the fact that in Polish the same distinction can be seen on the opposition of the already mentioned examples as actor *komiczny* (Comedian as steady profession) vs *komiczny actor* (a funny actor in the actual situation s).



In this contribution we have tried to show that a movement analysis N-D of noun phrases with multiple modifiers can be supported by the fact that a special feature, be it focus, be it stage-level feature on the head of the D^0 allows displacement and reordering and confirms in addition the DP-hypothesis for any language of the world.

References

- Abney, S.P. (1987) *The English Noun Phrase in its Sentential Aspect*. MIT PhD diss.
- Adger, David (2003) *Core Syntax. A Minimalist Approach*. Oxford: OUP.
- Alexiadou, Artemis (2013) *Adverbial and Adjectival Modification*. In: *The Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 458-484.
- Alexiadou, Artemis and Chris Wilder. (1998) *Adjectival modification and multiple determiners*. In A.Alexiadou and C.Wilder, eds., *Predicates and Movement in the DP*, 303-332.
Amsterdam: Benjamins (<http://ifla.uni-stuttgart.de/institut/mitarbeiter/artemis/aacwfin.pdf>).
- Alexiadou, Artemis, Liliane Haegeman and Melita Stavrou. (2007) *Noun Phrase in the Generative Perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Cinque, Guglielmo (1990) *Types of A-Dependencies*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo (1994) *On the Evidence for Partial N-Movement in the Romance DP*. In: Cinque, Guglielmo, Jan Koster, Jean-Yves Pollock, Luigi Rizzi and Raffaella Zanuttini

- (eds.), *Paths towards Universal Grammar: Studies in Honor of Richard S. Kayne*, 287-309. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo (1999) *Adverbs and functional heads: a cross-linguistic perspective*. New York, NY: Oxford: OUP.
- Cinque, Guglielmo (2010) *The Syntax of Adjectives: A Comparative Study*. Linguistic Inquiry Monographs vol. 57. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Jackendoff, Ray (1977) *X-Bar Syntax: A Study of Phrase Structure*. Linguistic Inquiry Monographs Two. Cambridge Massachusetts, London: MIT Press.
- Karlík, Petr, a Pavel Čaha (2017) ADJEKTIVUM. In: Petr Karlík, Marek Nekula, Jana Pleskalová (eds.), *CzechEncy - Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. URL: <https://www.czechency.org/slovník/ADJEKTIVUM> (poslední přístup: 7. 6. 2020).
- Karlík, Petr und Peter Kosta (2020): Die Nominalisierung von Nebensätzen im Tschechischen. In: *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* Band 65. Heft 4. (Nov 2020).
- Pereltsvaig, Asya and Olga Kagan (2018) *Adjectives in Layers*. *Rhema* 4. 2018 (pdf: http://rhema-journal.com/Rema_2018_4_Pereltsvaig_Kagan.pdf)
- Riebler, Michael (2016) *Adjective Attribution*. Ph.D. diss. FU Berlin (Studies in Diversity Linguistics 2). Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Rijkhoek, Paulien (1998) *On Degree Phrases & Result Clauses*. Rijksuniversiteit Groningen . Groningen PhD. diss.
- Trugman, Helen (2005) *Syntax of Russian DPs, and DP-internal agreement phenomena*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Tel-Aviv University.
- Trugman, Helen (2007) *Rudiments of Romance N-to-D Movement in Russian*. In: Kosta, Peter and Lilia Schürcks (eds.). *Linguistics Investigations into Formal Description of Slavic Languages. Contributions of the Sixth European Conference held at Potsdam University, November 30-December 02, 2005*. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Wien, 2007. 575 pp., num. tables and graphs (Potsdam Linguistic Investigations, volume 1).
- Truswell, Robert (2004a) *Attributive Adjectives and the Nominals They Modify*. M.Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford (<http://www.tufts.edu/~rtrusw01/mphil.pdf>).
- Truswell, Robert (2004b) *Non-restrictive Adjective Interpretation and Association with Focus*. *Oxford Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology and Phonetics* 9.133-154 (<http://www.ling-phil.ox.ac.uk/download/OWP2004.pdf>)
- Truswell, Robert (2005) *Adjectives and Headedness*. *Oxford Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology and Phonetics* 10,1-19 (<http://www.ling-phil.ox.ac.uk/download/OWP2005.pdf>)

- Truswell, Robert (2007) Attributive Adjectives and Nominal Templates. To appear in *Linguistic Inquiry* (<http://www.tufts.edu/~rtrusw01/adjsquib.pdf>)
- Veselovská, Ludmila (2018) Noun Phrases in Czech. Their Structure and Agreements. (Potsdam: Potsdam Linguistic Investigations Series Volume 23).