Where movement fails: Problems with movement-based accounts of adjective placement

Bożena Cetnarowska (University of Silesia), Agnieszka Pysz (Høgskulen i Volda & Adam Mickiewicz University) & Helen Trugman (Holon Institute of Technology)

1. INTRODUCTION. The NP-internal word order exhibits differences cross-linguistically, and is well studied in Germanic and Romance languages. This issue has not yet received attention it deserves in the study of Slavic languages, wherein bare adjective modifiers (or non-predicative As) are predominantly prenominal.

2. TWO GROUPS OF APPROACHES. Several existing accounts of NP-internal adjective placement can be subdivided into two groups:

(i) accounts in which post-N placement of adjectives is derived by N(P)-raising within the universal underlying structure (Cinque 1994 and later; Bosque&Picallo 1996, Rutkowski&Progovac 2005, Laenzlinger 2000, 2005a,b; Rutkowski 2007, Trugman 2007, Punske 2009);

(ii) accounts in which pre-N and post-N placements of adjectives stem from different base generation sites (Bouchard 1998, 2002 and later; Trugman in press; CP&T 2009, to appear).

The first group of accounts employ either head movement (Cinque 1994, R&P 2005, Rutkowski 2007, Trugman 2007) or phrasal movement (Cinque 2005), or both (Laenzlinger 2000, 2005a,b) to get the correct placement of modifiers and their proper interpretation. The NP-raising option was proposed in Cinque (2005) to get the 'mirror image' ordering of post-N adjectives in Romance, and their correct scopal relations with pre-N adjectives. Yet the question is—does the modified movement approach by Cinque (2005) provide a less stipulative analysis of different patters of adjectival modification than the representational approach by Bouchard (2002)?

3. POLISH CLASSAS POSE PROBLEMS FOR THE MOVEMENT APPROACH. In our talk we discuss Polish classificatory adjectives (ClassAs), which are analyzed in Cinque (2005) as phrasal, non-restrictive and hence non-predicative direct modifiers. First, we show that there seems to be no evidence for phrasal nature of Polish ClassAs, which undermines Cinque's claim that direct modifiers are phrasal and merge in Specs of FPs above NP (cf. Sadler&Arnold 1994, Lamarche 1991, Bouchard ibid., Pereltsvaig 2007). As shown in (1a-c), Polish ClassAs lack such adjectival properties as gradability, adverbial modification or ability to take complements/ adjuncts (cf. Levi 1976, Fábregas 2007).

Second, Cinque (2005, 2009) claims that several direct modifiers might be swappable only when one of them can be predicative and hence merged higher in the NP projection as a reduced relative. However, this is not always true in Polish, as shown in (2-3), where both modifiers are non-predicative, yet can swap their mutual position.

A third problem with movement analysis concerns the optionality vs. obligatoriness of NP-raising. In contrast to most Romance languages, some Polish ClassAs may appear bi-directionally, as in (4a-b), which is taken to signal the optional movement across ClassAs. However, as Cinque acknowledges, the trigger for optional NP-raising remains to be understood.

4. CONCLUSION. We demonstrate that the movement approach to various placement of As succeeds at the cost of multiple complex movement/ merge mechanisms, which need to be augmented by such traditional devices as contrastive stress, coordination, 'heavy' constituent dislocations, among others. It appears that a way too encompassing derivational mechanism is insufficient by itself and a base-generation analysis with various dislocations stemming from the same pragmatic considerations appears more economic and less stipulative.

EXAMPLES:

(1) a. nocny *night$_{ADJ}$*; *bardziej nocny *more night$_{ADJ}$*; *najbardziej nocny *the most night$_{ADJ}$*
b. *msza bardzo żałobna *mass very memorial*
c. *niedźwiedź brunatny na grzbiecie *bear brown on its spine*

(2) a. mundur myśliwski galowy
uniform hunter$_{ADJ}$ parade$_{ADJ}$
'a hunter's parade uniform'
b. mundur galowy myśliwski
uniform parade$_{ADJ}$ hunter$_{ADJ}$

(3) a. ?*mundur myśliwski, który jest galowy
'a hunter's uniform which is parade'
b. *mundur galowy, który jest myśliwski
'a parade uniform which is hunter's'

(4) a. lampa naftowa
lamp *oil*$_{ADJ}$

b. naftowa lampa
oil$_{ADJ}$ *lamp*

SELECTED REFERENCES:

Bosque, Ignacio & Carme Picallo. 1996. "Postnominal adjectives in Spanish DPs", *Journal of Linguistics* 32: 349-385.

Bouchard, Denis. 1998. "The distribution and interpretation of adjectives in French: A consequence of Bare Phrase Structure", *Probus* 10 (2): 139-183.

Bouchard, Denis. 2002. *Adjectives, number and interfaces: Why languages vary*. Oxford: Elsevier Science.

Cinque, Giuglielmo. 1994. "On the evidence for partial N-movement in the Romance DP", in: Cinque, Guglielmo, Jan Koster, Jean-Yves Pollock, Luigi Rizzi & Raffaella Zanuttini (eds.), *Paths Towards Universal Grammar. Studies in Honor of Richard S. Kayne*, 85-110. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Cinque, Giuglielmo. 2005. "The dual source of adjectives and phrasal movement in the Romance DP", unpublished manuscript, University of Venice.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 2009. *The Syntax of Adjectives: A Comparative Study*. http://hdl.handle.net/10278/1179

Cetnarowska, Bożena, Agnieszka Pysz & Helen Trugman. (To appear). "Accounting for some flexibility in a rigid construction: On the position of classificatory adjectives in Polish", in Bański, Piotr, Beata Łukaszewicz, Monika Opalińska (eds.), *Generative Investigations: Syntax, Morphology, and Phonology*. Cambridge Scholars Publishers.

Fábregas, Antonio. 2007. "The internal structure of relational adjectives", *Probus* 19 (1): 1-36.

Lamarche, Jacques. 1991. "Problems for N^0-movement to Num-P", *Probus* 3: 215-236.

Laenzlinger, Christopher. 2005a. "French adjective ordering: Perspectives on DP-internal movement types", *Lingua* 115: 645- 689.

Laenzlinger, Christopher. 2005b. "Some notes on DP-internal movements", *Generative Grammar in Geneva* 4: 227-260.

Levi, Judith, N. 1976. *The Syntax and Semantics of Nonpredicating Adjectives in English*. Bloomington, Indiana University Linguistics Club.

Pereltsvaig, Asya. 2007. "The Universality of DP: A view from Russian", *Studia Linguistica* 61: 59-94.

Punske, Jeffrey. 2009. "Subsectivity and adjective position". Talk presented at the 40th Poznań Linguistic Meeting, Gniezno, 2-5 September 2009.

Rutkowski, Paweł. 2007. "The syntactic properties and diachronic development of postnominal adjectives in Polish", in: Compton, Richard, Magdalena Goledzinowska & Ulyana Savchenko (eds.), *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The Toronto Meeting 2006*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 326-345.

Rutkowski, Paweł. 2009. "Let's talk about postnominal adjectives!" Talk presented at the 4th Annual Meeting of the Slavic Linguistic Society, Zadar, 3-6 September 2009.

Rutkowski, Paweł & Liljana Progovac. 2005. "Classification projection in Polish and Serbian: The position and shape of classifying adjectives", in: Franks, Steven, Frank Y. Gladney & Mila Tasseva-Kurktchieva (eds.), *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The South Carolina Meeting 2004*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 289-299.

Sadler, Louisa & Douglas J. Arnold. 1994. "Prenominal adjectives and the phrasal/lexical distinction", *Journal of Linguistics* 30: 187-226.

Stowell, Tim. 1981. Origins of phrase structure. PhD thesis. MIT.

Trugman, Helen. 2007. "Rudiments of Romance N-to-D movement in Russian", in: Kosta, Peter et al. (eds.), *Potsdam Linguistic Investigations: Linguistic Investigations into Formal Description of Slavic Languages*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 411-426.

Trugman, Helen. (In press). “Modifiers of Bare Nouns in Russian”, in: Zybatow, Gerhild, Philip Dudchuk, Serge Minor, Ekaterina Pshehotskaya (eds.), *Current Issues in Formal Slavic Linguistics*. Peter Lang Publishers.

Word count: 496 words (excluding the title, linguistic examples, and references)