

Parallel extended domains of A and N

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In this paper I investigate cross-linguistic variation in the availability of adverb extraction (Adv-E) out of traditional adjective phrases (TAPs) (1), and establish two novel generalizations that contribute to the discussion of parametric differences between languages with and without articles (Bošković 2008). I show the variation in (1) can be captured under a contextual approach to phases given a structural parallelism between traditional noun phrases (TNPs) and TAPs.

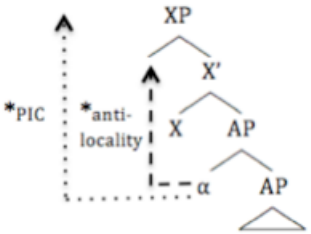
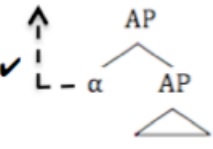
Predicative TAPs. Brazilian Portuguese, Dutch, German, and Spanish pattern with the English example in (1a) in disallowing Adv-E out of predicative TAPs; while Polish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian (SC), and Slovenian allow such extraction (1b). What the first group of languages have in common is that they all have articles, while all languages in the second group lack articles, which leads us to the generalization in (2). Bošković (2005/2008) observes a correlation between the (un)availability of adjectival left-branch extraction (LBE) and the presence of articles in languages, stating a generalization that only languages without articles may allow LBE, while languages with articles never allow it (3). Bošković (in press) accounts for (3) under a contextual approach to phases, where phasehood is not reserved for vP, CP (Chomsky 2000/2001), and DP (Svenonius 2004; Bošković 2005; Chomsky 2008), but rather phasehood of a category X depends on its syntactic context (Bobaljik&Wurmbrand 2005; Bošković in press; Gallego&Uriagereka 2007; den Dikken 2007; Despić 2013; M.Takahashi 2011; Wurmbrand 2011, a.o.). Specifically, Bošković (in press) argues that the highest projection in the extended domain of a lexical head (including N and A) functions as a phase. Concerning LBE, Bošković argues the highest phrase within TNP in all languages is a phase, and that the variation regarding LBE follows from the presence of the DP layer in languages with articles and the lack thereof in languages without articles (Corver 1992; Zlatić 1997; Bošković 2005), and an interaction of locality constraints on extraction: (i) *the Phase-Impenetrability Condition*, under which only the head and the edge of a phase can undergo movement out of the phase; and (ii) *anti-locality*, a ban on movement that is too short which requires movement to cross at least one full phrase (not just a segment). Assuming adjectives originate as NP-adjoined (Corver 1992, Bošković 2005), the DP (phase) blocks LBE in (3a) since the adjective cannot extract without violating either the PIC or anti-locality, but LBE is not blocked in languages that lack the DP layer, given that adjectives originate at the edge of the nominal phase. In sum, the amount of structure projected within the extended domain of a lexical category correlates with extraction possibilities of elements contained in it.

Proposal: I show that (1) can easily be captured under the same system if we follow the idea of structural parallelism between different extended projections (Abney 1987-TNP/Clause parallelism; Bošković 2004-PP/clause parallelism, a.o.). In particular, I take (1) and (2) to suggest that, within a single language, extended projections tend to be uniform with respect to their structural complexity (4). Assuming that intensifying adverbs are AP-adjoined (parallel to adjectives in the TNP), the difference between languages with and without articles in (1) can be accounted for as follows. In (1a), there is a functional projection XP above AP, which blocks Adv-E given that the highest projection within the TAP functions as a phase. To move out of XP, the adverb has to stop in SpecXP (phasal edge), due to the PIC, but this step of movement is too short and ruled out by anti-locality. XP is missing in (1b), and neither the PIC nor anti-locality block Adv-E from the edge of the AP. The relevant structures are given in (5) below.

Attributive TAPs. Interestingly, there is no variation with respect to attributive TAPs, where Adv-E is uniformly banned, which leads us to the generalization in (7). In many languages morphology of attributive adjectives differs from that of predicative adjectives: long form in SC and Russian, definite form in Icelandic, agreeing form in Dutch and German. Bailyn argues attributive TAPs quite generally must have a functional projection above the AP (*Mod(ification)P* in Bailyn (1993); Rubin (1991)). Given the existence of such a projection, we can account for why Adv-E is disallowed in both (6a-b) in the same way as we did for (1a): a functional projection is always present in attributive TAPs, blocking Adv-E.

Exceptions that are not exceptions. An apparent exception to (2) comes from Icelandic and Bulgarian. These two languages have articles, but they allow Adv-E out of predicative TAPs (8). Crucially, articles in these two languages are affixal. Significantly, languages with affixal articles have been independently argued to behave like languages without articles with respect to phenomena where phasehood of TNP is

involved. See, for example, Reuland (2007/2011) and Despić (2011) for discussion of binding and the availability of reflexive possessives in these languages; or Bošković (2008b) regarding islandhood. In the paper I will provide a specific account of the exceptional behavior of Icelandic and Bulgarian that capitalizes on this line of research.

- (1) a. *Terribly_i he was [t_i tired]. (En); also: *BP, *Dutch, *Ger, *Sp
 b. Okropnie_i on był [t_i zmęczony]. (Po); also: ✓Rus, ✓SC, ✓Slo
 terribly he was tired
- (2) **Generalization I:** Languages with articles disallow Adv-extraction out of predicative TAPs, but languages without articles may allow it.
- (3) a. *Smart_i they are [t_i students]. (En)
 b. Pametni_i su oni [t_i studenti]. (SC)
 smart are they students
- (4) a. If a language has functional structure within TNP (DP), it also has functional structure in TAP (let us call it XP).
 b. If a language has a bare NP, it will also have a bare AP.
- (5) a.  b. 
- (6) a. *Extremely_i she saw [t_i expensive] cars. (En)
 b. *Niezwykłe_i ona kupiła [t_i piękny] płaszcz. (Po)
 extremely she bought beautiful coat
 c. *Ger, *Dutch, *Sp, *BP, *SC, *Slo, *Ice, *Rus, *Bg
- (7) **Generalization II:** Adv-extraction is disallowed out of attributive TAPs.
- (8) a. Rosalega_i er hún [t_i falleg]. (Ice)
 extremely is she beautiful.NOM.SG.F
 b. Užasno_i sūm/bjah [t_i umoren]. (Bg)
 terribly am /was tired

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