Squibs and Discussion

Convergent Evidence for Rolling Up Catalan Adjectives

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1 Prenominal/Postnominal Asymmetries

As pointed out by Bonet, Lloret, and Mascaró (to appear), in the Northeastern Central (NC) dialect of Catalan, adjectives show an agreement asymmetry: prenominally, plural agreement can be omitted in the context C__C (between two flanking consonants), while postnominally, it is obligatory.

(1) dos bon(s) marcians
two good.PL Martians

(2) dos marcians bons
two Martians good.PL

These facts are related to general postnominal/prenominal asymmetries in agreement, such as the ''lazy concord'' phenomenon of Friulian and Ladin (Haiman and Benincà 1992, Rasom 2008) and those reported for count/mass agreement in Spanish dialects (Hualde 1992). NC Catalan has no general process of *s*-deletion before nouns, as evidenced by (3), where the /s/ is part of the adjectival stem.[1]

(3) un fals conseller
a false counselor

I thank Susanna Padrosa-Trias and Gemma Rigau for their judgments and discussion, and Eulàlia Bonet and Joan Mascaró, whose research on these data sparked this line of further inquiry. An earlier draft of this squib benefited from comments from three anonymous reviewers and from discussions with Klaus Abels, Guglielmo Cinque, Vieri Samek-Lodovici, and Ad Neeleman.

[1] The head noun itself does not even need to be phonologically present for nonagreement/deletion to occur. In (i), number agreement is not realized on the prenominal determiner *el(s)* even though the head noun is not present.

(i) el(s) meu(s) llibres i el(s) teus ⟨llibres⟩
the.PL my.PL books.PL and the.PL your.PL ⟨books⟩
'my books and yours'

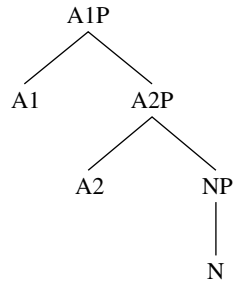
Note that the /u/ of *meu*, *teu* is a glide and hence provides the C__C context in *meu(s)*, and that sentence-final context is insufficient for the interconsonantal context in *teus*.

Finally, as adjectives are prosodically phrased together with the noun whether prenominal or postnominal in Romance (Dehé and Samek-Lodovici 2009), the explanation for this pattern must be found in a difference in syntactic structure between (1) and (2).

2 Three Accounts of Postnominal Adjective Order

Many Catalan adjectives can either follow or precede the head noun. In this squib, I present evidence from NC Catalan based on both scopal interpretation and the inflectional agreement on adjectives in order to constrain the space of analytic possibilities for postnominal adjective word order. Let us begin with the structure in (4), where *A1* and *A2* stand for adjectives that are heads, which are ordered A1 before A2 before N in their prenominal variant. I omit possible additional functional structure for the purposes of simplicity of exposition, and I assume that A1 selects A2.

(4) *Prenominal adjectives*

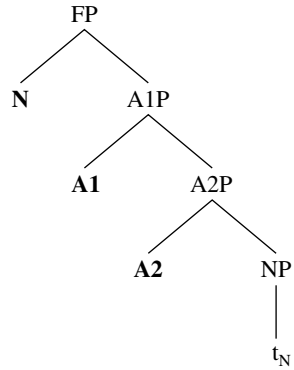


With (4) as a fixed point in the analysis, let us turn to the three main accounts for postnominal adjectives in the literature: one involving movement of the noun alone, one involving no movement at all, and one involving movement of both the noun and an adjective phrase.

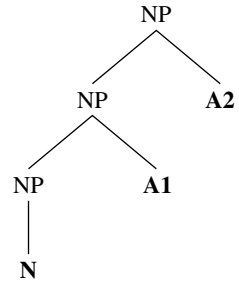
The *head-movement-of-N* view of postnominal adjectives holds that N moves to a high head position above both A1 and A2 (see (5)). This view can potentially account for agreement asymmetries between prenominal and postnominal adjectives. However, it cannot account for the scope interpretation differences between prenominal and postnominal position, since the adjectives are in the same hierarchical relation with respect to each other, whether the N moves or not.

The *adjunction-of-Adj* view holds that adjectives can be right-adjoined to NP to allow for the postnominal word order. It can thus account for the scope interpretation of adjectives according to the order of adjunction (where the lower postnominal adjective precedes the higher one). However, an adjunction account would not be able to account for agreement asymmetries between prenominal and postnominal orders, since adjunction (direction) could not affect agreement realization. This approach, as shown in (6), is representative of a family of ''symmetric'' approaches to postnominal adjectives (see, e.g., Abels and Neeleman, to appear).

(5) *Postnominal adjectives if derived by head movement of N*



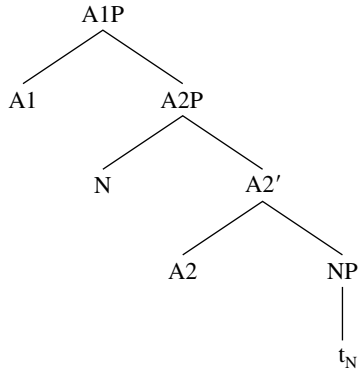
(6) *Postnominal adjectives if derived by adjunction*



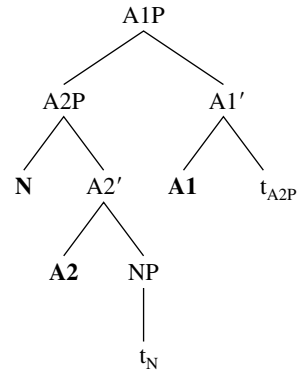
The *roll-up-of-N* view (see Cinque 2005) holds that N moves through Spec,A2 and pied-pipes A2 to Spec,A1 (see (7)). Scope interpretation is determined by c-command in the base order. Agreement asymmetries are determined by the principle that Spec-head agreement is obligatory, while downward Agree agreement is optional. (See Franck et al. 2006 for an explicit statement that the morphological realization of Agree is weaker than that of Spec-head agreement; see also Samek-Lodovici 2002.)

(7) *Postnominal adjectives if derived by roll-up*

a. Step 1



b. Step 2



Given the standard view on obligatory reconstruction of rolled-up phrases, the roll-up view predicts a scope asymmetry: prenominally, A1 before A2 will show a scope of A1 over A2, but postnominally, A1 before A2 will show a scope of A2 over A1. Similarly, given the standard view that Spec-head agreement is stronger than long-distance agreement, the roll-up view predicts an agreement asymmetry: prenominally, adjectives may suppress the realization of agreement achieved via Agree, but postnominally, they cannot suppress the realization of Spec-head agreement.[2]

In sections 3 and 4, I will show that only the roll-up derivation can account for both the simultaneous PF and LF asymmetries between prenominal and postnominal adjectives in NC Catalan.

3 Postnominal Adjectives Show Obligatory Agreement

In this section and the next, I examine cases with two adjectives. I will start with the agreement asymmetries. Inflection by plural *-s* is optional on all adjectives in NC Catalan in the context C__C (between two flanking consonants) when prenominal ((8a–b), (9a–b)), but is obligatory when postnominal ((8c–d), (9c–d)).

(8) a. dos falsos bon(s) *marcians*
two false.PL good.PL Martians
b. dos bon(s) falsos *marcians*
two good.PL false.PL Martians
c. dos *marcians* falsos bons
two Martians false.PL good.PL
d. dos *marcians* bon*(s) falsos
two Martians good.PL false.PL

[2] In (7), A2 acquires [+plural] via Spec-head agreement, and its projection, A2P, undergoes Spec-head agreement for [+plural] with A1.

(9) a. dos autèntic(s) bon(s) *marcians*
two authentic.PL good.PL Martians
b. dos bons autèntic(s) *marcians*
two good.PL authentic.PL Martians
c. dos *marcians* autèntic*(s) bons
two Martians authentic.PL good.PL
d. dos *marcians* bons autèntics
two Martians good.PL authentic.PL

I treat the absence of inflectional *-s* in prenominal position as lack of agreement.[3] By hypothesis, there is no Spec-head relation between the adjectives and the noun when they are in prenominal position, and long-distance Agree (or its realization) is optional from this position. However, postnominal adjective word order is the result of the noun moving through the specifier of the adjectives, thus triggering obligatory agreement as each specifier is passed through in (7).

The agreement asymmetries above rule out an adjunction-of-Adj view—or indeed, any ''symmetric'' approach to prenominal versus postnominal orders—as no existing theories of agreement predict pure directionality to have an effect on agreement realization.

4 Postnominal Adjectives Show Reversed Scope

The agreement data thus far are consistent with either the head-movement-of-N view or the roll-up-of-N view. However, the scope data that follow maintain the agreement asymmetries while investigating scope interaction between A1 and A2. In particular, (10a–d) all show 'authentic' or 'false' taking scope over 'good'. They are used in a context in which Martians are generally known to be evil, and finding good Martians is rare; hence, 'authentic good Martians' and 'fake good Martians' characterize disjoint sets of individuals. In the examples with postnominal adjectives, (10c–d), the scope relation is 'authentic'/ 'false' > 'good', even though the linear order is the opposite. (Note that the quantificational item *uns* 'some' is subject to the same optional plural agreement, as it occupies prenominal position.)

(10) a. un(s) falsos bon(s) *marcians*
some.PL false.PL good.PL Martians
b. un(s) autèntic(s) bon(s) *marcians*
some.PL authentic.PL good.PL Martians
c. un(s) *marcians* bon*(s) falsos
some.PL Martians good.PL false.PL
d. un(s) *marcians* bons autèntics
some.PL Martians good.PL authentic.PL

[3] See Bonet, Lloret, and Mascaró, to appear, for an account in terms of zero allomorphy in prenominal position.

By contrast, (11a–d) all show 'good' taking scope over 'authentic' or 'false', reflecting an initial Merge order in which the former is merged higher than the latter. These phrases are used in a context in which Martians are generally known to be fake/impostors, and finding authentic Martians is rare. When authentic Martians are found, they can be good or bad authentic Martians. Likewise, when false Martians are found, they can be good or bad false Martians. In the examples with postnominal adjectives, (11c–d), the scope relation is 'good' > 'authentic'/'false', though the linear order is the opposite.[4]

(11) a. un(s) bon(s) falsos *marcians*
some.PL good.PL false.PL Martians
b. un(s) bons autèntic(s) *marcians*
some.PL good.PL authentic.PL Martians
c. un(s) *marcians* falsos bons
some.PL Martians false.PL good.PL
d. un(s) *marcians* autèntic*(s) bons
some.PL Martians authentic.PL good.PL

These data show that the relative scope and the linear order of postnominal adjectives do not coincide. The roll-up-of-N view accounts for these straightforwardly, as the roll-up movement has changed the linear order of A2 and A1 but has not introduced a new c-command relation between them.

In sum, the NC Catalan data allow one to use both PF and LF criteria in order to determine the c-command and Spec-head relations in the syntax. The options point to a configuration between A1 and A2 in which more-to-the-left cannot be unequivocally equated with higher, and in which agreement realization on the adjectives is not symmetric pre- and postnominally.

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[4] (11c) has an additional reading, irrelevant in this context, in which *falsos* and *bons* form a constituent. This reading can be prosodically distinguished from the one in the text, in which *falsos* is grouped prosodically with the preceding noun, as would be expected given a structure such as (7) with Truckenbrodt's (1999) WRAP-XP approach to phrasing. (See Prieto 2005 for an application of WRAP-XP and alignment constraints to Catalan.)

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Against Covert A-Movement in Russian Unaccusatives

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1 Introduction

It is widely accepted that there are displacement operations that show no visible phonological reflex. We use the term *covert movement* to refer to such operations. Covert movement has been at the forefront of the principles-and-parameters research agenda since Huang 1982 and May 1985, which used it to account for Chinese *wh*-in-situ and English quantified noun phrases, respectively. In the domain of Ā-movement, there are covert analogues of most overt movement phenomena, including covert *wh*-movement (Huang 1982, Richards 2001) and covert scrambling (e.g., Mahajan 1990). Within the domain of A-movement, however, the picture is rather different. Overt A-movement phenomena such as subject-to-subject raising, passive, and unaccusative advancement are robustly attested crosslinguistically; however, clear cases of covert A-movement are rare. One instance proposed in the literature is Babyonyshev et al.'s (2001) covert A-movement analysis of Russian unaccusatives. In this squib, we revisit that material and argue against the covert A-movement analysis on empirical grounds. We conclude that Russian unaccusatives do not instantiate covert A-movement.

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