RECONCILING GENERATIVIST AND FUNCTIONALIST APPROACHES ON ADJECTIVAL POSITION IN SPANISH

by

ALBERTO CENTENO-PULIDO

(Under the Direction of Sarah Blackwell)

ABSTRACT

Adjectival position in Spanish has been approached from two different and seemingly incompatible frameworks. On the one hand, Generativism accounts for adjectival position in terms of nominal movement (N-movement; cf. Cinque 1994, Crisma 1993, among others) and a surface order of adjectives based on their meaning (cf. Jackendoff 1972, Demonte 1999, among others.) On the other, Functionalist studies tackle this issue from the point of view of the influence of phonology (cf. File-Muriel 2006), semantic interpretation by speakers of the nouns adjectives accompany (cf. García-Bayonas) or informational structure (cf. Truswell 2003). This dissertation shows how these two frameworks can be considered to be complementary to one another, rather than being in opposition. Generativist and Functionalist approaches do not account however for post-syntactic phenomena such as meaning shift of postnominal adjectives that may be a result of grammaticalisation (cf. Bybee 2003). The two corpora also

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* To clarify any confusion regarding the composition of my committee, it should be stated that Dr. Baptista directed this dissertation, and as such, is my sole major professor. However, as she resigned from the University of Georgia in Summer 07 to take a new position at the University of Michigan, the University of Georgia would not allow her to remain my major professor on paper without becoming adjunct faculty. As she declined that option, Dr. Sarah Blackwell graciously accepted to fulfill the role of my major professor on paper only.

provide insight on the differences between language registers (spoken vs. written) and the impact of processing constraints of both registers on adjectival position in Spanish. Lastly, this dissertation adopts the NP-movement model proposed by Laenzlinger (2003) as an alternative to N-movement to map adjectives structurally and also to explain grammaticality judgment differences between Spanish and Italian.

INDEX WORDS: Adjectives, Corpus-based Analysis, DP-Structure, Focus-Presupposition Structure, Functionalism, Generativism, Grammaticalisation, Language Register, N-movement, NP-movement, Semantics, Syntax, Romance Languages

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DEDICATION

Para Olivia.

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Academic writing conventions don't quite allow the inclusion of discographies as part of the sources that help us write these large pieces of work. I, for one, think this unfair and, as a matter of fact, out of touch with the reality of the writing process. Several recording artists are as much part of this dissertation as the authors mentioned at the end. Their music made my days of writing much less tedious and far more bearable:

Aterciopelados. 1998. *Caribe atómico.* RCA Records.

----------. 2006. *Oye*. Nacional Records.

Babasónicos. 2002. *Jessico*. Universal Music Latino.

----------. 2004. *Infame*. EMI Music Distribution.

----------. 2005. *Anoche*. Universal Music Latino.

Beatles, The. 1970. *Abbey Road*. Apple Records.

Belle and Sebastian. 1998. *The Boy with the Arab Strap*. Matador.

Café Tacuba. 1994. *Re*. WEA International.

----------. 2003. *Cuatro caminos*. MCA Records.

Drake, Nick. 1970. *Bryter Layter*. Island Records.

Drexler, Jorge. 1996. *Vaivén*. Virgin Records.

----------. 1997. *Llueve*. Virgin Records.

----------. 1999. *Frontera.* Virgin Records.

----------. 2001. *Sea*. Virgin Records.

----------. 2005. *Eco*. Warner Music Latina.

----------. 2006. *Doce segundos de oscuridad*. Warner Music Latina.

Fangoria. 2004. *Una temporada en el infierno*. Gran Vía España.

Fonseca, Celso. 2003. *Natural*. Six Degrees.

----------. 2005. *Rive Gauche Rio*. Six Degrees.

Johansen, Kevin. 2000. *The Nada*. Los años luz Discos.

----------. 2002. *Sur o no sur*. Los años luz Discos.

----------. 2004/2005. *City Zen*. Los años luz Discos.

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Lori Meyers. 2008. *Cronolánea*. La incubadora.

Manel. 2009. *Els millons professors europeus*. Discmedi S.A.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Adjectival placement in Romance Languages in general (and Spanish in particular) is, within the Generativist framework, a fairly straightforward topic of study. It is generally agreed that adjectives surface pre- or postnominally as a result of the upward movement of the noun (Longobardi 1994, 1996, 2001, 2005; Cinque 1994; and Crisma 1993), as opposed to Germanic languages, in which adjectives are prenominal due to the lack of movement.

(1) [D [AP N_i [AP t_i]]] Romance

(2) [D [AP [AP N]]] Germanic

(adapted from Cinque 1994)

It is also generally agreed that there is a strict hierarchical order of adjectives, in relation to their meaning (Cinque 1994, Crisma 1993, Bosque and Picallo 1996) and that an alteration of this order yields ungrammaticality. The ungrammatical surface order in (4) below results from the fact that *divertida* can only appear in final position (3a) or before the noun (3b), and not between the other two adjectives:

(3) a, Una comedia musical americana divertida

A comedy musical American fun

'A fun American musical comedy'

b. Una divertida comedia musical americana

A fun comedy musical American

'A fun American musical comedy'

(4) *una comedia musical divertida americana

(from Bosque and Picallo 1996: 349-350)

At the same time, the meaning of some adjectives may change depending on their position relative to the noun, as in (5) and (6) below, where the former refers to a quality of a subset of the referent, whereas the latter identifies the whole set of objects being referenced as having that particular quality:

(5) las ovejas mansas

the sheep meek

'The meek sheep'

(6) las mansas ovejas

the meek sheep

'The meek sheep'

These issues, as we said, are pretty uncontroversial, and Generativism seems to account for them in a fairly straightforward way. However, there is an interesting phenomenon that occurs in Spanish Noun Phrases similar to (5) and (6) above but for which Generativism does not seem to be able to provide a satisfactory explanation:

(7) La Roma antigua

The Rome ancient

'Ancient Rome'

(8) La antigua Roma

The ancient Rome

'Ancient Rome'

If we were to follow traditional grammars, we would undoubtedly find that there is a semantic difference between (7) and (8), namely that whereas the latter refers to the heyday of the Imperial period of Rome, the former refers to any other period of the history of the city (say, the Rome of the 15th century.) The problem with this approach is that it *de facto* ignores that in current use both Noun Phrases are virtually synonymous, and in both cases, the meaning is that of (8). In other words, as a result of use, the two different semantic possibilities have been neutralised in one.[1]

The relevance of use in this case raises a question regarding language registers and adjectival placement.[2] File-Muriel (2006) established that there are differences in the placement of adjectives depending on whether we are dealing with spoken or written discourse. The main factor that affects placement is syllabic weight (i.e. the difference in syllable count between the noun and the accompanying adjective). Thus, example (7) above would be an instance of an adjective (i.e. *antigua*) being heavier than the noun it

[1] Note that we are not arguing for a total disappearance of the meaning of (7). Our observation is based on a simple internet engine search of both NPs, and the results found pointed at an exclusive use of both NPs in the sense of the Roman Empire's heyday. Given the appropriate context, surely the meaning intended for (7) would surface.

[2] In the case of (7) and (8) above, the difference in meaning is arguably more readily available in the written register, whereas the neutralisation of meanings may be more likely to happen in the spoken register, where a lack of contextual clarity would probably warrant a clarification by the speaker.

accompanies (i.e. *Roma*) by one syllable. According to the results of File-Muriel (2006), speech, by virtue of being produced in real time, has a higher number of processing constraints than written discourse. Thus, when an adjective is syllabically heavier than the noun it accompanies, it is more likely to follow it than to precede it in speech. This situation is not as pre-eminent in written discourse, since it is a more planned type of discourse, and, consequently, the processing constraints are not as prevalent. [3]

To summarize, Generativism is generally able to explain phenomena related to adjectival placement in Spanish. However, phenomena such as meaning neutralisation and the difference in processing constraints outlined above fall outside the boundaries of this framework and are picked up by Functionalist approaches. It is our belief that both frameworks' perspectives on adjectival placement are complementary in more ways than one. To show this complementary nature is the main goal of this work. The rest of the chapter consists of a detailed account of the findings from the Generativist and Functionalist frameworks introduced above; we also lay out the main research questions and introduce the organization of this dissertation.

1.1. Generativist Treatment of Adjectival Placement in Romance

There seems to be agreement in theoretical syntax about how to generate the surface order of Adjective Phrases in Romance. Generally speaking, the base position of adjectives is the same in Romance and in Germanic (Cinque 1994:85.) In both cases, the noun is generated at the base of the syntactic structure, as we saw in (1) and (2) above. The parametric difference regarding adjective surface position in both groups of

[3] Examples (7) and (8) relate to the register difference along the lines mentioned in fn. 2. However, as we will see later on, File-Muriel's (2006) findings apply to our data analysis in chapter 3.

languages is seen as the result of movement –in Romance- or lack thereof –in Germanic- of the head of the N(oun) P(hrase).[4]

The main source of disagreement, however, is the nature of adjective placement within DP in Romance. There are two competing approaches to this issue. On the one hand, adjectives adjoin maximal projections immediately to the right of the N head (cf. Picallo 1991 or Lamarche 1991 –fn. 4-). On the other hand, adjectives are generated in the Specifier position of an intermediate functional category, between NP and DP (Longobardi 1994, 1996, 2001, 2005; Cinque 1994; and Crisma 1993). The difference between these two approaches is represented graphically below. The derivation in (9) shows the adjectives as adjuncts and a discreet number of functional projections between D and N being used to hold arguments in their specifiers (cf. Picallo 1991.) On the other hand, the derivation in (10) shows that the adjectives are generated precisely in the specifier of those intermediate functional projections. We will see in the following section that in both approaches, N-movement occurs, albeit for very different reasons, that we will see in the next section:

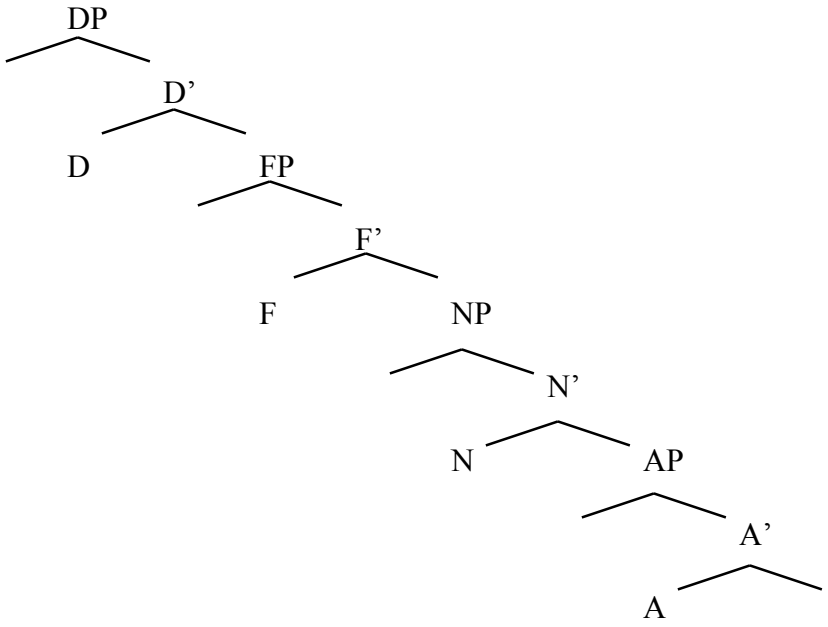
---

[4] One exception to this general agreement on movement is Lamarche (1991), who argues that attributive adjectives can be generated to the right of N in French (in Cinque 1994: 101). Lamarche (1991) objects to nominal upward movement based on evidence related to the order of attributive adjectives in French. This order is the mirror image of adjectives in English:

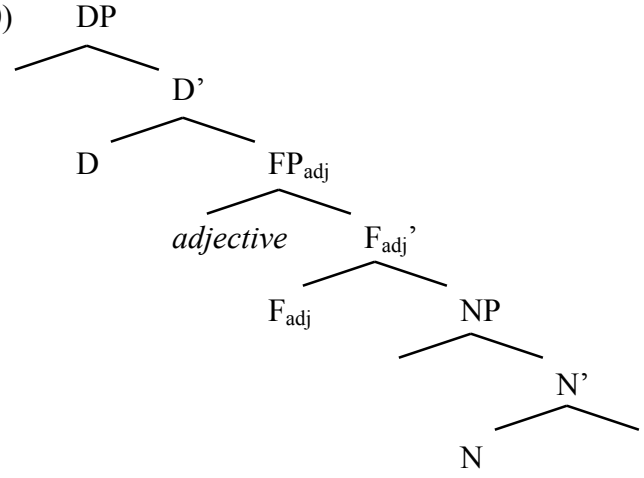
i. English: Adj2 Adj1 N
   "a huge orange fruit"
ii. Romance: N Adj1 Adj2
   "un fruit orange énorme"
   (from Cinque 1994)

For Lamarche, this is evidence that the relative ordering of adjectives is not a result of movement, but rather that adjectives are generated to the right of N. Cinque defends N-movement with the argument that this mirror image is caused by the predicative nature of the adjectives, which differ from attributive adjectives in that they are not subject to the strict hierarchical order mentioned at the beginning of this dissertation.

(9)



(10)



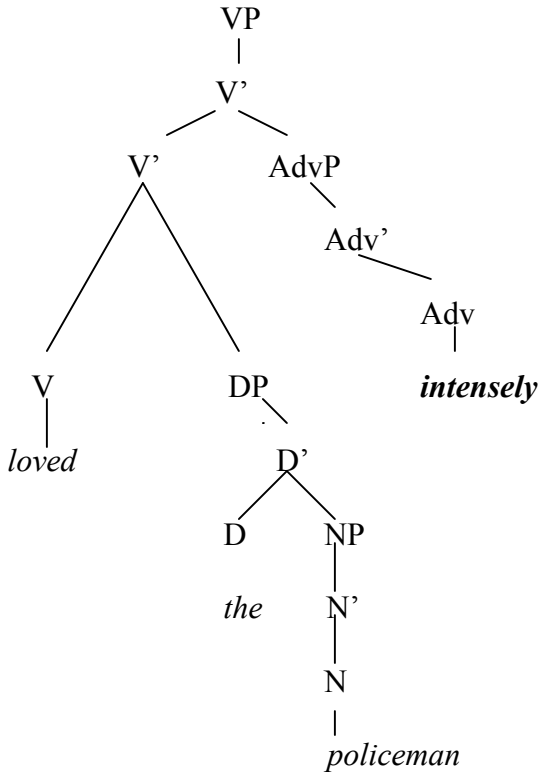
1.1.1 Adjunction vs. Generation in Spec-XP.

The motivation for adjunction is the analogic situation in the Verb Phrase domain. In VP, sentential adverbs are adjoined to verbal projections:

(11) I loved the policeman **intensely**

(from Carnie 2002: 126)

(12)



Given the apparent similarities between adverbs and adjectives (cf. section 1.1.1.1. below for a more detailed explanation) in their meaning and their role as maximal projection modifiers, it seems reasonable to give adjunction such a prominent role in adjective placement. We have already seen Lamarche's (1991) motivation for defending adjunction of adjectives to the right of N (cf. fn. 4). Let's now consider other scholars' positions on these matters.

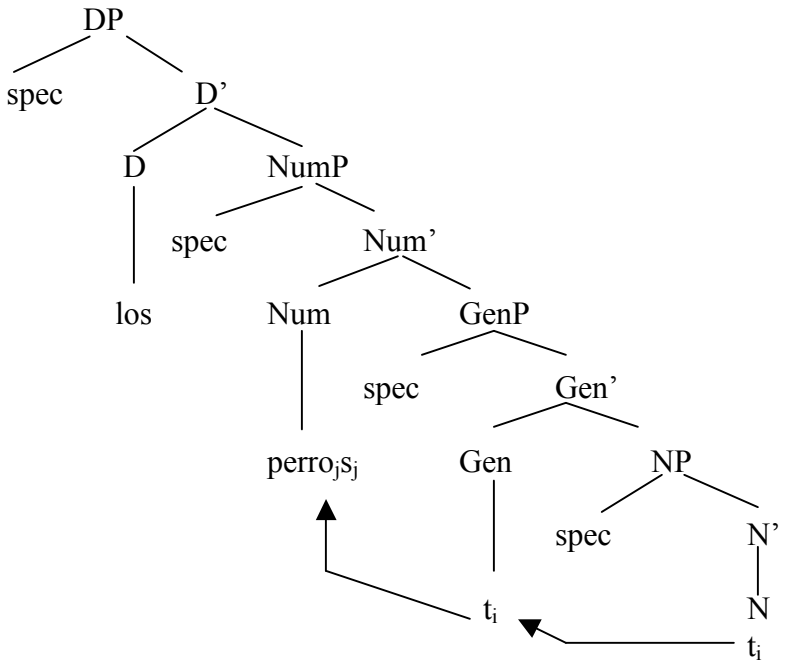
Picallo (1991) considers that only subcategorized arguments can be generated in the specifier position of functional categories, and therefore adjectives can only be adjoined:

(13) Les novel les d'en Pere de Nabokov
the novels of Pere of Nabokov
'Pere's novels by Nabokov' (from Picallo 1991:283)

Picallo proposed two functional projections to account syntactically for the fact that in Catalan, as well as in other Romance languages, nouns express gender and number. These two categories are Gen(der) P(hrase) and Num(ber) P(hrase).[5] GenP generates as a complement of NumP. The noun moves upward, first to Gen^0 check for [+/- FEM(inine)] feature to its final landing site, the head of NumP, to check for [+/- PL(ural)] features. An illustrative example follows:

(14) *los perr-o-s*
the dog-MASC-PL
'the dogs.'

(15)

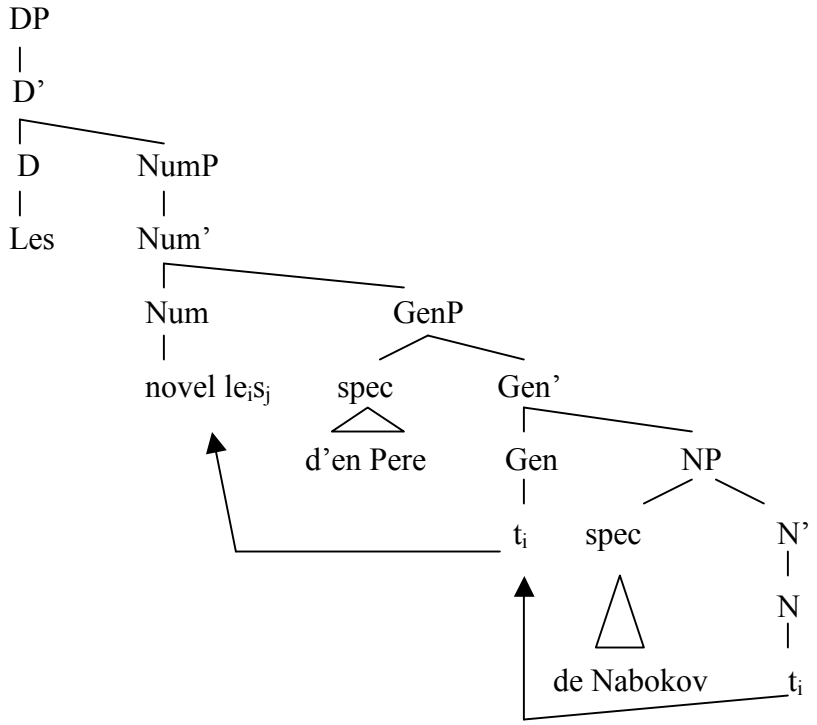


An example like (13) above fits within this proposal in the following manner. Arguments surface to the right of the nominal head in Catalan (as well as in Spanish). As we saw, the noun moves to check for Gender features on its way to the head of NumP.

[5] Ritter (1991) also proposed a NumP category for nominals in Hebrew.

Picallo assumes that the specifier position of GenP is the generating position for the nominal subcategorized POSSESSOR argument in (14):[6]

(16)



(adapted from Picallo 1991)

Adjectives are not essential parts of the theta grid of the nominal (i.e. are not subcategorized) and as such have to appear in adjunct position, even though they can represent theta-roles, such as agent:

(17) La invasión iraquí de Kuwait

The invasion Iraqi of Kuwait

'The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait'

(from Picallo 1991: 285)

[6] Picallo assumes that subcategorized arguments generated in the specifiers are hierarchically structured (i.e. that some arguments appear higher than others). Incidentally, this same concept of strict hierarchical organization is used by Cinque (1994), Crisma (1993) and Longobardi (1994, 1996, 2001, 2006) to justify their positions.

Let's now consider the alternative proposal for adjective generation: the specifier of an intermediate functional projection (XP).

Crisma (1993), Cinque (1994) and Longobardi (1994, 1996, 2001, 2005) propose that there are multiple functional projections with specifier positions where adjectives are generated. This proposal is also based on a parallelism with the VP domain.

1.1.1.1. Similar Properties of Adverbs and Adjectives.

Jackendoff (1972) proposed a distinction of semantic interpretation of adverbs in the verb phrase (VP) depending on their position in the sentence. This semantic interpretation is also applicable to adjectives in the noun phrase (NP), given the close semantic relationship between verbs and their nominalizations. There are basically three possible positions for adverbs in the English VP, namely initial, final and auxiliary, the latter understood as the position between the subject and the verb or between the auxiliary verb and the lexical verb. The following examples, extracted from Jackendoff (1972) illustrate the three positions.

(18) John cleverly dropped his cup of coffee.

(19) Cleverly (,) John dropped his cup of coffee.

(20) John dropped his cup of coffee cleverly.

These positions are not without restrictions. Some adverbs, like *cleverly* in the examples above, can appear in the three positions. Other adverbs are restricted to two positions (whether initial and auxiliary or auxiliary and final), as in the following examples (also from Jackendoff 1972):

(21) Probably Horatio has lost his mind.

(22) Horatio has probably lost his mind.

(23) *Horatio has lost his mind probably.

(24) Stanley completely ate his Wheaties.

(25) Stanley ate his Wheaties completely.

(26) *Completely Stanley ate his Wheaties.

On the other hand, non *–ly* adverbs normally occur in the final position (27) and another class of adverbs occurs only in auxiliary position (28-30):

(27) (*Hard) John (*hard) hit Bill (hard).

(28) Albert is simply being a fool.

(29) *Simply Albert is being a fool.

(30) *Albert is being a fool simply.

Jackendoff considers that the position in which an adverb can appear has semantic implications. Thus, an adverb that can only appear in initial or auxiliary position has two semantic orientations. Either "[they] relate the speaker's attitude [to] the event expressed by the sentence [or] they express some additional information about the subject" (Jackendoff 1972: 56-57.) The latter are subject-oriented adverbs, whereas the former are called speaker-oriented adverbs. Those that only occur in final position have a strict manner interpretation. Roughly speaking, the adverbs in (21) and (22) would be interpreted as speaker-oriented and subject-oriented, respectively.[7] The adverb in (25), being in final position, receives, as we have just pointed out, a manner interpretation.

In the nominal domain, we can see that there are also different types of adjectives and that these adjectives also have restrictions, both in their respective positions and in

[7] We will see later on that the speaker-oriented/subject-oriented distinction seems to be collapsed due to semantic restrictions (cf. Crisma 1993, also fn. 8).

their ability to co-occur with other adjectives. Regarding the first restriction, let's examine the following examples:

(31) The probable hostile American reaction

(32) *The probable American hostile reaction

(33) *The American probable hostile reaction

(34) *The American hostile probable reaction

(35) *The hostile probable American reaction

(36) *The hostile American probable reaction

(from Crisma 1993: 93)

Only (31) is grammatical, because it is the only example in which the different types of adjectives are in their expected syntactic positions. This seems to point to the existence of a restricted hierarchical order for adjectives[8]:

(37) The ***probable hostile American*** reaction

speaker-oriented > ***manner*** > ***thematic***

On the other hand, there are restrictions regarding the ability of adjectives to co-occur with other types. The predictions for these restrictions are that coordination is only possible between adjectives of the same class (38-39) and that, in turn, non-coordinated adjectives belonging to the same class cannot co-occur (40-41):

[8] Crisma (1993: 94) argues that subject-oriented adjectives do compete for the same structural position with speaker-oriented adjectives, on the basis of their inability to appear coordinated, due to semantic reasons. These reasons are similar to the semantic constraint in which two complements that occupy the same structural position yield an ungrammatical sentence because of their different semantic relation with the verb:

(i) *Yesterday, I **got** ***a cold*** and ***two tickets for the cinema***.

(38) John's ***childish*** and ***clumsy*** behaviour (manner & manner)

(39) John's ***likely*** and ***clumsy*** behaviour (speaker-ori. & manner)

(40) *The German American attitude (thematic - thematic)

(41) *The possible probable reaction (speaker-or. – speaker-or.)

(from Crisma 1993: 93)

1.1.1.2. The Case for Spec-XP

The parallelism between adverbs and adjectives is, as we have just seen, based on the following points:

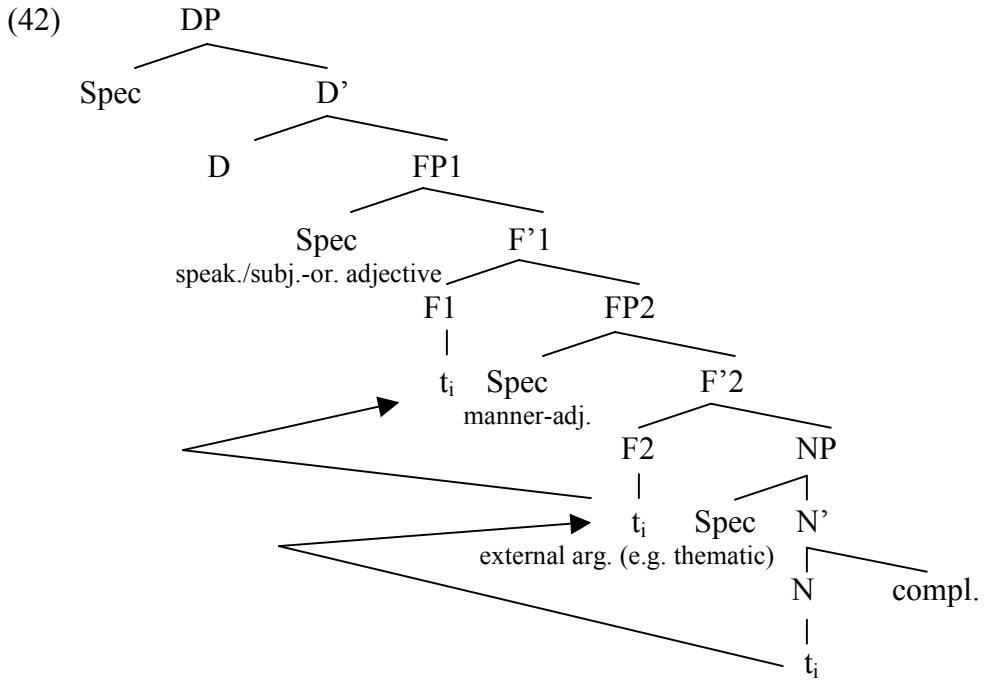
- The position of adverbs and adjectives has a semantic consequence.
- There are restrictions on the position that a given adverb/adjective can occupy.
- There are restrictions on the ability of adverbs/adjectives to co-occur with other adverbs/adjectives of the same class (i.e. they need to appear co-ordinated; cf. 38-41.)

On the other hand, we saw at the beginning of this section (cf. 1.1.1) that the proposal of adjoining adjectives was also based on the syntactic behaviour of sentential adverbs in the Verb Phrase (cf. examples (11) and (12) above). The proponents of Spec-XP identify the problems of this purely syntactic approach. We have established that there are restrictions in the position of the different adjective types (cf. (31-36) above) and, as a consequence, that there is a hierarchical organization of the different A(djective) P(hrase)s. There is nothing in the adjunction approach to indicate that a given hierarchy needs to be followed. As a result, adjunction could not predict ungrammatical outcomes

such as those seen in (32-36), "[unless] *ad hoc* conditions [were formulated]" (Crisma 1993: 86).

Generation in Spec-XP doesn't have to justify a hierarchy and/or worry about possible ungrammatical outcomes, because each type of adjective is generated in the specifiers of the different intermediate (i.e. between DP and NP) functional categories in the projection; those adjectives that surface first go higher in the tree, those that surface later, go lower:[9]

(42)



(from Crisma 1993: 92)

Note that nominal movement is represented here as a process in which the noun moves from its original position to the different heads of the intermediate functional projections where the APs are generated. The fact that it doesn't raise past the

[9] We are aware of the possibility of manner adjectives appearing in prenominal position, as Crisma (1993: 95) points out. This is addressed in the next section (cf. 1.1.2. below), which deals with the change in meaning of adjectives depending on their position relative to the noun and the description of this phenomenon within the Generative framework.

speaker/subject oriented adjective is consistent with the analogous situation with the adverbs, since, as we said before, there is a class of adverbs that can appear only in initial or auxiliary position (cf. (28) above). It also explains why (43) below is grammatical, but (44) is not:

(43) La ***probable*** reacción ***hostil americana***
The probable reaction hostile American
'The probable hostile American reaction'

(44) **La reacción* ***probable hostil americana***

Probable in (43) has a speaker-oriented reading, which puts it in the topmost specifier of the tree in (42). Again, as we said regarding adverbs, this reading is attained only when the adjective appears before the risen noun; hence the ungrammaticality.

On the other hand, adjunction is recursive by nature (i.e. it can generate an *a priori* infinite number of X-bar nodes to which the different APs can be attached). However, we just saw that more than one non-coordinated adjective of each type co-occurring in any NP produces ungrammaticality (cf. (40-41) above.) Furthermore, even when there are non-coordinated APs of different types, there seems to be a limit in the overall number of APs that can be within DP – "not exceeding six or seven" (Cinque 1994: 96):[10]

[10] We think Cinque's estimation of only "six or seven" different APs being possible in any given NP is justified simply by the sheer difficulty one would have trying to add any more adjectives to an NP like the one displayed in (45). This limitation is not exclusive to the recursivity of APs, in terms of processability. Recursive subordinate clauses in a sentence would render that sentence, at best, difficult to process, albeit grammatical:

"It seems to me that some of you don't believe that some students have said that several professors don't lament that the programs of study haven't been changed"
(adapted from Bosque and Gutiérrez-Rexach 2009: 33)

(45) ***His two other possible clumsy immediate*** *reactions* to your letter

(from Cinque 1994: 95)

It is important to point out that so far all the examples that have been used to explain the virtues of the Generation-in-Spec approach have included eventive nominals (i.e. deverbal nominalizations, such as *reaction* in (45) above). That does not mean at all that the other type of nouns (i.e. object-denoting nominals) don't have the same restrictions or are organised following a strict hierarchical order. Cinque (1994) offers a specific unmarked serialization of adjectives, both for eventive (46) and for object-denoting nominals (47):

(46) poss>cardinal>ordinal>speaker-or.>subj-or.>manner>thematic

His two other possible clumsy ***reactions*** *to your letter*

(47) poss.>cardinal>ordinal>quality>size>shape>color>nationality

His great big brown American ***car***

(from Cinque 1994: 95)

Let's recapitulate quickly the main points discussed so far. First, we have established that adjectives surface pre- or postnominally as a result of nominal upward movement. Second, we have compared the two main approaches to the position where adjectives are generated, and observed that Generation-in-Spec can account for the semantic restrictions for both the relative order and the ability to co-occur with other adjectives of the same category, whereas the Adjunction approach cannot do so. The next section will deal with the change in meaning depending on the position of the adjective and how Generativism accounts for it.

1.1.2. Change of Meaning Related to Position

Traditional grammars (Alarcos 2002, Alcina and Blecua 2001) coincide in assigning two different meanings to adjectives according to their position in the phrase. Adjectives can be placed before or after the noun. Adjectives before the noun are descriptive and denote a property of the noun whereas adjectives after the noun specify and restrict the property expressed by the adjective to a subset of individuals that are part of a referential expression (i.e. noun) (Alarcos 2002:82):

(48) La blanc-a nieve
Det.FEM.SING. white-FEM.SING. snow
'The white snow'

(49) La pared blanc-a
Det.FEM.SING. wall white-FEM.SING.
'The white wall'

Example (48) purely describes the nature of the noun, since there is really no other type of snow than 'white snow'. On the other hand, the adjective in (49) is restricting the meaning of the noun from a pool of possible meanings (i.e. a black wall, a blue wall, a red wall, ...).

Let's see what the structural implications of this difference in meaning are. Crisma (1993) points out that a potential problem to the model she proposes in (42) is the appearance of a prenominal manner adjective. Some adjectives can have a speaker/subject-oriented reading or a manner reading depending on the position they occupy (either left or right of N, respectively) and provided that the noun they accompany permits it (i.e. doesn't have any semantic restrictions):

(50) La reazione naturale di Gianni (manner reading)

'Gianni's natural reaction'

(51) La naturale reazione di Gianni (speaker-oriented reading)

'Gianni's natural reaction'

(from Crisma 1993: 96)

However, with other nouns, there are restrictions on the possibility of readings of those same adjectives:

(52) Il naturale disappunto di Gianni (speaker-oriented)

'Gianni's natural dissapointment'

(53) *Il disappunto naturale di Gianni (manner)

'Gianni's natural dissapointment'

(from Crisma 1993: 96)

Logically speaking, this situation should be replicated when the adjective can not be read as speaker/subject-oriented and only a manner interpretation is available, except for now the restriction is that the adjective cannot appear prenominally. However, the following set of data contradicts that generalization:

(54) La soluzione *definitiva* del problema

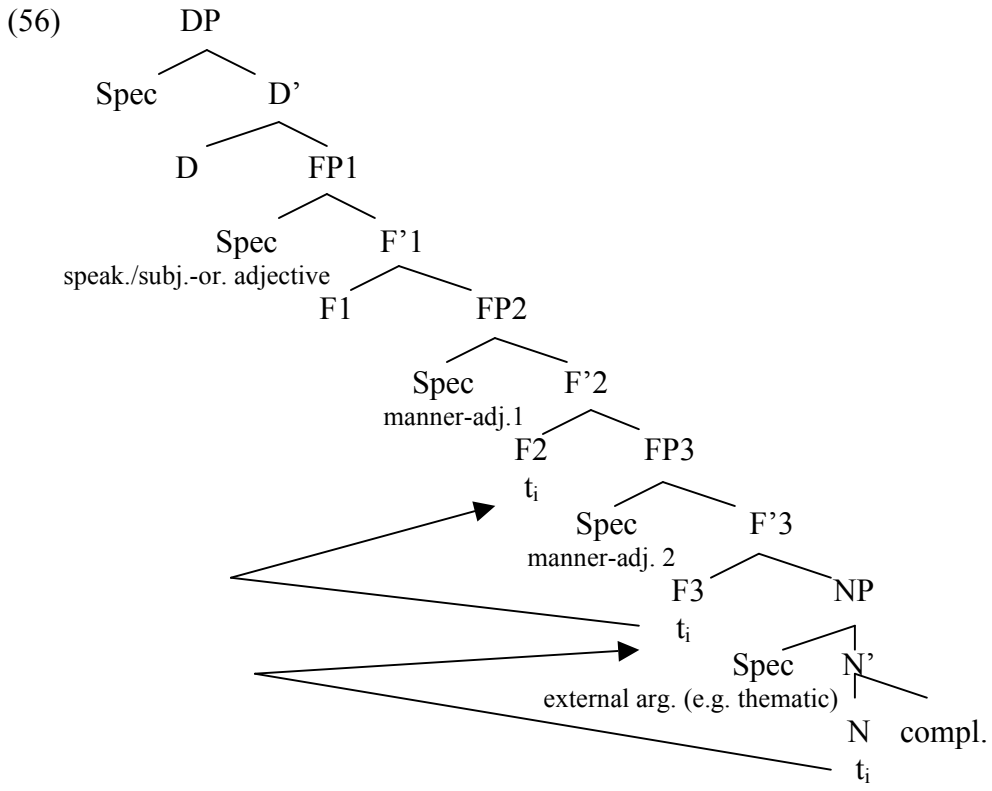
(55) La *definitiva* soluzione del problema

'The problem's definitive solution'

(from Crisma 1993: 96)

Both adjectives in (54) and (55) must be interpreted as having a manner reading. For this reason, Crisma argues that it is necessary to have an extra position for prenominal manner adjectives, below speaker/subject-oriented adjectives, but above postnominal manner adjectives:

(56)



(from Crisma 1993: 97)

In this model, the noun still raises from its original position to the head of an intermediate functional projection, as it did in (40) above, without going past the speaker/subject-oriented adjective that inevitably appears prenominally. However, in this case, it stops in F2, the head of FP2 where the prenominal manner adjective is generated:

(57) La *probabile definitiva* soluzione del problema

'The likely definitive solution to the problem'

(from Crisma 1993: 97)

(58) $[_{DP}[_{D}$ La $[_{FP1}$ *probabile* $[_{F1}[_{FP2}$ *definitiva* $[_{F2}$ soluzione$_i$ $[_{FP3}[_{F3}$ t_i $[_{NP}$ $[_{N}$ t_i $[_{PP}$ del problema]]]]]]]]]]

At this point, we would like to point out a problem with this structural solution and its application to Spanish. Let's look at the Spanish counterpart of (57):

(59) *La *probable definitiva* solución del problema

The ungrammaticality of (59) seems to be due to the fact that *definitiva* cannot be interpreted as a manner adjective when preceding the noun in Spanish.[11] The only possible reading here is subject-oriented, demonstrated by the fact that when both adjectives in (57) are coordinated, their co-occurrence as members of the same class of adjectives is not restricted:

(60) La *probable* ***y*** *definitiva* solución del problema

'The probable and definitive solution of the problem'

Later in the dissertation (chapter 4), we will address this difference in grammaticality between Spanish and Italian. In the next section, we will tackle the aforementioned limitations of Generativism and succinctly explain the contributions to the topic of adjectival position made from a Functionalist perspective.

[11] We don't disagree with Crisma in the ability of *definitiva* in being interpreted as manner in prenominal position in Spanish, although we think that a certain degree of ambiguity (between subject-oriented and manner interpretations) could be expected. Along these lines, we think that *definitiva* in (59) could have a manner interprepation if the speaker-oriented adjective (*probable*) became an adverb:

La probablemente *definitiva* solución del problema.

'The probably definitive solution to the problem'

1.2. Limitations of Generativism and Contributions of Functionalism

To sum up, in spite of the different approaches to adjective position (generation in Spec-XP vs. Adjunction) and the cross-linguistic differences in grammaticality (cf. (57) and (59) above), the Generativist framework accounts rather well for the structural and semantic phenomena associated with adjective placement in Romance in general and in Spanish in particular, as we have seen up to this point. However, as it was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, an interesting phenomenon occurs in Spanish NPs with adjectives which the Generativist framework seems unable to explain. Let's repeat the example here for convenience:

(61) La antigua Roma
The ancient Rome
'Ancient Rome'

(62) La Roma antigua
The Rome ancient
'Ancient Rome'

Generativism would deal with this pair by proposing that the surface position of *antigua* in each NP is due to the upward movement of the noun (i.e. *Roma*)[12] and that a change in meaning is related to position. When the adjective is prenominal (cf. 61) the

[12] In chapter 2, we will see another example of difference in grammaticality between Spanish and Italian. Longobardi (2005), in his description of the behaviour of Italian proper nouns (PNs) within DP, argues that the Italian counterpart of (60) is ungrammatical:

(i) *La Roma *antica*
(from Longobardi 2005)

He argues that PNs compete with determiners for the head of DP, on semantic grounds; namely that PNs refer to unique, definite entities and as such they fulfil the same function as definite determiners in these contexts.

reference is unequivocally to the heyday of the Roman Empire (with all the images that we commonly associate with that moment, like the Senate, the gladiators, the Legions sporting the military banners with the acronym SPQR, etc.) With a postnominal adjective (cf. 62), we are referring to some other period in Roman history (e.g. the days when Michelangelo painted the Sistine Chapel.) In short, there is a relationship between structure (in terms of syntactic position) and meaning, and Generativism generally can account for that. But what Generativism does not seem to be able to explain is the process by which, as a result of usage, the meaning of (62) has shifted to, essentially that of (61), meaning the heyday of the Empire (cf. fn. 1.)

This meaning shift is not the only phenomenon that is not accounted for within the Generativist framework. Recently, some studies within the functionalist framework (File-Muriel 2006, García-Bayonas 2006, Truswell 2005) have provided insightful approaches to the topic of adjective ordering. File-Muriel (2006) offers compelling evidence suggesting that the differences in the information processing constraints in different language registers (namely, written versus spoken language) play a significant role in the way adjectives are positioned. It is true that Generativism is concerned with naturally produced language in the speaker's mind, and, as such, the differences in registers are something beyond the scope of this framework. However, this functional study shows that language is fundamentally a thought process with different particularities depending on the different types of register that are analysed, and therefore adds to, rather than rejects, the contributions of Generativism.

On the other hand, García-Bayonas (2006) found that there is a direct relation between the position of an adjective and the interpretation of the semantic features of the

noun it accompanies. The interpretation of the nouns was made in terms of their general vs. their specific semantic features. Thus, for a NP like *small farmer*, the specific interpretation would be *a farmer with a small farm*, whereas the general interpretation would be *a farmer of short height*.

Lastly, Truswell (2003) proposed that an adjective that is predominantly used in postnominal position is uttered prenominally due to the contextual circumstances surrounding that utterance. This proposal is basically a Focus-Presupposition structure, in which the adjective is focused by preposing it and the content of the noun is the presupposed information. Truswell claims that an adjective like *agréable* (pleasant) is commonly used postnominally:

(63) Un voyage agréable
A journey pleasant
'A pleasant journey'

Compare it, however, to the following sentence, where the adjective is preposed:

(64) Nous vous souhaitons un agréable voyage
'We hope you have a pleasant journey'

The data in (64) is an announcement made before the departure of a train. Thus, all the hearers of the announcement do share the same background information (i.e. presupposition), the fact that they are about to begin a trip. The new content (i.e. focus) is that hope of the speaker that the trip will be pleasant.

1.3. Contribution of this Dissertation

It could be argued that all these proposals have little or nothing to do with generative grammar. In a nutshell, Generativism looks at the interface between structure and meaning in the mind to account for distribution of adjectives, whereas Functionalism considers register constraints, frequency of use, and context to account for that same distribution of adjectives. How can someone simultaneously examine two frameworks that differ so radically? While this difference is undeniable, we believe that Functionalism comes to complement, not exclude, Generativism. For instance, a look at naturally occurring data from different registers can indicate whether, in spite of the different information processing constraints, the strict organizational hierarchy of adjectives referred to earlier in the chapter is maintained or not. If it is maintained, Generativism asserts its explanatory power, and it does so with data that do not proceed from intuitive grammaticality judgments (themselves a source of conflict in the linguistic debate). If it is not maintained, the door is open to further enquiry that could eventually lead to the assertion of that explanatory power. It is in this spirit of trying to bridge the gap between these two frameworks that this dissertation is written.

Consequently, the ultimate goals of this dissertation will reflect its underlyingly inclusive nature. In the next section, we will introduce these goals formally by articulating the research questions.

1.3.1. Research Questions

As we have seen throughout this introduction, semantics is the central factor that determines structural position. We established that there is hierarchy of adjectival order based on the meaning of the adjectives; that the noun will not raise past an adjective that,

due to semantic constraints, has to appear prenominally; and that there are constrictions of co-occurrence for adjectives of the same class. On the other hand, the recent functionalist studies presented above suggest that other factors (such as focus or processing constraints) may also be at work. Thus, the first question that this dissertation will address is:

- What is the prevalence of each of these factors in relation to adjectival position in Spanish?

The second research question is directly related to File-Muriel's (2006) suggestion that different registers (with different information processing constraints) significantly influence adjective position in Spanish. The question is the following:

- What is the impact of the linguistic register (spoken vs. written) in the prevalence of the factors involved in determining adjectival position in Spanish?

Before answering these questions, it is necessary to explain how this dissertation is organized in order to answer these questions.

1.4. Organisation of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organised into five chapters. Chapter 2 begins with an explanation of the nominal domain (i.e. the components of NP) in Spanish. Some of the concepts introduced in this section, such as *definiteness*, *specificity*, will be instrumental to the rest of the chapter, since they deal with the semantic relationship between nouns and adjectives. Then, we will present an overview of the literature with regards to the semantics of adjectives. We will also provide a structure for the Spanish DP based on Laenzlinger's (2000) proposal for French. The particularity of this proposal is that it

introduces the concept of NP-movement, in which the whole NP that moves upward rather than just the noun (N-movement). Recall that N-movement is the type of movement that determines adjectival position in Romance. NP-movement finds solutions to problems such as those raised by Lamarche (1991) regarding the mirror image adjectival ordering differences between French and English (cf. fn. 4). Given that this model is able to account for those differences, and that we can easily adapt it to Spanish, we think it is a suitable model to account for adjectival position crosslinguistically.

We will also present some more comparative data between Spanish and Italian to show other cases of grammaticality differences between these two languages. These differences, together with those presented in this chapter (cf. (57-60) above), will be discussed further in chapter 4. Lastly, we will present a rationale for considering complementary approaches, such as those proposed by the functionalist framework and the functionalist studies mentioned briefly in this introductory chapter will be discussed in detail.

Chapter 3 will address the research questions by presenting numerical data extracted from the analysis of two corpora: one of spoken Andalusian Spanish and one of written discourse of Cuban Spanish.

Chapter 4 focuses on several issues. First, we will offer a generative treatment of the data presented in chapter 3. This includes the collapse of the two hierarchical adjective organisations presented in this introduction into one, in light of the data in our corpus. Second, we will claim, regarding the differences between Spanish and Italian data shown in chapters 1 and 2, that they are result of parametric semantic differences that can be accounted for with our proposed DP structure (following Laenzlinger 2000.)

Chapter 5 is a synthesis of the main findings. But we will also take up again the issue of the meaning shift raised in this introduction, as a way of showing the limitations of Generativist and Functionalist approaches.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter begins with a description of the nominal domain in Spanish, where we will explain the different components of noun phrases in this language along with their grammatical features. Moreover, some of the concepts introduced and explained in this section (such as *definiteness, specificity,* and *referentiality*) are crucial in understanding the semantic relationships between nouns and adjectives. The chapter continues with a review of the literature with regards to the adjective in Spanish, where the different possibilities for semantic classification of adjectives will be shown. Also, a structure for Spanish DP is proposed, following the model introduced by Laenzlinger (2000). The last section of the chapter focuses on Functionalism discusses extensively the studies that were briefly introduced in chapter 1 (García-Bayonas 2006, File-Muriel 2006, and Truswell 2004.)

2.1. The Spanish DP: General Features

The purpose of this first section is to describe the characteristics of the Spanish DP, including common nouns and proper names, as well as the distribution of adjectives within DP. We will examine the semantics of the DP, with a special focus on bare nouns (BNs). Bare nouns are defined as nouns that are not modified by any determiner, although they may carry other morphological markings (such as plurality). First, we introduce a review of the overt determiners in Spanish, including their function, meaning, and semantic/syntactic restrictions. Concepts crucial to the semantic description of

determiners, such as *specificity*, *definiteness*, and *referentiality*, are explained. Second, we briefly describe demonstratives, mainly in terms of the functions they have in the NP (cf. Ranson 1999.) Third, we will review the semantic characteristics of nouns, especially BNs and PNs. These two types of nouns will provide us with comparative data in Italian and Spanish, and we will see how these two languages differ in the semantic requirements that render NPs with those two types of nouns grammatical or ungrammatical in both languages.

Within the DP framework, the determiner occupies the D node, which is the head of the projection and thus becomes the central component of the derivation. The noun and the rest of the elements in the derivation (adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, etc.) are a complement to this D node (Abney 1987.) In Spanish, all the elements of the derivation have to agree in gender and number. There are two genders (masculine and feminine) and two numbers (singular and plural):[13].

Masculine Singular

(1)	El	perr-o	negr-o
	Det.MASC.SG.	dog-MASC.SG	black-MASC.SG
	The black (male) dog		

[13] As we saw in chapter 1, Picallo (1991) proposed that gender and number were part of the syntactic structure of the DP in Romance, taking the form of heads of their own functional projections (GenP and NumP, respectively).

Masculine Plural

(2) Los perr-o-s negr-o-s

Det.MASC.PL dog-MASC.-PL. black-MASC.-SG.

The black (male) dogs

Feminine Singular

(3) La perr-a negr-a

Det.FEM.SG. dog-FEM.PL. black-FEM.SG.

The black (female) dog

Feminine Plural

(4) Las perras negras

Det.FEM.PL. dog-FEM.-PL. BLACK-FEM.-SG.

The black (female) dogs

Let's look at the first element of DP displayed in the previous examples: the determiner.

2.1.1. Overt Determiners in Spanish DP

Overt determiners in Spanish fall into two categories: indefinite and definite. The basic definite determiner in Spanish (*el*) can be inflected for gender and number (masculine/feminine; singular/plural), as we saw in examples (2) to (4) above. The same is true for the basic indefinite determiner (*un*):

(5) Un niñ-o content-o

Det.INDEF.MASC.SG. boy-MASC.SG happy-MASC.SG

'A happy boy'

(6) Un-a niñ-a content-a

Det.INDEF-FEM.SG. girl-FEM.SG happy-FEM.SG

'A happy girl'

(7) Un-o-s niñ-o-s content-o-s

Det.INDEF.-MASC.-PL. boy-MASC.-PL. happy-MASC.-SG

'(Some) happy boys'

(8) Un-a-s niñ-a-s content-a-s

Det.INDEF.-FEM.-SG. girl-FEM.-PL. happy-FEM.-SG.

'(Some) happy girls'

While the morphology of the Spanish determiner is rather straightforward, as we have seen in (1-8), the semantics is not so clear-cut. The labels traditionally used with determiners (i.e. definite vs. indefinite) are no more than a convenient means of classification. Sometimes, what is called definite or indefinite is more accurately described as *specific* or *non-specific*. And even though definite and specific tend to be associated (cf. (1-4)), the same way that indefinite and non-specific are also commonly associated (cf. (5-8)), this association is not always perfect. In other words, a noun phrase with an indefinite determiner does not necessarily indicate a non-specific referent in the same way that a NP with a definite determiner does not always refer to a specific referent (Lyons 1999.) Before moving on, it is necessary to define these concepts of definiteness and specificity.

2.1.1.1. Definiteness and Specificity

To explain these two concepts, let's use one of the examples above with an indefinite determiner:

(9) Un niño contento

'A happy boy'

Example (9) illustrates the common relationship between indefinite and non-specific reference. It is indefinite in that it is not identified by the speaker or hearer as something familiar (Lyons 1999: 2). At the same time, it is non-specific because we can't establish a direct semantic relationship between the referent (i.e. *niño*) and a concrete person. Let's put (9) in context:

(10) Un niño contento es lo que quiero criar

'A happy boy is what I want to raise'

The sentence in (10) could be uttered in the following scenario: a person is talking about his goal as a future parent. Thus, his wish is to provide an upbringing for his future child leading to the boy's being happy. However, the kid-to-be is an abstraction; he does not exist yet. Therefore, the referent is not familiar to the speaker or hearer and, definitely, we cannot establish a direct relationship between the referent and a concrete person. As a result, *un* refers to a non-specific boy. But, as already mentioned, this relationship between indefinite and non-specific meanings and the indefinite determiner does not always hold. An indefinite NP can be identifiable and familiar to the speaker and/or hearer and also specific. Let's look at the following example:

(11) Juan es un niño contento

'Juan is a happy boy'

In this case, the referent (i.e. *niño*) can be associated with a concrete person (i.e. *Juan*), which makes it specific. The referent is also definite, since it is familiar to the speaker and/or hearer. Thus, to sum up, "an indefinite singular noun phrase may be used to denote a particular entity [as in (11)], or to speak of an arbitrary member of the class described by the noun phrase [as in (10)]" (Lyons 1999: 165.) To understand why an expression like (9) can be interpreted so differently in (10) and (11), it is necessary to introduce another concept: *referentiality*.

We can say that an expression like (11) is referential because to understand the sentence, one has to identify the referent and its association to the concrete person (i.e. the co-referential *Juan*). A non-referential expression, such as (10), does not require any such identification of the referent in order to be understood.

In the same way that we can find ambiguity in indefinite articles, it is possible to have ambiguity with definite determiners. In certain contexts[14], definite determiners can have specific and non-specific interpretations. In the following examples (from Lyons 1999: 168) the reading of (12) is specific, whereas in (13), the reading is non-specific:

(12) If you've met **the owner of this cat**, you must know what an unpleasant person she is.

(13) If you've met **the owner of this cat**, you'd better tell Joe, because he is convinced it doesn't belong to anyone.

In (12), the reading is specific because the speaker and the hearer both associate the referent *owner* with a concrete person (who happens to be unpleasant.) At the same time, the identity of the owner of the cat is necessary to understand the contextual follow-

[14] For a list of those contexts, see Lyons (1999: 166-167)

up, which makes (12) referential. On the other hand, the referent in (13) is not associated with any person in particular (at least not by the speaker), so it is non-specific. And, by virtue of the fact that the identity of the referent is not necessary to understand the sentence, the expression is non-referential.

In the following section, we will discuss the different semantic values of overt determiners in Spanish, as well as the different functions attributed to the singular and plural forms of the indefinite determiner. The functions of the definite determiner are also presented.

2.1.1.2. The Semantics and Function of the Indefinite and Definite Determiners

Un in Spanish has several functions: *numeral*, *indefinite determiner* (with the different specificity and referentiality readings introduced in the previous section), and *quantifier*. They are exemplified in the following examples:

Numeral

(14) Tengo una casa y dos coches
I have one house and two cars
'I have a house and two cars'

Indefinite determiner (non-specific/non-referential)

(15) Dame un martillo
Give me one hammer
'Give me a hammer'

Indefinite determiner (specific/referential)

(16) Compré un libro para tí

I bought one book for you

'I bought a book for you'

Quantifier

(17) Tiene un interés especial en ese tema

He has one interest special on that topic

'He has a special interest in that topic'

The expression in (15) is non-specific and non-referential because neither the speaker nor the hearer identifies the referent (i.e. *martillo*) with a concrete element and that identification is, in fact, not necessary to understand the sentence. However, in (16), the speaker does identify the referent with an actual book, which makes it specific. At the same time, the expression is referential for the speaker. Note also the semantic value of *un* in (17), where it is a quantifier modifying an abstract noun (similar to *algún* "some".) Functionally, the data in (14-17) share the common property of being introductions of new information in the discourse.

For the indefinite plural, the situation is rather different. *Unos* can modify both abstract and concrete nouns (both count and non-count) working as a quantifier. It also acquires a non-specific/ non-referential reading:

(18) Tengo unas casas

'I have some houses'

(19) Dame unos martillos

'Give me some hammers'

(20) Compré unos libros para tí

'I bought some books for you'

(21) Tiene unos intereses especiales

'He has special interests'

Let us look at the definite determiners. It is generally agreed that definite determiners are used when the noun they accompany has already been introduced in speech and is therefore known to the speaker and hearer (Alcina and Blecua 2001: 550), which in turn makes the noun a unique entity within its class (Alarcos 2002: 69). In general terms, the overt definite determiner expresses a specific/referential reading.

(22) Tengo la casa y los coches

'I have the house and the cars'

(23) Dame el martillo

'Give me the hammer'

(24) Compré el libro para tí

'I bought the book for you'

(25) Tiene el interés especial (necesario para ser investigador)

'He had the special interest (needed to be a researcher)'

However, as we saw earlier (cf. (13) above), there is the possibility of non-specific/non-referential readings even with definites. In subject position, the noun acquires a generic meaning, as illustrated in (26) below:

(26) El león es un animal fiero

?'The lion (generic) is a fierce animal'

Spanish differs from languages like English in that the generic meaning of the noun requires the presence an overt definite determiner. Lack thereof produces ungrammaticality:

(27) *León es un animal fiero[15]

Lion (generic) is a fierce animal

'A lion is a fierce animal'

In the next section, we will briefly examine another element of DP in Spanish: demonstratives. We highlight the importance of this element from a functional point of view (cf. Ranson 1999.)

2.1.2. Demonstratives

Demonstratives can appear in pre and postnominal position:

(28) *Ese pastel* *del que te hablé*

That cake I told you about

(29) *El pastel ese* *del que te hablé*

The cake that I told you about

(30) **El ese pastel* *del que te hablé*

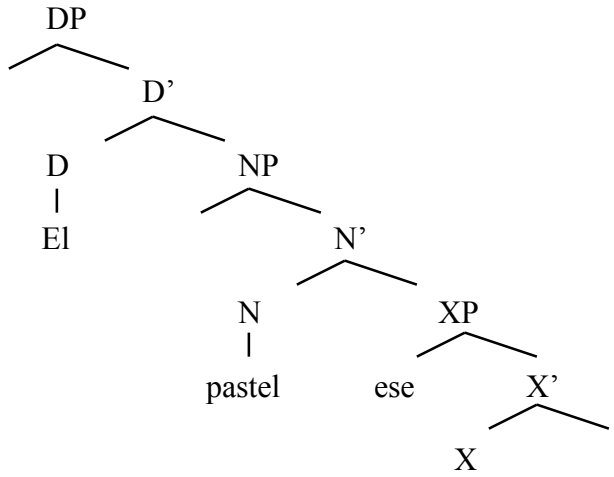
(adapted from Ranson 1999)

In purely syntactic terms, it is clear that both the definite article and the demonstrative compete for the same position, given the ungrammaticality of (30) (cf. Zagona 1996: 99-100). The DP hypothesis (Abney 1987) easily accounts structurally for (28) and (29) above. The definite article in (29) is generated in the head of DP, but it is a weak form; "a non-lexical category […] devoid of word-level stress" (Zagona 1996: 99).

[15] cf. section 2.1.3.2. for a more detailed account of the restrictions that BNs have in Spanish.

The demonstrative in (29) is a strong form (i.e. stressed) and it is generated lower in the structure as an adjunct in Spec position, as we see in (31)[16]:

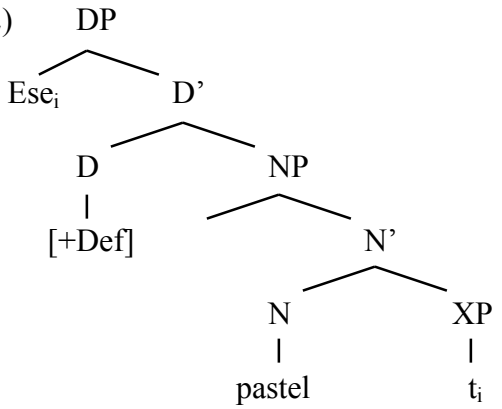
(31)



(adapted from Zagona 1996: 99)

When the demonstrative appears prenominally, as in (28) above, it is considered that the weak form is eliminated from the derivation and substituted by the strong (i.e. stressed) form, which will move from the Spec of its originating projection to the Spec of DP, checking the definite features in D^0 by Spec-head agreement:

(32)



(adapted from Zagona 1996: 100)

[16] We will bypass the movement of N proposed in the literature for the sake of simplicity, but note that generating the determiner in Spec-XP is consistent with the proposal that we introduced in chapter 1 regarding the generation of adjectives in the Spec of different functional projections.

However, it is necessary to analyse the behaviour of the demonstrative from a functional perspective, because in spite of the evident structural differences shown above, Generativist treatments do not seek to account for the differences in pragmatic meaning that both (28) and (29) present.

Demonstratives are used to signal referents within a spatial context (i.e. *deixis*.) Taken in isolation (i.e. without the follow-up prepositional phrase) (28) and (29) would be a clear example of the deictic use of the demonstrative. So, in both cases, we have potentially the same meanings with different forms. However, the possible interpretations that demonstratives have when contextualised seem to build a one-to-one correspondence between form and function. Ranson (1999) proposes another function for demonstratives: the *referential/discursive* function. This function is used when the speaker appeals to the knowledge shared with the listener so that the listener can recover a referent that was mentioned in a previous speech act. Even though (28) and (29) are potential candidates for that function, the likelihood of (29) being used in a referential/discursive context is higher than that of (28). In turn, (28) is more likely to be uttered in a purely deictic context.[17]

In the following section, a grammatical description of the noun in Spanish is provided. Common and proper nouns and their grammatical features will be presented.

[17] In a way, in (29) we are basically dealing with "contextual/referential" deixis, since the speaker is *pointing* at a previous moment in the conversational relationship with the interlocutor. The important point, however, is that meaning in both (28) and (29) is affected by form. The meaning can be asserted, however, if a wider analysis of examples such as these can be undertaken, and if we take into account the intention of the speaker. We may consider meaning as ambiguous, but it is our competence what will allow us to narrow down the potential meaning of the utterance (cf. Romaine 1984.)

There will also be a section dealing with Bare Nouns and their particular behaviour in Spanish.

2.1.3. Nouns in Spanish

Syntactically, a noun is defined as a word that can function as a subject or a direct object without the help of other elements (Alarcos 2002: 60).[18] Morphologically the components of the noun phrase (determiners, demonstratives, adjectives, etc.) agree in gender and/or number with the noun (cf. (1-8) in this chapter).

Semantically, the traditional divisions of nouns into count vs. mass; collective vs. individual, or concrete vs. abstract may fall short of giving an accurate classification of nouns (cf. Alcina and Blecua 2001.) Let's examine the different semantic possibilities that a noun like *melón* 'melon', which is traditionally classified as mass and concrete, displays in the following examples:

(33) Tengo tres melones

'I have three melons'

(34) El melón es una cucurbitácea

'Melon is a cucurbitaceae'

(35) Dame más melón

'Give me more melon'

[18] Incidentally, the definition by Alarcos mentioned amounts to saying that nouns are nouns because they can appear bare:

i. Salía humo (subject)
'Smoke was coming out'

ii. Había humo (direct object)
'There was smoke'

Logically, this doesn't exclude other functions that the noun can have, such as indirect object; but this function is marked in Spanish through the preposition *a*, that is by another element in addition to the noun. As we will see in section 2.1.3.2, the semantics of BNs imposes a number of restrictions on those syntactic functions.

(36) Este muchacho es un melón

This boy is a melon

(fig.) 'This boy is an idiot'

(from Alcina and Blecua 2001: 499)

In (33), the noun refers to individual countable elements. In (34), it refers to the class. In (35), *melón* is a mass noun. Lastly, in (36), it is used as a defining quality of somebody. Thus, the same noun refers to entirely different semantic dimensions, not necessarily related to the original *mass*/*concrete* classification. Alcina and Blecua (2001) propose a noun classification based on the semantic function that the noun performs. The first function is called *denominative*, and it would be represented by examples (33-35). It is defined as the reference to "a whole with or without defined form, concrete and tangible or purely mental or fantastic, individual or collective, unique or multiple, that may or may not become part of a series [sic. *seriable*], natural or artificial" (Alcina and Blecua 2001: 499-500; our translation.) On the other hand, (36) represents the *predicative* function of the noun, since the noun is used here as an attribute (and a rather pejorative one at that) of the person.

In chapter 1, we found a source of cross-linguistic difference in terms of adjectival interpretation between Spanish and Italian (cf. 1.1.2.) There is another source of discrepancy in grammaticality between these two languages. It is found in the data that will be presented in the following sections. We will present the grammatical features of Bare Nouns (BNs) and Proper Nouns (PNs) and comment on the analyses found in the literature (cf. Longobardi 1994) regarding these features. We will compare Italian and Spanish PNs, which are the source of the aforementioned cross-linguistic difference.

These data, together with the set of examples from chapter 1 will be analysed structurally in chapter 4.

2.1.3.1. Bare Nouns

As we mentioned before (cf. 2.1.1.2 above), an indefinite overt determiner can introduce new information. Sometimes, however, this function can be accomplished by a BN. Particularly when *un* functions as a numeral or as quantifier, it is possible to have a BN with essentially the same meaning

Numeral

(37) Tengo Ø casa y dos coches
I have Ø house and two cars
'I have a house and two cars'

Quantifier

(38) ?Tiene Ø interés especial en ese tema
He has Ø interest special on that topic
'He has a special interest on that topic'

Crucially, the fact that these two functions share this possibility may be the indication that they are actually the same function, that of the quantifier (Alarcos 2002: 122). Note, however, that with (non)specific and (non)referential uses, a BN would yield ungrammaticality:

Non-specific/non-referential

(39) *Dame Ø martillo
Give me Ø hammer
'Give me a/the hammer'

Specific/referential

(40) *Compré Ø libro para tí

I bought Ø book for you

'I bought a/the book for you'

With plural BNs, however, all four examples above are grammatical. All BNs acquire the function of the quantifier, but only one (43) is specific/referential.

(41) Tengo Ø casas

'I have Ø houses'

(42) Dame Ø martillos

'Give me Ø hammers'

(43) Compré Ø libros para tí

'I bought Ø books for you'

(44) Tiene Ø intereses especiales

'He has Ø special interests'

All the grammatical examples of BNs contain plural nouns.[19] As we saw in (39) and (40), singular nouns produce ungrammaticality. It is not plurality, however, that is the deciding factor for grammatical sentences, but a semantic constraint of BNs.

In Italian (cf. Longobardi 1994) BNs can not appear in argumental positions, and they necessarily have to be accompanied by an overt determiner, normally a definite or indefinite article (which is basically the same situation for Spanish, as shown in (39) and (40) above.) However, there are three types of BNs (all of them *denominative*, cf. Alcina

[19] Example (37) is in fact a singular, count noun (*casa*). However, with this particular noun, along with a reduced set of kinship terms, the conditions in which they appear bare are somewhat different. For an extensive description of the features of these nouns, see Longobardi (2001)

and Blecua 2001) that can appear in argumental position without overt determiners: singular mass (cf. 45), plural count (cf. 46), and singular count nouns in a sentential negation (cf. 47):

(45) *Bevo sempre vino*[20]

I always drink wine

(46) *Mangio patate*

I eat potatoes

(47) *Non c' era studente in giro*

there wasn't student around

'There was not a student around'

(from Longobardi 1994)

Likewise, BNs are normally ungrammatical in preverbal subject position, but allowed in internal argument position (Longobardi (1994), Casielles (1994) for Spanish):

(48) **Niños jugaban en el parque*[21]

Children played in the park

[20] The interpretation of these nominals roughly corresponds to that of indefinite, existential NPs, similar to the interpretation attained by using the partitive article in Italian, French, and to a lesser extent (since there is no explicit partitive article, but the combination of the preposition *de* and the definite article) Spanish:

i. a. *Mangio delle patate*
I eat PARTIT potatoes
b. *Como de las patatas*
I eat of the potatoes

Also, the restriction to the types of nouns in (43-45) also applies in Spanish.

[21] Note that all the grammatical Spanish examples in this section have BNs as objects, which don't have this syntactic restriction.

(49) *Jugaban niños en el parque*

Played children in the park

(from Casielles 1994:135)

Longobardi (1994) argues that these restrictions are due to the existence of an empty category D in a lexically governed position that imposes semantic interpretation restrictions on nouns; in this case, the restriction is that only certain types of mass or count nouns are allowed to appear in argumental position. However, Longobardi himself recognises that this empty category idea is challenged by the semantic nature of Proper Nouns. Recall that BNs are defined as nouns that are not modified by any determiner (cf. 2.1. above.) Thus, technically, PNs are a type of BN.

In the following section, we will discuss the semantic nature of PNs, and why they challenge the empty category (D) hypothesis, Longobardi's solution to that challenge, and an analysis of the applicability of that solution cross-linguistically, in light of the differences in grammaticality between the Italian examples provided by Longobardi and their Spanish counterparts.

2.1.3.2. Proper Nouns

PNs are a class of nouns used to designate unique referents (Alarcos 2002: 68.) These referents are unique either in an absolute sense (e.g. The Earth) or in a relative sense of shared knowledge between the speaker and listener (e.g. John –someone who the participants in a speech act know and refer to as John.) In that sense, they can be described semantically as specific, definite, and referential nouns.

Syntactically, PNs are able to appear in argumental positions without any overt determiners, which is a challenge to the empty category (D) proposed by Longobardi (1994):

(50) *Juan llamó por teléfono*

'Juan called (on the phone)'

A PN like *Juan* cannot be introduced by an empty D, like in the case of the BNs seen above, since it doesn't have the same semantic properties that bare nouns have: it is not a mass noun, it is not plural and it does not receive an indefinite interpretation. At the same time, it may occur in a lexically ungoverned position. Thus, Longobardi (1994: 622) argues that the only plausible alternative is that it is the PN that occupies D, with the option of moving from its original position if needed (i.e. N-to-D raising), or staying in the generating position to account for the instances in which PNs occur introduced by an article.[22] This movement allows the noun to cross over both possessive (51) and non-possessive adjectives (52).

(51) a. *Il mio Gianni ha telefonato*

the my Gianni phoned

b. **Mio Gianni ha telefonato*

My Gianni phoned

c. *Gianni mio ha telefonato*

Gianni my phoned

[22] In several dialects of Italian, the colloquial register in Spanish, and in Catalan, it is possible for an overt determiner to appear together with a PN:

i. *Il Gianni mio ha telefonato*
ii. *El Juan me llamó*
iii. *El Joan m'ha trucat*
'(The) John phoned me'

d. *Il Gianni mio ha telefonato*

the Gianni my phoned

(52) a. *L'antica Roma*[23] *fu la città più importante del Mediterraneo*

the ancient Rome was the most important city of the Mediterranean

b. **Antica Roma fu la città più importante…*

ancient Rome was the most important city…

c. *Roma antica fu la città più importante…*

Rome ancient was the most important city…

d. *La Roma antica fu la città più importante…*

the Rome ancient was the most important city…

(from Longobardi 1994)

In both paradigms, the (b) examples are ungrammatical due to the impossibility of D of appearing empty. N moves to occupy that position and crosses over the adjective (51c-52c). On the other hand, the (a) and (d) examples show the variability of the position of the PN as a consequence of the D node being filled with the overt determiner.

Longobardi (1994: 623) argues that the meaning of the possessive adjectives is further proof of the assumption he makes of N raising to D. He argues that in Italian, postnominal possessives are strongly contrastive. Thus, a sentence like (51d) is understood to mark the contrast in discourse between "my Gianni" and "somebody else's

[23] Longobardi (1994) points out that the adjectives in Italian that admit the raising of a head noun are limited to those that can receive a restrictive interpretation even in prenominal position (i.e. possessives, numeral ordinals, and adjectives like *vecchio* 'old', *giovane* 'young', *antico* 'ancient' and *solo* 'only'). With other adjectives, the raising of head nouns is limited to cases in which a contrastive reading is in place.

Gianni". The other two grammatical examples (51a) and (51c) do not have that contrastive reading and they are examples of an affective expression of kinship. Thus, Longobardi states that "contrastiveness is uniformly required of posthead possessives but not of those in Spec NP" (1994: 624.)

It is interesting to look at the Spanish version of the data in (51) and (52), since notable differences arise. Let's look at the possessive adjectives first:

(53) a. **El mío Juan llamó*

b. *Mi Juan llamó*

c. **Juan mío llamó*

*d. *El Juan mío llamó*

To begin with, it is precisely the only example that in Italian would be considered ungrammatical that is acceptable in Spanish. Compare:

(54) *Mi Juan llamó*

'My John called'

(55) **Mio Gianni ha telefonato*

'My John called'

If the reason for the ungrammaticality of (55) is that the D node has to be syntactically present and has to be lexically filled, the only conclusion that we can draw from the grammaticality of (53) is that Spanish does not have such semantic requirements. In other words, the noun does not have to raise past the possessive adjective because D does not have to be lexically filled.[24]

[24] Arguably, the possessive in (54) could be in D, given the impossibility of co-occurring with the definite article. Note however that we are considering *mi* to be an adjective, generated in Spec-XP, and not a head. Therefore, if it raises, it will go to Spec-DP.

At the same time, it is important to note one point regarding the grammaticality of (54) and the semantic functions that it performs. As we have just said, Longobardi talks about postnominal possessives as eminently contrastive (51d) and prenominal possessives or those in Spec of NP after N-raising (51a and c, respectively) as affective expressions with no contrastive value. The peculiarity of the NP in (54) is that it can potentially have both semantic meanings:

Affective (non-contrastive)

(56) *Mi Juan llamó esta tarde*

'My Juan called this afternoon'

Contrastive

(57) *MI Juan está en casa con gripe… SU Juan está bien*[25]

"MY Juan is at home with the flu… HER Juan is fine'

[25] With the appropriate context, (53d) could arguably be considered an alternative candidate for the contrastive reading, as in:

i. *El Juan MÍO llamó, no el TUYO*
'MY John called, not YOURS'

However, (i) would probably be considered marginal in comparison to (57) in a grammaticality judgment.

Incidentally, the contrastive value of (54) does not affect only the possessive adjective, but also the PN itself. In other words, the contrast is made between two individuals (normally belonging to the same family, and in close kinship relation to the speaker – a husband, son or daughter):

ii. *Mi JUAN llamó esta tarde y mi PEDRO llamará mañana*
'My JOHN called this afternoon and my PETER will call tomorrow"

Lastly, the close kinship relationship is an important point for both readings (i.e. affective and contrastive) and the possibility of using only PNs. With relationships other than those of a husband, son or daughter, the noun denoting that relation is normally used:

iii. *Mi hermano/abuelo/primo Juan*
'My brother/grandfather/cousin John'

Let's now look at the second paradigm, a set of NPs with non-possessive adjectives which is the Spanish counterpart of (52) above:

(58) a. *La antigua Roma* *fue la ciudad más importante del Mediterráneo*

b. **Antigua Roma* *fue la ciudad…*

c. **Roma antigua* *fue la ciudad…*

d. *La Roma antigua* *fue la ciudad…*

The most noticeable difference between the data in (58) and the data in (52) is the difference in grammaticality of the (c) examples. Whereas (52c) follows the process described by Longobardi of N-to-D raising, to fulfil the lexical requirement of the empty category D, its Spanish counterexample (58c) is ungrammatical. Again, we see a difference in behaviour between Spanish and Italian NPs with bare PNs.

At the same time, and following the semantic argument posed by Longobardi for possessive adjectives mentioned above, we should probably consider that (52d), by virtue of being postnominal, is necessarily read as contrastive (cf. 59 below), whereas (52a) should be interpreted as unequivocally referring to the ancient period of the city of Rome (cf. 60):

(59) *La Roma antica, ma non la Roma contemporanea, fu la città…*

'Ancient Rome, but not Contemporary Rome, was the city…'

(60) *La antica Roma fu la città…*[26]

'Ancient Rome was the city…'

In Spanish, traditional grammars would account for these two examples (i.e. 58 (a) and (d) above) in much the same way as their Italian counterparts. In other words, the default interpretation of *La Roma antigua* refers to an ancient period of Rome (say, the 1300s – and contrasting with other possibilities: the 1400s, the Industrial Revolution, etc.) as opposed to the heyday of the Roman Empire, represented by *La antigua Roma*. In actual use La Roma antigua has now adopted the same meaning as La antigua Roma..

To sum up, BNs in both Italian and Spanish behave similarly within the DP domain, as we have seen in 2.1.3.1. This is, according to Longobardi (1994), due to the semantic restrictions that are imposed by the existence of an empty category D. These restrictions cause only certain types of mass/count bare nouns (mostly generic) to appear in argumental position. This proposal, however, is challenged by the behaviour of PNs, which are able to appear in argumental position without an overt determiner. Longobardi (1994) proposes that, given the semantic and syntactic differences between PNs and BNs, PNs can optionally move to D from N if needed. This seems to be an important departure from the N-to-D raising literature. Recall that in chapter 1, when describing the generation of adjectives in Spec position of different functional categories, one of the main points was that N-movement is obligatory to explain postnominal adjectival position.

[26] In a later article, Longobardi (2003) indicates that the only two possibilities for object-referring nouns (i.e. PNs) are either occurring after a visible determiner or raise to D themselves, which means that example (57) should not even be a possibility. We can only imagine that the ungrammaticality is produced as a consequence of eliminating the contrastive reading.

Moreover, when we consider the differences in grammaticality between data involving PNs in Spanish and Italian, it seems as if Spanish differed from Italian in the semantic features of nouns that prevent or permit N-raising.[27] As a consequence, it is our opinion that it probably would be better to consider that N-raising depends on the semantic features of the noun and adjectives that form the NP; in other words, it is not obligatory like several authors (cf. Cinque 1994, Crisma 1993) claim or it is only obligatory if an empty D can be the landing site of the N.

A further difference between Spanish and Italian is related to the nature of the article accompanying the PN. As the data in (56) indicate, there cannot be a bare PN in argumental position in Spanish. In Italian, we find that PNs can appear with or without overt determiners (cf. (52) repeated below for convenience):

(61) a. *L'antica Roma* *fu la città più importante del Mediterraneo*
the ancient Rome was the most important city of the Mediterranean

b. **Antica Roma* *fu la città più importante…*
ancient Rome was the most important city…

c. *Roma antica* *fu la città più importante…*
Rome ancient was the most important city…

[27] Remember that, also in chapter 1 (cf. 1.1.2.), we established that there are differences in grammaticality when certain adjectives appear prenominally:

i. La *probabile definitiva* soluzione del problema
ii. * La *probable definitiva* solución del problema
'The likely definitive solution to the problem'

Whereas, in Italian, *definitiva* is interpreted in (i) as a manner adjective (Crisma 1993: 97), in Spanish (ii), it can only be interpreted as subject-oriented. Together with the differences in PN behaviour stated above, this grammatical difference makes a strong case for the existence of parametrical semantic and syntactic differences of nouns and adjectives in Spanish and Italian.

d. **La Roma antica fu la città più importante…*[28]

the Rome ancient was the most important city…

These two examples are the instantiation of the only possibilities for the PN in Italian: either the noun stays in-situ because there is an article occupying the D node, making N-to-D unnecessary (61a), or the PN itself raises to occupy the D node (61c). However, this leaves us having to account for the grammaticality of (61d), when it is contrastive. For this, we have to consider that the definite article is an expletive (cf. Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992), Longobardi (1994), Tellier (2001), among others.)

An expletive determiner does not have semantic content (i.e. it is non-referential, in that it doesn't have the [+definite] feature that a fully-fledged article would have, and it appears in the surface structure due to the impossibility of having an empty category.) The presence of this expletive does not prevent the noun from moving. However, this movement is somewhat different from what we might expect. Tellier (2001) posits an intermediate functional category between D and N (AgrDP) that generates the expletive determiner. Then, from AgrD, it raises to D, crossing over the NP. The NP, at the same time, has moved from its original position to the Spec of AgrDP. This is what (61d) would look like according to Tellier (2001):

(62) $[_{DP}\ [_{D}\ La_j]\ [_{AgrDP}\ Roma\ antica_i\ [_{AgrD}\ t_j]\ [_{NP}\ t_i]]]$[29]

[28] Recall that previously we have indicated that (61d) has a contrastive reading associated to it, and that in a later article (Longobardi 2003) it was considered that (59d) was also ungrammatical (cf. fn. 26), leaving only (61a) and (61c) as grammatical data

[29] Incidentally, notice how Tellier's proposal assumes that it is the whole NP that moves up to the Spec of AgrDP, not only the noun. This is basically the same proposal made by Laenzlinger (2000), which we adopt to develop a DP structure for Spanish.

As we have established previously, the situation for Spanish is somewhat different, since N-to-D movement yields ungrammatical data, as we see in the paradigm displayed in (58), repeated below for convenience:

(63) a. *La antigua Roma fue la ciudad más importante del Mediterráneo*

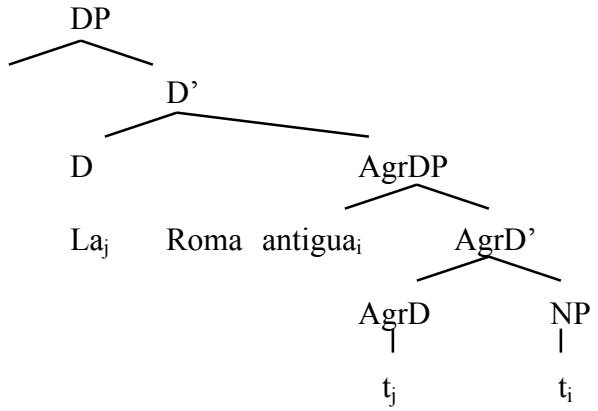
b. **Antigua Roma fue la ciudad…*

c. **Roma antigua fue la ciudad…*

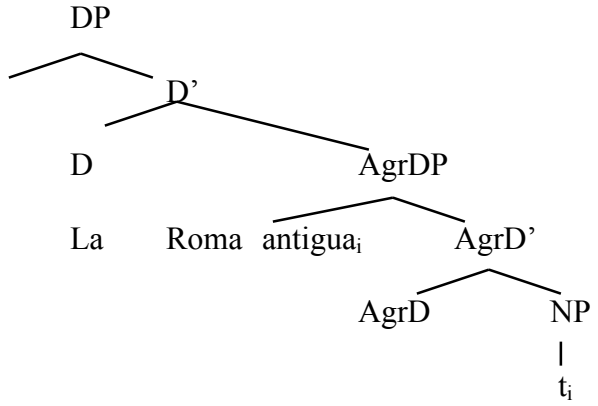
d. *La Roma antigua fue la ciudad…*

We are left with only two grammatical possibilities, the ones where D is filled with an overt determiner. An interesting situation ensues. While (63a) basically has the same meaning and syntactic structure as that of its Italian counterpart in (61a) (i.e. fully-fledged definite article and PN staying in-situ because D is already occupied), (63d) becomes semantically ambiguous. On the one hand, it has the original contrastive reading of the Italian counterpart (61d), -which, incidentally, is the quality that traditional grammars assign to postnominal adjectives, as we have mentioned earlier. On the other hand, it has to necessarily acquire the non-contrastive reading that is represented in Italian by (61c), due to the ungrammaticality of (63c). So, in structural terms, we are potentially dealing with two possibilities for the same sentence in Spanish, one with an expletive generated in the head of the intermediate functional projection AgrDP (64), another with a full determiner, generated in D (65):

(64)



(65)



(adapted from Tellier 2001)

All in all, this is another point in favour of the hypothesis that Romance languages do not behave exactly the same in the DP domain and that some parametric differences exist between them. Later on in this chapter, we will revisit this ambiguity when we develop the structure for Spanish DP. Let's now turn to what has been said in the literature regarding the meaning of adjectives in Spanish. The information contained in the next paragraphs is central to our analysis, since it shows the different ways in which adjectives can be classified in Spanish. These different classifications are used in our analysis of our corpora in chapter 3, with the goal of establishing statistical evidence that confirms or rejects the relevance of semantics in adjectival position in Spanish. We begin the section with a brief look at the traditional description of prenominal and postnominal

adjectives, followed by a summary of the point that we developed in chapter 1 regarding the structural and semantic similarities between adjectives and adverbs. After that, we follow Demonte (1999) in her description of the possibilities for semantic classification of adjectives in Spanish.

2.2. General Overview of Spanish Adjectives

The following sections present an extensive description of the semantic nature of adjectives. Adjectives limit the possible referents of the noun and can be used to contrast different referents (cf. King and Suñer 2008: 158.) As such, they will normally appear postnominally. However, when the adjective is before the noun, the referent is identified and there is no need for contrast:

(66) el científico famoso
the scientist famous
'the famous scientist' (contrastive)

(67) el famoso científico
the famous scientist
'the famous scientist' (non-contrastive)

As we saw in chapter 1 (cf. 1.1.1.1), there is evidence to establish a link between the nature of the adverb within the verb phrase (VP) and the nature of the adjective in the nominal domain. Before moving on to explain the semantic nature of the adjective, we will refresh here the points mentioned in chapter 1 regarding this link.

Jackendoff (1972) argued that adverbs are interpreted semantically depending on their position in VP. Of the three possible positions for adverbs (namely initial, final, and auxiliary), some adverbs (e.g. *cleverly*) can appear in all three positions; some adverbs

are restricted to only two positions (initial and auxiliary/auxiliary and final) and some other adverbs occur only in one position (some in final, some in auxiliary.) Thus, for each position, a different interpretation is assigned (speaker-oriented, subject-oriented, and manner interpretations, respectively). These properties and restrictions are shared by adjectives in the nominal domain.[30] In the following sections, we will examine the way adjectives can be classified semantically.

2.2.1. Semantic Classification of Adjectives According to their Intrinsic Meaning

Given the correspondence between position and interpretation just mentioned, it follows that some sort of internal hierarchical organisation of adjectives should be established. There is a number of references (Jackendoff 1972, Cinque 1994, Laenzlinger 2000) related to the different adjectives that can potentially modify nouns, depending on whether these nouns are eventive (i.e. derived from a verb) or object denoting. Laezingler (2000) offers a generalisation of the hierarchy of these adjectives for French (which *mutatis mutandis* can be adapted to Spanish). The serialization in (68) is the hierarchy for eventive nominals and the one in (69) is for object-denoting nouns:

(68) $Adj_{speaker\text{-}oriented} > Adj_{subj.oriented} > Adj_{manner} > Adj_{thematic}$

(69) $Adj_{quantification} > Adj_{quality} > Adj_{size} > Adj_{shape} > Adj_{color} > Adj_{nationality}$

These hierarchies show different semantic classes of adjectives. However, all these classes fall into three more general categories of adjectives according to their intrinsic meaning (cf. Demonte 1999): Qualifying, Relational, and Adverbial adjectives. In the next sections, we will examine these three categories and the way they interact with each other. Let's look at the first type, Q-adjectives.

[30] For a more detailed account of this relationship between adverbs and adjectives, with examples, cf. 1.1.1.1.

2.2.1.1. Q(ualifying) Adjectives

A qualifying adjective (Q-adjective) refers to an essential quality or feature of the noun it accompanies. The semantic relationship between the noun and the adjective can be expressed in terms of coordination (Demonte 1999: 172). In the following example,

(70) Una mesa blanca

'A white table'

the relationship expressed is that the referent belongs to the class "table" **and** to the class "things that are white".

Demonte assigns two basic distinguishing semantic features to Q-adjectives. The first one is that they can express degrees in which the quality applies to the noun. The degree of the feature can be expressed via intensifying adverbs (71a) or comparative constructions (71b):

(71) a. ***Extremadamente*** gordo

'Extremely fat'

b. Pedro es ***más alto que*** Luis

'Pedro is taller than Luis'

(from Demonte 1999: 173)

The second basic feature of Q-adjectives is that they can be part of a "polar-opposite" pair (i.e. adjectives that express the extremes of a quality): [31]

[31] Although it is true that these features are representative (to a greater or lesser degree) of Q-adjectives –in particular as a way of distinguishing them from Relational adjectives- these two features are not at all categorical. There are Q-adjectives that accept gradation but are not part of a polar-opposite pair, like colour and shape adjectives (Demonte 1999: 174). On the other hand, there are different degrees of polarity relationships. Whereas in some pairs, both members can be used to describe the property (i), in others, only one of the members of the pair can be used (ii):

(72) Claro-oscuro/ Bueno-malo/ Blando-duro

'Dark-light/ Good-bad/ Soft-hard'

(adapted from Demonte 1999: 173)

Sintactically, Q-adjectives are able to precede or follow the noun more or less freely (with instances of change of meaning, as we will see in 2.2.2, when we examine the classification of adjectives in relation to the noun they accompany.)

2.2.1.2. R(elational) Adjectives

A relational adjective (R-adjective) refers to a group of properties of an external referent with which the noun establishes a specific semantic relationship. Take the following example:

(73) Vaca ***lechera***

'Milk cow'

The adjective in (73) is linked to an external referent (i.e. *leche* 'milk'). This referent has a (potentially rather large) group of semantic concepts associated to it:

(74) Milk…

is white, is a liquid, is good, is healthy, is a dairy product, is produced by a cow, can be bottled, …

Of all the possible semantic concepts shown above, the adjective in (73) establishes a specific relationship with the noun (i.e. *vaca* 'cow') by which it is determined that the cow is one that produces milk.

---

i. ¿Es un coche ***bueno***? – ¿Es un coche ***malo***?
'Is it a good car? – Is it a bad car?' (when asking about the quality of the referent)

ii. La valla tiene 3 pies de ***largo*** – $^{*/?}$La valla tiene 3 pies de ***corto***
'The fence is 3 feet long – $^{*/?}$The fence is 3 feet short'

Assigning specific characteristics to R-adjectives is easier if we examine them in contrast to Q-adjectives. In a way, R-adjectives are those that are not Q-adjectives (Bosque 1993, qtd. in Demonte 1999.) In the section above, we talked about two features that are commonly found in Q-adjectives. First, they admit gradation (cf. 71a-b.) Second, they can be part of a "polar-opposite" pair (cf. 72.) R-adjectives cannot qualify a noun in different degrees (75a-b) and don't have extreme opposites (76):

(75) a. *Vaca ***extremadamente*** *lechera*

'*Extremely milk(y) cow'

b. *Esta vaca es ***más lechera que*** aquella

'*This cow is milkier than that one'

(76) Vaca ***lechera*** – *Vaca ***alechera***

'Milk cow – ****Unmilk*** cow'

A third test that can be used to distinguish Q- and R-adjectives is their ability to appear predicatively. Supposedly, Q-adjectives can do so (77) and R-adjectives cannot (78):

(77) El hombre *gordo* – El hombre es *gordo*

'The fat man – The man is fat'

(78) La arqueología submarina – *La arqueología es submarina

'Subaquatic archaeology – *The archaeology is subaquatic'

(from Demonte 1999:150)

However, this is not an accurate test to distinguish both types of adjectives due to the ability of some R-adjectives to appear predicatively:

(79) La revista *mensual* – La revista es *mensual*[32]

'The monthly magazine – The magazine is (i.e. appears) monthly'

(from Demonte 1999: 158)

Lastly, another defining feature of R-adjectives is that they always appear postnominally (cf. (73), (78) and (79) above.) However, there are instances of this type of adjective appearing in prenominal position:

(80) a. Una novela *histórica*

'A historical novel'

b. El *histórico* acuerdo

'The historic agreement'

(from Demonte 1999: 151)

Recall that R-adjectives are basically a group of properties of an external referent (in this case *historia* 'history') that establish a specific relationship with the noun they accompany. Q-adjectives, on the other hand, are just one quality of that noun. The reason why (80b) is possible is because the adjective has been transformed from one with several possible properties into one with just one (i.e. it has been recategorised from relational to qualifying adjective.)

Let's move on to the third type of adjective in this classification according to intrinsic meaning.

[32] Demonte (1999, § 3.3.1.3) explains at length the reasons and contexts in which R-adjectives can appear predicatively.

2.2.1.3. A(dverbial) Adjectives

Adverbial adjectives (A-adjectives) do not assign properties (whether just one or a group of them) to nouns. Instead, they are the nominal equivalent of the adverb "*–mente*" (*-ly* in English):

(81) a. Mirada *fría*

'Cold stare'

b. Le miró *fríamente*

'He looked at him coldly (i.e. with a cold stare)'

(from Demonte 1999: 205)

There are two types of A-adjectives. On the one hand, we have the *intensional* A-adjectives, which modify the properties associated with a referent. On the other, we have the *eventive* A-adjectives, which refer to processes and objects inasmuch they take place "in time, space and in a certain fashion" (Demonte 1999: 205, my translation.) Let's examine the first type.

Intensional A-adjectives, as we have just said, modify the properties associated with a given referent (as opposed to Q- and R-adjectives, which assign the properties to the referent.) This basically means that they don't change the noun by modifying its referential status (extension), but by modifying the description of the referent (intension). Let's examine a referent like *asesino* ('assassin') in the following contexts:

(82) a. El *famoso* asesino

'The famous assassin'

b. El *presunto* asesino

'The alleged assassin'

(from Demonte 1999: 139)

In (82a) the referential expression is modified by assigning a quality that immediately puts the assassin into a different category: that of "famous assassins." As a result, we have modified the extension of the noun. In (82b), on the other hand, we are modifying the way in which we can apply the referent by stating that all the characteristics that may be associated to an assassin-like behaviour are just alleged. That is modifying the intension of the noun.

Within this category of intensional A-adjectives, we can establish two further subcategories: *modal* intensional and *focalising* intensional. Modal intensional adjectives are used to modify the meaning of the referent (as we have seen in (82b) above), as well as to express the attitudes of the speaker and/or subject (cf. speaker/subject oriented adverbs; Jackendoff 1972) to some events and/or relations:

(83) La ***probable*** reacción *hostil americana*

'The probable hostile American reaction'

On the other hand, focalising intensional adjectives modify the noun in a way in which they almost become unique referents, because the features of the referent modified by the adjective are applied only to the mentioned referent and not to other possible candidates. That is, the 'real objection' in (84) below is the one that most satisfies the condition of 'being an objection' among all the possible existing objections:

(84) La *verdadera* objeción

'The real objection'

(from Demonte 1999: 140)

Let's go back to the second type of A-adjectives: *eventive* adjectives. As we have said previously, eventive adjectives modify objects and processes by virtue of their taking place in a given time, a given space and a given way. In other words, they either "modify the temporal and situational aspects of the noun [(85)] or signal the way in which the action represented by the noun is performed [(cf. (81a) above, repeated in (86)]" (Demonte 1999: 208):

(85) El *cercano* puente

'The close-by bridge'

(86) Mirada *fría*

'Cold stare'

The data above belong to the first subclass of eventive adjectives, *circumstantial* eventive. The second subclass is called *aspectual* eventive and it is exclusively applied to deverbal nouns to explain the way in which the action is structured in terms of frequency or periodicity:

(87) a. La *ocasional* visita

'The occasional visit'

b. Las *periódicas* revisiones

'The periodical revisions'

(from Demonte 1999: 141)

With this, we conclude the first type of classification of adjectives in Spanish. We reiterate the central role of this classification to the analysis of our data in chapter 3, where we try to assess statistically the impact of semantics in adjectival position. Let's now examine another possibility, also described at length in Demonte (1999): classification of adjectives in relation to the noun they accompany

2.2.2. Semantic Classification of Adjectives in Relation to the Noun

The intrinsic meaning of the adjective is not the only existing possibility for classifying adjectives. It is also possible to establish three types of adjectives with respect to their semantic relationship to the noun:

a. either they refer to individual qualities of nouns or to episodic states.
b. either they apply only to the noun (intersective) or to the class of things that the noun may be a part of (subsective).
c. either they restrict the extension of the noun or they don't.

2.2.2.1. Individual vs. Episodic

Individual adjectives are those that describe the referent as possessing a quality more or less inherently, without any sort of spatial or temporal constraint. On the other hand, episodic adjectives refer to states, situations and properties that can be changed or limited by space or time constraints.

Syntactically, this difference is made explicit with the restrictions imposed by the copulative verbs. Namely, *ser* predicates individual adjectives whereas *estar* predicates episodic adjectives. R-adjectives are all individual, since they can only be predicated with *ser* (cf. (88a) below.) Q-adjectives (88b) can vary depending on the context, although, as Demonte points out: "when they are within the NP, their default interpretation is

individual" (143; our translation.) Although the concept of 'morning' in (88b) is by definition temporarily limited, the fact that the morning is clear is seen as a stable, non-changing characteristic:

(88) a. La vaca ***es*** lechera/ *La vaca ***está*** lechera

'The cow produces milk' (*sic*. 'The cow is milky')

b. Una mañana clara

'A clear morning'

Another characteristic of intrinsically episodic adjectives when they function as attributive modifiers is that they are limited to postnominal position, as we see in the following data:

(89) Un vaso lleno

A glass full

'A full glass'

(90) *Un lleno vaso

A full glass

'A full glass'

Let's move on to the second type of adjectives that acquire their meaning in relation to the noun they accompany. In this case, the adjective can modify the noun only or the class to which that noun belongs.

2.2.2.2. Intersective vs. Subsective

Intersective (also called *absolute*) adjectives modify all the possible classes of objects a referent can be a part of, whereas subsective (also called *relative*) adjectives only modify one of those classes. Let's examine the following examples:

(91) *Nieve blanca*

snow white

'White snow'

(92) *Elefante pequeño*

elephant small

'Small elephant'

(from Demonte 1999: 144-145)

In (91), the assumption to consider *blanca* an intersective adjective is that it is qualifying two referents: *nieve* on the one hand, and other white things, on the other. It is probably easier to understand this point by contrast with (92), an NP with a subsective adjective. A small elephant is not necessarily a small animal (compared to other members of the class 'animal'). In fact, it wouldn't have to be an animal at all (it could be a small porcelain figurine with the shape of an elephant, for example). Thus, the subsective adjective depends primarily on the context in which the noun is used.

Along these lines, Demonte identifies two possible analyses to determine whether an adjective belongs to one group or the other, by introducing another element likely to belong to the general class of objects that can be modified by the adjective. On the one hand, the possibility of paraphrasing the NP with the structure *Adj como N* (93). On the other, whether a contradictory statement ensues when a negation is applied to the second element introduced (94):

(93) a. Elefante pequeño – Titi es pequeño como elefante

Small elephant – Titi is small as far as elephants go

b. Nieve blanca – *Este líquido es blanco como nieve

White snow - *This liquid is white as far as snow goes

(94) a. Este animal, que no es pequeño, es un elefante pequeño

'This animal, that is not a small animal, is a small elephant'

b. *Este líquido, que no es blanco, es nieve blanca

*'This liquid, which is not white, is white snow'

(from Demonte 1999: 145)

The clearest examples of intersective (absolute) adjectives are colour adjectives, such as *blanco*. The clearest examples of subsective (relative) adjectives are size adjectives, such as *pequeño*. There are, however, cases of ambiguity:

(95) El padre afectuoso

'The affectionate father'

(96) La luna sombría

'The shadowy moon'

(from Demonte 1999: 145)

In both cases the first test produces acceptable paraphrases – (97a) and (97b). The second test produces either an odd sentence (98a) or an outright contradiction, as seen in (98b):

(97) a. Juan es afectuoso como padre

'Juan is affectionate as far as fathers go'

b. La luna de Jupiter es sombría como luna

'The moon of Jupiter is shadowy as far as moons go'

(98) a. ?Juan, que no es afectuoso, es un padre afectuoso

'?Juan, who is not affectionate, is an affectionate father'

b. *La luna de Jupiter, que no es sombría, es una luna sombría

'*The moon of Jupiter, which is not shadowy, is a shadowy moon'

The third opposition is the one that we saw at the beginning of the chapter and that is cited in all the traditional grammars of Spanish as the main difference between preposed and postposed adjectives (cf. Alcina and Blecua, 2001; Alarcos, 2001, King and Suñer, 2008, among others.) This opposition is that of restrictive vs. non-restrictive adjectives.

2.2.2.3. Restrictive vs. Non-restrictive

First of all, it is necessary to consider two points regarding this opposition. In the first place, adjective position and meaning are related. Secondly, that this relationship results in the modification of the noun's intension. Consider the following examples:

(99) Las ovejas mansas

The sheep meek

'The meek sheep'

(100) Las mansas ovejas

'The meek sheep'

The adjective in (99) is restrictive, and, as such, it appears in postnominal position. Consequently, the prenominal position in (100) is non-restrictive. In terms of the extension/intension of the noun, the restrictive adjective affects the extension of the noun, since the referent resulting from that modification is new (namely a subset of the

previous, unmodified, referent). On the other hand, the non-restrictive adjective affects the intension of the noun, since what the adjective is doing is foregrounding one of the qualities that define the referent, and in no way altering the referent by creating a subset.

Restrictive and non-restrictive adjectives also seem to be constrained by the semantic nature of the noun phrase they appear in, in terms of definiteness. Only in definite noun phrases is it possible to talk about restrictive/non-restrictive adjectives, because it is only in these NPs where the referent is known or has already been introduced. Consider the following examples:

(101) a. Unos turistas malvados atacaron al señor
Some tourists evil attacked the gentleman
'Some evil tourists attacked the gentleman'

b. Unos malvados turistas atacaron al señor
Some evil tourists attacked the gentleman

(102) a. Los turistas malvados atacaron al señor
The tourists evil attacked the gentleman
'The evil tourists attacked the gentleman'

b. Los malvados turistas atacaron al señor
The evil tourists attacked the gentleman

In the sentences in (101), by the very nature of the indefinite construction, it is impossible to talk about restriction in the extension of the noun. It is possible, though, as we mentioned before, to talk about specific or non-specific referents, along the lines of Bosque (2001). He claims that prenominal adjectives and elatives (i.e. extreme degree

adjectives and adverbs)[33] force the specific interpretation of indefinites (104) and postnominal adjectives, however, may vary their interpretation between specific and non-specific (103):

(103) *Las cinco muchachas habían conocido a un actor* ***famoso***

The five girls had-3pl met-part ODmark a actor famous

'The five girls had met a famous actor'

(104) *Las cinco muchachas habían conocido a un* ***famoso*** *actor*

'The five girls had met a famous actor'

(from Bosque 2001: 19)

Example (103) has two possible interpretations: a specific interpretation, by which each girl met the same famous actor or a non-specific interpretation, which means that each girl met a different famous actor. Example (104) however is not ambiguous and it can only mean that the actor is the same for all five girls. The elative in (105) has the same specific interpretation as (104) above:

[33] Elatives in Spanish can be formed in the three ways represented by the examples below (Bosque 2001: 18). The adjective in (a) is a morphological elative, formed by the addition of the suffix *–ísimo* to the adjective. In (b), the extreme degree is lexically denoted (i.e. included already in the meaning of the word). The construction in (c) is a syntactic elative, formed as a result of adding a degree adverb to the adjective.

a. *famosísimo* (very famous)
b. *espléndido* (splendid)*, estupendo* (stupendous)*, magnifico* (magnificent)
c. *extremadamente honrado* (extremely honest)

(105) *Las cinco muchachas habían conocido a un actor famosísimo.*

'The five girls had met a very famous actor'

(from Bosque 2001: 20)

To sum up, in this section we have examined the literature regarding the possibilities for semantic classification for the adjective in Spanish, mostly following Demonte (1999). There are two major ways of classifying adjectives. The first is based on the intrinsic meaning of the adjective, which yields three major categories: Q-adjectives, R-adjectives and A-adjectives. The second is based on the semantic relationship between the adjective and the noun it accompanies. This relationship creates three binary categories: Individual/Episodic, Intersective/Subsective, and Restrictive/Non-restrictive. It is in this last category, syntactic position seems to have a major role, since traditionally postnominal adjectives have been classified as restrictive and prenominal adjectives as non-restrictive. However, as we pointed out (cf. Bosque 2001), we can only talk about restrictive/non-restrictive adjectives in definite NPs, since it is only in these phrases that the referent has been introduced in the discourse. For indefinite NPs, we have to talk about specific/non-specific readings. This type of semantic classification, is also central in our analysis of the data in the next chapter, not only because of the semantics in itself, but because it will help to confirm or reject statistically long-held syntactic claims, such as the categorical correspondence between restrictive/non-restrictive and postnominal/prenominal position, respectively. It will also establish tendencies for the incidence of the other binary classifications in adjectival positon in Spanish.

The following section tackles a central part of this dissertation. We will propose a structure for Spanish DP based on Laenzlinger (2000). This model will be used in chapter 4 to show the structural differences between the Spanish and Italian data presented in this chapter (cf. 2.1.3.2) and in chapter 1 (cf. 1.1.2.), as well as to analyse from a Generativist point of view the data from the corpora used in chapter 3.

2.3. Towards a Structure of Romance DP

Since the inception of DP-syntax (cf. Abney 1987), there have been numerous proposals related to the components of DP, in terms of functional projections. We saw in chapter 1 that several authors proposed the use of functional projections in relation to adjectival placement in Romance.[34] Earlier in this chapter, we also saw the proposal made by Tellier (2001) of an intermediate functional category (AgrDP) that generates an expletive determiner to account for the grammaticality of a PN with an explicit article and a postnominal contrastive adjective: [35]

(106) $[_{DP}\ [_{D}\ La_j]\ [_{AgrDP}$ Roma antica$_i$ $[_{AgrD}\ t_j]\ [_{NP}\ t_i]]]$

[34] Remember that Picallo (1991) introduced GenP and NumP as a way of accounting syntactically for gender and number inflection in Catalan and of using the heads of these projections as landing sites for the upward movement of N and the specs as generating positions for nominal arguments. At the same time, she defended adjunction as the only way to introduce adjectives into the structure. Alternatively, Cinque (1994), Crisma (1993) and Longobardi (1994-2005) use the spec of functional projections as the generating position of adjectives.

These are not, however, the only interesting proposals regarding adjectival placement. Other proposals, specifically for Spanish, come from Sánchez (1995, 1996), Ticio (2003), Bosque and Picallo (1996), Gutiérrez-Rexach and Mallén (2001), and Mejías-Bikandi (1999), among others. The implications of these proposals go beyond the scope of this dissertation.

[35] An interesting alternative approach regarding the nature of definite articles with PNs is that of Lyons (1999: 197), who considers that the former are full-fledged definite articles and not pleonastic (i.e. expletive) forms, due to the nature of PNs as generic (albeit making reference to a kind composed of only one member). Thus, he considers that PNs add a third category to the traditional binary semantic classification of nouns as mass or count, being these last two features available only to common nouns.

Incidentally, the double-layered D is crucial in the forthcoming DP structure, as it is the fact that in (106) the whole NP has moved from its original position to the spec of the functional projection. The idea of NP-movement is developed by Laenzlinger (2000) for French, and it will be adapted in this dissertation for Spanish. This, in turn, will be used to show how the discrepancies between the Italian and Spanish data discussed earlier can be bridged. The next sections explain the features of Laenzlinger's model, as well as some of the problems this author finds with N-movement, which lead him to postulate this alternative approach that accounts for his data in French.

Roughly speaking, this model is centered on three basic features. The first is an agreement projection (FP_{NPagr}) to which the whole NP moves for grammatical feature checking. The second is a double DP layer, the heads of which store grammatical and pragmatic features. The third is an alteration of the surface order of the adjectives in which an NP is considered to be the result of the NP's taking the adjective with it on its way up to the agreement projection. We will discuss more fully these features later on this chapter. Let's now look at the reason that motivated Laenzlinger's proposal.

2.3.1. NP-movement vs. N-movement

Laenzlinger (2000) proposed NP-movement as an alternative to N-movement within DP, in order to explain some problems with this type of movement for some of his French data.[36] He states that there is a correlation between structural and semantic properties of adjectives. Adjectives have lexical (categorial, semantic) features that are checked when they are merged in the nominal structure. Nouns check adjectival features

[36] French, German and English examples are from Laezingler (2000). Spanish examples are our translations of the original French examples.

on their way up by Spec-head agreement.[37] The checking by merger is restricted to [+ Interpretable] features, and it is done before Spell Out; but they do not disappear and are interpretable at LF.

Recall from chapter 1 that there is an established hierarchy of adjectives for both eventive and object-denoting nominals (cf. Cinque 1994):

(107) poss>cardinal>ordinal>speaker-or.>subj-or.>manner>thematic

His two other possible clumsy reactions to your letter

(108) poss.>cardinal>ordinal>quality>size>shape>color>nationality

His great big brown American car

Laezingler deals with object-denoting nouns (108) in his article and notes that adjectives are normally placed like this:

(109)	**postnominal**	shape, color, nationality
	prenominal	quantificational (i.e. cardinal/ordinal)
	both	quality, size

Quality and size adjectives, by virtue of their ability to appear both prenominally and postnominally, seem to raise some issues with respect to their structural analysis, as well as with their ability to alter the strict hierarchical order displayed in (108).

First, a change in position with these two types of adjectives tends to imply a change in meaning:

(110) un grand homme

'a great man'

[37] Remember that nouns use the heads of the maximal projections as intermediate landing sites, and it is in the Spec of those projections where the adjectives are generated.

(111) un homme grand

'a big/tall man'

Grand in (110) is an adjective of quality (in this case, moral), whereas in (111), it is an adjective of size. Thus, the semantic features of each cause them to be generated in different places in the DP-structure.[38]

Second, even when there is no significant change in meaning, prenominal adjectives display particular properties (namely, they are in focus, they are emphasized, or the express some sort of subjectivity):

(112) un coche estupendo

'a superb car'

(113) un ESTUPENDO coche

'a superb car'

Third, they are able to alter the organizational hierarchy of adjectives in (108) above. When both size and quality adjectives co-occur in French, the former precedes the noun and the latter follows it (cf. 114). Thus, the expected order *quality* > *size*, as it appears in (108), yields an ungrammatical sentence (cf. 115). However, when both are prenominal (cf. 116), we get the expected order, and *size* > *quality* is ungrammatical (cf. 117):

[38] This is a good example of the relationship between structural and semantic features of adjectives. We will see later in the chapter how some functionalist studies (cf. García-Bayonas 2006) explore this relationship, specifically the correspondence between syntactic position and whether the adjective refers to general or specific features of the noun it accompanies.

(114) une *énorme* maison *magnifique* [Adj_{size}>N>$Adj_{quality}$]

a enormous house beautiful

'a beautiful enormous house'

(115) *une *magnifique* maison *énorme*

(116) une *belle petite* voiture

'a nice small car'

(117) *une *petite belle* voiture

On the other hand, when *quality* or *size* adjectives appear in postnominal position, they can follow adjectives of nationality and colour (cf. 118-119), which is contrary to the hierarchy shown in (108):

(118) une voiture *italienne/rouge magnifique*

a car Italian/red beautiful

'a beautiful Italian/red car'

(119) une fusée *américaine/rouge énorme*

a rocket American/red enourmous

'an enormous American/red rocket'

The "ability" of some adjectives in French to break the unmarked hierarchies presented in (107) and (108) is what caused Lamarche (1991) to propose his model of adjectival adjunction (cf. fn 4, chapter 1). Laenzlinger (2000) does not share Lamarche's views and postulates a model based on the generation of the adjective in Spec XP (cf. Cinque 1994, Crisma 1993, Longobardi 1994-2005). The crucial difference in Laenzlinger's model is that he is not altogether in favour of postulating N-movement as

an explanation for adjective position. Instead, he presupposes that there is NP-movement, due to some problems raised by N-movement.

The first of these problems is related to an analogous process in the verbal domain. Laenzlinger identifies the process of verb movement past the adverb to explain the order [V, Adv] (cf. Pollock 1989) as the basis for the proposal that postnominal adjectives are a result of upward N-movement. His criticism of this analogy stems from the fact that the verbal movement "involves morphological properties (number and person at least), while [N-movement] seems to not rely solely on morphological evidence." (Lamarche 2000: 69). In other words, verbs move to check person and number and Tense features, so the assumption is that movement and morphological feature checking are connected. However, recall that Germanic languages do not have N-movement (cf. Cinque 1994), but in some cases (like German) they are morphologically strong:

(120) Ein Französicher Wagen
'A French car'

Secondly, the span of N-movement is short and even optional in some contexts. For example, the noun passes adjectives of colour (121), but does not go beyond quantificational adjectives (122). The adjective may optionally move past an adjective of quality (123):

(121) la casa roja (cf. ? la roja casa)
'the red house'

(122) las muchas casas (cf. * las casas muchas)
'the many houses'

(123) un coche espléndido (cf. un espléndido coche)

'a splendid car'

Third, there isn't always a linear correspondence between English and French (or Spanish) in left-to-right adjective sequences:

(124) a. la [belle]$_1$ maison [rouge]$_2$

b. la [bella]$_1$ casa [roja]$_2$

c. the [nice]$_1$ [red]$_2$ house

(125) a. un [jeune]$_1$ étudiant [brillant]$_2$

b. un [joven]$_1$ estudiante [brillante]$_2$

c. a [brilliant]$_1$ [young]$_2$ student

Moreover, if the two adjectives are postnominal, the sequence either matches English prenominal order (126) or shows its mirror image (127):

(126) a. une voiture rouge française[39]

b. un coche rojo francés

c. a red French car

(127) a. une voiture française magnifique

b. un coche francés magnífico

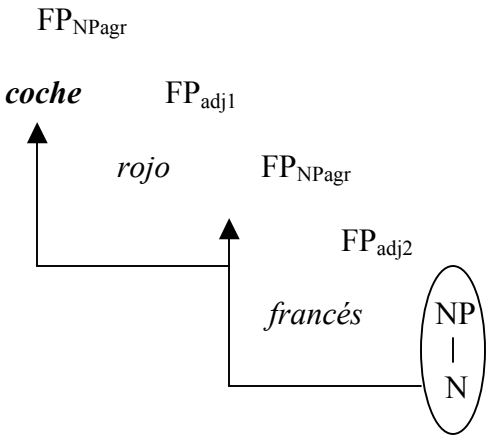
c. a wonderful French car

All these reasons seem to point out that N-movement is not able to handle French (or Spanish) data entirely, so Laenzlinger proposes several types of DP-internal

[39] This is Laenzlinger's example. It has been pointed out that (126a) is in fact ungrammatical and it should be *une voiture française rouge*, which would incidentally represent a break on the unmarked adjectival order shown in (108), which is what the author is following. Both (126a) and (126b) and their mirror images are dealt with by considering that the order is the result of pied-piping, as we will see later.

movement to account for this data. All of them are basically wrapped around the idea of NP-movement. In this type of movement, the NP raises past all adjective-related functional positions within DP. The reason for this movement "is twofold: (i) there is a strong agreement relation between the noun and the adjectives and (ii) the noun must occur very close to the determiner on the surface" (Laenzlinger 2000: 72.) The first part of this reason is structurally reflected in an intermediate functional projection for agreement (FP_{NPagr}) that sits immediately above the projection where the adjective is merged. It is to the Spec of FP_{NPagr} that the whole NP moves (only once or cyclically, depending on the number of adjectives in the derivation) to check for agreement features with the adjectives. Agreement features are also checked with the determiner, which is why the noun "must occur very close to the determiner on the surface."[40] In (128), we see that the noun has landed twice in the Spec of the two FP_{NPagr} associated with each adjective:

(128) DP



[40] When we discuss the double DP layer in this model, we will see that there is another FP_{NPagr} immediately above the lower DP which permits the checking of agreement features between the noun and the determiner (cf. 2.3.1.1.)

The difference between following the linear order (126) or having a mirror image (127) is easily accounted for if we consider that both sets of data in French and Spanish are a result of what Laenzlinger calls *snowballing*, which is a type of pied-piping.[41] Let's examine the following examples:

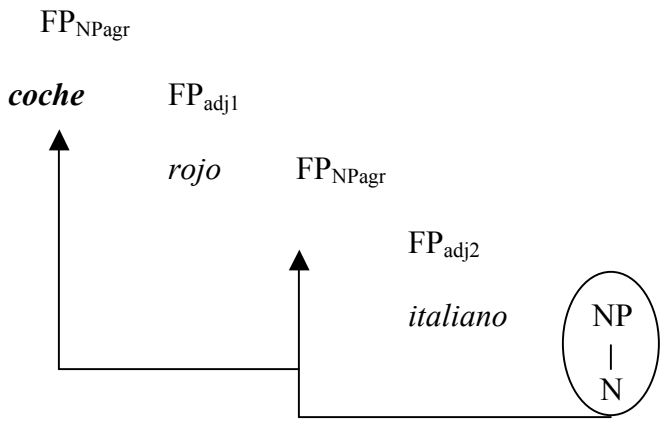
(129) a. un coche rojo italiano

b. un coche italiano rojo

'a red Italian car'

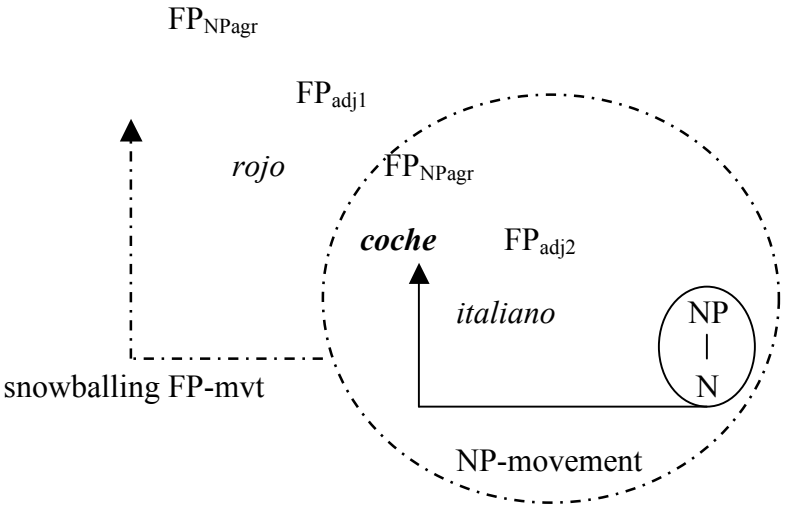
The NP in (129a) follows the established adjectival hierarchy (cf. 108) whereby *color* precedes *nationality*. The example in (129b) alters that order (i.e. *nationality* > *color*.) Structurally, these two examples differ in that while (129a) is the result of upward movement of the NP to the upper FP_{NPagr} projection (cf. 130), the adjectival order of (129b) is obtained when the NP moves to the first NP_{agr} and then takes the adjective with it on its way to the upper FP_{NPagr} (cf. 131):

(130) DP



[41] Pied-piping is "a process by which a moved constituent (or set of features) drags one or more other constituents (or sets of features) along with it when it moves" (Radford 1997:268). However, Laezingler (2000: 73) claims that snowballing is limited to a one-step move.

(131) DP



Let's see what happens when we modify the noun with three adjectives. We will add an adjective of quality to (129a). According to the hierarchical order displayed in (108), the sequence should be *quality* > *colour* > *nationality*. We obtain a grammatical structure with that order: [42]

(132) un magnífico coche rojo italiano

a magnificent car red Italian

'a magnificent red Italian car'

[42] It is true that there are other possible combinations, such as:

(i) *un magnífico coche italiano rojo*
a magnificent car Italian red
'a magnificent Italian red car'

(ii) *un coche italiano rojo magnífico*
a car Italian red magnificent
'a magnificent Italian red car'

The inversion in the adjective order of (i) is the result of the process of snowballing by which *coche italiano* raises past *rojo* and stays in its Spec of FP$_{NPagr}$. In the case of (ii), *magnífico* can arguably be interpreted as a secondary predicate, merging in a predicative projection (PredP), and possibly focalised:

(iii) *un coche italiano rojo MAGNÍFICO*

The surface order of (132) is obtained by the cyclical NP-movement to the Spec-FP_{NPagr} immediately above *rojo*. However, there is nothing in this model that predicts that the NP should stop where it does (i.e. there is no explanation for why [**un coche magnífico rojo italiano*] is ungrammatical), leaving the partial NP-movement unmotivated. Laenzlinger's model is able to dispense with this partial NP-movement. To do so, he postulates a double DP-layer, which allows us to establish a tight structural relation between the noun and the determiner, the same way the model establishes relationships between the noun and the different adjectives. This complex DP is not unique to Laenzlinger; recall that earlier on we established that authors like Tellier (2001) postulate an intermediate category that generates an expletive article (AgrDP; cf. 2.3. above.) Let's examine quickly Laenzlinger's justification of this double-layered DP.

2.3.1.1. Double-layered DP

So far in this NP-movement model we have established that NPs are subject to upward movement that takes them to different Spec positions of agreement functional projections (FP_{NPagr}), which are associated with the different adjectival projections of a structure. This movement is what shows "the strong agreement relation between nouns and adjectives" (Laenzlinger 2000: 72) that motivates this model. Recall also that the second motivation for this movement was that "the noun must occur very close to the determiner on the surface." As stated at the very beginning of this chapter, all the elements of the Spanish DP have to agree in gender and number. Thus, this proximity of noun and determiner is motivated by the need of internal checking of agreement features.

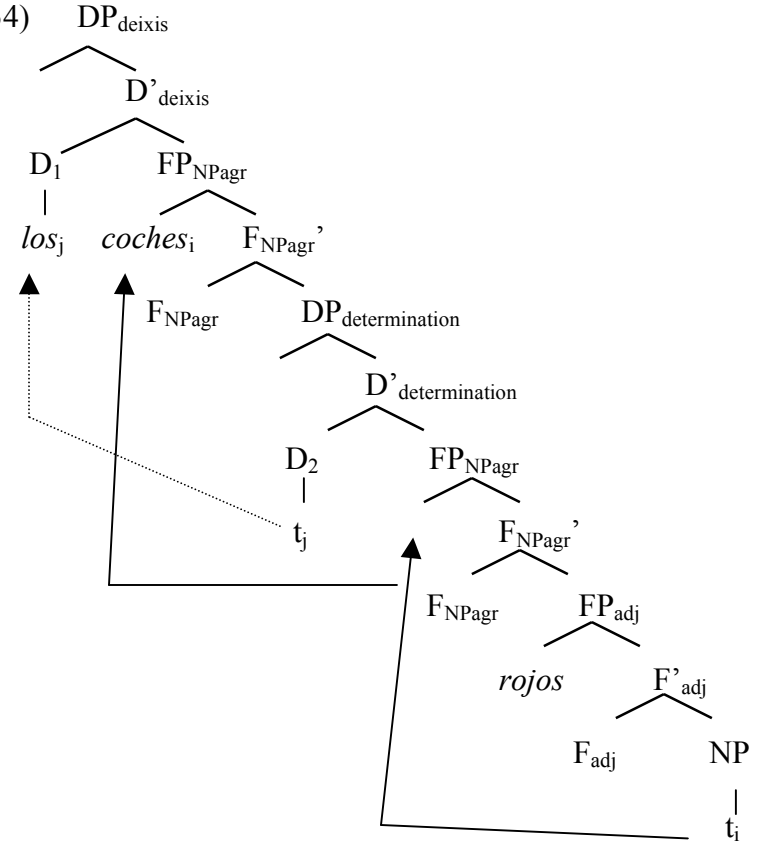
Laenzlinger adopts the Split-DP hypothesis (cf. Kayne 1994, Bosque and Picallo 1996, Rizzi 1997) and postulates that DP in this structure is similar to a CP, particularly

Rizzi's (1997) split-CP.[43] The higher DP corresponds to the pragmatic interpretation of the entire structure, whereas the lower level stores the grammatical (i.e. agreement features) information. The former, he labels DP_{deixis}, and it is here where the information regarding phenomena like deixis or referentiality can be found. The latter, dubbed $DP_{determination}$, contains the information regarding (in)definiteness, partivity, etc. The data below show an NP and its structural representation with the double-layered DP:

(133) Los coches rojos

'The red cars'

(134)



[43] Rizzi (1997) proposed a series of functional projections within CP, which are organised hierarchically. The highest one (ForceP) encodes the illocutionary force of an utterance (i.e. whether it is declarative, exclamative, interrogative, or imperative). The lowest projection (FinP) marks a clause as finite or non-finite. It is by analogy with these two projections in the verbal domain that Laenzlinger proposes the higher (external) DP and the lower (internal) DP.

In (134), it is the whole NP that moves to the spec of the FP_{NPagr}, immediately above the adjective where it associates with it by checking the agreement features. Then it moves to the Spec of the higher FP_{NPagr}, which permits the noun to check the agreement features with the determiner. However, this means that the output would be *[coches los rojos]. The determiner moves from the head of $DP_{determination}$ to the head of DP_{deixis}, to acquire the external DP features, which in turn yields the grammatical construction in (133).

This is not however, the only motivation for positing a split DP in this model. Notice that not all the examples above presuppose that all the adjectives are postnominal, regardless of whether they are kept in the unmarked order (cf. 132, repeated below) or not (cf. fn. 42):

(135) un *magnífico* coche rojo italiano
'a magnificent Italian red car'

Earlier, we said that there is no motivation for partial NP-movement. A solution for this problem is to consider that prenominal adjectives also move from their base-generated position to a functional projection on the determiner domain. Laezlingler claims that prenominal adjectives fall into one of these three categories: they are weak forms of an adjective (cf. *buen* vs. *bueno* 'good', *mal* vs. *malo* 'bad', etc.); they have an emphatic interpretation or subjective reading (cf. 135 above), or they are quantifiers, as in the example below:

(136) los numerosos accidentes
'the numerous accidents'

These three types of adjectives are generated in their semantically relevant position (i.e. in their established hierarchical position displayed in (108) above), but they have to raise to a functional projection between DP_{deixis} and $DP_{determination}$ to be able to express or satisfy their interface (external) properties, namely quantification (137), subjective emphasis/speaker-orientation (138) or incorporation (139):

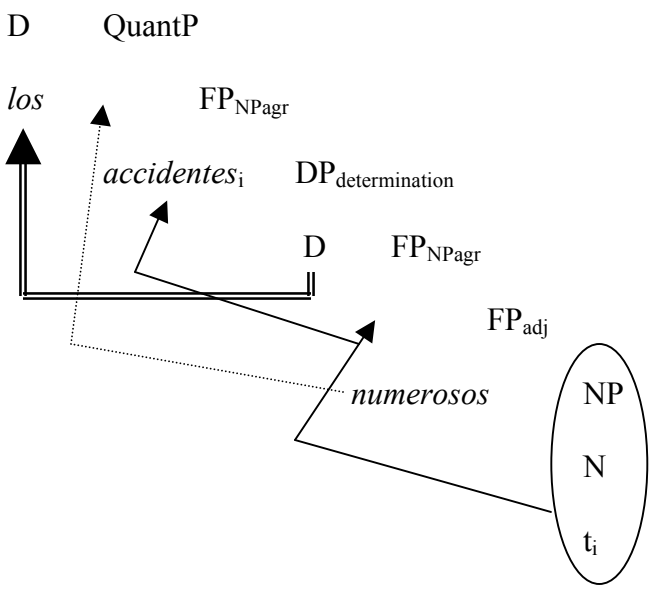
(137) Quant(ifier)P

(138) Subj(ective)P

(139) WeakP

Thus, for the data in (136) we would postulate that the NP moves cyclically to the Spec of the agreement projection associated with the lower DP (placed immediately above it) and that the adjective is generated in its semantically relevant (DP-internal) position and moves to Spec-QuantP to satisfy the interface properties associated with its prenominal position. Likewise, the determiner moves to acquire its external features:

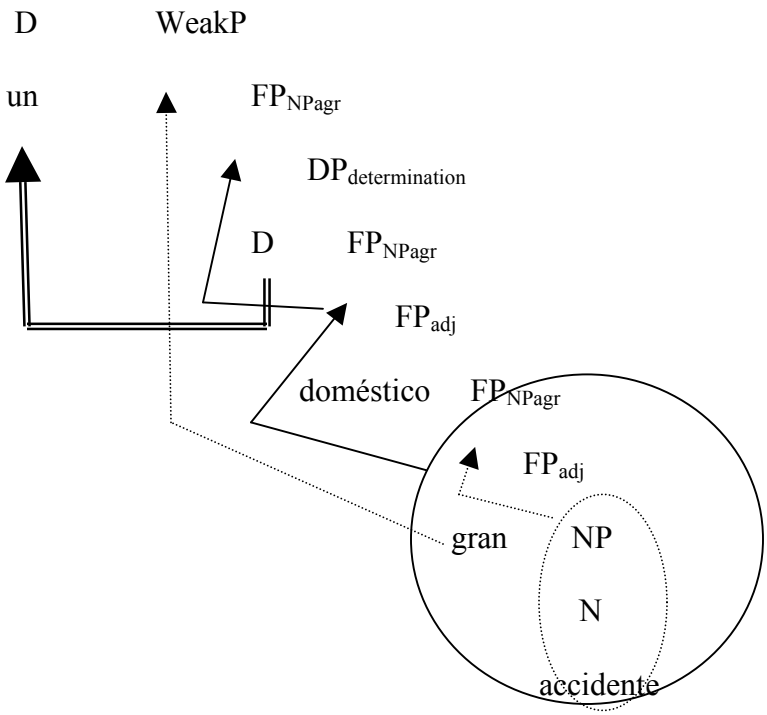
(140) DP_{deixis}



As we have seen, mirror images of the linear order of adjectives are the result of snowballing. In (141) we see a change of the expected adjectival order. This is because the NP moves to the agreement projection associated with the first adjective (*gran*), but, instead of moving again on its own, it takes that adjective along to the next agreement projection, where it checks features with the other adjective (*doméstico*), only to move up again to the FP_{NPagr} above the lower DP, to check agreement with the determiner. After that, the snowballed adjective moves to the Spec of WeakP to satisfy the interface properties and, later, incorporate to the noun at Spell Out. The determiner moves also to DP_{deixis} to acquire its external features:

(141) un gran accidente doméstico (cf. un accidente doméstico grande)
'the big (important) domestic accident'

(142) DP_{deixis}



To summarise this section, the model that Laenzlinger (2000) proposes, and that we adopt for Spanish, contains the following characteristics:

- An upward-moving NP (in Romance) that checks agreement features with the adjectives and the determiner in their associated agreement projection FP_{NPagr}, placed immediately above the discrete functional projections where adjectives merge, as well as above DP.
- A serialization of the adjective generating functional projections, which basically follows Cinque (1994). An alteration of this series is said to be caused by the NP taking one adjective along to the top FP_{NPagr}, in a phenomenon referred to as *snowballing*.
- A double layered DP, analogous to the split-CP structure (Rizzi 1997). The lower DP checks agreement features with the NP through the agreement projection placed immediately above it; the Spec-FP_{NPagr} is the landing site of that NP. The higher DP stores external interpretation features, such as deixis or referentiality. The determiner has to move from the lower to the higher DP in order to acquire those external features.
- Between these two levels of DP, there is another functional projection linked to interface properties to which adjectives in certain conditions move. The adjectives are generated in their semantically relevant position and move there to satisfy those interface properties. This, in turn, results in their surfacing pronominally.

As we said at the beginning of this section, the syntactic model presented here offers an advantage over N-movement in that it is capable of integrating the identified problems of the latter, which gives NP-movement a greater explanatory power cross-linguistically. We find the notion of snowballing and the special functional projections for prenominal adjectives especially fitting to the data in our analysis. We will see that most of the adjectives in our data that receive a speaker-oriented interpretation, would be interpreted as manner if they had remained postnominal. Since speaker-oriented interpretation can arguably be linked to a pragmatic dimension of language, we find that postulating that prenominal adjectives surface in positions closely tied to pragmatic meaning is a rather logical position.

Let's move on to review the Functionalist approaches that were presented in chapter 1. Functionalism is useful in this endeavour of showing the proverbial "bigger picture". What Laenzliger's model brings to the table (i.e. a more encompassing way, cross-linguistically speaking, of describing grammatical structure) is complemented by the Functionalist proposals described in the following section, in the spirit of the gap-bridging dominant goal of this dissertation.

2.4. Complementary Approaches to Generativism.

This section aims to show the possibilities that relatively recent proposal within the Functionalist framework provide for our understanding of the topic of adjectival position in Spanish. We will discuss two Functionalist studies. The first one (File-Muriel 2006) examines the role of phonology in adjectival position, in terms of syllabic weight (i.e. the difference in syllable counts between nouns and their accompanying adjectives.) The study points at the amount of language processing and retrieving constraints of

different registers as a way of explaining the difference in the incidence of syllabic weight in those registers. The second study (García-Bayonas 2006) examines the impact of adjective position in the interpretation of meaning of the nouns they accompany.

After that, we examine a proposal related to information structure (Truswell 2003). In this article, the author argues that adjectival position is determined by the speaker's intention to emphasise the quality described by the adjective among a large group of pragmatically possible qualities (i.e. adjectives.). After that, we will briefly present the limitations of the Functionalist framework.

2.4.1. Functional Approaches to the Analysis of Adjectives

In this section, we present two recent studies (File-Muriel 2006, García-Bayonas 2006) that explore adjectival position in Spanish from a functionalist perspective. File-Muriel (2006) explores the role of phonology in this issue, and García-Bayonas (2006) the relationship between adjective placement and the perceived interpretation of the semantic features of the noun.

File-Muriel's (2006) study deals with the performance-based restrictions that phrasal constituents face both in production and processing of speech. These restrictions orbit around the central concept of word length. Word length is a pretty controversial proposition regarding constituent ordering, since it explains adjectival position in terms of the syllabic count of both the noun and the adjective, in what is referred to by the author as "heaviness shift rule" (HSR). HSR states that a light adjective (that is, an adjective with fewer syllables than the accompanying noun) tends to be preposed (cf. 143), whereas a heavier adjective tends to be postposed (cf. 144):

(143) **Falsas** modestias

'False modesties'

(144) Fuerzas **armadas**

'Armed Forces'

(from File-Muriel 2006: 203)

The adjective in (143) (i.e. *falsas*) has only two syllables, whereas the noun has three. So, the adjective is lighter than the noun and, therefore, it is preposed. In (144), however, it is the other way round; the adjective (i.e. *armadas*) is heavier than the noun and, as a result, it is postposed.

The HSR had been dismissed by several studies (Fernández 1951, Terker 1985, Prado 1980) on the grounds that these behaviours are just tendencies and therefore there is not "sufficient evidence to support a heaviness principle" (File-Muriel 2006: 204).[44] File-Muriel points out the connection between this dismissal and the Principle of Phonology-Free Syntax (Miller, Pullum and Zwicky 1997, henceforth PPFS), by which rules of phonology (such as the HSR) cannot affect rules of syntax, since the application of these rules is unidirectional and once past the phonological stage, it is impossible to go back to it. The assumption in the PPFS is that information is first conveyed syntactically and then expressed phonologically, travelling unidirectionally from syntax to phonology, so there is really no justification for arguing in favour of the latter's going back and affecting the former. The observations regarding the HSR are then regarding a phenomenon of usage, but not a part of the grammar.

[44] In his review of these studies, File-Muriel argues that the data used came exclusively from written language. It is his belief that spoken discourse is in fact affected by the HSR and, to an extent, by grammaticalization (understood in the Bybee sense; cf. 2.4.1. above.)

However, some other authors argue against this unidirectionality (Bock 1987, Hawkins 1994) considering that the processing of information is constrained in relation to the accessibility of the constituents of a sentence: "sentences tend to be structured in such a way that phonologically accessible word forms precede less accessible forms, other things being equal" (Bock 1987: 122).

Wasow (1997) defends the role of constituent weight in production, arguing that it saves the ones hardest to produce for last. In a follow up study (Arnold et al. 2000), it is noted that weight plays a role not only in production, but also in perception. For the speaker, it is easier to introduce the heavier elements toward the end, since that helps with utterance planning and production. For the listener, it helps with utterance processing. The study concludes that "lexical retrieval and phonological processing should be more difficult for long, complex phrases than shorter ones simply because they contain more linguistic material" (46).

File-Muriel (2006) adapts this finding and claims that word length is a factor in retrieval and processing (i.e. the longer the word, the harder it is to process). He argues that postnominal position is favoured in attributive adjectives in spoken Spanish "because [they are] generally longer than the noun [they modify]" (208). Conversely, he claims that "prenominal placement of attributive adjectives in spoken discourse is reserved for light, frequently occurring, non-relational adjectives" (208). The study is based on the statistical comparison of the incidence of word weight in adjective placement, considering both written and spoken discourse. Overall, 83.3% of the preposed adjectives in written discourse are equal to or lighter than the noun, whereas that percentage goes up to 100 in spoken discourse. The mean weight of the postposed adjectives, in both the

spoken and written corpora (3.76 and 3.81, respectively) is heavier than the weight of the preposed adjectives (2.0 and 2.74). The author attributes this difference to performance, claiming that performance-related constraints are higher when the discourse is less planned (i.e. spoken). Even within preposed adjectives, the weight is heavier in written discourse (2.74). This allows File-Muriel to support his claim that "one cannot depend solely on written language to make [generalisations] about language" (212), and notes that the differences between written and spoken language reflect "a difference in ease of production and processing between the two registers" (213).[45]

The second functional study reviewed in this section (García-Bayonas 2006) tries to show that there is a relationship between adjective placement and the semantic interpretation of both the noun it modifies and the NP where it is contained. In a survey, the author presented different collocations of nouns and adjectives (namely N/A or A/N) on the assumption the position of the adjective would determine whether it refers to either the general or the specific semantic features of a noun. Let's take the following examples as a mode of illustration:

(145) Poeta bueno
Poet good
'Good poet'

[45] Another finding related to written discourse is that there seems to be a triple relationship between semantic class, word length and position. Of the eight semantic classes analysed (relational, evaluation, personality, modality, temporal, physical, and shape & space), the one with heavier weight was the only one that admitted no prenominal position. Down the line, a lighter weight corresponds with an increase of prenominal appearances.

(146) Buen poeta

'Good poet'

The study argues that there is a relationship between the adjective and the semantic features of the noun that the adjective is modifying. In a restrictive interpretation, such as (145), the adjective could be interpreted as referring to the general semantic features of the noun (that is, the poet is a good person, but not necessarily a good poet) or to the specific semantic features (he is a good poet). In turn, (146) is understood as referring to the specific semantic features of the noun. For (145), it is context that will provide the material necessary for disambiguation (García Bayonas 2006: 220).[46] She proposes, though, that in terms of speaker perception, there seems to be an almost unequivocal relationship between a N/A configuration and a general interpretation on the one hand and a A/N configuration and a specific interpretation on the other.[47]

In the next section, we will review a proposal dealing with the properties of discourse and how those may determine the placement of adjectives. Truswell (2003) approaches the issue considering cues that determine the placement of adjectives in the context of informational packaging (i.e. the contrast "New-Old information.")

[46] Romaine (1984: 425) appeals to the linguistic competence of the interlocutors to discern the intended functional meaning of a given phrase.

[47] This is similar to the proposal of Bosque (2001) mentioned earlier. In both cases, there seems to be ambiguity (in Bosque's case between specific/non-specific referents; in García-Bayonas' between general/specific semantic features). The difference here is then the preference of one meaning over the other shown in García-Bayonas' study, shown to be statistically significant.

2.4.2. Information Packaging and Adjective Placement

Truswell (2003) presents an interesting notion. He postulates that exceptional prenominal (non-restrictive) use of normally postnominal adjectives may be the case of a focus-presupposition structure.[48] To do so, he uses the notion of Alternative Semantics (AS) developed by Mats Rooth (1992). Take the following examples from French

(147) *Nous vous souhaitons un agréable voyage*

We to you wish a nice trip

'We wish you a nice trip'

(148) *Nous vous souhaitons un voyage agréable*

We to you wish a trip nice

'We wish you a nice trip'

(from Truswell 2003:1)

According to Truswell, example (148), where the adjective is in postnominal position, is the most frequent configuration for the adjective *agréable*. The sentence in (147) is grammatical too, although it is uttered in a given context (e.g. a train that is about to depart). The presupposition is that everybody who listens to that sentence is about to start a trip. The new content is that the announcer hopes this journey will be pleasant. Thus, he focuses the adjective by positioning it prenominally. The interpretation of an adjective within a structure (as non-restrictive, emphatic or contrastive) depends largely

[48] Focus is traditionally defined (Jackendoff 1972, Zubizarreta 1998, among many others) as the "non-presupposed part of the discourse". It is agreed upon the notion that focus in Spanish is basically syntactic, since new information tends to appear last in the sentence, whereas in English can be expressed phonologically, by stressing the focused component, regardless of its position in the sentence.

on the semantic characteristics and discourse properties of the NP within which the focused adjective is embedded.

According to Rooth's (1992) AS approach, a focused element is not only that element, what he calls the *ordinary semantic value* (OSV), but also the set of pragmatically possible alternatives to that element, what is called the *focus semantic value* (FSV). Let's study the following examples:

(149) John kissed $[\text{Jane}]_F$

FSV: {John kissed Jane/Anna/Bill/Susan...}

In (149), the OSV (i.e. *Jane*) is simply one of the possibilities for a focused element that can be selected from the FSV.

Intersective (material, origin, colour, shape) and subsective (size and novelty) attributive adjectives have a relatively free ordering within themselves (as we see in (150) and (151) below), but when the two types are combined, the tendency is for the subsective adjectives to precede the intersective adjectives (as seen in data in (152) and (153), all examples from Truswell):

(150) Wooden French wine crates / French wooden carriage dock

(151) New big idea / Big new world

(152) ? Wooden big office desks / Wooden new doll's house accessory

(153) ?? French new ambassador

It is possible, as Truswell points out, to find the *intersective > subsective* order if two conditions are met. In the first place, the intersective adjective has to bear heavy stress. Secondly, the group [*subsective adjective + N*] must already be salient in discourse. So, under normal circumstances (i.e. without the discourse saliency of the

subsective adjective and the noun), (154) below would be an oddity, whereas (155) would be acceptable:

(154) ? I drive a black big car (cf. I drive a big black car)

(155) All my friends drive big cars but only I drive a BLACK big car

The sentence in (154) is an inversion of the default order (i.e. *subsective* > *intersective*), but it doesn't meet the two conditions aforementioned of heavy stress and discursive saliency. Even if it met the first one (cf. I drive a BLACK big car), the lack of contextual background of *big car* would prevent it from acquiring the saliency needed in order not to be marginal at best.[49] Our analysis benefits from the fact that these data come from language corpora, where the contextual background needed to assert the saliency of adjectival position is, by default, present.

In (155), then, we find that the FSV is one of the possibilities from the pool of alternative values that could modify the kind *big car*. In other words, this configuration highlights the relationship between two kinds. On the one hand, we have a general kind (*big cars*) and on the other, a subkind of the former (i.e. *big cars that are black*). We can now re-examine (147) (repeated in (156) below) as a practical example of these two necessary conditions being met:

(156) *Nous vous souhaitons un agréable voyage*

The first condition (i.e. saliency of the N) is fulfilled if we consider the context in which the noun (*voyage*) is used. When this sentence is uttered, the people who hear it are in a train about to begin a trip. On the other hand, the adjective *agréable* is focused here (and understood to bear heavy stressed), which makes it contrast with the other possible

[49] It seems to be almost as if the *big car* in (151) becomes a compound noun modified by the stressed adjective BLACK.

alternatives of the FSV. In other words, a trip can be nice, but it could alternatively be uneventful, mediocre, or just awful.[50]

With Truswell (2003) we finish the literature review that provides the theoretical framework for this dissertation. Next, we will discuss some of the limitations that these Functionalist proposals have.

2.4.3. Problems with Functionalism

The limitations that Functionalist proposals like the ones described in the previous sections encounter are, in fact, not too different from the limitations that we described for the Generativist approaches earlier on this chapter. If we go back to the issue we raised in chapter 1 regarding the change in meaning of *La Roma antigua*, we see that neither of the frameworks can deal with this phenomenon, because this phenomenon lies outside their respective foci of study. The meaning shift we talk about should probably be interpreted as a pragmatic phenomenon; neither of these frameworks deals with pragmatics, however. Recall that García-Bayonas' study tangentially deals with this, since it argues that in case of ambiguity between a general and a specific interpretation of the semantic features of the noun, the speaker's competence should be enough to disambiguate that potentially confusing expression. She does not offer a lot of detail as to how that speaker should be able to do that (presumably by pragmatic interpretation.) File-Muriel's proposal could not be applied to this meaning shift phenomenon for obvious reasons:

[50] It is also interesting to note that these conditions apply when the NP is definite. For definite NPs, Truswell notes that non-restrictive interpretations are more frequent since every object which realizes the kind denoted by the background, also necessarily realizes the subkind denoted by the NP as a whole. The very nature of a definite NP presupposes a salient antecedent in the discourse, that is, it is essentially anaphoric. Thus the referent for the NP will have been established earlier in the discourse, and there will be no salient alternatives (in the FSV) to contrast with.

File-Muriel deals with a totally different dimension of language (phonology), and the application of the syllabic weight would do absolutely nothing to explain this meaning shift. Lastly, Truswell's article, even though dealing with contextual interpretation, is largely focused on word order alteration, whereas the phenomenon of *La Roma antigua* is really a change of meaning without a change in form.

In the following, and last section of this chapter, we will summarise the main points developed in this review that are relevant for the development of the next chapter.

2.5. Summary and Relevance of Key Points

We started this chapter introducing the different components of the Spanish DP: determiners, demonstratives, nouns – with a special focus on the behaviour of Bare and Proper nouns – from a semantic/syntactic standpoint. Concepts such as *definiteness, specificity* and *referentiality* (cf. Lyons 1999) were explained in this first part. These concepts surfaced again later on the chapter, when we reviewed the possibilities for classification of adjectives (following Demonte 1999). There, we established that there are two basic means of classification. On the one hand, it is possible to classify adjectives according to their intrinsic meaning. This process yields three different categories: Qualifying, Relational and Adverbial adjectives, which we defined and illustrated. The alternative means of classifying adjectives (i.e. according to the relation with the noun they accompany) also yields three different possibilities, although in this case the categories are composed of binary oppositions: Individual vs. Episodic; Intersective vs. Subsective; and Restrictive vs. Non-restrictive. All these classifications are crucial to our analysis in chapter 3, because they allow us to confirm or reject long-held assumptions (e.g. the correspondence between position and restriction) and to establish tendencies for

the other oppositions; all these resulting in a clearer view of the real impact of semantics in adjectival position in Spanish.

In the second half of the chapter, we made the case for the contributions of the Functionalist framework to the study of the topic We have presented two functionalist studies that examined the relevance of phonological weight in the information processing constraints for both spoken and written registers (cf. File-Muriel 2006) and the importance of adjectival position in determining whether the NP refers to general or specific semantic features of the noun (cf. García-Bayonas 2006.) Lastly, we also reviewed a proposal that relates adjectival position to pragmatics and information packaging (cf. Truswell 2003.) However, we have argued that some phenomena related to adjectival position lie outside the explanatory goals of both the Generativist and Functionalist approaches. These phenomena require attention, however, if we are to obtain a more global vision of the issue.[51]

As stated in chapter 1, the intention of this dissertation is to bridge the gap between these two seemingly distinct approaches so that they are understood as complementary to each other, rather than being irreconcilable. There are compelling arguments in both Generativist and Functionalist approaches, so in the next chapter we will present the relevance of these two approaches in the form of numerical data by presenting the quantification of the incidence of the different proposals and descriptions that have been explained throughout this chapter.

[51] In chapter 5 we will offer a possible avenue of research that could potentially explain these phenomena satisfactorily.

CHAPTER 3

DATA ANALYSIS

As we said in the introduction, chapter 3 deals mainly with the perceived difference between spoken and written registers and their impact on adjectival position in Spanish. In the previous chapter, we presented compelling evidence (cf. File-Muriel 2006) which suggests that written language is often used in order to draw general conclusions regarding language at large (i.e. both written and spoken language.) Arguably, many theorists would protest and claim that they indeed use data drawn from naturally occurring data. It is not our intention to deny this claim. But as we will see in this chapter, the type of data used by theoreticians in grammaticality judgments is structurally more complex (i.e. more lexical elements in a given syntactic structure) than the data found in spoken registers – both formal and informal – and, arguably, more similar to written language.

In this chapter, we will present the findings of the data analysis of two samples of language. One of the samples is a corpus of spoken Peninsular Spanish (Ranson 1987). The other is a speech given by the former Cuban president, Fidel Castro (1983). The reason why we chose these two corpora is motivated by the need to answer the second research question (i.e. whether there are significant differences in the incidence of the different dimensions – phonology, semantics, etc. – in different registers of language.) The data we encountered in these two samples was divided in an interesting way, since the overwhelming majority of the data was composed of single-adjective NPs (i.e. NPs

with just one accompanying adjective in prenominal or postnominal position), and only a small percentage of the data was comprised of NPs with more than one adjective. This being the nature of the data, we decided to undertake the analysis in two parts, one for each type of NP. Nevertheless, before undertaking these analyses, the next sections explain the features of the corpora and the procedure followed to analyse all the data (i.e. both one- and multiple-adjective NPs.)

3.1. Characteristics of the corpora

The first corpus is a series of oral interviews conducted by Ranson (1987) in Puente Genil, Spain. It amounts to roughly ten hours of recordings and it has some 92,000 words. The conversations deal with cultural, social and family topics. There are about 10 different people that participated in the different recorded conversations. For convenience, the data from this corpus is referred to as EH (*Español hablado*; 'Spoken Spanish'.) The second source of information is a speech given by the former Cuban president, Fidel Castro, on March 7, 1983 in New Delhi, India as a keynote address for the VII Summit of the Non-Aligned Countries Movement. This 11,000+-word speech was chosen at random and it is a part of a larger corpus, consisting of about 3 million words, of speeches given by Castro since the beginning of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 until 2005. This second corpus is tagged in our analysis as EE (*Español escrito*; 'Written Spanish'.) The following table presents some basic data regarding these two corpora:

Table 1: Types and percentages of examples of NPs with adjectives in the corpora

	EH	**EE**
Total number of examples	349	704
NPs with one adjective	343 (98.3%)	639 (90.8%)
NPs with multiple adjectives	6 (1.7%)	65 (9.2%)

Table 1 shows that the occurrences of NPs with only one adjective (whether preposed or postposed) overwhelmingly outnumber multiple adjectival clusters in both EH and EE. At the same time, the comparative ratio of NPs with multiple adjectives is about 9 to 1 in favour of EE. It is our opinion that this difference may be related to the different processing constraints in both registers, somewhat (although not entirely) along the lines of what File-Muriel (2006) proposed, as we saw in chapter 2.

Before moving on, we would like to address a possible concern. The sample of language that comprises the 'written' corpus (EE) is, as we said, a speech. It would be misleading to deny an inherent quality of this type of discourse, namely orality. However, it is also evident that this register differs from a 'spoken' register (such as the one in EH) in that, prior to acquiring that orality, it had to be thought out and somehow processed in a way closer to that of written language.[52] A point that attests to this difference is, again, the massive difference in occurrences of multiple-adjective clusters between registers, which suggests that the constraints in processing and production in a speech act like EE is closer to written language than to spoken language.

Having clarified this point, we will now proceed to explain the procedure by which the data for both corpora were analysed. In the next section, we present the different categories that were considered for the task.

3.2. Classification Procedure

In chapter 2, we presented literature from both Generative and Functionalist frameworks dealing with adjectives. It is based in this review of the literature that we decided to establish a system of classifications following the parameters displayed

[52] Although Fidel Castro is well known for his ability with extemporaneous speech.

schematically in table 2 below. A summarised explanation of those parameters follows the table.

Table 2: Classification parameters

Parameter	*Variables*		
Type of Noun	• Eventive • Object-Denoting		
Specificity	• Specific • Non-specific		
Number of words†			
Syllable Weight			
Position	• Postnominal • Prenominal		
Type of Adjective	• Qualifying • Relational	• Individual/Episodic • Intersective/Subsective • Restrictive/Non-restrictive	
	• Adverbial	• Intensional	• Modal • Focalising
		• Eventive	• Circumstantial • Aspectual
Contrast*	• Contrastive • Non-contrastive		
Semantic Features of Noun*	• General • Specific		
Article	• Definite • Indefinite • Bare NP • Other		

† indicates a parameter used only with multiple-adjective NPs
* indicates a parameter used only with one-adjective NPs

The differences between the variables were presented on chapter 2, but we will provide here a quick summary of the various parameters and also add some specific considerations that we took into account when working on the classification of the examples.

The first category is that of *Type of Noun*. In this category, the choice is whether the noun is Eventive (i.e. derived from a verb) or Object-denoting. In general, the difference between the two is clear-cut. However, in a few instances, an eventive noun could also be interpreted as an object, mostly as the final product or result of a process rather than the process itself. In those cases, the noun is considered object-denoting, as in the following examples extracted from both corpora:

(1) ***La nueva administración*** *de Estados Unidos*

'The new administration of [The] United States'

(2) *porque tienen* ***una buena paga***

'They have a good salary'

In (1), the noun *administración* could technically be interpreted as eventive, since it is a derivation of the verb *administrar* ('to manage').[53] However, in this case, it is meant to be understood as an entity composed of a group of people who propose policies in a country. With (2), the situation is basically the same, since *paga* ('pay, wages, salary') is interpreted as something tangible rather than as the action from which the noun is derived (i.e. *pagar*, 'to pay'.)

Specificity is largely decided in relation to context, in line to what was expressed in chapter 2 following Lyons (1999) (cf. 2.1.1.1.)

Number of words refers to the number of words in a multiple-adjective NP. We included only nouns and adjectives (i.e. no articles, demonstratives, possessives, etc.) in this count. While this category, as a stand alone, does not seem to provide much

[53] Compare (1) above with an example like the following:

i. Para él, la administración de la empresa es fácil
'To him, managing the company is easy'

information, we considered in relation to more or less adjectives accompanying a noun having any potential impact in other categories, such as hierarchical order (cf. Cinque 1994) or syllable weight.

Syllable weight was considered following the study of File-Muriel (2006) in which, as stated in chapter 2, it was concluded that the syllabic count of the adjective in relation to the noun in a NP had a role regarding the organization of information, such that the heavier elements tend to be left toward the end of the structure, since they are harder to produce and process. In this way, a heavier adjective would follow a noun and a lighter adjective would precede it. The weight is simply calculated by the difference in the number of syllables of the adjective and the noun in any given NP. Thus, the following example has a syllabic weight of +2:

(3) *un cli-ma* (2) *pa-re-ci-do* (4)

'a similar climate'

Syllable weight was also considered in multiple-adjective NPs, albeit somewhat differently. Only adjectives in prenominal position were considered, on the grounds that, if File-Muriel (2006) was right, we should see a tendency for light adjectives to precede nouns, so there was really no need to focus on postnominal adjectives in multiple-adjective NPs.

Regarding the *Type of Adjective* category, we followed Demonte's (1999) three-way classification of Qualifying (Q), Relational (R), and Adverbial (A) adjectives. Recall from chapter 2 that Q and R-adjectives differ from one another in that the former refers to an essential quality of the noun it accompanies (cf. 4 below) whereas the latter refers to a

group of properties of an external referent with which the noun establishes a specific semantic relationship (cf. 5):

(4) Nieve blanca

'White snow'

(5) Vaca lechera

'Milk cow'

On the other hand, A-adjectives, as we said in chapter 2, do not assign, but rather modify, the properties of nouns (cf. 6a), the same way that adverbs modify the meaning of verbs (cf. 6b)

(6) a. Mirada *fría*

'Cold stare'

b. Le miró *fríamente*

'He looked at him coldly (i.e. with a cold stare)'

Thus, when an adjective was classified as Q or R, the example was further analysed in terms of the relationship of the adjective to the noun, considering the three possibilities for classification that we established in chapter 2 (cf. 2.2.2.):

- whether the adjective is individual or episodic
- whether the adjective is absolute (intersective) or relative (subsective)
- whether the adjective is restrictive or non restrictive

Let's recall the characteristics of these three binary oppositions. In the first place, an individual adjective points to an inherent quality of the referent, without any temporal or spatial semantic constraint, in which case it is considered episodic. An adjective is intersective when it modifies all the possible classes of objects that a referent can be, and

it is subsective when it modifies only one of those classes. Lastly, an adjective is restrictive when it creates a subgroup within the referent and non-restrictive when it modifies the entire referent and not just parts of it.[54]

Likewise, when an adjective was classified as Adverbial, the two following variables would be considered (cf. 2.2.1.3):

- the intension of the adjective, either by modifying the meaning of the referent (cf. 6 above) or turning the noun into an almost unique referential expression.[55]
- whether there would be any sort of temporal constraint in the meaning (in terms of aspect) or just a circumstantial meaning.

The next category, *Contrast*, is based on the idea developed by Truswell (2003) following Rooth's Alternative Semantics (1992). In this approach, as we explained in chapter 2, there is always a possible pool of candidates to occupy the Adjective node, with the proviso that a sufficient context is provided and contrast between the different candidates is expressed.[56] In our classification, an adjective was thought to be contrastive if either of these two conditions happened:

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[54] For examples, cf. 2.2.2.

[55] Recall the example we provided in chapter 2:

i. *La verdadera objeción*
'The true objection'

where we established that the referent is modified to the point that it is the only one that most satisfies the condition of 'being an objection' among all the possible existing objections.

[56] The need for the contextually salient adjective to bear heavy stress (as proposed in Truswell 2003; cf. 2.4.3.) could not really be dealt with given that the corpora were written transcriptions of speech with no indication of rhythm and intonation. We made the judgments to the best of our ability.

- there was an explicit textual contrast (e.g. a referent was immediately contrasted to another, regardless of whether it was preceding or following the former).
- there was an implicit contextual contrast.

The second condition is more easily explained with an example. Take the following NP from the Castro speech:

(7) *Los países* ***subdesarrollados***

'The underdeveloped countries'

Throughout the entire discourse, there is an underlying theme of comparison between developed and underdeveloped countries, so even at times when the two types of countries don't appear in the same co-textual space (i.e. adjacent to one another), there is, arguably, a contrast between the two. The implicit contextual contrast, regarding adjectival position, is in this study virtually an exclusive phenomenon of the Castro speech, as there are no examples in the oral corpus.

Following the other functional study presented in chapter 2, García-Bayonas (2006), we examined whether the position of the adjectives had anything to do with making reference to the specific or general *semantic features of the noun* they accompany.

The last category considered for this analysis was *Article*. This examines the possibility of a relationship between the type of article and its meaning and the position of the adjective. This is especially significant if we consider the findings of Casielles (1994) regarding the behaviour of bare nouns within NP, as discussed in chapter 2 (cf. 2.1.3.1.) Thus, the variables examined included an NP with a definite article, an

indefinite article and a bare noun. Other possibilities (e.g. demonstratives, possessive pronouns, numerals, etc.) were included in the category "Other".

Having laid out the parameters that were followed for the classification of the data in both corpora, we move on to its analysis. As we said at the beginning of the chapter, the frequency with which NPs with only one adjective occur is overwhelmingly superior to that of multiple-adjective NPs. In spite of this, both sets of NPs offer interesting pieces of information that require attention separately. In the next section, we will deal first with the information provided by one-adjective NPs and then consider multiple-adjective NPs.

3.3. Results

In this section, we present a series of tables containing the numeric results of each distinct parameter, accompanied by a percentage. Given the nature of percentual data, we intend here to show tendencies, rather than making categorical assertions, that will shed some light on the factors that influence adjectival position; those factors being all the categories presented in the last section, which were created following the literature review of chapter 2. By dividing the data between spoken and written Spanish, we will not only see the influence of those factors in general, but also whether that influence is in any way modified in different registers.

Even though we will consider two sets of data (one-adjective vs. multiple-adjective NPs) in this section, we can provide some basic facts, applicable to both sets, from the outset. The following table shows the distribution of examples in both corpora in relation to adjectival position:

Table 3: Number and percentage of adjective position in the corpora

	Prenominal	Postnominal
EH (one adjective)	74/343 (21.5%)	269/343 (78.5%)
EE (one adjective)	173/639 (27%)	466/639 (73%)
EH (multiple adjectives)	2/6 (33%)	4/6 (66%)
EE (multiple adjectives)	36/65 (55%)	29/65 (45%)

Recall from table 1 that EH has 349 total examples and EE 704 total examples. Thus, EH presents 343 examples of NPs with just one adjective and 6 of NPs with multiple adjectives, whereas EE has 639 and 65 of each respectively.[57] It can be concluded from the percentages that pre- and postnominal adjectives occur in roughly the same percentages in both registers. However, it is also pretty clear that, in general terms, the tendency is for adjectives in Spanish to appear postnominally.

From now on, we will continue the data analysis distinguishing between the two types of NP in table 3. We will start with one-adjective NPs, and then take up multiple-adjective NPs.

3.3.1. Noun Phrases with One Adjective

In our review of the literature in the previous chapter, we dealt with adjectival position from different linguistic standpoints: semantics, both from the viewpoint of "traditional grammar" by looking at the intrinsic meaning of the adjectives along with their meaning in association with the noun they accompany (cf. Demonte 1999), as well as from a functional perspective, where adjectival position is linked to the interpretation of the semantic features of the noun (cf. García-Bayonas 2006); phonology, in terms of

[57] With multiple adjectives, we decided to classify those NPs with a prenominal adjective as prenominal, even though there are, obviously, adjectives that follow the noun in the same NP. So, in this case, the classification should be understood rather as an opposition between NPs with a prenominal adjective and NPs without it.

syllable weight (cf. File-Muriel 2006); and discourse, with a look at the pragmatic possibilities for contrast and how that relates to adjective position (cf. Truswell 2003.) These are the most relevant aspects of our analysis, and the foci of this section. We will proceed in that order to present the impact of the different dimensions to adjectival position in Spanish.

3.3.1.1. The Role of Semantics in Adjective Position.

As we saw in chapter 2, Demonte (1999) provides two ways of classifying adjectives based on their semantics, namely the meaning of the adjectives themselves and the meaning of the adjective with a noun. The following analysis is intended to compare the assertions made by Demonte regarding the relationship between syntax and semantics and to show tendencies of syntactic behaviour in language use. For example, Demonte (and by extension, traditional semantic studies) claims that whereas Q- and A-adjectives are more or less free to appear pre- and postnominally, R-adjectives are restricted to postnominal position (cf. 2.2.1.2.) Table 4 below is a breakdown of the results of of the comparison of adjectival position with the intrinsic semantic meaning of the adjectives, for both spoken and written registers. According to this breakdown, Demonte's claim about the syntactic restriction of R-adjectives in postnominal position is confirmed.

Table 4: Position and adjective type

	Qualifying	Relational	Adverbial
Prenominal (EH)	47 (64%)		27 (36%)
Postnominal (EH)	125 (46.4%)	59 (22%)	85 (31.6%)
Prenominal (EE)	65 (35.7%)		117 (64.3%)
Postnominal (EE)	60 (13.2%)	263 (57.5%)	134 (29.3%)
Pre/Post (EH)	27.4% / 72.6%	0% / 100%	24.2% / 75.8%
Pre/Post (EE)	52% / 48%	0% / 100%	46.7% / 53.3%

As we can see, there are absolutely no examples of prenominal R-adjectives in either of the two registers. However, that is as far as the similarities between registers go. Note that in terms of the relative frequency of use in both registers, R-adjectives are diametrically opposed to themselves. In other words, whereas in written Spanish, R-adjectives are, by far, the most widely used type of adjective (57.5%, with almost twice the occurrences than the second highest, A-adjectives, 29.3%), in spoken Spanish they are the least used semantic category (22%). Why that would be the case is something that escapes the scope of this type of classification. However, that doesn't mean that we shouldn't ask the question, especially when we consider that what these raw data suggest is that the way that referential expressions are modified depends fundamentally on the register in which they take place.[58]

Regarding the second possibility for semantic classification, which considers the relationship between the adjective and the noun it accompanies, we saw that for Q- and R-adjectives that relationship can be expressed with three binary oppositions:

- individual/ episodic
- intersective/ subsective
- restrictive/ non-restrictive

The claim in traditional grammars is mostly related to the last pair. It has been traditionally held that prenominal adjectives are non-restrictive and postnominal adjectives are restrictive. In the table below, we have the results of contrasting position and the three binary oppositions. However, since we have established that R-adjectives

[58] Later on (cf. 3.3.2.2.) we will review this question and offer a suggestion related to the role of phonology in adjectival placement.

are already restricted to postnominal position, logically, we can make this comparison only with Q-adjectives, as they are free to appear before or after the noun.

Table 5: Position and Q-adjectives

	Individual/Episodic	Intersective/Subsective	Restrictive/Non-restrictive
Prenominal (EE)	60/5 (92% / 8%)	47/18 (72.3% / 27.7%)	0/65 (0% / 100%)
Postnominal (EE)	59/1 (98% / 2%)	58/2 (96% / 4%)	60/0 (100% / 0%)
Prenominal (EH)	33/14 (70% / 30%)	33/14 (70% / 30%)	0/47 (0% / 100%)
Postnominal (EH)	122/3 (98% / 2%)	97/28 (77% / 23%)	125/0 (100% / 0%)

The first thing that we can say about the data in table 5 is that the long-held claim mentioned above is categorically supported by statistical evidence. For both registers, prenominal adjectives are non-restrictive and postnominal adjectives are restrictive. Postnominal adjectives modify the referential value (i.e. extension) of the noun by limiting it to a smaller subcategory of the referent, like in (8), from EH, below.

(8) *el traje* ***largo***

'the long dress/suit'

The adjective is moved from the large group of "types of clothing" to the smaller, albeit a part of that large group, "types of clothing that are long". At the same time, in the example from EE in (9), the adjective simply qualifies as "esteemed" the large group "people who are heads of state", without moving it to a smaller subclass:

(9) ***estimados*** *Jefes [de Estado]*

'esteemed Heads [of State]'

Unfortunately, the other two binary oppositions do not yield such clear-cut results. In spite of that, we can still establish some tendencies.

Episodic adjectives (i.e. those that add a spatial/temporal dimension to the meaning of the noun; cf. 3.2.) appear in a 15 to 1 ratio in favour of prenominal position (30% to 2% in postnominal position) in EH. Of those 14 examples, most of the adjectives appear are related to the time or the order of an event or a thing, as in the following examples:

(10) *Sí, es eso que es difícil es el **primer** contacto*

'Yes, it is that what is difficult (it) is the first contact'

(11) *¿Te pongo algo de **segundo** plato?*

'Do you want anything for seconds (i.e. main dish)?

In EE, the tendency to prenominal position for episodic adjectives is maintained, although the ratio is considerably lower, only 4 to 1. The examples are basically the same as above (i.e. adjectives related to time or order of events or things):

(12) *[...] problemas [...] que amenazaron en **estos últimos tiempos***

'Problems that threatened lately'

(13) *No reciben jamás en **el primer año** de su vida*

'They never receive in their first year of life'

On the other hand, with the opposition intersective/subsective, the data show an interesting situation. As it was pointed out in chapter 2, generally speaking, adjectives related to size are considered to be subsective (cf. Demonte 1999), since it is a quality relative not only to the referent, but also to the group that the referent belongs to. Basically, all the adjectives in the corpora are size adjectives for both EH (14) and EE (15) and in both positions:

(14) a. *Para l**as grandes ciudades** no se hace.*

'For (the) big cities it is not made'

b. ***El tamaño chico** vienen saliendo setenta.*

'The small size makes seventy'

(15) a. *Los imperialistas se consumen de odio […] frente a **un país pequeño***

'The imperialists are consumed by hatred in the face of a small country'

b. *A **dos miembros importantes** y respetados del Movimiento*

'To two important and respected members of the Movement'

c. ***Una amplia gama** de barreras no arancelarias*

'A wide variety of non-tariff barriers'

d. *[…] que afecta a **la inmensa mayoría** de los países*

'[…] that affects the inmense majority of countries'

The interesting point is that (15 a-b) are the only two postnominal subsectives in EE. While the other percentages in table 5 are relatively similar for subsective adjectives, the fact that so few examples of this type of adjective appear in postnominal position is hard to explain.

Let's refer back to the data in table 4 to talk about the third type of adjective we have considered: A-adjectives. In that table we saw that Adverbial adjectives have the tendency to appear postnominally. Numerically, the data showed that, for EH, 31.6.% of the adjectives that appear after the noun are A-adjectives, while before the noun the percentage goes up to 36% of the total (i.e. among the three different types of adjectives.)

The situation for EE is not different, since the tendency is still for A-adjectives to appear prenominally. However, the difference in frequency increases. This time 29.3% of the adjectives in postnominal position are Adverbial, whereas prenominal A-adjectives represent a 64.3% of the total. Recall from chapter 2 that A-adjectives could also be subdivided into several categories. The first level of this division is to establish whether the A-adjective is intensional or eventive. The former category, as we said before, modifies the properties of the referent, rather than assigning them to it. The latter refers to the place, time and way in which objects and processes take place (cf. 2.2.1.3 for discussion.) These two subcategories can be further subdivided into four more (two for each): intensional modal/intensional focalising and eventive circumstantial/eventive aspectual. These four categories and their relationship to register and position are shown in table 6 below:

Table 6: Position and A-adjectives

	Intensional modal/focalising	Eventive circumstantial/aspectual
Prenominal (EH)	14/13 (52% / 48%)	9/1 (90% / 10%)
Postnominal (EH)	68/17 (80% / 20%)	16/7 (65% / 35%)
Prenominal (EE)	45/72 (38% / 62%)	56/6 (90% / 10%)
Postnominal (EE)	95/39 (71% / 29%)	67/10 (87% / 13%)

In relation to the first column, we can attest to the fact that focalising is a semantic feature that favours prenominal position, at least in EE.[59] Focalising adjectives isolate a particular instance of the referent, which is interpreted as the one that more accurately describes the condition expressed by the adjective. We see that this happens

[59] The percentages of prenominal adjectives in EH for this category are so close (52%-48%) that we cannot make any prediction in this respect for this register.

with eventive nouns in the following examples. In (16), the "steps" that are taken are only those that are "necessary". Likewise, there is only one type of attempt in (17), and it is qualified as "permanent":

(16) *Emprendimos **las gestiones necesarias** con todas las partes*

'(We) undertook the necessary steps with all the parties'

(17) *Para continuar **su permanente intento** de destruir este Movimiento*

'To continue its permanent attempt to destroy this Movement'

In relation to the second column, the reader may notice a discrepancy in the number of examples compared to those of the first column. In spite of the fact that, according to the literature, eventive adjectives appear both with events and objects (cf. 2.2.1.3. for examples), we were not really able to find examples of this type of adjective with object-denoting nominals that could not be at the same time interpreted as intensional modal. Thus, all the examples in the second column in table 6 refer to eventive nominals. A look at that column does not really offer a useful picture for frequencies, other than to say that eventive circumstantial adjectives (which modify the referents in terms of the time, space and way in which they occur) are more common than eventive aspectual adjectives (which modify the referent in terms of frequency or periodicity) accompanying eventive nouns, in both positions and in both registers. However, if we make a combined analysis of the frequency of occurrence of both types of A-adjectives with eventive nominals, we can see a different picture:

Table 7: Eventive nominals and A-adjectives

	Modal/Circums	Focal/Circums	Modal/Aspect	Focal/Aspect
Prenominal (EH)	4 (24%)	5 (62.5%)	1 (12.5%)	
Postnominal (EH)	13 (76%)	3 (37.5%)	7 (87.5%)	
Prenominal (EE)	14 (23%)	42 (69%)	3 (30%)	3 (50%)
Postnominal (EE)	48 (77%)	19 (31%)	7 (70%)	3 (50%)

We can see that in both EH and EE, three fourths of the adjectives classified as modal/circumstantial are postnominal, as in the following examples from the corpora:

(18) *el mío lo que sabe es* ***del estudio normal***

'Mine [my husband] knows [only] about normal study'

(19) *No le faltó a Namibia* ***el apoyo creciente*** *del Movimiento*

'Namibia didn't lack the rising support of the Movement'

In the second column, however, we see that the frequency is reversed. When circumstantial adjectives are also focalising, they appear in prenominal positions two thirds of the time. This is consistent with what we saw previously in table 6 regarding focalising adjectives, and in this case, the relative percentages in EH give a much more definite picture of the situation, at least as far as eventive nominals go:

(20) ***La Santa Cena***

'The Holy [Last] Supper'

(21) ***La traicionera agresión*** *a Siria*

'The treacherous aggression to Syria'

On the other hand, we see an interesting shift related to aspectual adjectives. The first obvious change is numerical. There are far fewer examples of this type of adjective in the corpora, to the point that there are no instances of aspectual adjectives that are

focalised in EH, in either position. All in all, the third column shows that modal and aspectual adjectives adhere to the tendency shown in the first column, where modal adjectives tend to be placed in postnominal position, as in the following examples:

(22) *Constituyen una esperanza para* ***los combates futuros***

'[They] constitute a hope for future combat'

(23) *Mira que* ***el jueves pasado*** *estuvimos al lado*

'Mind you that last Thursday we were right beside it'

The second change is related to focalising adjectives. In the EE sample, the distribution of prenominal and postnominal focalising aspectual adjectives is equally balanced:

(24) *Angola decidiera con Cuba* ***la retirada gradual*** *de las tropas*

'Angola decided with Cuba the gradual withdrawal of troops'

(25) *Por buscar* ***inmediata solución*** *al agudo déficit de alimentos*[60]

'To look for an immediate solution to the sharp shortage of food'

Lastly, we would like to show the distribution of object-denoting nouns with adverbial adjectives, since these occurrences give us noteworthy data. Let's look at the distribution in the following table:

[60] Given the limited number of occurrences, it would be unwise to draw any conclusions regarding this situation. We are not aware of any semantic feature of aspectual adjectives that frees them from positional restrictions. Also, considering that modal aspectual adjectives do fall in line with the tendency to appear in postnominal position of the modal circumstantial, the hypothesis *a priori* would be that focal aspectual adjectives favour prenominal position. Further research into this topic is needed.

Table 8: Object-denoting nominals and A-adjectives

	Modal	Focalising
Prenominal (EH)	3 (18%)	14 (82%)
Postnominal (EH)	48 (77 %)	14 (23%)
Prenominal (EE)	16 (29%)	39 (71%)
Postnominal (EE)	42 (71%)	17 (29%)

The interesting fact about this distribution is that it clarifies somewhat the fuzzy situation that we found in table 6. Recall that we encountered that in EH the distribution of prenominal intensional modal/focalising A-adjectives was virtually the same (52%-48%, respectively.) As with the case of eventive nominals, the distribution of adverbial adjectives with object-denoting nominals in both EE and EH shows a tendency for postnominal position when the adjectives are of the modal subcategory (26) and a tendency for prenominal position when they are focalising (27):

(26) a. *Además tienen **una paga especial** de la empresa*

'They even have a special check from the company'

b. *Soy capaz de dejarme **las puertas abiertas***

'I can leave my doors open'

(27) a. *La industrialización […] no puede ser **el triste subproducto** dejado por las transnacionales*

'Industrialisation cannot be the sad subproduct left by the transnationals'

b. ***Una inconmovible política** de cooperación*

'A steady policy of co-operation'

Next, we would like to test the semantics-related functional study that we presented in chapter 2 with our data. García-Bayonas (2006) studied the relation between adjectival position and the interpretation of semantic features of the noun. The results of her study showed a statistically significant tendency to interpret a prenominal adjective as referring to the specific semantic features of the noun, whereas a noun followed by an adjective obtains a general feature reading. Let's compare those results with our data, starting with samples from our EH corpus:

(28) *Tienen fama de* ***malos conductores***

'[They] have a fame [of being] bad drivers'

The interpretation of this NP should be, according to the García-Bayonas' study, that the speaker is referring to the specific features of the semantics of the noun (driver as "someone who drives a car"), rather than to the general semantic features (driver as "person"). In other words, we should, (and as a matter of fact, we do) interpret that the speaker is talking about people who happen to be bad drivers, and not just about bad people who happen to be drivers. Thus, one half of García-Bayonas' prediction is confirmed. The problem is that there is not an example of a postnominal adjective with a noun that could be interpreted as referring to the general features of that noun.

On the one hand, the nouns that could be potentially ambiguous regarding their semantic features (like the one in 28) are, comparatively speaking, less frequent than other types. On the other hand, even when we find nouns similar to the one in (28) followed by an adjective, there is hardly any other possible interpretation for them:

(29) ***Los revolucionarios salvadoreños*** *no podrán ser derrotados*

'The Salvadoran revolutionaries won't be defeated'

(30) ***Un obrero español*** *[…] gana un millón de pesetas al año*

'A Spanish worker […] earns a million pesetas a year'

A general interpretation of the semantic features of the nouns in (29) and (30) would yield the rather unlikely scenarios of where every person in each country is either a revolutionary or a worker. Thus, the only possible interpretation is that the speaker is referring to the specific features of the noun and talking only about the Salvadorans that are revolutionaries or the Spaniards that are workers. Arguably, (29) and (30) are examples in which there are no possible alternative configurations and therefore only a restrictive interpretation is possible:

(31) *Los salvadoreños (A) revolucionarios (N)

(32) *Un español (A) obrero (N)

However, even with a change of configuration in an example like (28) above, the interpretation would still be specific rather than general:

(33) *Tienen fama de* ***conductores*** (N) ***malos*** (A)

It is highly unlikely that anybody would interpret this in the general sense of "bad people". And it is not because technically it would not be possible; remember that postnominal adjectives can potentially be ambiguous (cf. 2.1.3.2.) However, it seems that the context in which (28) appears in the conversation in the corpus (the topic revolves around driving) would really determine the interpretation, regardless of whether the sentence is (28) or (33).[61] Thus, the interpretation of the features of the noun likely depends not only on the interaction of the noun with the adjective in the NP, but also on

[61] It is our intuition that if the speaker had wanted to make reference to the general features of the noun, the constriction of the context would have forced him to use a more general term, like "person."

the contextual saliency of said NP and the ability of interlocutors to infer the meaning from a series of possibilities (cf. Romaine 1984.)

In the next section, we move on to the other functional study that we reviewed in chapter 2, which establishes a relationship between phonological material and syntactic position of the adjective. This relationship may offer a plausible explanation to the distribution of R-adjectives (namely that they never appear in prenominal position), to which traditional semantics doesn't offer a solution, as we saw at the beginning of 3.3.1.1 (cf. table 4 and discussion below.)

3.3.1.2. The Role of Phonology in Adjective Position

As explained in chapter 2, File-Muriel (2006) proposes considering syllabic weight as a way of determining adjectival position. The basic idea is that heavier adjectives tend to be postposed, whereas preposed adjectives tend to be lighter. He also claims differences between spoken and written discourse in terms of weight. According to his data, 83.3% of preposed adjectives in written discourse are equal or lighter in weight than the noun, whereas that percentage goes up to 100% in spoken discourse.

Let's compare those claims with the table 9 below, which displays the recount of occurrences in both corpora in relation to their syllabic weight:

Table 9: Position and syllable weight[62]

	< -3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	> +5
Pre (EH)		11 **(14.9%)**	21 **(28.3%)**	28 (37.8%)	10 **(13.6%)**	4 **(5.4%)**			
Post (EH)		10 (3.7%)	47 (17.4%)	89 (33%)	77 (28.7%)	28 (10.5%)	13 (4.8%)	5 (1.9%)	
Pre (EE)	8[63] (5%)	19 **(10.9%)**	36 **(20.6%)**	61 (35%)	28 **(16%)**	15 **(8.6%)**	6 (3.4%)	1 (.5%)	
Post (EE)	6 (1.2%)	28 (5.6%)	59 (11.9%)	102 (20.6%)	112 (22.6%)	93 (18.7%)	82 (16.5%)	9 (1.9%)	4[64] (1%)

If we take the weights that range from -2 to +2 (since they are the only ones that have data in both positions and corpora), the following percentages result:

- for EH, 43.2% of the prenominal adjectives are lighter than the noun, whereas only a 19% are heavier.
- for EE, 31.5% of the prenominal adjectives are lighter than the noun, whereas only 24.6% are heavier.

The difference in percentages between EH and EE regarding heavy and light adjectives is almost four times as big in EH (24.2%) than in EE (6.9%).The results in table 9 are still consistent with the general affirmation of File-Muriel's study that lighter adjectives are more frequently found in prenominal position. The fact that the difference in EH is bigger may be an indication that indeed, the constraints in the spoken register are bigger and therefore the speakers do try to leave heavier material for the end.

[62] A few explanations about this table are in order. First, the weight is expressed in terms of +/- [a number] or 0. This is just the difference of syllables between the noun and the accompanying adjective. For example, a weight of +2 simply indicates that the adjective had two more syllables than the noun. Second, the two columns of the extremes have been collapsed for reasons of space, as there were a few instances of less than – 3 and more than +5 in syllable weight.

[63] There is an example of -5 in prenominal position and 7 of -3 included in the cell.

[64] There are 2 examples of +6 in postnominal position included in the cell

The other one of File-Muriel's claim regarding the relationship between adjective type, position and syllable weight in written discourse also seems to hold. Of the three general types of adjectives (Qualifying, Relational, and Adverbial), only Relational adjectives don't admit prenominal position, and it is the Relational category the one with a heavier weight overall, as the following table shows:

Table 10: Position and type of adjective in heavy syllable counts

	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	Total
Prenominal R (EE)	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Prenominal Q (EE)	5	2	2	—	—	—	9 (2.5%)
Prenominal A (EE)	24	13	4	1	—	—	42 (11.6%)
Postnominal R (EE)	57	57	39	6	—	2	200 (55.1%)
Postnominal Q (EE)	17	13	5	2	2	1	40 (11%)
Postnominal A (EE)	38	24	9	1	—	—	72 (19.8%)

Postnominal relational adjectives have the heaviest weight of all adjectival types in the written register, with more than half the occurrences overall. However, we think that this characteristic of R-adjectives is not exclusively applicable to the written register, In fact, it may explain why this type of adjective fails to appear in prenominal position, as we saw in table 4 (cf. 3.3.1.1.) Recall that File-Muriel (2006) proposed that different registers feature different processing and production constraints. Since carefully planned discourse (such a speech) encounters fewer performance constraints, it would make sense that heavier, more "substantial" adjectives would find a place within this type of discourse easily. By performance constraints we mean the ability to produce and process linguistic material. The more substantial a linguistic item, the harder to process and the more constraints it faces. Conversely, a speech type more prone to performance

constraints, such as everyday speech, would find fewer instances in which a Relational adjective could appear.[65]

In the last section of the analysis pertaining to one-adjective NPs, we will examine the impact of discursive organisation in adjectival position in Spanish. This dimension was examined following Truswell (2003).

3.3.2.3: The Role of Discourse Organisation in Adjective Position.

In chapter 2, we reviewed Truswell's (2003) work related to the notion of Alternative Semantics developed by Rooth (1992). Alternative Semantics, the reader will recall from the previous chapter, postulated that every focused element in a sentence included, apart from that very element, a series of pragmatically possible alternatives called the focus semantic value (FSV). Truswell considers that when adjectives that would more frequently be postnominal appear in a prenominal position, this is due to a focus-presupposition structure. In this structure, the noun to which the adjective is added is contextually salient (i.e. it has already been referred to, implicitly or explicitly), and the adjective is put in front of the noun in order to make a contrast with the other alternatives in the FSV. Thus, those alternative values are little more than contrasted elements, since when there is use of one alternative over another, a contrast necessarily ensues (whether explicitly or implicitly; cf. 3.2. above, for criteria on establishing contrastive elements in the corpora). Thus, the following table presents data regarding the occurrences of contrastive and non-contrastive elements in both corpora and their distribution in relation to position.

[65] Which is a pretty convincing explanation for the data in table 4, where we saw that R-adjectives are the least frequent in EH.

Table 11: Contrast and position

	Contrastive	Non-contrastive
Prenominal (EH)	39 (52%)	36 (48%)
Postnominal (EH)	73 (27%)	195 (73%)
Prenominal (EE)	120 (70%)	51 (30%)
Postnominal (EE)	157 (34%)	311 (66%)

The percentages show that prenominal adjectives in both registers are more likely to be contrastive.[66] Likewise, postnominal adjectives, again in both registers, are more likely to be non-contrastive. However, objectively speaking, this relationship doesn't seem to add anything to what we could have inferred from the semantic classification of the adjectives that we saw in the results presented in tables 6, 7, and 8. We saw there that focalising adjectives tend to be preposed. Since Truswell bases his work on considering that the adjective before the noun is an instantiation of a focus-presupposition structure, where the adjective before the noun would be the focus that contrasts with a set of pragmatically possible candidates, it is then hardly surprising that table 11 shows those results. So, there is a straightforward relationship between contrast and position, but it would be difficult to determine whether information packaging or semantics is the definitive factor for that tendency.

Now that we have reviewed the data for NPs with just one adjective, we move on to multiple-adjective NPs. As we saw in table 1 above, the number of examples of NPs

[66] The difference between contrastive and non-contrastive adjectives in prenominal position in EH is simply 4% (3 occurrences overall). Given the characteristics of the EH corpus, with an overall number of examples rather small, in comparison to EE, it may be possible that a larger number of occurrences would yield a greater difference in relative percentages. Another possible explanation for this small difference could be the markedness of contrast in production and processing of language. If we considered contrast as a marked feature of the adjective, the smaller difference in relative percentage could be attributed to the greater weight of constraints related to production and processing in speech, as opposed to written language, where those constraints are not so heavy.

with more than one adjective varies considerably from the spoken to the written register. In the former, the examples amount to just 1.7% (6 out of 349) of the total number of modified nouns. In the latter, we found only 65 examples out of the 704 total in the corpus (9.2%). Such low numbers are, in and of themselves, telling. In chapters 1 and 2, we presented and reviewed the literature dealing with the syntactic structure of NPs with adjectives. Recall that a big part of it dealt with whether multiple adjectives were generated or adjoined in different positions in that structure. Some other points of discussion were related to justifying how far up the structure a noun could rise (i.e. why it would go past one type of adjective but not another.) However, in light of these numbers, it looks as if all those discussions were based on numerically exceptional data. By no means are we discounting those discussions, since, after all, they are based on real data, exceptional or not, that needs to be accounted for. But it seems odd to expend so much energy trying to explain examples that constitute at most only 10% of modified nouns.[67] However, we repeat, this 10% is, exceptional or not, data that need to be accounted for. In this section we will repeat some of the classifications that we commented on when talking about one-adjective NPs. Some classifications, however, are exclusive to this section (cf. table 1.)

3.3.2. Multiple-Adjective NPs

Recall from table 3 above the following data:

Table 12: Number and percentage of adjective position in the corpora (multiple-adjs.)

	Prenominal	Postnominal
EH (multiple adjectives)	2/6 (34%)	4/6 (66%)
EE (multiple adjectives)	36/65 (55%)	29/65 (45%)

[67] Particularly given the traditional attitude of Generativism towards data emerging from naturally-occurring language. Arguably, this percentage is prone to variability, especially if some other registers were to be considered. Still, we think the point is a valid one.

Recall also that in the case of multiple-adjective NPs, when we talk about prenominal examples, we mean that there is one adjective in front of the noun and 1 or 2 after the noun.

(34) *Mi **último** examen **final***

'My last final exam'

Thus, the data in the table above point to an inverse tendency in relation to the register. In EH, it is twice as likely that a noun will not have an adjective before it than have it.[68] On the other hand, EE percentages suggest that prenominal adjectives are favoured in comparison to postnominal ones (albeit slightly, 55%-45% respectively.) Unfortunately, there is really not a lot more we can infer from this information alone and so we proceed with further classifications. To do so, we will follow somewhat the order that we established in 3.3.1., for the analysis of one-adjective NPs. This time, however, we are not going to deal with the impact of discursive organisation (in terms of contrast), since, as we said before, it really doesn't offer a clear picture. Thus, we begin with the impact of Semantics both in the sense of intrinsic semantic meaning of the adjectives and in relation to the noun they accompany in adjectival position in multiple-adjective NPs. After that, we will consider the role of Phonology (in terms of syllable weight, cf. File-Muriel 2006.)

3.3.2.1. The Role of Semantics in Adjective Position

Before dealing with the semantic classifications themselves, we need to explain a few peculiarities of the multiple-adjective NPs that we found in our corpora. The

[68] However, given the small number of examples, we have to be cautious arriving at any conclusions regarding EH.

maximum number of adjectives that we found as part of this type of NP is 3. The following table shows the distribution of the multiple-adjective NPs in relation to the position of the noun in the NP and the total number of adjectives that appeared:

Table 13: Noun position and number of adjectives

	2 Adjectives	3 Adjectives
Prenominal (EE)	30 (46.2%)	6 (9.2%)
Postnominal (EE)	28 (43.1%)	1(1.5%)
Prenominal (EH)	2 (34%)	
Postnominal (EH)	4 (66%)	

A little clarification is in order. By prenominal and postnominal, we mean that either the noun has an adjective in front of it (i.e. prenominal) or it does not (i.e. postnominal). As a result, a prenominal NP with two adjectives will have one adjective in front and one after the noun (cf. 35) and a prenominal NP with three adjectives will have one adjective in front and two after the noun (cf. 36):

(35) *La **única** nieta **americana***

'The only American granddaughter'

(36) *Un **nuevo** orden **económico internacional***

'A new international economic order'

We will review this particular set of data later on the chapter, but we thought that it was necessary to explain the characteristics of our multiple-adjective data for a better understanding of the forthcoming tables related to the semantic classification of adjectives in a multiple-shell NP. Thus, we begin this analysis with a layout of the general type of adjective that appears in positions 1, 2, and 3 in our data, and, in the case of the first adjective, which type tends to appear prenominally.

Table 14: Noun position and type of accompanying adjective

	1 Q-adj	1 R-adj	1 A-adj	2 Q-adj	2 R-adj	2 A-adj	3 Q-adj	3 R-adj	3 A-adj
EE pre	13/36 (36%)	———	23/36 (64%)	2/36 (6%)	30/36 (83%)	4/36 (11%)	1/6 (17%)	4/6 (66%)	1/6 (17%)
EE post	2/28 (3%)	26/28 (93%)	———	6/28 (21%)	19/28 (68%)	3/28 (11%)	———	———	1 (100%)
EH pre	———	———	2/2 (100%)	1/2 (50%)	———	1/2 (50%)	———	———	———
EH post	3/4 (75%)	1/4 (25%)	———	4/4 (100%)	———	———	———	———	———

From the data in table 14 we arrive at two conclusions concerning the type of adjectives that appear in first place in the NP. First, the data confirms for multiple-adjective NPs what had been confirmed for one-adjective NPs that Relational adjectives don't appear prenominally. This, again, confirms numerically what traditional grammar description had predicted (cf. Demonte 1999). At the same time, when the first adjective appears postnominally, the overwhelming majority of cases in the written register (93%) present a Relational adjective (37):

(37) *Los cambios **estructurales** internos indispensables*

'The indispensable internal structural changes'

This tendency is however changed in EH. As the data show, 75% of the examples have a Qualifying adjective in postnominal first position (38-39), and there is only one example of a relational adjective in first position after the noun (40):

(38) *La Semana **Santa** chiquita*[69]

'The little holy week'

(39) *Un pelo **grisáceo** precioso*

'Beautiful grey hair'

[69] This example appears twice in the EH corpus.

(40) *El partido **socialista** español*

'The Spanish Socialist Party'

The second conclusion that we draw from the data in table 14 is that Adverbial adjectives appear exclusively in prenominal position, in both registers. In general, those A-adjectives (41a-42a) would be considered either Relational (41b) or Qualifying (42b), if they appeared postnominally:

(41) a. ***Criminal** bloqueo económico yanki*

b. *Bloqueo económico **criminal** yanki*

'Criminal Yankee (i.e. American) economic blockade'

(42) a. ***Egoístas** objetivos económicos nacionales*

b. *Objetivos económicos nacionales **egoístas***

'Selfish national economic objectives'

This also provides a strong support for the assumption that adverbial adjectives with a speaker/subject-oriented interpretation are generated higher in the syntactic structure (cf. Crisma 1993, Cinque 1994, etc.) Alternatively, if we follow Laenzlinger's model (as we proposed in chapter 2), not only we can accommodate the data in (41) and (42) as the result of further raising to the pragmatically interpreted functional projection between the two layers of DP (cf. 2.3.), but also account for the Q-adjectives that appear in prenominal first position (13 examples, 36% of the cases), such as:

(43) a. *Un **nuevo** orden económico internacional*

b. *Un orden económico internacional **nuevo***

'A new international economic order'

Comparing (43a) and (43b) we see that the latter would be the result of upward NP-movement without snowballing (cf. Laenzlinger 2003), whereas the former would not only have snowballing, but also would be the result of further movement of the adjective to one of the pragmatically interpreted projection between the DP layers (like 41a and 42a.)[70]

In relation to the second position of the adjective, we can again see that R-adjectives are prevalent in EE (83% and 68%). This is not surprising since the second position is postnominal.[71] However, the fact that no R-adjective appears in EH in this second position seems difficult to explain in purely semantic terms. Following the data in table 10, where we saw that R-adjectives are the heaviest in terms of number of syllables, we might be able to postulate that the amount of phonological material is far too much for the demands of speech processing and production for them to be placed prenominally.[72]

Lastly, of the 7 examples in the corpora with 3 adjectives, we also see that R-adjectives are the most numerous (4 out of 7 total, 4 out of 6 in EE pre). Again, this is not surprising given the syntactic nature of Relational adjectives. The interesting fact is that there no examples whatsoever of multiple-adjective NPs with 3 adjectives in the spoken register. Again, this is a fact that can hardly be explained in purely semantic terms and we may have to consider the possibility of production and processing constraints playing a part in this.

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[70] In the following chapter, we will discuss in a more detailed fashion the application of Laenzlinger's model to the data of the corpora.

[71] For adjectives in both second and third positions, table 14 should be interpreted as percentages of adjective type when the first adjective is prenominal (EE/EH pre) and when the first adjective is postnominal (EE/EH post).

[72] This assumption might be disproved with a larger number of examples from the spoken register. It would be interesting to test it, but that goes beyond the extent of this analysis.

Regarding the second type of semantic classification found in traditional grammars (i.e. the relationship of the adjective to the noun it accompanies), we basically find the same situation in multiple-adjective NPs as we did before. The table below shows that there is a tight correlation between position and restriction of the extension of the noun:

Table 15: Noun position, type of adjective in first position and semantic classification[73]

	Individual/Episodic	Intersective/Subsective	Restrictive/Non-restrictive
EE pre Q1	13/0 (100% / 0%)	10/3 (77% / 33%)	0/13 (0% / 13%)
EE post Q1	2/0 (100% / 0%)	2/0 (100% / 0%)	2/0 (100% / 0%)
EE pre R1			
EE post R1	26/0 (100% / 0%)	26/0 (100% / 0%)	26/0 (100% / 0%)
EH pre Q1			
EH post Q1	3/0 (1000% / 0%)	3/0 (100% / 0%)	3/0 (100% / 0%)
EH pre R1			
EH post R1	1/0 (100% / 0%)	1/0 (100% / 0%)	1/0 (100% / 0%)

	Intensional modal/focalising	Eventive circumstantial/aspectual
EE pre A1	8/15 (35% / 65%)	19/4 (82% / 18%)
EE post A1		
EH pre A1	1/1 (50% / 50%)	1/1 (50% / 50%)
EH post A1		

In the written register, all prenominal adjectives are non-restrictive and all postnominal adjectives are restrictive. In the spoken register, however, we really can't make the same assumption since there are no prenominal adjectives.[74] Another interesting piece of information concerns the three subsective adjectives that are found in the EE corpus. All of them are size adjectives (*gran/grandes*; 'great', in all three cases), and all of them are pronominal:

[73] We look only at adjectives in first position because it is only in this position that we can find pre- and postnominal adjectives, especially important for the restrictive/non-restrictive variable. We assume that adjectives in second and third position are restrictive.
[74] This only relates to Qualifying adjectives since, as we have confirmed before (cf. tables 4 and 14), R-adjectives do not appear prenominally.

(44) *Las **grandes** potencias nucleares*

'The big nuclear powers'

(45) *Un **gran** recuerdo común*

'A great common memory'

(46) *Los **grandes** excedentes mundiales*

'The big world surpluses'

These data as such may not say much. However, we are going to go back to one-adjective NPs to look at an interesting distribution. Of the 18 prenominal Q-adjectives that are subsective in EE, 11 of them are close synonyms of *grande* (or the word itself) (47) and 4 refer to some sort of measurement magnitude (48):

(47) a. *El **gran** número*

'The great number'

b. *La **inmensa** mayoría*

'The immense majority'

c. *Una **amplia** gama*

'A wide range'

(48) a. ***Altas** tasas*/ ***Altos** ingresos*

'High fees'/ 'High earnings'

b. *Otro **pequeño** país*

'Another little country'

c. ***Largo** plazo*

'Long term'

Given the high frequency with which this type of adjective appears in this position, both in one-adjective and multiple-adjective NPs, we think that in this case we might be dealing with a fixed (grammaticalised) structure (cf. Bybee 2003, also 2.4.1.) In order to expedite the processing and retrieval of structures like those in (44-48), these structures are stored as a unit in the brain, making it easier to access and recover it when needed.

Lastly, the distribution of A-adjectives in table 15 shows a prevalence of focalising adjectives (15 out of 23):[75]

(49) *Nuestras **impostergables** necesidades económicas*

'Our undelayable economic needs'

(50) *Los **poderosos** pactos militares*

'The powerful military pacts'

(51) *Estas **cínicas** prácticas imperialistas*

'This cynical imperialist practices'

There is, however, a qualitative difference between the focalising adjectives and the bulk of examples of intensional modal adjectives, such as:

(52) *La **actual** administración yanki*

'The current Yankee (i.e. American) administration'

(53) *Los **graves** problemas internos*

'The severe internal problems'

[75] Recall our definition of focalising adjective: one that isolates a particular instance of the referent, which in turn is interpreted as the one that better represents the condition described by the adjective. In (49) the kind of economic needs are only the undelayable ones; in (50), the military pacts are only the powerful; and in (51) the imperialist practices are of the cynical kind.

(54) ***Profundos*** *cambios socioeconómicos*

'Deep socioeconomic changes'

From a purely impressionistic point of view, it seems as if the adjectives in (49-51) had an immeasurable (i.e. abstract) quality attached to them, whereas the modal adjectives in (52-54) seem to have a more quantifiable quality. The latter are semantically related to measurable dimensions, like depth (54) and time (52), or at least, to a somewhat measurable dimension like severity (53).[76] The former are not as easily quantifiable – how does one measure the cynicism in (51) – or are more easily seen as absolutes.[77] Thus, one could argue that the forefronting of those adjectives responds to a conscious effort on behalf of the speaker to signal to the audience that those qualities are important. On a related (less impressionistic) note, and going back – briefly – to Laenzlinger's model, we would argue that the adjectives in (49-54) are generated low in the structure (immediately above the NP) and surface before the noun as a result of the snowballing process mentioned in chapter 2 (cf. 2.3.1.)[78]

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[76] They are measurable in that in can be divided into degrees. The following is a rudimentary analogy, but we think that it illustrates the point: everybody, at one time or another, has been asked by a doctor or nurse something along these lines: On a scale of 1 through 10, 1 being "not at all" and 10 being "excruciating", how would you describe the severity of your pain? It may be a subjective scale, but it is a scale nonetheless.

[77] We can readily justify the absolute quality of the adjectives in (49) and (50). At the time of the speech (1983), the Cold War was at its peak. The military pacts Castro refers to in (50) are, more than likely, NATO and the Warsaw Pact. They were powerful military pacts for two reasons: one obviously was the sheer strength of their arsenals; the other was that they were the only two military alliances at the time – the only alternative being the Non-Aligned Countries Movement – and both were equally (at least nominally) powerful.

With respect to the undelayable economic needs of example (49), we think it is fairly unlikely that Castro was making a distinction between "needs that can and cannot be delayed". What we think it is being conveyed instead is the urgency of addressing those needs, not with a half-hearted effort, but for good (i.e. in an absolute manner.)

[78] We will return to this point in chapter 4.

We conclude our analysis of the impact of semantics on adjectival position in multiple-adjective NPs here since the distribution of the data in the spoken register (i.e. EH corpus) does not allow for any sort of comment. In the next section, we will discuss the role of phonology, in terms of syllabic weight.

3.3.2.2. The Role of Phonology in Adjective Position

When we examined the impact of syllable weight in adjectival placement in one-adjective NPs (cf. 3.3.1.2.; table 10), our data showed that Relational adjectives are the heaviest and that they appear in postnominal position. As we saw in table 14, the exclusivity of postnominal position for R-adjectives is replicated in multiple-adjective NPs. When the adjective in first position is postnominal, 93% of the time it is an R-adjective. And 68% of the time, the second adjective in those NPs is also postnominal. At the same time, if a type other than Relational occupies an adjective's first position, the second position will be filled by an R-adjective 83% of the time. It is true that these percentages belong to semantic classifications, but, as we saw before (cf. table 10), there is a strong correlation between syllabic weight and position. So we think that a prediction that most Relational adjectives in multiple-adjective NPs are heavier than the noun is not particularly far-fetched.[79] The most interesting information regarding the impact of phonology in adjectival position in the NPs we are currently discussing is related to Adverbial adjectives in first prenominal position. This is the position in which they appear for the most part, in both registers (cf. table 10.) Recall that the prediction in File-

[79] This affirmation applies to the EE corpus, since the data for EH in table 14 show that Relational adjectives in the spoken register only appear in first position (postnominal) and it is only a 25% frequency. In spite of the lack of numbers to uphold any hypothesis as to why that would be the case, we think it is possible that it is related to the heavier weight of R-adjectives and the processing constraints suggested by File-Muriel (2006) typical of this register.

Muriel (2006) is that phonologically lighter material has the tendency to be introduced first in discourse. In the table below, we see the distribution of examples of A-adjectives in prenominal first position:

Table 16: Syllabic weight of prenominal A-adjectives in first position

	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
EE	1 (2.5%)	4 (11%)	11 (31%)	10 (28%)	4 (11%)	5 (14%)	1 (2.5%)
EH	———	———	———	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	———	———

The prediction seems to be true again, since 44.5% of the adjectives in prenominal position are lighter than the noun they accompany, whereas only 27.5% of the prenominal adjectives are heavier.[80] Even though the difference is almost a ratio of 2 to 1 in favour of lighter adjectives, 27.5% is a figure that shouldn't be ignored. Let's take a look at a sample of the NPs were the adjective is heavier (55) and lighter (56) than the noun:

(55) a. *Esos **extraordinarios** preparativos militares*

'Those extraordinary military preparations'

b. ***Sofisticadas** armas navales*

'Sophisticated naval weapons'

c. *La **indispensable** ayuda internacional*

'The indispensable international help'

d. *Los **poderosos** pactos militares*

'The powerful military pacts'

[80] The distribution of EH examples, again, does not really leave any room for comment.

(56) a. *Un **nuevo** sistema monetario*

'A new monetary system'

b. *La **actual** situación social*

'The current social situation'

We see fit to resort to an impressionistic analysis again. Qualitatively speaking, the adjectives in both samples are perceived differently. The adjectives in (55), much like the adjectives in (50) and (51) above, can be interpreted as absolutes (cf. fn 75.) The adjectives in (56) are more easily interpretable as part of a "polar opposite" pair (cf. Demonte 1999)[81] Quantitatively speaking, we think we can safely assume that the adjectives in (56) are more frequent than those in (55). Thus, we think that the prenominal position of the adjectives in these two samples obeys two different processes. On the one hand, adjectives in (56), by virtue of their frequency and their perceived quality of being part of a pair whose members are easily (or more easily, at least) retrieved, may owe their prenominal position to a process of grammaticalisation, which makes them readily available for retrieval. On the other hand, adjectives in (55) are prenominal because, as we said before, there probably is a conscious effort by the speaker to signal those absolute qualities as important.

3.4. Summary of the Main Findings of the Chapter

Before the summary of the main points developed in this chapter, we would like to comment on to the difference in the nature of the data that we have used for this

[81] By this we mean that adjectives in (56) are similar to pairs of adjectives like 'good-bad'. We are, by no means, implying that adjectives in (55) cannot potentially be part of a polar opposite pair. But, somehow (hence the use of the impressionistic analysis), it seems easier/faster, cognitively speaking, to come up with opposites for adjectives in (56) than for adjectives in (55).

analysis compared to what is presented in theoretical studies. It seems to us that in the latter, the data used is structurally more complex than that of naturally occurring language. As we saw in table 1, the bulk of the data is represented by NPs with one pre- or postposed adjective. Multiple-adjective NPs are the exception rather than the norm.[82] We saw that the distribution of those two types of NPs also varies in relation to the register, especially in the case of multiple-adjective NPs. Whereas in the written register, these NPs represent almost 10% of the examples in our data, in the spoken register, this presence drops dramatically to less than 2%. We are inclined to think that the reason for such a difference between registers is the existence of an inverse relationship between the registers constraints (in terms of production and processing) and the amount of information that can be displayed linguistically. In other words, the more a register demands processing and production in real time, the less linguistic material can be included.

The main point of this chapter, however, was to find an answer to the research questions posed in chapter 1, namely what role semantics, phonology and information

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[82] We are not saying that the data used in theoretical studies is not valid. Constructions like these are obviously grammatical:

i. *His great big brown American car*
ii. *His two other possible clumsy reactions to the letter*

(from Cinque 1994)

But somehow, given our data, they really don't seem to reflect the concrete reality of language use. At the same time, Cinque's assertion that a given NP would not have more than six or seven APs (cf. fn. 7; chapter 1) seems, in light of the data that we have, quite misguided. Also, we would like to point out our opinion that this circumstance may be an indication that what we as linguists consider linguistically possible differs according to the situation in which we find ourselves. Pondering a particular example in the quiet of our office without the added pressures of having to communicate immediately what we mean to our interlocutors is quite a different scenario from the substantially more limited room for manoeuvre that we encounter in real time speech.

packaging play in adjective placement in Spanish and whether we could observe differences in the roles of these dimensions in different (spoken vs. written) registers. We can state that it seems that semantics and phonology do have a say in this regard, whereas information packaging offers more dubious answers.

Regarding the role of semantics, and the descriptive and predictive capabilities of traditional linguistic analysis, several of those predictions are numerically confirmed in our analysis. In the first place, our data show that Relational adjectives are restricted to postnominal position in both registers and regardless of the number of adjectives accompanying the noun. Also in terms of intrinsic meaning of the adjectives, we found that Adverbial adjectives, although more freely used, show a tendency to prenominal position when they are focalising. This tendency is present in both registers, although the written register seems to favour it more.

In the second type of semantic classification (i.e. the meaning of adjectives in relation to the noun they accompany) we found that the traditional classification of restrictive/non-restrictive adjectives, that places the former meaning in postnominal adjectives and the latter in prenominal adjectives, is confirmed without any exception. For the other two binary oppositions (subsective/intersective and individual/episodic) the picture is unfortunately not as clear, although we have also been able to identify some tendencies. Episodic adjectives are more likely to be prenominal, without significant differences in register, but they are mostly restricted to one-adjective NPs. On the other hand, intersective adjectives are more frequently postnominal in both registers as well.

Our analysis also covered the hypothesis that postnominal adjectives favour the interpretation of the general semantic features of the noun it accompanies, while

prenominal adjectives favour the interpretation of the specific semantic features of that noun (cf. García-Bayonas 2006.) We were, however, unable to confirm that hypothesis, since our interpretation of the features of the different nouns in the NPs was always specific, regardless of position. As we have mentioned before (cf. 2.1.3.2), postnominal adjectives are potentially ambiguous; but the context in which those postnominal-adjective NPs appear, together with the ability of the participants in the speech act to infer the intended meaning (cf. Romaine 1984) are important factors in the interpretation and help disambiguate those potentially problematic cases.

The really interesting tendencies in our results were concerned with the role of syllabic weight in adjective position. The main idea behind this concept is that heavy material tends to be postposed and light material tends to be preposed. We found that, while this is true for both registers, the percentages of prenominal adjectives that are heavier and lighter are closer in the written register than in the spoken register. This, as File-Muriel (2006) explains, may suggest that the processing and production constraints are higher in spoken registers and, as a consequence, heavier prenominal adjectives are far less common in this register.

Another interesting finding is that R-adjectives are the heaviest of all three classes of adjectives in our corpora. This not only confirms File-Muriel's claim about the status of R-adjectives in written discourse as the heaviest, but it also explains why R-adjectives are the least frequent adjectives in the spoken register (cf. table 4.) On the other hand, in multiple-adjective NPs, we saw that the most frequent prenominal adjective was adverbial. And, even though the lighter adjectives were predominant, we discussed the important number of heavy adjectives in prenominal position. We attributed this to a

semantic difference, in which the lighter adjectives can be considered a part of a "polar-opposite" pair and the heavier adjectives are more easily interpreted as absolutes.

Lastly, we were not able to ascertain the extent of the influence of discourse organisation (in terms of focus-presupposition structure in the NPs; cf. Truswell 2003). Even though the results show that there is a straight relationship between contrast and position, with prenominal adjectives favouring contrast and vice versa), this tendency can also be inferred from the semantic classifications we made.

Thus, it seems that the main factor to determine adjectival position in Spanish is the interaction of semantics and phonology (a "semantics-phonology interface" of sorts.) For example, we saw that Relational adjectives, which semantics predicts them to be postnominal only, happen to be the heaviest type (in syllabic weight) of all, which explains why their incidence is so different in different registers. Conversely, we saw that lighter Adverbial adjectives are mostly placed in front of the noun, but another class of heavier A-adjectives also appear in this position. This situation, we explained by resorting to the semantics of those two types of A-adjectives.

In the next chapter, we will reintroduce our proposed DP structure (cf. 2.3.) and will map some of our data to show how syntax accounts for it. After that, we will retake again the issue we raised in section 2.1.3.2 regarding Proper Nouns in Spanish and Italian to show that these two Romance languages are not as similar as presented in the literature (cf. Crisma 1993, Cinque 1994, Longobardi 1994-2003.)

CHAPTER 4

SYNTACTIC MAPPING OF THE DATA

In chapter 2 we presented a structure of Spanish DP based on Laenzlinger's (2000) model for French (cf. 2.3.1.1.) This model, the reader may recall was based on the following characteristics:

- An upward-moving NP (in Romance) that checks agreement features with the adjectives and the determiner in their associated agreement projection FP_{NPagr}, placed immediately above the discrete functional projections where adjectives merge, as well as above DP.
- A serialization of the adjective generating functional projections, which basically follows Cinque (1994). An alteration of this series is said to be caused by the NP taking one adjective along to the top FP_{NPagr}, in a phenomenon referred to as *snowballing*.
- A double layered DP, analogous to the split-CP structure (Rizzi 1997). The lower DP checks agreement features with the NP through the agreement projection placed immediately above it; the Spec-FP_{NPagr} is the landing site of that NP. The higher DP stores external interpretation features, such as deixis or referentiality. The determiner has to move from the lower to the higher DP in order to acquire those external features.

- Between these two levels of DP, there is another functional projection linked to interface properties to which adjectives in certain conditions move. The adjectives are generated in their semantically relevant position and move there to satisfy those interface properties. This, in turn, results in their surfacing pronominally.

In the next sections, we will see how this syntactic model is applied to the data we analysed in the previous chapter. We begin by revising the adjectival hierarchies proposed in the literature (cf. Cinque 1994) and we posit a simplification of those hierarchies based on the inability of some of our data to fit in those hierarchical classifications. We also consider of special interest the mapping of the prenominal adjectives in multiple-adjective NPs in our data, since in the previous chapter we proposed that there are two distinct groups within this category but the process by which they surface in that position is essentially the same. We will also take up again the issue of the differences in grammaticality between Spanish and Italian that we raised in chapters 1 and 2. Lastly, we will discuss the limitation of the syntactic model based on the perceived meaning shift of a postnominal adjective to that of a prenominal adjective, arguably as a result of a process of grammaticalisation (cf. Bybee 2003).

4.1. Mapping of Multiple-Adjective NPs

When we analysed our corpora in the previous chapter, one of the things we were most surprised by was the relatively low number of multiple-adjective NPs, especially in the spoken register.[83] We would like to begin this section by recalling the hierarchies of

[83] Remember that the percentage of this type of NP was 10% of the total amount of examples in EE and only 2% in EH.

adjectival order that have been identified in the literature (cf. Cinque 1994) for both eventive and object denoting nominals (1 and 2 below respectively):

(1) poss>cardinal>ordinal>speaker-or.>subj-or.>manner>thematic

*His two other possible clumsy **reactions** to your letter*

(2) poss.>cardinal>ordinal>quality>size>shape>color>nationality

*His great big brown American **car***

When compared to the data of our corpora, the reality of the semantic nature of the adjectives doesn't look as neatly compartmentalised in some cases. The following examples illustrate the point:

(3) a. *La **única** nieta **americana***

'The only American granddaughter'

b. ***Profundos** cambios **socioeconómicos***

'Deep socio-economic changes'

c. *Esos **extraordinarios** preparativos **militares***

'Those extraordinary military preparations'

(4) a. *La asistencia **sanitaria básica***

'Basic healthcare assistance'

b. ***Criminal** bloqueo **económico yanki***

'Criminal economic yankee (=American) blockade'

c. *Una **importante** región **petrolera mundial***

'An important worldwide oil-producing region'

The difference between the examples in (3) and (4) is that while the adjectives in (3) mostly follow the hierarchies assigned by (1) and (2) – both in type of adjective and

in the type of noun associated with those hierarchies – the situation in (4) is somewhat blurrier. The nouns in (4a-b) are eventive, while the noun in (4c) is object-denoting. Thus, technically the hierarchy for the first two should be the one displayed in (1), and the hierarchy for (4c) should be that of (2). However, we think that it is difficult to fit some of the adjectives into the semantic labels of the different hierarchies.

- while in (4a) *sanitaria* does have a thematic reading, the second adjective (i.e. *básica*) is not really classifiable as thematic.
- while *criminal* and *económico* in (4b) fall into the speaker-oriented and thematic categories, *yanki* is clearly a nationality adjective from the object-denoting hierarchy in (2).
- while the noun in (4c) is an object-denoting noun, the adverbial adjective in prenominal position (i.e. *importante*) and the relational adjective after the noun (i.e. *petrolera*) belong to the eventive noun hierarchy, since they are interpretable as speaker-oriented and thematic, respectively.

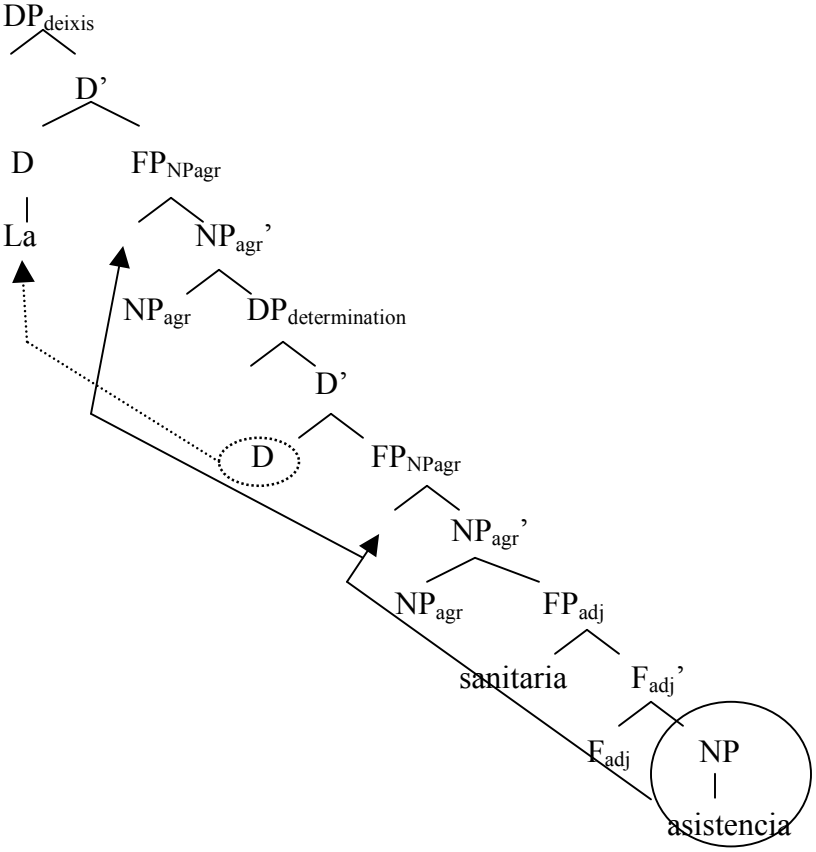
All this categorial crossover can perhaps be dispensed with if we consider that the general labels used to classify adjectives according to their intrinsic meaning (Relational, Qualifying, and Adverbial adjectives; cf. Demonte 1999) encompass all the data in our corpora, regardless of whether the noun is eventive or object denoting. Recall from chapter 3 that one of these three main types of adjectives could be linked to a particular syntactic position; in our data we found no Relational adjective in prenominal position. The other two types (Q- and A-adjectives) presented, according to our data, a variation in syntactic position, even though, as we established in the previous chapter (cf. table 14),

the general tendency is for A-adjectives to appear prenominally and for Q-adjectives to appear after the noun.

So, since we subscribe to the postulate (cf. Cinque 1994, among others) that postnominal adjective position is the result of upward N (or NP) movement, then we have to suppose that R-adjectives are generated in a position above that of the NP, and NP will raise past these adjectives. A slightly modified version of (4a) illustrates this point:

(5) *La asistencia* ***sanitaria***

(6)



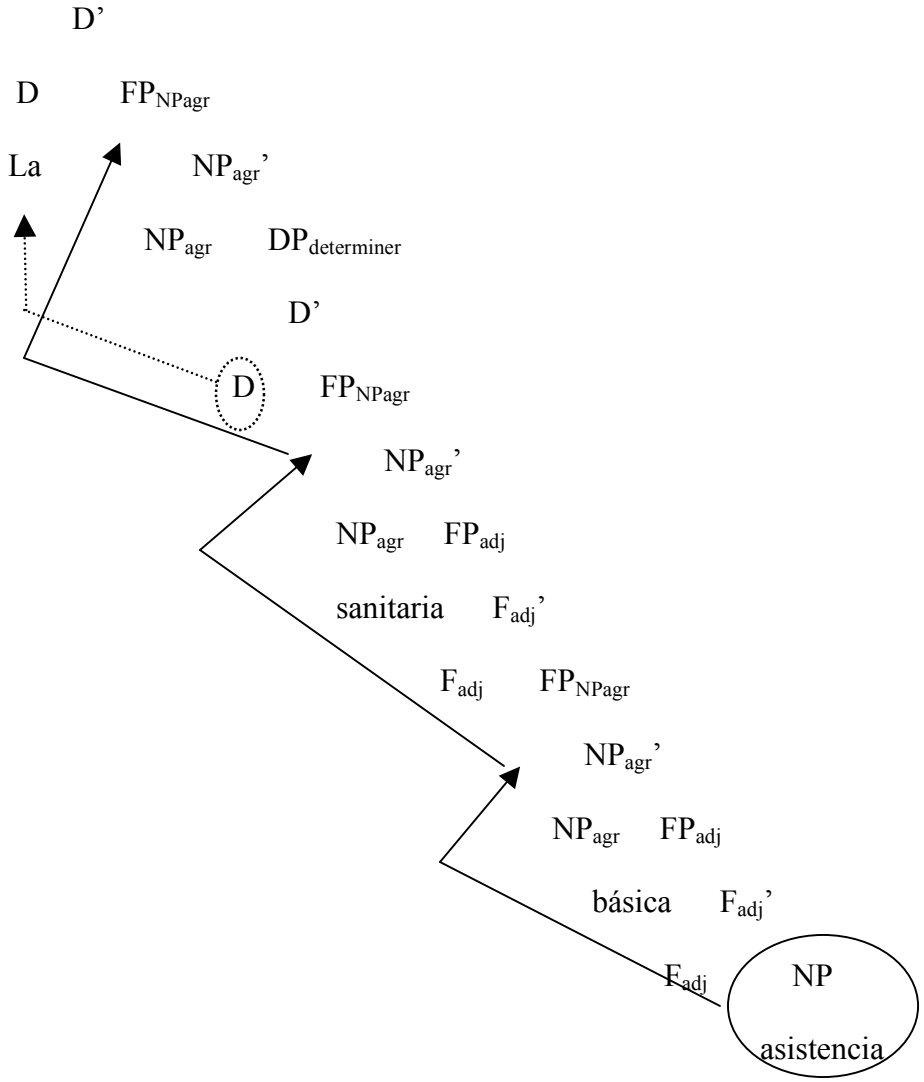
What we see in (6) is a straightforward application of the NP-movement model. The NP raises past the adjective to the Spec of the associated agreement projection (FP_{NPagr}) to check agreement features. Then, it continues to the agreement projection

associated with the determiner. The determiner also moves to the higher DP in order to acquire the external features associated with the pragmatic interpretation of the structure.

The further question is then what happens with Qualifying and Adverbial adjectives, since they can appear both before and after the noun. What we propose is that Q- and A-adjectives are generated between R-adjectives and the NP, as we see in (7) and (8) below. The derivation in (8) is basically the same as that in (6) above, with the difference that now there are two stops at the Spec of the agreement projection immediately above each of the functional projections where adjectives merge. On the other hand, we see that the determiner moves up again to the higher level of DP to acquire the external features (e.g. referentiality) associated with the whole expression. This happens once the NP has gone up to the Spec of the agreement projection associated with the lower level of DP to check for agreement features:

(7) *La asistencia* ***sanitaria básica***

(8) DP_{deixis}



What we see in (8) is the default structural order of adjectives in Spanish when a Relational adjective is present and there is another adjective (either Qualifying or Adverbial) in the structure, and both are in postnominal position[84] Following the data in our corpus, we have to assume that when there is a Relational adjective and another (Q- or A-) adjective, both surfacing after the noun, the non-Relational adjectives are

[84] In section 4.2., we will see what happens when either the Q- or the A-adjectives appear in prenominal position.

generated below the Relational adjective and above the NP (as displayed in 8 above). An alteration of that hierarchy provides an ungrammatical construction:

(9) **La asistencia básica sanitaria*

Our data also provide the conclusion that Q- and A-adjectives are in complementary distribution when they appear postnominallly with a Relational adjective, and thus, Qualifying and Adverbial adjetives are merged in the same position. The following NPs are representative of that situation in our data:

(10) *Relaciones* ***económicas justas*** (R+Q)

'Just economic relations'

(11) *Cambios* ***estructurales profundos*** (R+A)

'Deep structural changes'

However, when Qualifying and Adverbial adjectives co-occur, the default order seems to be *Qualifying* > *Adverbial*, as seen in (12):

(12) *Las materias* ***primas indispensables***

'The indispensable raw materials'

Thus, in general terms, we can postulate an adjectival structural hierarchy that is far simpler than the one proposed in the literature (cf. Cinque 1994) that still complies with the requirement of upward movement in order to obtain adjectives in postnominal position. However, we still have to account for the instances in our data of adjectives that surface in prenominal position. We will do that in the following section.

4.2. Prenominal Adjectives as a Result of Snowballing

The following data show an inversion in the default adjectival order proposed in the previous section:

(13) *Las **grandes** potencias nucleares*

the great [Q] powers nuclear [R]

'The big/great nuclear powers'

(14) *La **indispensable** ayuda internacional*

the indispensable [A] help international [R]

'The indispensable international help'

Recall that an inversion of the default order of the adjectives is explained in our model through *snowballing*, the phenomenon by which the NP, after checking agreement features with the first adjective, takes it along its way up to the agreement projection immediately above the lower level DP projection. Recall as well that our model postulated a further upward movement of the adjective that will surface prenominally, in order to satisfy the interface properties of incorporation (for weak forms of adjectives), quantification and subjective emphasis. Crucially, the types of adjectives that appear in (13) and (14), as well as in the rest of our data, can be linked to these interface properties.[85]

We see the structural representations of (13) and (14) and the *snowballing* and interface motivated movement processes below:

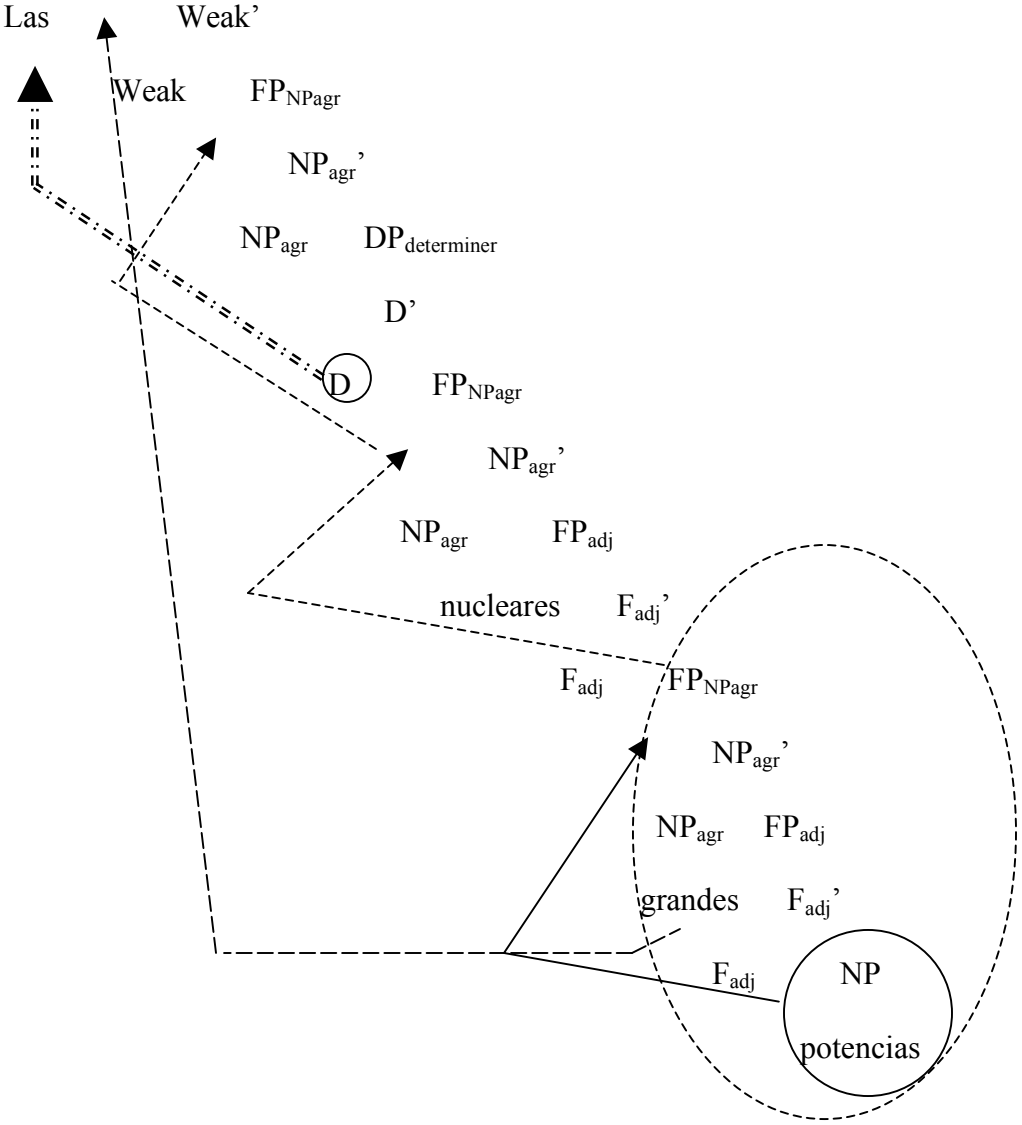
[85] Incidentally, (13) and (14) exemplify the distinction that we made in the previous chapter (cf. 3.3.2.2.) where we identified two types of adjectives that appear in prenominal position in multiple adjective NPs. On the one hand, we had adjectives lighter than the nouns, which were interpreted as part of what we called (following Demonte 1999) "polar opposite" pair (cf. 13). On the other, we had heavier-than-the-noun adjectives, which we considered them to be interpretable as absolutes (cf. 14).

(15) DP_{deixis}

D’

D WeakP

Las Weak’



(16) DP_{deixis}

D’

D SubjP

La Subj’

Subj FP_{NPagr}

NP_{agr}’

NP_{agr} $DP_{determiner}$

D’

D FP_{NPagr}

NP_{agr}’

NP_{agr} FP_{adj}

internacional F_{adj}’

F_{adj} FP_{NPagr}

NP_{agr}’

NP_{agr} FP_{adj}

indispensable F_{adj}’

F_{adj} NP

ayuda

In both (15) and (16) we see how the NP raises past the lowest adjective (Q-adjective in the former, A-adjective in the latter) to land on the first Spec-FP_{NPagr}, where it will check for agreement features with that adjective. Then, the NP takes the adjective along with it to the second agreement projection for adjectives, placed immediately above

the Relational adjective, where, again, the NP checks for agreement features. In the last step of internal feature checking, the NP raises to the agreement projection above $DP_{determination}$, to check the agreement features with the determiner. The last two movements represented in (15) and (16) are the movement of the adjectives to their respective interface-related functional projections, and the movement of the determiner to DP_{deixis} to check for the external features (e.g. referentiality) of the whole expression.[86]

In the following section, we are going to account for the multiple adjective NPs with three adjectives. We will see that our model and our simplified hierarchical organisation for the adjectives easily map these statistically infrequent NPs.

4.3. Mapping of Three-Adjective NPs

As we saw in chapter 3, multiple-adjective NPs were comparatively infrequent in both registers. Even more so were the NPs with more than two adjectives; recall that overall, there are only seven examples of three-adjective NPs, all of them in the written register. They are listed below:

(17) ***Criminal*** *bloqueo* ***económico yanki***

'Criminal Yankee (=American) economic blockade'

(18) *Una* ***importante*** *región* ***petrolera mundial***

'An important world oil-producing region'

(19) *Nuestros* ***propios*** *intereses* ***políticos inmediatos***

'Our own immediate political interests'

---

[86] The movement of *grandes* in (15) and *indispensable* in (16) to WeakP and SubjP respectively, is motivated by the need to satisfy the interface properties of incorporation and subjective emphasis. We postulate that *grandes* in (15) is a weak adjectival form in light of the analogical situation with the singular form of the adjective:

(i) *La gran potencia nuclear*
'The great nuclear power'

(20) ***Egoístas*** *objetivos* ***económicos nacionales***

'Selfish national economic goals'

(21) *El* ***actual*** *orden* ***económico internacional***

'The current international economic order'

(22) *Un* ***nuevo*** *orden* ***económico internacional***

'A new international economic order'

(23) *Los cambios* ***estructurales internos indispensables***

'The indispensable internal structural changes'

In general terms, we can see that that the hierarchy that we proposed accounts for the distribution of the adjectives in (17-23). Recall that in the previous section we established that Relational adjectives are generated in a higher position than either Q- or A-adjectives, since an inversion of the default order not motivated by *snowballing* (i.e. that does not end up with either a Q- or an A-adjective in prenominal position) yields ungrammaticality, and that when there are no Relational adjectives, the order is generally *Qualifying > Adverbial*, as we saw in (9) and (12) above (repeated in (24) and (25) for convenience):

(24) **La asistencia básica sanitaria*

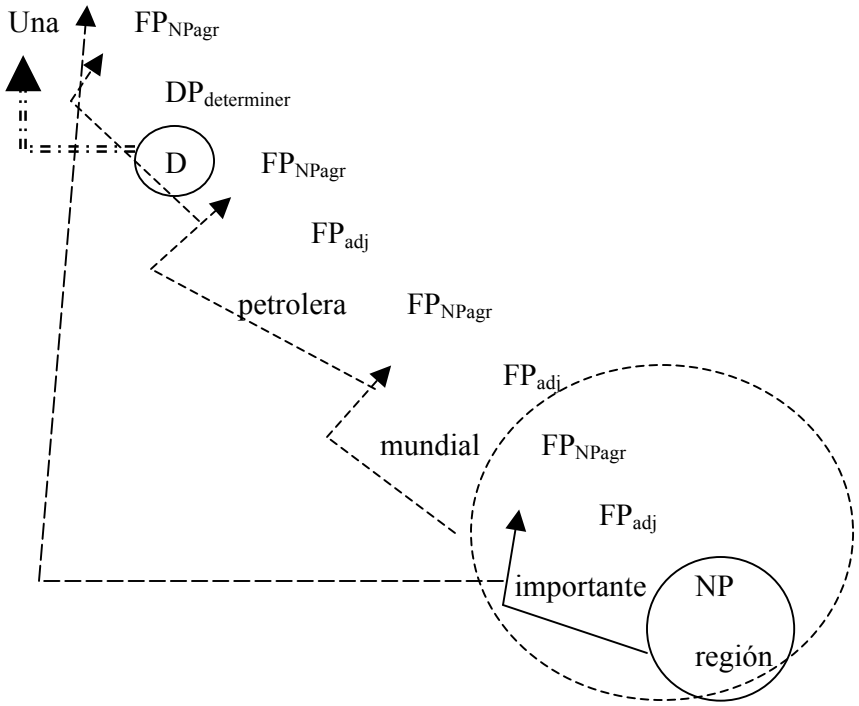
(25) *Las materias primas indispensables*

Thus, logically, when we have more than two adjectives, and the three types of adjectives are represented, the default order should be *Relational > Qualifying > Adverbial*, which is the order that we have in example (23). Likewise, a change in that order is the result of a process of snowballing, in which the adjective that surfaces prenominally rises along with the NP, like in the case of (17) and (19) above. However,

the most common configuration of this type of multiple-adjective NP is the one represented by (18), (20), (21), and (22), in which we have an adjective in prenominal position (either Qualifying or Adverbial) and two R-adjectives after the noun. In those cases, we see that the order of the two postnominal adjectives is always the same, first the adjective referring to the theme and then the adjective referring to the possessor. As we said before, the alteration in the default order comes as a result of *snowballing*. At the same time, once the NP with the adjective has reached the agreement projection above the lower DP, it will raise to the Spec of the interface-related function to satisfy the interface properties. In the case of the projection below, which corresponds to the data in (18), the property is subjective emphasis (and the function associated is SubjP.) Once again, the determiner moves up to the higher DP, where it will acquire the external features associated with the entire expression (and, incidentally, will prevent the ungrammatical output [* *importante región una petrolera mundial*]:

(26) DP_{deixis}

D SubjP



Before moving on to the next section, let's make a brief summary of the main points that we have made so far in this chapter. In the first place, we have provided a different hierarchical structure for adjectives, discarding the distinction made in the literature in which there are two sets of adjectival classifications depending on the semantic nature of the noun (i.e. eventive/object-denoting) due to the numerous examples of crossover between the two types. We proposed using the labels associated with the classifications of adjectives according to their intrinsic meaning (Qualifying, Relational, and Adverbial adjective; cf. Demonte 1999) since these labels encompass all the other categories. We have also established that Relational adjectives are generated higher in the structure than the other two types of adjectives (Qualifying and Adverbial), given that an inversion of the order [R+Q/A] would yield an ungrammatical structure. We also showed

that, in the absence of R-adjectives, the order of adjectives is *Qualifying* > *Adverbial*. When there are three adjectives, then the default order is basically maintained: R-adjectives are generated higher in the structure, followed by Q-adjectives and with A-adjectives at the bottom, right before the NP. Any change in those orders (whether with two- or three-adjective NPs) is the result of a process of snowballing (cf. Laenzlinger 2003), by which the noun takes the adjective generated in the lowest position with it on its upward movement. After the noun reaches the highest NP_{agr} projection, the "snowballed" adjective moves to an interface related projection between the two DP projections. All the prenominal adjectives included in our data can be associated with one of the three interface properties that warrant such movement. Lastly, in order to acquire the referentiality features of the expression, the determiner moves from the lower DP (where it checks the agreement features with the NP) to the higher DP before Spell Out.

In the next section, we retake the issue raised in chapters 1 and 2 about the different grammaticality judgements available for data in Spanish and Italian. We will approach those differences within the syntactic framework that we have been using in this chapter.

4.4. Differences in Grammaticality in Spanish and Italian

In this section, we will try to describe the structural differences between Spanish and Italian that have surfaced in our description of adjectival position in Romance. We have found three major instances in this dissertation in which Spanish and Italian differed in grammaticality. In chapter 1, we briefly discussed the impossibility of interpreting certain prenominal adjectives as manner. In chapter 2, we saw the differences in

grammaticality with PNs and possessive adjectives and some attributive adjectives. Let's review the first set of data.

4.4.1. Differences in Grammaticality Regarding Adjectives of Manner

Crisma (1993) argued that, in Italian, some adjectives have manner interpretation both before and after the noun (27a-b):

(27) a. La soluzione *definitiva* del problema

b. La *definitiva* soluzione del problema

'The definitive solution to the problem'

(from Crisma 1993: 96)

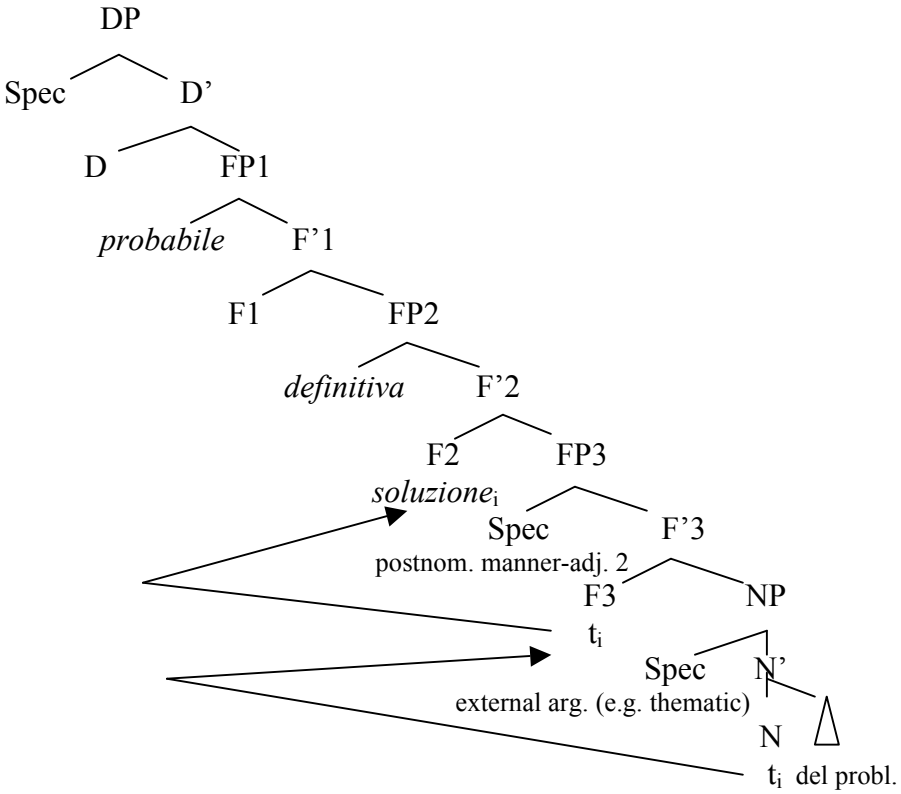
Thus, she proposed that there should be an intermediate functional projection for prenominal manner adjectives when appearing with speaker/subject oriented adjectives (28-29):

(28) La *probabile definitiva* soluzione del problema

'The probable definitive solution to the problem'

(from Crisma 1993: 97)

(29)



(adapted from Crisma 1993: 97)

While we cannot reject Crisma's proposal, as far as the grammaticality for Italian is concerned, we do reject the possibility of considering a prenominal functional projection that hosts the manner adjective in its Spec position cross-linguistically, on very simple grounds: a prenominal manner interpretation in a context such as that of (29) is not possible in Spanish:

(30) *La *probable definitiva* solución del problema

The only possible reading for *definitiva* in prenominal position is that of speaker/subject-oriented. The evidence for this is that it can appear coordinated with the other speaker/subject oriented adjective (i.e. *probable*), which means that they belong to the same adjective class:

(31) La *probable* ***y*** *definitiva* solución del problema

In Spanish, to be able to read *definitiva* as a manner adjective, the only possibility is that it appears postnominally:

(32) La *probable* solución *definitiva* del problema

The ungrammaticality of a Spanish version of (29) above results from the fact that *probable* and *definitiva* compete for the same generating position, given the impossibility of having the same prenominal functional projection for manner adjectives that Italian has. Furthermore, although N-movement (which is the model portrayed in (29) above) could be a plausible way of representing (32), there is no real justification for that partial N-movement, as we said in chapter 2 when we first introduced the NP-movement model. NP-movement and their associated phenomena (i.e. *snowballing* and the interface-related movement) are able do away with that partial movement.

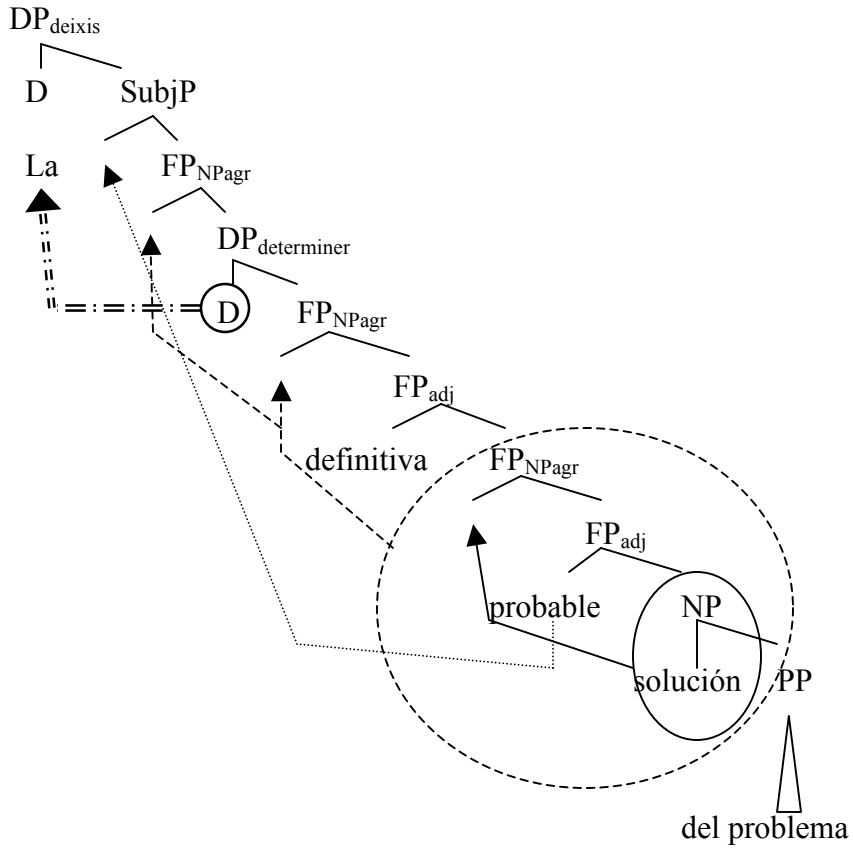
Thus, we propose that in (32), *probable* is merged immediately above the noun, whereas *definitiva* is generated at the Spec of a higher functional projection. We think this is the order because, if *definitiva* were the adjective generated in the lower Spec position, the surface order would be ungrammatical:

(33) *La *definitiva* solución *probable* del problema

In the following graphic representation of (32), we see the same process we have seen previously. The NP goes up to the Spec-FP_{NPagr} of *probable* to check agreement features with the adjective. Then, it takes the adjective along to the Spec of the agreement projection associated with *definitiva*, again for agreement feature-checking. After that, it moves to the agreement projection immediately above $DP_{determination}$ to check the internal features of the determiner. After that, *probable* moves again to Spec-SubjP to satisfy the

interface properties associated with its appearing in prenominal position. Lastly, the determiner moves up to the higher DP for external feature checking.[87]

(34)



The structural differences seem to point at different semantic requirements for Spanish and Italian on the examples above. Now, let's look at the other source of conflict between Spanish and Italian, namely, the behaviour of PNs with possessive and some attributive adjectives.

[87] Note also that NP movement without the snowballing process would yield the grammatical *La solución definitiva probable*. This is arguably, another reason to postulate that the adjectives are generated in the positions shown in (34)

4.4.2. Differences in Grammaticality Regarding Proper Nouns

Back in chapter 2 (cf. 2.1.3.2), we found two sets of data for Spanish that contrasted with what Longobardi (1994) claims regarding the semantic features of Proper Nouns. You recall that Italian cannot have an empty D. In the case of Italian PNs there are two possibilities: either they stay in situ if there is a lexically filled D or they rise to that position to fill it themselves. The data is repeated below, with the examples in Italian first and in Spanish second:

(35) a. Il mio Gianni – *El mío Juan

b. *Mio Gianni – Mi Juan

c. Gianni mio – *Juan mío

d. Il Gianni mio – *El Juan mío

'My John'

(36) a. L'antica Roma – La antigua Roma

b. *Antica Roma – *Antigua Roma

c. Roma antica – *Roma antigua

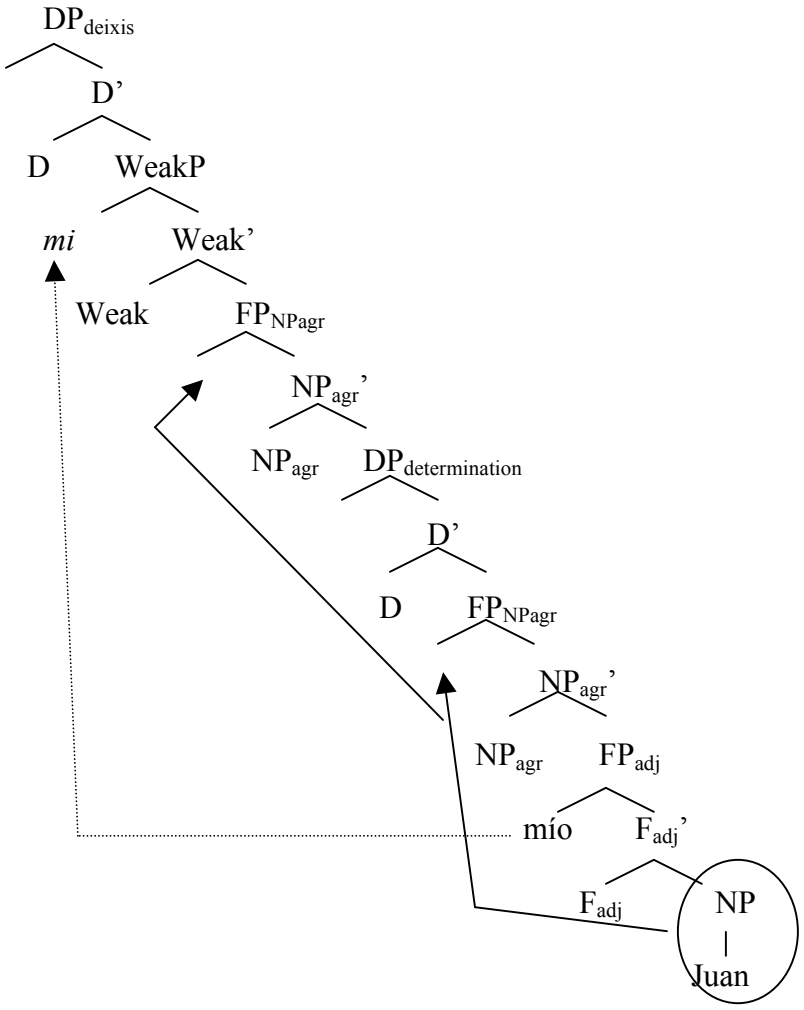
d. *La Roma antica – La Roma antigua

'Ancient Rome'

Let's begin the discussion with the examples in (35). The data show that precisely the only ungrammatical structure in Italian is the only grammatical one in Spanish. As we have just mentioned, Longobardi (1994) had proposed that PNs in Italian either stay in situ if an explicit determiner occupies the D node or raise to the D node themselves in order to fulfil the semantic requirement that D not be empty. Clearly, that is not the case in Spanish, given the grammaticality of the Spanish example in (35b). Note, however,

that the possessive adjective in Spanish is not the full form *mío*, but the weaker form *mi*. Traditional descriptions would have treated this situation considering that the possessive would go to D or Spec of D (Zagona 2002: 100-101.) This solution means that the possessive is more similar to a determiner than to an adjective, in spite of the fact that we even refer to possessives as adjectives and that, as we see in this example, they have a weak form. Crucially, we have been considering that weak forms respond to the interface property of incorporation, due to a strong adjacency requirement. So, we may be able to postulate the same for *mi*. The problem is that so far we have seen that the adjectival movement to satisfy those interface properties was linked to *snowballing*, almost as if the latter is *conditio sine qua non* for the former to happen. We think that this is not necessarily the case. Recall that *snowballing* is primarily used in our model to describe a change in the default order in which adjectives are merged. In this case we only have one adjective, and we know that it has to merge between DP and NP. And, as we saw, it is obvious that *mi* is the weak form of the possessive *mío*, so a movement to Spec-WeakP to satisfy the incorporation requirement is warranted. Thus, the NP would raise first to the agreement projection above the possessive, to check agreement features. After that, it would go to the agreement projection above $DP_{determination}$, again for feature checking. D is empty, arguably because Spanish does not have the same requirement as Italian, but that does not prevent NP from checking the features in that position (e.g. specificity). This is what would give the PN its particular semantic (i.e. uniqueness in reference) and syntactic (i.e. ability to appear in argumental position) characteristics.

(37)



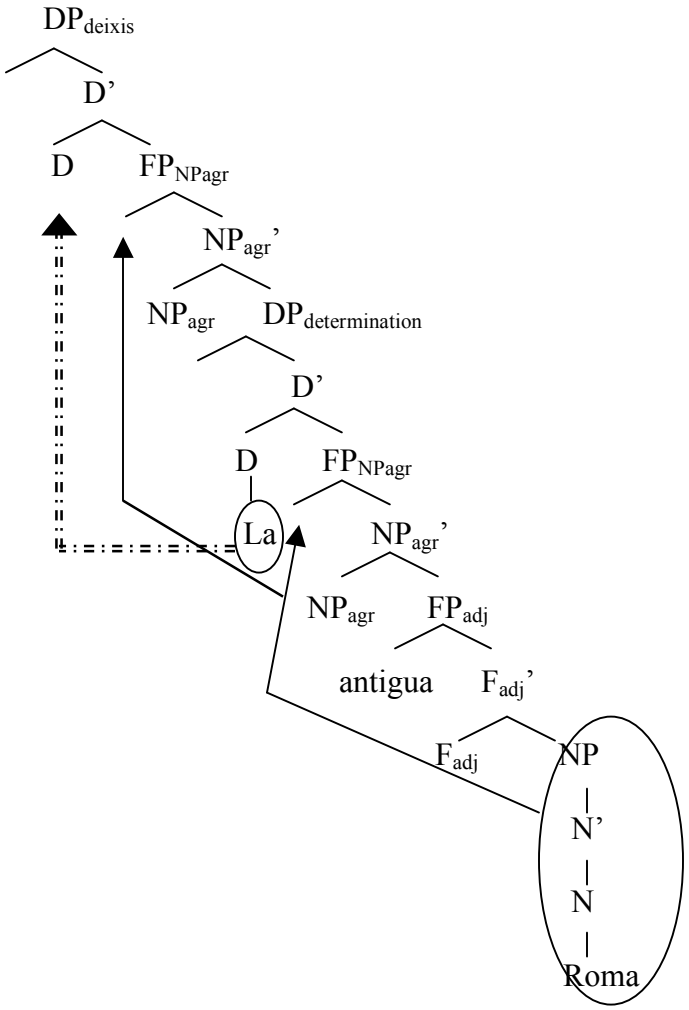
In the case of the data in (36), we would like to focus on the grammaticality contrast of (36d), repeated below for convenience:

(38) *La Roma antica – La Roma antigua

Recall that the ungrammaticality of the Italian data was due to the fact the PN cannot move up to D because it is already occupied by the determiner. As was true for the prenominal manner adjective above, we cannot deny that this is the case for Italian. But as we see in the Spanish counterpart of the Italian data in (38), the noun raising past the adjective produces a grammatical structure. Our model is able to predict that

grammaticality because the NP moves to the specifiers of the different agreement projections associated with the adjective and the determiner, instead of moving to projection heads, as N-movement proposes:

(39)



In (39) we see again how the NP moves to the Spec-FP_{NPagr} of the adjective and the determiner to check agreement features, while the determiner moves from the lower to the higher D to acquire the external features of the expression.

Example (39) is also interesting due to a phenomenon that escapes the realm of syntax and that we identified previously in this dissertation. We refer to the fact that there seems to have been a shift in meaning due to frequency of use which has caused that (39) is used in the same situations were (36a) (i.e. *La antigua Roma*) is used. In the next chapter, we will present a possible avenue of research that could lead to a satisfactory explanation of this phenomenon. This path is linked to Bybee's (2003) model of usage-based grammar and to the concept of grammaticalisation.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

We started this dissertation pointing out at the descriptive power of Generativist theory for adjectival placement in the Romance languages. It is generally agreed that adjectives surface before or after the noun as a result of upward movement of the noun – or lack thereof – (cf. Longobardi 1994, 1996, 2001, 2005; Cinque 1994, and Crisma 1994). This is considered to be a parametric difference from Germanic languages, where this noun movement is not possible, and, therefore, the adjectives always appear in prenominal position. At the same time, there is a fairly extensive body of literature dealing with the meaning of adjectives in Spanish (cf. Demonte 1999, Alcina and Blecua 2001, Alarcos 2002, among others) and its relation to syntax, materialised in a hierarchical classification of adjectives within any given NP. This hierarchy shows the way different types of adjectives in terms of their meaning are organised syntactically, and also proposes different organisations depending on the meaning of the noun (i.e. depending on whether the noun denotes an object or an event.)

However, recent studies have approached this issue from a different point of view, establishing a relationship between adjectival placement and phonology (cf. File-Muriel 2006), adjectival placement and the interpretation of the semantic features of the noun (cf. García-Bayonas 2006), and adjectival placement and the organisation of the information in discourse (in terms of focus-presuppostion structures; cf. Truswell 2003.) These studies approach this issue from a Functionalist perspective, which fills some gaps

that traditional Generativist treatments of this issue had left unanswered, such as a demonstrable difference in the constraints posed by different registers in the placement of adjectives (cf. File-Muriel 2006).

Thus, we set out to determine the prevalence of these formal grammatical descriptions and functionalist approaches to adjectival placement in the Spanish DP, as well as to establish any significant differences between linguistic registers. We recognised from the outset a possible drawback in this endeavour, since traditional grammar and functionalist approaches look at language in altogether different ways. However, this difference in points of view is, in our opinion, not entirely problematic. It might have been so had we taken an either/or approach to this issue. But, as discussed earlier, we approached this issue with a view that the two approaches complemented each other by filling in each other's gaps. As we said in the introduction, if we examine naturally occurring data from different registers – and the different processing constraints related to them –, we can ascertain the predictive/explanatory power of Generativism in relation to, for example, the hierarchical organisation of adjectives in aforementioned NPs. At the same, since our query was corpus based, we avoided one of Generativism's main sources of criticism made by proponents of other approaches: the reliance on intuitive grammaticality judgements.

As a result of our corpus-based analysis, we have been able to establish that the two main factors that determine syntactic position of adjectives in Spanish DPs are semantics and phonology. Our numeric results, displayed in chapter 3, allow us to confirm some of formal grammar's predictions on this issue, as well as to provide some further descriptions:

- Relational adjectives are strictly confined to postnominal position. We didn't find any R-adjective in our corpora in prenominal position. Interestingly, we found that R-adjectives are the heaviest syllabically of the three main semantic types in our data. This would explain why there are differences in the frequency with which this type of adjectives appears in different registers. While it is the most frequent type of adjective in the written register, it is the least frequent in the spoken register.
- Focalising adjectives are more predominantly found in prenominal position. This type of adjective however is related to phonology in a somewhat different manner. In our data, we found that both heavier and lighter adjectives could be found in prenominal position. But, in general terms, prenominal heavier adjectives were likely the result of intentional focalising, whereas lighter A-adjectives in front of the noun were more easily perceived as part of a "polar-opposite" pair. The former is perhaps more difficult to process and retrieve, given its weight, which means that it is less prominent in situations where discursive constraints are stricter. On the other hand, the latter could potentially be considered, along with the noun it accompanies, as a unit, more easily processed and retrieved, due to its high frequency, and therefore, suitable in registers where the constraints are larger.
- We were able to establish a categorical relationship between syntactic position of the adjective and restriction of the referential capability of the noun. Along with what traditional grammars have always maintained, our

results numerically confirm that restrictive adjectives are postnominal, while non-restrictive adjectives are prenominal.

Although there are other tendencies that can be established from our analysis (cf. section 3.4.), we find that these are the ones with the most significant impact on adjectival position. Clearly then, semantics and phonology are intertwined with syntax in this situation. The other two factors, discourse organisation and the relation between the adjective position and the interpretation of the semantic features of the noun, did not provide any notable results in our analysis.

In terms of the second research question (i.e. whether there are differences in the impact of the different factors studied in different linguistic registers), we proposed that there are indeed differences, but it can be inferred from our comments that these differences are relative, in the sense that there are no fundamental syntactic differences between the registers (e.g. R-adjectives are postnominal in both registers, restrictive adjectives are postnominal and non-restrictive adjectives are prenominal in both registers, etc.). In our opinion, a more interesting situation regarding the differences between written and spoken registers is the nature of the linguistic data that they provide. We saw, in both registers, that the occurrence of multiple-adjective NPs is significantly lower than that of one-adjective NPs, but we also saw that the relative presence of these complex (i.e. multiple-adjective) NPs is dramatically lower in the spoken register. This observation, however, may be modified if a larger sample of data is used.

There are a few by-products of this dissertation, in the sense that they are directly involved in answering the research questions but provide, in our opinion, interesting insights that could potentially be explored further. First of all, we were able to map our

data within a syntactic structure that proposes NP-movement (cf. Laenzlinger 2000) as opposed to N-movement (cf. Cinque 1994, among others) and that proposes that adjectival postnominal position is the result of upward movement, as before, with the fundamental difference that, in our model, the NP may take the adjective that will eventually surface in prenominal position with it, in what is called *snowballing*, which accounts for the inversion of the expected order in which adjectives are generated. At the same time, we proposed the possibility of collapsing the two different hierarchical organisations of adjectives (one for object-denoting, the other for eventive nouns) in light of some of our data, where we saw that some categories for adjectives linked to one type of noun were crossing over to NPs with the other type of noun.

We tackled the issue of syntactic/semantic uniformity in Romance languages, by exposing and exploring the differences in grammaticality between data in Italian and Spanish. We dealt with the differences between these two languages regarding the interpretation of prenominal adjectives as manner (possible in Italian, but not in Spanish), as well as the semantic requirements in the DP structure when the noun is a Proper Noun. We argued in favour of considering adjectival movement to satisfy interface properties as a separate phenomenon from snowballing, on the basis of the behaviour of a single prenominal possessive adjective appearing with a PN. We also showed how NP-movement can account for the grammaticality in Spanish of a PN occupying a position associated to D, while D is lexically filled, something that, as we saw, is impossible in Italian.

Lastly, we argued that, in spite of the ability of syntax to map data and the compelling arguments that Functionalist approaches provide (in particular with relation to

the influence of phonology in adjectival position in Spanish), there are phenomena related to adjectival meaning and position that escape the descriptive goals of both frameworks. In the last chapter, we suggested that the shift of meaning of a contrastive adjective to non-contrastive, with no structural changes, may be the result of a process of grammaticalisation. We would like to offer a more detailed explanation of what we mean by this in the following section, the last one of this dissertation.

5.1. The Role of Grammaticalisation

Bybee (2003) highlights the importance of frequency in her usage-based grammar as a vehicle for grammaticalisation and, ultimately, language change. The more frequently a linguistic form is used, stored, and retrieved, the more likely it is to acquire a fixed meaning (i.e. become grammaticalised). We argue that this fixed meaning may be unique to each form or, as in the case of the meaning shift of *La Roma antigua*, shared with another linguistic form (i.e. *La antigua Roma*.)

For Bybee (2003: 711), grammar is based on human language experience:

> "[T]he general cognitive capabilities of the human brain, which allow it to categorize and sort for identity, similarity, and difference, go to work on the language event a person encounters, categorizing and entering in memory these experiences. The result is a cognitive representation that can be called grammar."(711)[88]

[88] Bybee's model of grammar would in turn provide a more comprehensive understanding of the evolution of language, since it basically aims to describe how use affects linguistic change, "thus setting a higher goal for linguistic explanation than that held in more synchronically oriented theory, which requires only that an explanatory theory provide the means for adequate synchronic description" (712). She also asserts the need to undertake analyses of language in large corpora, since those may "present a varying

Spoken and written discourse are characterised by the large amounts of conventionalised word sequences (idioms, formulaic language, and what Bybee calls *prefabs*, or conventionalised collocations.) Examples in (1) are idioms, whereas those in (2) are *prefabs*:

(1) *pull strings, too many irons in the fire*

(2) *prominent role, mixed message, beyond repair*

The difference between an idiom and a prefab is that while both contain ordinary words and predictable morphosyntax, the idiom has extended meaning (that is, its meaning is unpredictable from the sum of the meanings of its parts) and the meaning of a *prefab* is, in turn, predictable. Thus, theoretically, an idiom's meaning should be stored in memory, whereas a *prefab*, the individual being able to retrieve the meaning of the whole by retrieving the meaning of its constituting parts, needs not be stored independently. But the fact that they are so commonly found means perhaps that they are actually stored in the lexicon. The presence of this large number of frequent expressions means that grammar is built around instances of actually occurring language. Grammar, therefore, must take usage into account, "as well as the facts of change that eventually emerge from this usage" (Bybee 2003: 714). The more frequent the expression, the easier it is to retrieve such an expression as a unit (as opposed to the sum of all its parts) thereby making retrieval more efficient. When an expression is not repeated (or not repeated often enough), it is eventually discarded, which would explain linguistic phenomena from a diachronic perspective.

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topography of distribution and frequency that can be quite different from what our intuitions have suggested" (712).

Extremely high-frequency structures may become grammaticalised, which basically means that their meaning and form are in an "exclusive relation" of sorts. Take the common greeting "*How are you?*" What originally may have been a genuine inquiry into the health and general well being of a person has become merely a synonym of *hello* due to its high frequency.[89] There is, however, the possibility that high-frequency exemplars acquire a pragmatic implication without a radical shift of meaning, in which some other forms and meanings can co-exist. It is necessary for the hearer to record the associated pragmatic implication of a particular form from the very first exposure to it. This last type of "grammaticalization" is what we invoke when we talk about the meaning shift in *La Roma antigua*. If this particular NP, which traditionally has been considered to be in opposition with *La antigua Roma* (in that the former is contrastive and the latter is non-contrastive) does shift its meaning from contrastive to non-contrastive, it is because of frequent use of that NP in the context where *La antigua Roma* appeared. We do not claim that the contrastive reading of *La Roma antigua* does not exist anymore or that *La antigua Roma* has become obsolete (hence our modified version of grammaticalisation). But, maybe, the contrastive meaning of *La Roma antigua* has given way to the non-contrastive meaning as a result of high frequency, in the same way that the meaning of "*How are you?*" shifted from a genuine inquiry to just a greeting.

[89] This is not to say that "*How are you?*" does not still accomplish the function of asking about somebody's state-of-being. But, generally speaking, a full description of one's physical or psychological state is not the expected answer to the question at hand.

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