

Introduction

In Cinque (1990b,1994), I had proposed that the DP-internal word order difference between Romance and Germanic (exemplified in (1) with Italian and English) should not be seen as arising from a different base generation of the adjectives (to the left of the N in Germanic, and both to the left and to the right of the N in Romance), but in terms of the Noun raising across some of the adjectives in Romance (though not in Germanic), within one and the same, possibly universal, underlying structure, (2):

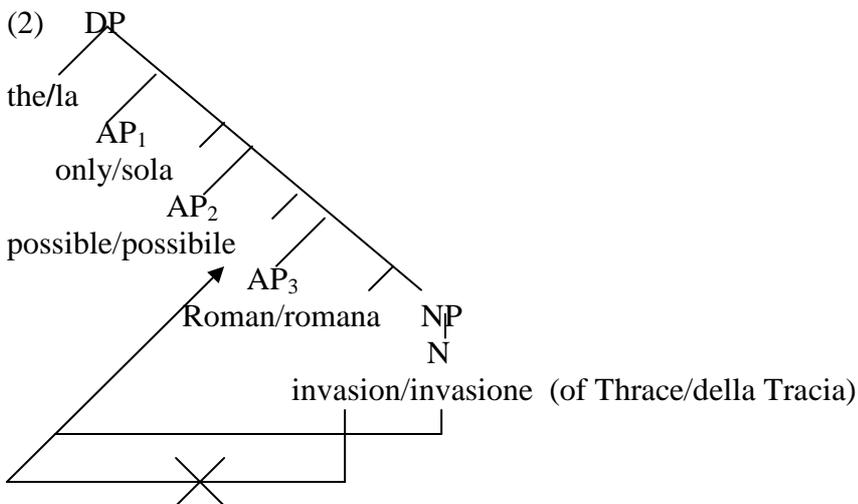
(1)a La **sola possibile** invasione **romana** della Tracia¹

the only possible invasion Roman of.the Thrace

b The **only possible Roman** invasion of Thrace

c *La **sola possibile romana** invasione della Tracia

the only possible Roman invasion of.the Thrace



Since then, a number of problems have emerged, which demand a reconsideration of that analysis. They will be reviewed in Chapter 1. In Chapter 2, a more fundamental problem for the head movement analysis will be addressed which has to do with its inability to capture the pattern of interpretive differences between pre- and postnominal adjectives in the two language families. In particular, the head movement analysis will be seen to be unable to derive the following generalizations:

1) while APs appearing in the pre-nominal position in Romance are necessarily individual-level, nonrestrictive, modal (for adjectives like *possible*), nonintersective, absolute (i.e., not relative to a comparison class for scalar adjectives; not comparative for superlatives), specificity-inducing (i.e., rendering an indefinite DP in which they are contained specific), evaluative rather than epistemic (for adjectives like *unknown*), and (plural) NP dependent rather than discourse anaphoric (for an adjective like *different*), post-nominal APs in Germanic, when possible, generally have the opposite properties: they are characteristically stage-level, restrictive, intersective, relative to a comparison class (for scalar adjectives) or have a comparative reading (for superlatives), an implicit relative reading (for adjectives such as *possible*), are non-specificity-inducing, epistemic (rather than evaluative, for adjectives like *unknown*), and discourse anaphoric rather than NP dependent (for an adjective like *different*).

2) Post-nominal adjectives in Romance and pre-nominal adjectives in Germanic are systematically ambiguous between these two sets of readings.

3) The two prenominal readings of Germanic, and the two postnominal readings of Romance are ordered in a mirror-image fashion: the AP in the outer position (leftmost in Germanic; rightmost in Romance) has the set of interpretations found (when that is possible) postnominally in Germanic, which derive, as has been suggested, from a reduced relative clause source.

To capture these generalizations, an alternative analysis will be developed in Chapter 3 in terms of phrasal movement, which seems to be able to overcome the problems of the head movement analysis while retaining its basic insight. The phrasal movement analysis will be argued to compare

favourably not only with respect to the head movement analysis but also with respect to base generation analyses.

In the course of the discussion, the importance of distinguishing two structural sources for adnominal adjectives will also become evident. Adjectives (more accurately APs) will be seen to enter the DP either as specifiers of dedicated functional projections in the “extended projection” of the NP, or as (reduced) relative clauses.² See Chapters 3 and 4.

Although many adjectives can access both sources, some will turn out to access only one, which will make it possible to isolate and compare the different syntactic and interpretive properties associated with each source.

Chapters 5,6, and 7 will approach the syntax of English and Italian adjectives within the framework developed in the preceding chapters. The Appendix contains a brief discussion of some languages which appear to overtly distinguish the two sources of adjectives.

¹ We concentrate here and below on the “alethic modal” reading of *possibile* (‘which it is possible will occur/has occurred’) rather than on the “root modal” reading (‘which it is possible for someone to carry out’/‘which is feasible’).

² This dual source was already utilized in Cinque (1994), although its implications were only partially explored there.