

Chapter 5: An analysis of English (Germanic)

5.1 Prenominal adjectives in English (Germanic). If we ignore for a moment the limited cases of postnominal adjectives seen above (to which we return in the next section), it is possible to say that English (Germanic) directly manifests the structure of Merge, with no movements involved. The adjectives displaying the interpretive properties of indirect modification precede (as noted in Chapter 2, section 2.10.3) those displaying the properties of direct modification.¹

	indir.mod.	dir. mod.
(1)a Mary interviewed every	póssible	possible candidate
b They described every (in)vísible		visible star
c She is a	beaútiful	beautiful dancer

If modification by (speech act, epistemic, etc.) clausal adverbs is diagnostic of the presence of a clausal constituent, one should expect only indirect modification adjectives, which enter a reduced relative clause, to allow them. Direct modification adjectives (like *heavy*, in one of its readings, *former*, *main*, etc.) should instead be incompatible with them, even if they allow degree modification (*he is an extremely heavy drinker*). This is apparently what we find. While (2)a-c are fine, (3)a-c are definitely worse:

(2)a Their *frankly unacceptable conditions* will not receive our attention

b This is *an undeniably favourable situation*

c He made *a certainly important contribution to the field*

(3)a *He is *a frankly heavy drinker*

b *This is *his probably main contribution*

c *He is now *a fortunately former President*

English (and this seems true of the other Germanic languages) is generally taken to have an unmarked order of adjectives, with (to name just a few classes) value adjectives preceding size adjectives, which in turn precede shape adjectives, which precede color adjectives, themselves preceding provenance/nationality adjectives.² Violations of these orders are also possible, though, and are generally taken to be marked, or special.

So, for example, in comparing (2)a and b, Vendler (1968,130) says that “[t]he first adheres to the natural order” of the two adjectives, meaning “that he drove out in his car which is yellow and which is new, while the second “means that he drove out in the yellow one of his new cars”, and adds that “[s]uch inverted phrases usually are uttered with a strong emphasis on the first adjective”.³

(2)a He drove out in his new yellow car

b He drove out in his yellow new car

As noted in Chapter 3, section 3.3.2, such more marked orders, which reverse the “natural” order of two adjectives, should not be taken to show that no rigid order exists among direct modification adjectives. In this way, we would lose the possibility of accounting for what is felt as the unmarked order, which, interestingly, corresponds to the absolute rigid order found among direct modification adjectives in those languages, like Yoruba (see Chapter 3, note 16, and relative text), which overtly distinguish them from adjectives derived from relative clauses. Such order variations should rather be understood, we submit, in terms of the two sources of adjectives. The adjective of colour in the examples in (2) is once merged as a direct modification adjective, in which case it necessarily follows the adjective *new*; and once as the predicate of a reduced relative clause. The order

“reversal” which we see here is thus due to the fact that adjectives derived from relative clauses precede (and take scope over) direct modification adjectives:

	indir.mod.	dir. mod.	
(3)a He drove out in his	<yéllow>	new	<yéllow> car
b He is certainly a	<fámous>	alleged	<famous> actor (cf. Chapter 3, section 3..3.2)

This proposal immediately leads to the expectation that such reversals of the “natural” order should not be available when the lower adjective is of the non-predicative type (and thus cannot be merged as the predicate of a reduced relative clause in the space above direct modification adjectives). This is what we find:

- (4)a *He is a fréquent alleged flier (cf. an alleged frequent flier)
- b *The máin first American poet (cf. the first main American poet)
- c *An eléctrical old engineer (cf. an old electrical engineer)

These facts also show that reversals of the ‘unmarked’ order cannot be due to the fronting of the lower of the two adjectives to a focus position, as is sometimes proposed (Truswell 2004a,b,40ff, Alexiadou, Haegeman and Stavrou 2007,320). If that were the case the examples in (4) should all be grammatical, and the fronted adjective should be able to reconstruct under the scope of the other adjective.⁴

The ungrammaticality of cases like (4), involving direct modification adjectives, are also not easy to understand in scope induced reorderings of the kind discussed in Szendrői (2008).

5.2 Postnominal adjectives in English and their derivation.

5.2.1 Adjectives with complements or adjuncts.

In addition to the particular classes of adjectives seen above in Chapter 2, section 2.10.2, which can (or must) be postnominal in English, adjectives

with complements (or adjuncts) are also found postnominally (*the man proud of his son, a proposal different in spirit*), as their prenominal position is barred by the presence of the postposed complement (or adjunct):

(4)a *The proud of his son man

b *A different in spirit proposal

For this particular case, it might be thought that, due to the recursion restriction mentioned in note 12 of Chapter 4 above, their postnominal position is in essence identical to their prenominal one without the complement or adjunct: namely one of a direct modification.⁵ Their properties, however, turn out to be quite different from those displayed by their prenominal counterparts without complements or adjuncts, and they seem, in this case too, to point to the adjectives' status as reduced relative clauses.

A first piece of evidence to this effect comes from an observation of Sadler and Arnold's (1994,196, and 221f). As they note, a prenominal adjective which is under the scope of another prenominal adjective to its left, like *rotten* is in (5)a, ceases to be under its scope when found in postnominal position (with a complement or adjunct). Consider the following pair of noun phrases:

(5)a a fake rotten antique

b a fake antique rotten with age

In (5)a what may be fake is the rotten status of the antique. Not so in (5)b, where being rotten is an asserted property of the fake antique. This follows if *rotten with age* is a reduced relative clause taking scope over the N and the direct modification adjective *fake*.

A second piece of evidence comes from Williams' (1994,92) observation that a nonintersective adjective like *alleged*, when in prenominal position (as in (6)a), suspends the speaker's commitment

to the appropriateness of the attribution of the term *murderer* to a certain individual. However, when it is in postnominal position with a sentential complement (as in (6)b), it loses this capacity and becomes intersective (the referent of the noun phrase is now given by the intersection of the set of murderers, not alleged murderers, and the set of individuals who are alleged to have killed their own parents):⁶

(6)a The alleged murderer was deported

b The murderer alleged to have killed his own parents was deported

A third piece of evidence that postnominal adjectives with complements (or adjuncts) are reduced relative clauses comes from the fact that non-predicative adjectives cannot appear postnominally even if followed by a complement (or an adjunct). This follows if postnominal adjectives are reduced relative clauses with the adjective occupying a predicate position. See:

(7)a *What is their reason main in importance? (cf. What is their main reason?)

b *He is a drinker heavier than his father (cf. He is a heavy drinker)⁷

c *The winner sure from every possible viewpoint is John (cf. The sure winner is John)

It thus seems that, in line with Larson and Marušič's (2004) conclusion, *all* postnominal adjectives in English are (reduced) RCs, which in English *can or must* occur in postnominal position depending on the presence of complements (or adjuncts) (full finite RCs instead *must* occur there).⁸ The reason why postnominal adjectives in English (Germanic) never display the interpretations available to direct modification adjectives suggests that direct modification adjectives do not 'extrapose' (in antisymmetric terms, raise leftward to be later overtaken by the remnant). See section 5.3 below for further discussion.

5.2.2 Other classes of postnominal adjectives in English. As seen above, *-ble* adjectives, in addition to the prenominal position have also access to the postnominal one, in which case they typically (though not necessarily) receive a stage-level interpretation. Other adjectives, like *nearby*, *adjacent*, *handy*, *guilty*, etc. (cf. Ferris 1993, ch.3), can be found both pre- and post-nominally,⁹ Adjectives that are necessarily postnominal include the stage-level (“locative”) *present*, and *ready* ((8)), as well as the adjectives formed with the prefix *a-* (*asleep*, *afraid*, *alive*, *alone*, etc. – see (9)):¹⁰

(8)a the people present (= the present people)

b the papers ready (*the ready papers)

(9)a the cat asleep (*the asleep cat – Bouldin 1990,70)

b the child afraid (*the afraid child - Bouldin 1990,70)

A possible reason for the optional or obligatory postnominal position of such adjectives is suggested at the end of the next section.

5.3 A potential problem. If predicative adjectives found in postnominal position are analysed as (reduced) relative clauses, the problem arises why we do not find all potentially predicative adjectives in postnominal position in English (Germanic) as we find them, I argued above, in Romance. This problem is especially acute given that participial reduced relative clauses *can* be postnominal in English, as noted.

Yet, except for the few classes of adjectives reviewed in the previous section, this is not the case. Quite generally, reduced RCs containing only ‘bare’ APs cannot be found postnominally:

(10)a *A child intelligent (could do that in five minutes) (Ferris 1993,45)

b *The documents confidential (were kept in the safe)

c *the shirt new (went lost)

d *a colleague angry (just stepped in)

e *the children thirsty (are crying)

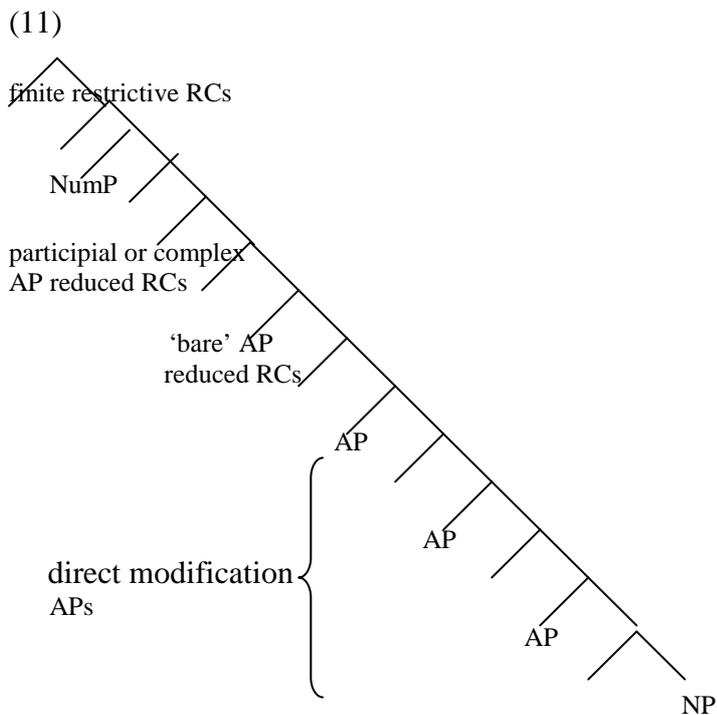
I interpret this at face value as indicating that the conditions on the “extraposition” of full finite RCs, participial or complex AP reduced RCs, and ‘bare’ AP reduced RCs are different.¹¹

In the case of full finite RCs, leftward attraction and subsequent remnant movement is obligatory (**The [(that) we saw] boy* vs. *The boy [(that) we saw]*). In the case of participial reduced RCs, leftward attraction and subsequent remnant movement is apparently optional (*The [recently sent] letters* and *The letters [recently sent]*), unless “extraposition” is rendered the only option by the right recursion restriction mentioned in note 12 of Chapter 4 above (see **The [sent recently] letters* vs. *The letters [sent recently]*) (the same restriction is also at play with APs followed by a complement or an adjunct: **The [rotten with age] fake antique* vs. *The fake antique [rotten with age]*). Finally, ‘bare’ AP reduced relative clauses appear not to be able to “extrapose”.

The fact, noted in Chapter 2, section 2.4, that *a dancer more beautiful than her instructor* actually behaves as a reduced relative clause (as shown by its necessary intersective interpretation) vs. *a more beautiful dancer than her instructor*, which can have a nonintersective interpretation (also see (7)b vs. the example of note 7 of this chapter), suggests that *a dancer more beautiful than her instructor* is not simply derived from either one of the two prenominal sources (**a more beautiful than her instructor dancer*) by “extraposition”, rendered obligatory by the restriction banning rightward recursion of prenominal adjectives. If that were so, one would expect the “extraposed” variant to be able to retain all interpretations available prenominally (i.e., both the intersective and the nonintersective one). The facts seem instead to indicate that direct modification adjectives cannot “extrapose”, as the interpretations associated with them are unavailable postnominally. Given this impossibility, and the cited recursion restriction, there is simply no output for direct

modification APs containing complements or adjuncts (except for those cases where the complement or the adjunct itself can “extrapose” as in *a more beautiful dancer than her instructor* – on which see Escribano 2005 and references cited there, and Zwart 1996, Van Canegem-Ardijns 2006 for corresponding Dutch cases). Since, on the other hand, participial or complex AP reduced relative clauses *can* extrapose the interpretive properties associated with them will be found postnominally.

In line with the evidence that reduced relative clauses may be merged lower than full finite relative clauses,¹² it could be that ‘bare’ AP relative clauses are merged even lower, with each position subject in English to partially different conditions on “extraposition”:¹³



This structure may have to be rendered a little more complex if Larson (1998, 1999, 2000a,b) (also see Larson and Cho 1999, Larson and Marušič 2004, and Larson and Takahashi in press) is right in arguing that adnominal modification involves two domains, a lower one bound by a generic operator (responsible for the individual-level interpretation of the modifiers closer to the head N)

and a higher one bound by an existential operator (responsible for the stage-level interpretation of higher modifiers).¹⁴

As noted, “bare” AP reduced RCs cannot in general appear postnominally even when they have a stage-level interpretation (see (10)d-e above), although when they do they are generally stage-level and restrictive, as argued by James (1979). The very few which occur postnominally (*present*, *nearby*, *ready*, etc., the adjectives in *-ble*, and those prefixed by *a-*) may be postnominal for the same orthogonal reason that forces APs with following complements and adjuncts to “extrapose”. See Larson and Marušič’s (2004) conjecture mentioned in note 10 above that *a-* is a head taking the morpheme following it as its complement. For the *-ble* adjectives there is perhaps a comparable optional right branching structure, or an unpronounced complement/adjunct ([*available* [TO..]], [*possible* [FOR..]], etc., as, we conjecture, with *ready* (*ready* [TO VP]), and *present* (*present* [AT HERE/ THERE PLACE])). See König (1971,51f), Stowell (1991), and Escribano (2004,28) for a similar conjecture.¹⁵

5.4 A reduced relative clause source for prenominal participles. The analysis of English (and UG) adnominal/attributive adjectives suggested here crucially assumes two prenominal sources for them; one of direct modification (where the APs are in specifiers of dedicated functional projections above NP), and one of indirect modification (where the APs are in the predicate position of a reduced relative clause merged above the specifiers hosting direct modification adjectives). I take the latter source to be indirectly supported by the independent existence in English of prenominal participial reduced relatives.

It has sometimes been suggested that prenominally all modifiers in English (whether underived or morphologically derived from active or passive participles) are categorially adjectives. Some have even proposed that the mere occurrence in prenominal position in English is a diagnostic of adjectivehood (Freidin 1975; Wasow 1977,338; Bresnan 1978,1982; Levin and Rappaport 1986;

Haspelmath 1994; among others). But such a conclusion does not seem to be justified. For example, adjectives differ from verbs in being compatible with *very*, but not with (*very*) *much* (while the latter are compatible with *very much* but not with *very*) (see, for example, McCawley 1970,fn.3):

(12)a Marxism was very (*?much) influential in the Sixties

b a very (*?much) influential philosophy

(13) John likes Susan very *(much)

Now, the fact that some prenominal participles can be modified by (*very*) *much* suggests that those participles are verbal, presumably within a reduced relative clause.¹⁶

(14)a a very much respected scholar

b a very much debated issue

c a very much appreciated service

d the much talked about new show (Sadler and Arnold 1994,190)

Some (New Zealand) English speakers appear to accept both (12)a and b (Megan Rae, personal communication). Rather than taking *very much* to be able (for them) to directly modify the AP as part of its extended projection, it is tempting to think that for them *very much* can modify the predicate of a (reduced) clause even when this contains a simple AP (just as it modifies the predicate of a verbal clause: *I very much like it/I like it very much*). This conjecture receives some support from the fact that they make a clear distinction between (12) and the examples in (15), which contain gradable adjectives that are non-predicative (hence cannot enter the predicate of a reduced relative clause). In such cases only *very* is possible for them too (examples due to Megan Rae):

(15)a A very (*much) heavy drinker

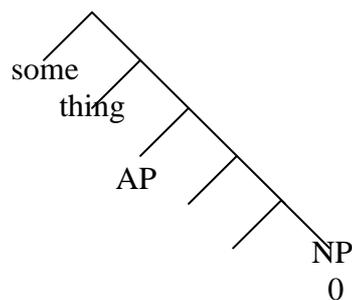
b A very (*much) beautiful dancer

c A very (*much) poor typist

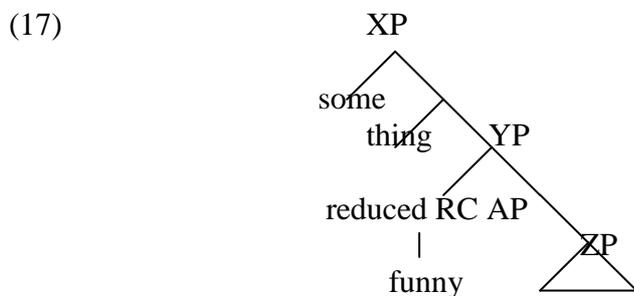
Thus it seems that the active and passive participles in (14) are not simple adjectives, but are embedded within a reduced relative clause, and more generally that the prenominal position in English is no diagnostic of adjectivehood.¹⁷

5.5 *Something funny*. Both bare and non-bare adjectives have to follow indefinite pronouns such as *something, nothing, someone, noone*, etc. Larson and Marušič (2004) (also see Cardinaletti and Giusti 2006, section 2.3.1) provide (in my view) convincing evidence that the construction is not derived in English by movement of the N across a prenominal adjective, as proposed in Abney (1987,287) and Kishimoto (2000,560) (*some funny thing* → *something funny* t). Cf. also Emonds (1985,207), and Hulk and Verheugd (1992). Leu (2004) further shows, on the basis of the corresponding French and Swiss German constructions, that the indefinite pronouns in question consist of two functional categories, a quantifier and a functional nominal head (ranging over a limited set of functional nouns: *thing, one, body, time, place*, etc.), which takes a complement containing the adjective and an empty nominal head. See (16), adapted from his (24):

(16)



For English, Larson and Marušič (2004) show that the adjective following the indefinite pronoun has all the properties of English postnominal (not prenominal) adjectives, which they also argue derive from relative clauses. I take this last conclusion to indicate that indefinite pronouns cannot co-occur in English with direct modification adjectives because the empty nominal category following the adjective is not simply N, or NP, but a bigger portion of the extended projection of the NP that comprises the NP plus all direct modification adjectives, and is just below the prenominal Merge position of reduced relative clauses:^{18,19}



Roehrs (2006,2008), however, shows that other Germanic languages (German and Dutch) provide evidence that the AP from a reduced relative clause source may remain prenominal. For example, in German it has adjectival inflection like all prenominal adjectives and reduced relative clause participles (see the Appendix, section 6), and displays all the restrictions of prenominal adjectives (cannot be followed by *genug* ‘enough’, by complements, etc.).

In Slovenian instead, as shown by Marušič and Žaucer (2008), some indefinite pronouns (e.g. *nekaj* ‘something’) combine with an AP that is *prenominal* to a null N, like German indefinite pronouns, while others (e.g. *nekdo* ‘someone’) combine only with *postnominal* APs like English indefinite pronouns.

In French, as in other Q/N N contexts (e.g. *beaucoup de livres* ‘many books’, *une vingtaine d’articles* ‘about twenty articles’), the genitive preposition *de* has to be inserted (*quelque chose de lourd* ‘something heavy’ - Kayne 2005a,19). Following Kayne (2002, 2005a), I take the derivation

to involve raising of the [AP NP] to the specifier of a functional head merged above the XP of (17), followed by insertion of *de* (0 in English) and subsequent attraction of the remnant:²⁰

(18)a [some [thing [funny NP]]] → (merge of X° and attraction of [funny NP])

b [[funny NP] X° [some [thing t]]] → (merge of 0 and attraction of the remnant)

c [[some [thing t]]] 0 [[funny NP] X° t]]

¹ *Possible*, in its reduced relative clause reading with Antecedent Contained Deletion (see Chapter 2, section 2.3)

actually appears to occupy a position even higher than that of ordinary indirect modification adjectives derived from relative clauses as it has to precede (ordinal and cardinal) numerals (which are higher than reduced relative clauses). See the contrast between (i)a and b:

(i)a She always goes to see every possible first two games

b She always goes to see every first two possible games)

Only in the former can possible have the reduced relative clause reading with Antecedent Contained Deletion. To judge from Schmitt (1996,115f), the same may be true of the adjective *wrong* in its reduced relative clause reading with Antecedent Contained Deletion (see Chapter 2, note 4):

(ii)a We discussed the wrong two answers (= which it was wrong for us to discuss)

b We discussed the two wrong (= incorrect) answers

If the adjective *wrong* in its reduced relative clause reading with Antecedent Contained Deletion is merged higher than numerals, Schwarz's (2006,365) argument against Larson's syntactic analysis is weakened.

² See the references in note 8 of Chapter 3 above, and especially Scott (2002).

³ As noted, size adjectives normally precede colour adjectives: *a small black dog* (Bloomfield 1933,202). Yet their order can be reversed if one wishes to distinguish different groups of individuals of the same size (*I've shown you my black small dogs; now, these are my two brown small dogs*), in which case "some contrastive stress [on the colour adjective] is necessary" (Sproat and Shih 1988,469f).

⁴ Reversals of the unmarked order due to fronting of the lower adjective when this is superlative are instead possible, with the expected reconstruction of the fronted adjective (see (i), and Chapter 3, section 3.3.2):

(i)a the most frequent alleged flier

Movement of (even direct modification) APs to a focus position seems to be possible in certain languages. See Giusti (1996, 2006, section 3.2) for Albanian, Demeke (2001,211 and fn.18) for Amharic, Demonte (2008, section 4.4.1.3) for

Spanish. The predemonstrative position of non-predicative adjectives with *de* in Mandarin Chinese (Aoun and Li 2003, 150) may be another case in point (though *de*-less adjectives cannot - Cheung 2005 and Yang 2005,211). For further relevant references see Cinque (2005,fn.23) and Campos (2009, section 2.3.1.8).

⁵ One way to obtain this (and avoid the recursion restriction) without losing their attributive status could be to assume that their “heavy” character allows them to raise to the Spec of some higher focus projection, with subsequent movement of the entire remnant to their left. I.e. (omitting previous steps of the derivation):

- (i)a [Focus [proud of their children young fathers]] →
b [proud of their children Focus [t young fathers]] →
c [[t young fathers] X [proud of their children Focus [t]]]

The fact that such derivations are not available, for the empirical considerations that follow in the text, suggests that no direct modification adjective in English can move to a DP internal focus projection.

⁶ We have slightly adapted Williams’s examples. It should be noted, however, that (6) could involve the passive participle of *allege* rather than the adjective *alleged*.

⁷ This contrasts with *He is a heavier drinker than his father*, which can retain the nonintersective interpretation. See Chapter 2, section 2.4.

⁸ This is essentially true of Germanic in general. For German, see Riemsdijk (1998,20), Cinque (1994,94f), and references cited there (though some differences with English exist – see König 1971,49f); for Dutch see Kester (1996, 71f), and for Scandinavian Delsing (1993b,9): “Attributive adjectives in Scandinavian are normally prenominal. However they can also be used postnominally, and then they are referred to as *predicative attributes* [..]. They are only allowed if the adjective has a complement or an adjunct, or if it is part of a co-ordination [..]. As can be seen in [(i)], predicative attributes always take the strong form, just like ordinary predicative adjectives, regardless of the definiteness of the phrase”

- (i) en låda försedd/*försedda med lock
a box equipped[*str*/**weak*] with lid

Why reduced participial relative clauses in German cannot occur postnominally (see (19) of Chapter 4), and why restrictive postnominal bare adjectives are unavailable in Germanic other than English, remains to be understood.

⁹ But see note 15 below on one (expected) restriction on their postnominal position. Napoli (1993,183) gives examples like those in (i)a-b, where the adjective seems to have an interpretation close to a reduced *if/when* clause (but other speakers find them dubious) :

- (i)a A lion hungry is a danger to all

b A man unhappy is seldom in control of his emotions

¹⁰ Larson and Marušič (2004,fn.2) note that the impossibility of the prenominal position for adjectives formed with the prefix *a-* (but see Jacobsson 1961, and Blöhdorn 2009,80, already mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.10.2, for certain, limited, exceptions) could be related to Williams' (1981,1982) Right Hand Head Rule (a version of the right recursion restriction mentioned in note 12 of Chapter 4 above) if the head of such adjectives were the prefix *a-* itself. Keenan (2002) contains a brief discussion of the historical derivation of the prefix (from the preposition *on*). Also see Coulter (1983,118), and Leu (2008,78fn.13).

¹¹ When the term “extraposition” is used, here and below, it should be understood as an abbreviation for its antisymmetric counterpart of leftward attraction followed by further leftward movement of the remnant.

¹² In Chapter 4, section 4.2, above, we saw some suggestive evidence that reduced RCs are lower than numerals. Cinque (in preparation) reviews some cross-linguistic evidence that full finite restrictive relative clauses are instead merged higher than numerals (and below demonstratives). For evidence that non-restrictive relative clauses are merged even higher, see Cinque (200a,fn.35)

¹³ In Italian (more generally, Romance) all kinds of RCs, finite, participial, and complex or bare AP, reduced RCs, are subject to obligatory “extraposition” (except for highly formal registers, as noted). A comparison between English and Italian may suggest the presence of an implicational scale (itself to be derived): if some relative clause type (of those shown in (11)) obligatorily “extraposes”, all those merged higher do likewise, but not necessarily those merged lower. In Italian, for example, bare AP reduced RCs (those merged the lowest) obligatorily “extrapose”, and so do all higher RCs. In English bare AP reduced RCs do not “extrapose”, the immediately higher participial reduced RCs “extrapose” only optionally, and only the highest finite restrictive (and nonrestrictive) RCs obligatorily “extrapose”.

¹⁴ Larson and Takahashi (in press) extend this idea to the (prenominal) relative clauses of Japanese/Korean and other rigid OV languages. For a similar extension to Chinese relative clauses (also prenominal), see Del Gobbo (2005). The apparent outlier position of stage-level relative clauses w.r.t individual-level relative clauses in these languages, as opposed to English, Italian, and other languages with full finite relative clauses, may indicate that the former are reduced non-finite relative clauses. Larson and Takahashi (in press) in fact suggest that the apparently free ordering of stage- and individual-level relative clauses in languages like English may be due to the fact that a full finite relative clause contains independent existential and generic operators.

¹⁵ The same must hold of *nearby* when occurring postnominally as an indirect modification adjective. When it is used nonrestrictively (i.e., as a direct modification adjective) it expectedly cannot occur postnominally. See (i)a-b:

(i)a The big airbase at nearby Mildenhall

b *The big airbase at Mildenhall nearby

On the role of non pronounced elements, see many of the chapters in Kayne (2005b).

¹⁶ This of course does not exclude the possibility that certain participles will be the input to a morphological rule that turns them into adjectives (in which case they will be compatible with *very*, and not with *very much*). Prenominal present participles in *-ing* appear, for example, to always behave like adjectives (as originally suggested by Borer 1990) since they systematically resist modification by *very much* (**a very much inspiring thought*, **a very much debilitating climate*, etc.). For a detailed analysis of *very*, *much*, *well*, etc. and the classes of adjectives and participles with which they combine, see Kennedy and McNally (2005).

¹⁷ For additional evidence that not all prenominal active or passive participles are categorially simple adjectives in English see Fabb (1984, section 4.2), Laskova (2007b), and references cited there.

¹⁸ This portion of the extended projection of the NP (the ZP of (17)) corresponds, I submit, to a “small” indefinite dP, which is the (external) Head of “matching” RCs, the “internal” Head of “raising” RCs and the Head of Head Internal RCs that show an indefiniteness restriction (Williamson 1987). Some evidence to this effect is discussed in Cinque (2008b, and in preparation).

¹⁹ Slavic languages pattern with English in having ‘bare’ AP reduced relative clauses in prenominal position only. All of their adjectives precede the N, with Polish being exceptional w.r.t. classificatory and nationality adjectives – see for example Sussex (1975), Willim (2000, 2001), Rutkowski (2007), Rutkowski and Progovac (2005, 2006), Cetnarowska, Pysz, and Trugman (2008), and references cited there. Also see Trugman (2005, to appear) on Russian, and Rutkowski (2007) for differences between Polish and Russian, where the phenomenon is apparently optional and is only found in generic contexts). Slavic languages also pattern like English in the behaviour of indefinite pronouns, which precede reduced relative clause APs. See Larson and Marušič (2004) on Slovenian, and the Bulgarian minimal pair *nesto interesno* ‘something interesting’ vs. *interesno nesto* ‘an interesting thing’, *nesto* being ambiguous between an indefinite pronoun and a common noun (Iliyana Krapova p.c.).

²⁰ As we saw above, French and Italian (more generally, Romance) differ from English (Germanic) in requiring even reduced RC ‘bare’ APs to “extrapose” (more accurately, to undergo the attraction/remnant movement derivation of (18). This is possibly at the basis of the preposition *de/di* appearing in front of the adjective (*quelq’un d’intéressant* ‘someone interesting’):

(i)a [[*quelq’un*] *intéressant*] → (merge of C and attraction of the AP to Spec,C)

b [*intéressant* C [t [*quelq’un*]]] → (merge of *de* (C) and attraction of the remnant to Spec,*de*)

c [[*quelq’un*] *d’* [*intéressant* C [t t]]] → (merge of Q and attraction of *quelq’un* to its Spec)

d [[*quelq'un*] Q [t d' [*intéressant* C [t t]]]]

If *autre* 'else' is also present, [*quelq'un*], on its way to Spec,Q, is apparently attracted to the Spec of another *de* merged above *autre* (*quelq'un d'autre d'intéressant* 'someone else interesting'). In Italian, the presence of *di* is sometime optional (?*qualcos'altro interessante*, *qualcos'altro di interessante*, *qualcosa d'altro di interessante*, ??*qualcosa d'altro interessante*), sometime impossibile (*qualcun/nessun altro (di) interessante*, **qualcuno/nessuno d'altro (di) interessante*), in ways that need to be understood.