

The Rise of A Functional Category From Latin ILLE to the Romance article and personal pronoun.¹

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The goal of this paper is to provide a formal account of the development of the Latin demonstrative ILLE into two different categories, namely the definite article and the personal pronoun of third person singular.

With respect to the corpus of data and their interpretation, it will follow recent work by Renzi (1997) and previous work quoted there. It will show how Renzi's proposal, which captures the correlation among many observable facts found across Romance languages, can be straightforwardly represented in the recent minimalist framework developed by Chomsky (1992, 1995).

Section 1. reviews and slightly revises Renzi's (1997: 1-11) proposal of analysing the three categories of *demonstrative*, *personal pronoun*, and *article* as a bundle of semantic and syntactic features. The partial difference in features to be found among the three categories is the reason for the different structural positions occupied by the three elements. Section 2. follows Renzi (1997:12-15) in taking the development of ILLE as an example of a more general process of "grammaticalization" (in the sense of Meillet (1912) and recently Lehman (1982) and following work). This process is supposed to turn a lexical element into a functional one. It will be shown that "grammaticalization" in

1. This paper is a contribution for a festschrift in honor of Lorenzo Renzi, edited by Guglielmo Cinque and Giampaolo Salvi for Holland Academic Graphics. Although I could not discuss it with Cino Renzi, due to the secrecy of the project, I am greatly indebted to him for having introduced me into the study of Romance syntax and for much discussion on previous work of mine on the syntax of the article. This paper is the direct result of all that. Of course, the errors contained here can only be attributed to me.

generative terms reduces to the reanalysis of a constituent in a functional Specifier as being the filler of the adjacent functional head.

1. Three different categories

Renzi (1997:7-8) analyses the demonstrative into the features given in (1a) below. (i-iv) are semantic, (v-vi) are syntactic features. Some of them are in an inclusion relation and this is represented by “>”. In particular: (i) *deictic* is included in (ii) *definite*, which is included in (iii) *anaphoric*. Some of them are in complementary distribution. This is represented by “/”. In particular: (iii) *anaphoric* is in complementary distribution with *ostensive* which is placed under the same heading; while (v) the adjectival status is in complementary distribution with (vi) the pronominal status. The pronoun (1b) and the article (1c) are analysed in terms of the same features:

(1) Renzi (1997:8)

a. *Demonstrative*

- i deictic >
- ii definite >
- iii anaphoric / ostensive
- iv III person
- v Adjective /
- vi Pronoun

b. *Pronoun*

- ii. definite >
- iii. anaphoric / ostensive
- iv. III person
- vi. pronoun

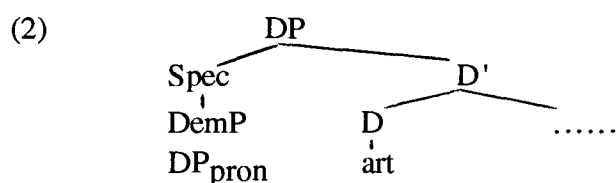
- c. *Definite Article*
- ii. definite >
 - iii. anaphoric / ostensive
 - v. adjective

According to Renzi, the different syntactic behaviour of the three categories can be derived by the different features present in the three elements. I will follow this line of reasoning and suggest minor improvements.

First of all, I propose to consider deictic as an independent feature. The feature *deictic* is found associated with non-nominal categories such as adverbs (cf. *here / there*) and verbs (*come / go, take / bring*) and in this latter case it cannot be implied in definiteness. The presence vs. absence of the feature *deictic* differentiates the demonstrative on the one hand from the pronoun and the definite article on the other. It is the presence of the feature *definite* in all the three elements what unites them synchronically and what has allowed the development of one into either of the other two.

Second, I suggest dropping the features *pronoun* and *adjective* since they refer to the categorial status of the element, which can be derived from independent properties of these elements. Consider that the property of being a pronoun cannot be a primitive in the grammar. In fact, any element that can appear in place of and/or in absence of a noun can be considered a pronoun. As a matter of fact an adjective may do so too. Notice furthermore that an article cannot be considered like an adjective from other points of view. For example, it cannot cooccur with other articles, while it does cooccur with adjectives.

The demonstrative and the pronoun project a full structure (DemP, and DP_{pron} respectively), while the article is a functional head (D) in the nominal extended projection, which I call DP here, following the seminal work by Abney (1987):



(2) merely shows the final position in which we usually find DemP and DP_{pron}. There are strong reasons to believe that at least demonstratives originate in a lower position.²

Template (2) predicts that demonstratives and pronouns cannot cooccur. As is the case in (3):

- (3) a. It.: *noi questi ragazzi
 b. Fr.: *nous ces garçon-ci
 c. Rum.: *noi acești băieți / *noi băieții aceștia
 we these boys

(2) also predicts that demonstratives and pronouns can cooccur with articles. This is not often the case in Romance languages. However, some sporadic cases are found. These will be the topic of discussion in the rest of this section.

1.1. Pronouns

Although pronouns rarely appear with nouns due to both their anaphoric feature and their overt person features, their cooccurrence with nouns is not excluded:

- (4) a. [noi [(*)le] [ragazze]] siamo state preminate
 we the girls have been praised
 b. volevo dire questo a [voi [(*)i] [bambini]]
 I wanted to tell that to you the children

(4) shows that in Italian, the article cannot appear when a pronoun introduces a noun phrase. However, if we look at a different Romance language such as Rumanian, we can observe that pronouns may cooccur with articles:³

2. Cf. Giusti (1993 ch. 2) and Brugè (1996, 1997).

3. The examples in (5) are taken from Lombard (1974:96).

- (5) a. Dumneavoastrà profesorii credeti că e usor, dar după noi elevii este greu.
 you professors-the believe that [it] is easy, but for us students-the [it] is
 difficult
- b. Nouà bărbatilor ne place să fumăm.
 we.dat men-the.dat CL pleases to smoke

The contrast between Italian and Rumanian can be explained in a minimal framework by assuming that in Italian the pronoun in SpecDP realizes all the features present in that projection and makes the insertion of the article in D unnecessary and therefore impossible. In Rumanian, on the contrary, the article is part of the nominal inflection and it is inserted as a morpheme of N. As a consequence of this, the N must move to D to check the features of the article. The D position is perfectly available since the pronoun is in SpecDP.

The presence of the pronoun is presumably the overt representation of person features in the noun phrase. If no feature is specified, the understood feature is 3rd person. Given that noun phrases are underspecified for 3rd person, it is unnecessary and, on minimalist assumptions, impossible to realize it overtly. This is why the presence of a 3rd person pronoun is ungrammatical, as noticed by Cardinaletti (1994):⁴

- (6) a. *Ho parlato a loro studenti
 I spoke to them students
- b. *Lei insegnante non è contenta.
 She teacher is unhappy

4. Cardinaletti argues that the data in (3)-(5) are predication structures rather than simple DPs. There is very little evidence that supports one approach over the other and this is not the place to set the matter in depth. However the Rumanian data appear to support the present approach, given the obligatory presence of the definite article in cooccurrence of a pronoun and the absence of the article when the noun phrase is used predicatevely, e.g. *e inginer* (“[he] is [an] engineer”).

Another piece of data which favours my approach over Cardinaletti's is the cooccurrence of pronouns with noun phrases that are specified by adjectives or adjectival quantifiers but not with quantifiers proper: cf. *noi poveri/molti studenti* (“we poor/many students”) with **noi alcuni studenti* (“we some students”). Cf. Giusti (1991) for the different behaviour of adjectival quantifiers which include *many* and quantifiers proper such as *alcuni*. Notice that the string *alcuni studenti* (“some students”) can appear as a predicate in: *siamo alcuni studenti* (“[we] are some students”). I will not pursue the issue any further here.

From the synchronic point of view, the underspecification of person unifies demonstratives and definite articles and differentiates them from personal pronouns. From the diachronic point of view, it is quite straightforward that the only pronoun a demonstrative could develop into is the III person pronouns because a demonstrative is straightforwardly compatible with these person features for which it is underspecified.

1.2. Demonstratives

Demonstratives too can cooccur with articles in Rumanian, but only when they are in postnominal position. Cf. (7a) and (7b):

- (7) a. băiatul acesta frumos
 boy-the this-A nice
 b. acest băiat frumos
 this boy nice

In Giusti (1997) and previous work quoted there, I have extensively argued that (7a) is derived from (7b), which is parallel to the Italian word order. In (7a) the noun goes one step further whereby acquiring the definite article. I have also argued there that the data in (7) strongly supports the XP status of the demonstrative. The demonstrative can be crossed by the head noun, while it cannot be crossed by an adjective which should be considered as a maximal projection, since it pied pipes a modifier:

- (8) a. băiatul acesta [foarte frumos]
 boy-the this-A very nice
 b. foarte frumosul (*acesta) băiat
 very nice-the (this) boy

Spanish shows a different position for the postnominal demonstrative. Brugè (1996) shows that the basic position is the lowest functional specifier, only preceding the possessive:

- (9) a. el libro (*este) viejo (este) suyo (*este) de sintaxis
 the book (this) old (this) his (this) of syntax
 b. este libro viejo suyo de sintaxis
 “this old book of his about syntax”

In Brugè and Giusti (1996), we proposed a parametric theory of demonstratives in cross linguistic perspective which take the position of the demonstrative in (9b) as the basic, the position of the demonstrative in Rumanian (7/8a) as a derived position due to an intermediate movement, and the final position found in (7b) in Rumanian and (9a) in Spanish as SpecDP and the position in which the demonstrative is found in other languages such as Italian and French. When the demonstrative is in SpecDP the presence of the article is unnecessary to check any features of the DP. However, when the demonstrative procrastinates its movement to SpecDP, the article is necessary to make the DP visible before SPELLOUT. I refer to that work for a detailed analysis.

1.3. *The definite article*

The definite article is certainly a functional head. From the phonological point of view it is a proclitic in Italian and other Romance languages, except in Roumanian, where it is enclitic. The presence of the definite article in Italian is required by the principles that apply to the licencing of the extended projection of the noun. An article is required when the noun is present (10a) and cannot appear when the noun is missing, as in (10b), instead a pronominal demonstrative must be used (10c):

- (10) a. Il ragazzo biondo è già arrivato,
 The blond boy has already come
 b. *il castano non si è ancora farsi vivo.
 the brown-haired hasn't shown up yet.
 c. quello castano deve ancora farsi vivo.
 the brown-haired one hasn't shown up yet.

The contrasts in (10) show that the article is a functional head in the nominal projection and that it cannot appear in the adjectival projection in Italian.

This is not the case in Rumanian. The Rumanian article is a morpheme and as such it represents a further step towards “grammaticalization”, as Renzi (1997) observes. This morpheme can appear either on the noun or on the adjective:

- (11) a. *bàiatul*
 boy-the
 b. *frumosul băt*
 nice-the boy

Given the data in (11), it must be established whether the article on the adjective is a word that encliticizes onto the first word of the noun phrase, or a real morpheme that is part of the inflectional pattern of the root it appears on. I will claim for the latter hypothesis.

We have already noticed above that the enclitic article appears on the first noun/adjective and not on any element which can be an adverbial, as in (8b) above or a quantifier as in (12):

- (12) a. *am vătut pe *totii băteti*
 b. *am vătut pe toti(*i) bătetii*
 c. *am vătut pe bătetii toti(*i)*
 d. *am vătut pe toti(*i)*
 “I saw all (the boys)”

The article never appears on the quantifier *toti* either in prenominal position (12a,b) or in postnominal position (12c) or with a pronominal function (12d). I propose this has a lexical explanation: simply, the quantifier *toti* does not have that kind of inflection in its paradigm.

The form of the masculine singular article depends on the form of the root it attaches on. If it is a noun/adjective in *-u* the form is *ul*, if the noun/adjective is in *-e*, the form is *-le*:

- (13) a. fratele bun
 b. bunul frate
 c. poetul mare
 d. marele poet

Following Chitoran (1997) I assume that the basic form of the article is $-lV$ where V is the slot for an underspecified vowel that is spread from the preceding syllable. A further assumption needed is that word final $-u$ but not $-e$ delete.⁵ In this way we obtain the underlying forms $frate+l+V > fratele$, $mare+l+V > marele$, $bunu+l+V > bunulu > bunul$, $poetu+l+V > poetulu > poetul$.

The presence of the underspecified vowel differentiates the clitic pronoun (*i*) l from the enclitic pronoun $l+V$. Both derive from the same element ILLE. I take the morphological different form to be evidence for the analysis of the enclitic article in terms of inflectional morphology while encliticization of pronouns is a morphosyntactic phenomenon. In other words the enclitic article in Rumanian has reached the apex of grammaticalization and is now part of word internal morphology of adjectives and nouns.

I have already argued elsewhere (cf. Giusti 1993) that the article in general and in particular in Rumanian has lost most (possibly all) its semantic features and that its presence is ruled by syntactic principles rather than by lexical semantic concerns.

Rumanian offers a striking case of this phenomenon, when a noun phrase is embedded in a PP. If the noun phrase contains a bare noun (10a) it cannot display the definite article just when its interpretation is definite, as in (14a), although it must contain the indefinite article when it is interpreted as indefinite, as in (14b). But as soon as a modifier is present, the definite article must reappear, as in (14c):

- (14) a. pentru vecin(*ul)
 for neighbour(*-the)
 “for the neighbour”
 b. pentru un vecin
 for a neighbour

5. This rule does not apply when $-u$ is preceded by $C+l$ or $C+r$. This sequence of consonant does not form a proper rhyme in Rumanian. This is a good reason for the non-applicability of $-u$ -deletion, e.g. in *socru* (“father-in-law”), *cioclu* (“grave-digger”).

ultimately the only reasons of crosslinguistic variation, the proposal that the presence vs absence of the article in a language is to be reduced to the functional/morphological nature of this element.

1.4. Summary

I have proposed that the demonstrative and the pronoun are maximal projections which originate in some Spec position inside the extended noun phrase structure and end up in SpecDP. This is the highest functional projection in the noun phrase, and the locus where the interpretation of the noun phrase is done at LF.⁷ In (16) I give the revised inventory of the lexical semantic features relevant for the elements under investigation:

- (16) a. *Demonstrative*
- i. definite
 - ii. deictic / anaphoric / ostensive
 - iii. III / VI person
 - [iv. It projects an extended projection]
- b. *Pronoun*
- i. definite
 - ii. anaphoric / ostensive
 - iii. I / II / III / IV / V / VI person
 - [iv. It projects an extended projection]
- c. *Article*
- i. Ødefinite
 - ii. Øanaphoric
 - iii. Øperson
 - [iv. It is inserted in a functional head]

7. For a much detailed question on where the demonstrative originates and where it is further displaced cf. Brugè (1996, 1997) and Brugè and Giusti (1996).

In (16c) the article is unspecified for all the relevant features. I propose that “Elsewhere” conditions assign the proper values to the Specifier of a head D filled by a definite article.

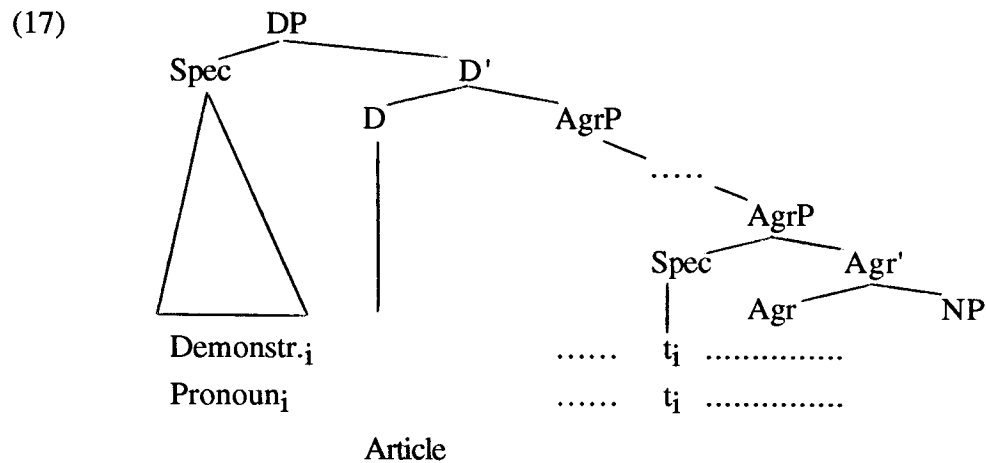
Demonstratives and pronouns are intrinsically marked for the feature (i) *definite*. The article is underspecified for this feature and it is compatible with any choice for it. An Elsewhere condition inserts an empty operator in SpecDP when the definite article is present. This derives the definite interpretation which is generally obtained when a definite article is present.

The features *deictic / anaphoric / ostensive* in (ii) are in complementary distribution. They express the possibility for the given element to refer to an object in the world (deixis and ostension) or of the discourse (anaphoric reference). The three elements are included one into the other with respect to this feature: The definite article can be anaphoric, namely it can only refer to a noun phrase in the discourse. The pronoun can either be ostensive to an object in the world or anaphoric to a noun phrase in the discourse. Finally, the demonstrative can do either or it can also refer in a deixis. The features in (ii) relate the richness in morphological features to the richness in semantic features: the demonstrative being richer than the pronoun which is richer than the article. We will see in next section that change of the richest element into either of the other two is related to morphological impoverishment.

In (iii) person features are expressed. The article is unmarked for person features. This is why it is compatible with any person. The unmarked case is when no person is specified and an Elsewhere condition inserts III person specification in singular noun phrases and VI person specification in plural noun phrases. The demonstrative is the most marked since it is overtly specified for III and VI. The pronoun be marked for any person. Person features are present both in demonstratives and in pronouns. This accounts for the fact that demonstratives and pronouns never cooccur (cf. **noi questi ragazzi*, “we these children”).

(iv) is not a feature but it is a state of affairs derived by from the other properties. An underspecified element such as the article is semantically void and can only be a functional head. The demonstrative and the pronoun project a full extended projection due to their semantic content.

According to this framework, the structural position for the three elements is given in (17), in which the demonstrative and the pronoun start in a low position and end up in SpecDP. The article, on the contrary, is directly generated in D:

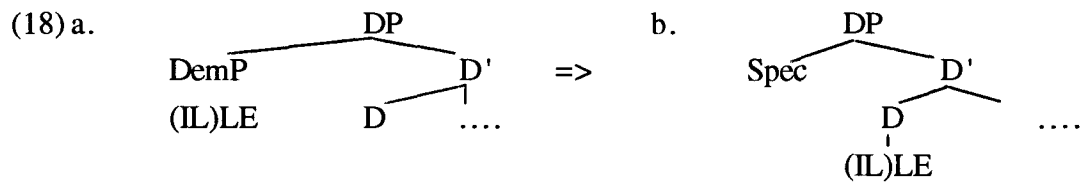


2. A diachronic analysis

Renzi analyses the development of the demonstrative into the pronoun and the definite article as a loss of semantic features.

2.1. The development of the definite article

I would like to complement Renzi's arguments with the structural analysis for the development of the demonstrative into the definite article. The Latin element ILLE generally found in SpecDP loses its first syllable (cf. Vanelli 1998 and other work quoted there) and is reinterpreted as an element in D.

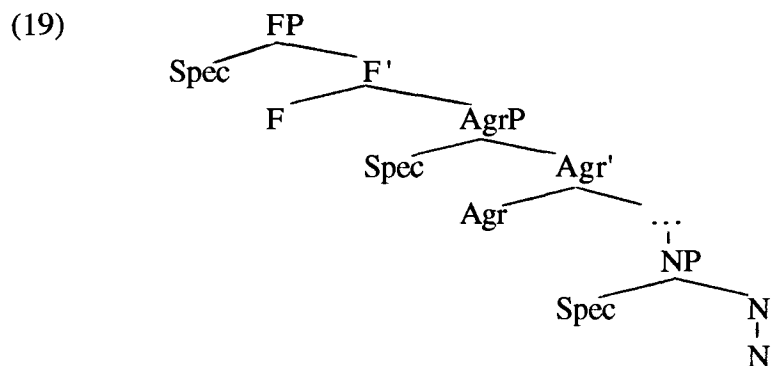


Given the absence of lexical material in D in (18a), and in SpecDP in (18b) the two structures may have coexisted in the language for several generations. By the time the first syllable had completely disappeared, (18a) had also disappeared in favour of (18b). It is reasonable to suppose that the trigger for the “new” analysis was the phonological weakening of (IL)LE. On the other hand, the existence of the “new” analysis may have quickened the loss of the first syllable.

It is reasonable to assume that functional heads are generally (possibly unexceptionally) monosyllabic, and also devoid of lexical semantic features. In (16c) I proposed that the article is underspecified for the features *definite*, and *anaphoric*. These features are covertly present in SpecDP when D is filled by the definite article.

The head of DP is not filled in order to realize any semantic feature but for syntactic reasons, namely in order to make DP visible at the relevant interface levels (PF and LF). In Latin, in which no article was present, this function was fulfilled by case features on the head N.

Following Renzi's (1987) suggestion, in Giusti (1995), I propose to unify Case and article in one and the same category, namely D renamed F to include Case and possibly other functional features which mark the noun phrase as an argument. The noun phrase structure proposed is (19), in which FP is the same node as DP in the examples above:



In (19), N is a lexical head that projects its functional structure with a recursive Agr and a topping F. Only FPs can be arguments, because FP checks argument features, among which case. The Spec-Head agreement configuration for modifiers is necessary given that modifiers are unmarked for a series of nominal features which must be fixed, namely gender, number, case, etc. depending on the language under consideration. For this reason, AgrPs are projected recursively, one for each modifier of the noun which is inserted in SpecAgrP, in order to be in Spec-Head agreement with an Agr which shares the features of the N-to-F chain.

Let us make the case of a language with morphological case and no article, such as Latin. The head noun carries case features which are checked by N-to-D movement at LF. Movement can be procrastinated until LF, case features being independently visible at previous levels by virtue of their being phonologically visible. The same holds for the modifiers which

carry overt morphological affixes. This makes the Spec-Head agreement visible prior SPELLOUT and allows for the noun to procrastinate its movement. In (20) we see some examples of noun phrases, all taken from the first sections of Seneca's *Ad Marciam de consolatione*:

- (20) a. vir ille fortissimus 1.7
 man.MAS.S.NOM that.MAS.S.NOM very-strong.MAS.S.NOM
- b. ultimam illam faciem rerum 5.4
 last.FEM.S.ACC that.FEM.S.ACC aspectFEM.S.ACC thing.FEM.PL.GEN
- c. ultima filii oscula 3.2
 lastNEUT.PL.ACC son.MAS.S.GEN kiss.NEUT.PL.ACC

(20a) shows the noun in initial position, (20b) shows a noun following its modifiers but preceding a genitive complement, while (20c) shows the noun in final position preceding the genitive.

From a brief review of (20), we observe that the noun starts very low and can remain in that position (20c), can raise in intermediate position (20b), or can raise very high (20a) for stylistic reasons. Raising, therefore, is possible but not obligatory. I propose that the optionality only regards the level of the representation in which N-to-D movement applies:

either before SPELLOUT or in its way to LF. The rich morphology on the noun makes the N-chain visible prior SPELLOUT even if N has not moved at that level.

The loss of such morphology is coexistent with the reanalysis of the demonstrative in (18) above. In such situation, the new element in D allows for the chain to be visible without changes in the word order. In other words, although case morphology is not rich enough to make the N-chain visible prior to N-movement, the presence of the newly formed article complies with the same function. This has the result of keeping the relatively free word order noticed above, which is typical of Romance languages.

2.2. The development of the pronoun

In template (2) above, I assumed that demonstratives and pronouns both check their features in the same position, namely SpecDP. The reanalysis of demonstrative ILLE into a strong pronoun does not imply any syntactic process but just a morphological reanalysis of an element with features (16a) into an element with features (16b).

A reanalysis of a pronoun in SpecDP into a head in D, similar to (18) proposed for the development of the article, is responsible for the further development of the strong pronoun into the clitic pronoun. From the structural point of view, the article and the clitic pronoun are in the same position.

The crucial difference between these two elements relies on the presence in the former and absence in the latter of a lexical head in the noun phrase. In the case of the article the head noun is necessary to licence the functional element in D. The pronoun, by definition, excludes the presence of the lexical noun. Being in need of a lexical head to check its features, the functional head must move out of the noun phrase and be licenced by verbal features.

2.3. A “new” demonstrative

In the processes of reanalysis dealt with above, the element ILLE loses some of the semantic properties, namely *deictic / anaphoric*. At this reconstructed stage, the category

represented in (16a) is no more realized by ILLE. A new lexical item was formed with a “reinforcer”, the ostensive ECCUM.

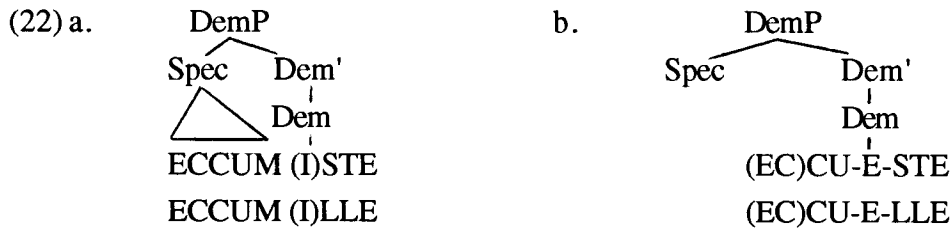
I propose a parallelism with another “reinforcer” of the demonstrative present in several Romance languages until today: the deictic adverbial (“*here / there*”) extensively studied by Brugè (1997):

(21) a.	ECCUM ISTE / ECCUM ILLE	reconstructed form
b.	ce-ci / ce-la	French
c.	questo qui / quello là	Italian
d.	este de aquí / ese de allí	Spanish

Brugè (1997) argues that the demonstrative and the reinforcer build a constituent in (21b-d).⁸ I propose that this is the case for the reconstructed form in (21a). The specular word order which we find in the reconstructed form with respect to modern Romance language could either be reduced to another general difference between Latin and Romance languages, Latin being predominantly OV, Romance being predominantly VO; or to the different nature of ECCUM which is ostensive and contrasts with the deictic nature of *qui / lì* and their counterparts.

I propose to analyse the reconstructed forms in (21a) as constituents. The reconstruction must have taken place in at least two stages: At first, ECCUM was inserted in the SpecDemP, as in (22a). A phonological cliticization of the head in Dem which had lost its stress further led to a second stage of reanalysis of the resulting phonological word into a syntactic word in the position of Dem, as in (22b):

8. Notice that in French the presence of the adverb is obligatory when the demonstrative is used as a pronoun. Notice also that in Italian and Spanish the adverb and the demonstrative must agree for a feature that we may call [proximity], so that the combination of a [+proximate] demonstrative and a [-proximate] adverb is not allowed and vice versa: cf. It. *questo lì* (this there), *quello qui* (that here). This observation is brought about by Brugè (1994) to reinforce her proposal that the two elements form a constituent.



The possibility which arose in later stages of adding a deictic adverbial in modern times, suggests on the one hand that in modern times the loss in semantic features by the head is going further in the same direction. On the other hand, the features grouped under each heading of (16) are attributable to the whole projection and not to a single head.

The linguistic changes dealt with up to now all have a common feature: they do not involve a change in the word order but consist in a reanalysis of the string.⁹ In all cases the change regards a lexical category in a Spec which is reanalysed as being in the adjacent head. If this happens to be a functional head, the reanalysed element loses its lexical status and becomes a functional element, as is the case of the Italian, French, etc. article, studied in 2.1 and of the clitic pronoun studied in 2.2.

If the adjacent head is lexical and the reanalysed element precedes it, it is reanalysed as a prefix and then as part of the word. This is the case of the reinforcer ECCU, studied in (22).

If the adjacent head is preceding it is analysed as a suffix, and then as checked in a (higher) functional head. This is the case of the Rumanian article, which is enclitic.

Renzi (1997:16) notices that the new demonstrative formed from ECCUM-ILLE is currently undergoing a further reanalysis as a personal pronoun in some Italian dialects such as Piedmontese *chiell/chila* (Turin, cf. Rohlf 437, Berruto 1974) the new demonstrative is formed with the locative reinforcer which is optional in Italian: *cul là* (Turin, cf. Lombardi Vallauri (1995)). We are in the middle of a never ending process of language change.

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9. The only exception to this observation is apparently the case of the clitic pronoun which is in a different position with respect to the verb than its strong counterpart. A hypothesis yet to be verified is that at the stage in which the proposed reanalysis has taken place both the OV and the VO orders were possible and that the former allowed for the reanalysis while the latter did not. At the later stage in which VO was already established in Italian, the OV order was only analysed as head movement of the clitic to V (or to a functional verbal projection).

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