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The suffixal nature of the post-nominal article in Swedish and Romanian:
evidence from L1 acquisition[*]

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1.   Introduction

Although Scandinavian and Romanian belong to two typologically different language families, Germanic and Romance resp., and although they developed a definite article long after Germanic and Romance had become separate languages families within the group of Indo-European languages, their nominal structure differs in an important way from the other Germanic and Romance languages: they both have a post-nominal article (Perridon & Sleeman 2011). In this paper the nature of this post-nominal article in one of the Scandinavian languages, Swedish, and in Romanian is discussed.

   In the literature there has been a debate on the nature of the post-nominal, definite, article in Swedish and Romanian, as exemplified in (1) and (2):

(1)   *hus-et*
       house-the
       'the house'
(2)   *omu-l*
       man-the
       'the man'

Taraldsen (1990) claims that the post-nominal suffix in Swedish is a 2nd position clitic. Adopting Abney's (1987) DP-analysis of the noun phrase, Taraldsen argues that the post-nominal position of the definite article in (1) is the result of the noun left-adjoining to the definite article base-generated in D^o. Julien (2005) analyzes the post-nominal article in (1) as the head of nP, a functional projection dominating NP. In her analysis, the noun left-adjoins to the enclitic article base-generated in the head of nP, and subsequently, nP moves to Spec,DP. A third analysis of the Swedish post-nominal article exemplified in (1) has been put forth by Perridon (1989), who analyzes the post-nominal article as a suffix on the noun.

   For Romanian it has also be claimed that the post-nominal article is merged in the head of a functional projection dominating NP, the enclitic position of the article being the result of the noun left-adjoining to the article (Dobrovie-Sorin 1987). Just like Perridon (1989) for Swedish, however, Giusti (1994) analyzes the post-nominal article in Romanian as a suffix.

   In this paper, on the basis of L1 acquisition of Swedish and Romanian, I defend Perridon's and Giusti's analysis of the post-nominal article as a suffix.

   The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I present various analyses of the post-nominal article in Swedish and Romanian put forth in the literature. In section 3, data on the L1 acquisition of the article in Swedish and Romanian are presented. In section 4, it is argued

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that these data support the analysis of the post-nominal article as a suffix. Section 5 is devoted to some concluding remarks.

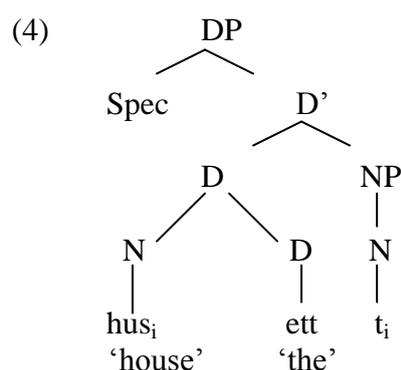## 2.   Analyses of the post-nominal article in Swedish and Romanian

During the last 30 years, several analyses of the Swedish and the Romanian noun phrase, and the position of the article in these languages have been proposed. In section 2.1, I present some analyses of the Swedish noun phrase proposed in the literature. In section 2.2, several analyses of the Romanian noun phrase and the post-nominal article are presented.

2.1   Analyses of the Swedish post-nominal determiner

Until the eighties, the noun phrase was analyzed in the framework of Generative Grammar as a simple NP, with the article generated in the specifier position. This analysis of the noun phrase, based on English, could easily be extended to West-Germanic and West-Romance languages, which all have a pre-nominal article. It could also be adopted for the pre-nominal, indefinite, article in Scandinavian, as exemplified by the Swedish example (3):

(3)   *ett piano*
       a   piano

The post-nominal, definite, article could, however, not be generated in this left-side specifier position, but had to be analyzed as a suffix on the noun (Perridon 1989). The DP-analysis of the noun phrase, as developed by Abney (1987), paved the way for a more or less unifying analysis of pre-nominal and post-nominal determiners. The DP-analysis entails that the NP is selected by a functional head, D^o, which hosts the determiner. Taraldsen (1990) proposed that there may be raising of the noun to the D-position in the Scandinavian languages, hence deriving the post-nominal position of the article in these languages. This analysis was adopted by, e.g., Delsing (1992) and Kester (1992):

(4)
```
                    DP
                   /  \
               Spec    D'
                      /  \
                    D      NP
                   / \      |
                  N   D     N
                  |   |     |
               hus_i  ett   t_i
              'house' 'the'
```

With the creation of a more elaborated version of the DP-structure during the last twenty years, more sophisticated analyses of the post-nominal position of the determiner in the Scandinavian languages were proposed. Building on Ritter's (1991) introduction of the functional projection NumP within the DP-structure, Santelman (1992) proposes that the post-nominal article in Swedish is generated in the head of NumP. The noun left-adjoins to the article. They move together to D^o:

(5)

```
              DP
           /      \
        Spec       D'
                /      \
               D        NumP
               |      /      \
               |    Spec      Num'
               |           /       \
               |         Num        NP
               |          |          |
               |          |          N
               |          |          |
         [ bilᵢ-en ]ⱼ     tⱼ         tᵢ
            car-the
           'the car'
```

A variant of this analysis is proposed by Julien (2005), in whose analysis the post-nominal determiner in Swedish is merged in the head of the functional projection nP, dominating NP. NP moves to Spec,nP, and the whole nP raises to Spec,DP. Another variant is proposed by Stroh-Wollin (2011). In her analysis, the post-nominal determiner is merged within the head of the functional projection dP. The raised noun left-adjoins to the article in the head of dP, and, subsequently, the complex *noun + article* raises to the head of the dominating DP.

Whereas in all these proposals couched within the DP-analysis of the noun phrase, noun + article raise to the DP, in Lohmann's (2011) analysis, proposed within the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994; Marantz 1997, 2001; Harley & Noyer, 1999; Embick & Noyer 2006), in which derived words are formed in the syntactic component of the grammar, the noun raises to the head of a functional projection just dominating NP, which contains a "specific reference" feature, [sref]. This feature is spelled out as a suffix on the raised noun. There is no further raising of the suffixed noun to DP. An analysis of the enclitic article in Scandinavian without movement is proposed by Giusti (1994). Building on Cinque's (1994) claim that the pre-nominal position of the adjective in Germanic results from short movement of the noun, whereas the post-nominal position of the adjective in Romance results from long movement of the noun to a higher functional projection - both types of adjectives being generated within functional projections dominating the noun phrase - Giusti argues that in the Scandinavian languages the noun does not raise in order to left-adjoin to the article. She proposes instead that, in Scandinavian, the suffix is inserted onto the head noun in NP, without any further movement to DP.

Lohmann's and Giusti's analyses come close to Perridon's (1989 and subsequent work) analysis, in which suffixation of the noun, as I suppose, does not take place in Syntax, but in the Lexicon. In Perridon & Sleeman (2011) the analysis of the post-nominal article in Scandinavian is motivated as follows. In the parent languages of the Romance and Germanic languages (Latin, Old English, Proto-Norse, etc.) an attribute was to a certain extent still an apposition. Within the noun phrase, all attributes could in principle occur both before and after the noun they modified, but with a difference in emphasis. The distal demonstratives grammaticalized into definite articles in a position in which they were not stressed: before the noun in West-Germanic and all the Romance languages except Romanian, after the noun in North-Germanic and Romanian. In North-Germanic and Romanian, the grammaticalized
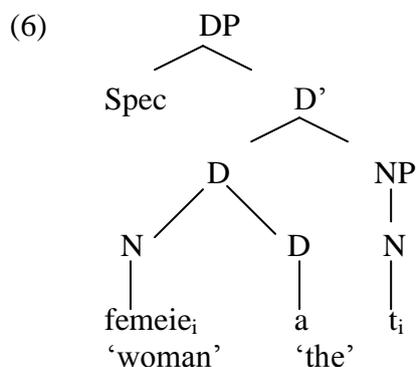
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unstressed distal demonstrative, i.e. the post-nominal article, turned into a clitic, and eventually (at least in Scandinavian) into a nominal suffix. An analysis of the enclitic article in Scandinavian as emerging from a reanalysis of a post-nominal demonstrative is also adopted by Roehrs (2006: 49-64).

Perridon's analysis of the post-nominal article in Scandinavian as a nominal suffix makes a DP-analysis of the noun phrase superfluous. A simple NP-analysis suffices: the suffixed noun phrase can be merged within the head of the NP and a pre-nominal article, such as the indefinite article in (3), can be merged within the specifier position of the NP.

After having presented some analyses of the Swedish noun phrase that have been proposed in the literature, in the next section I present some analyses of the Romanian noun phrase.

2.2 *Analyses of the Romanian post-nominal determiner*

Adopting Abney's DP-analysis of the noun phrase, Dobrovie-Sorin (1987) and Grosu (1988) argue that the post-nominal position of the article in Romanian is the result of the noun left-adjoining to the article in D^o:

(6)

```
                    DP
                  /    \
               Spec     D'
                       /  \
                      D    NP
                    /  \    |
                   N    D   N
                   |    |   |
                femeie_i  a   t_i
                'woman'  'the'
```

Whereas Giusti (1994) assumes that the enclitic article in Scandinavian does not involve noun movement, she assumes just like Dobrovie-Sorin and Grosu that in Romanian the noun moves to the enclitic article in D^o, because she adopts Cinque's (1994) claim that in Romance there is long-movement of the noun.

Cornilescu & Nicolae (2011) argue that the Romanian post-nominal article is not a second position clitic / a Wackernagel clitic, generated in D^o and forcing the noun to move to the first position in the DP. Just like Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea (2006), they analyze the post-nominal article in Romanian as a suffix. But whereas Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea propose that the article is merged in D^o and is lowered on the noun, Cornilescu & Nicolae, just like Perridon (1989) for Swedish, claim that the combination of the post-nominal article and the noun in Romanian is the result of a morphological rule rather than the effect of syntactic movement. In agreement with Perridon's (1989) analysis of the Swedish post-nominal article, Cornilescu & Nicolae envisage the following scenario for the rise of the enclitic article in Romanian. The enclitic article in Romanian emerged through the reanalysis of the (Latin) demonstrative *ille* in the context of the post-nominal demonstrative construction. The post-nominal position of the demonstrative was reinforced by the contact with the local Dacian dialects, which strongly preferred to post-pose adjectives, including the demonstrative adjective. Destressing of the demonstrative led to its being analyzed as a clitic, and in the final step of its grammaticalization it became a suffix. In Cornilescu & Nicolae's analysis, proposed within Chomsky's (1995, 2001) Minimalist framework, the post-nominal article in

Romanian is the phonological realization of an (uninterpretable) definiteness feature on the noun, which values the interpretable definiteness feature on D^o, through Local Agree.

In this section, several analyses of the Swedish and the Romanian post-nominal article have been compared. In the next section, I present data from the L1 acquisition of the article in Swedish and Romanian, which, in section 4, I will use to support one of the analyses of the post-nominal article presented in this section.

3. Analyses of the L1 acquisition of articles in Swedish and Romanian

In the literature, several studies have been devoted to the analysis of the acquisition of the Swedish and the Romanian article in L1 acquisition. In section 3.1, I present some analyses of the L1 acquisition of the article in Swedish, and in section 3.2 some analyses of the article in Romanian will be discussed.

3.1 L1 acquisition of the article in Swedish

One of the hypotheses put forth in the literature on L1 acquisition is that only lexical categories are available to young children, who acquire functional categories later. This hypothesis is called the Maturation Hypothesis, and is defended by, e.g. Radford (1990a,b). Another hypothesis on L1 acquisition is the Full Competence or Strong Continuity Hypothesis, defended by, e.g., Pinker (1984) and Paradis & Genesee (1997). According to this hypothesis, all functional projections are already available to children from the outset of language learning, their possible initial absence being caused by other factors, such as a limited working memory capacity or phonological reasons.

Radford (1990a,b) shows on the basis of English L1 acquisition data that young children omit determiners, which he uses in favor of his Maturation Hypothesis: children start by producing NPs. The functional projection DP is acquired later.

Bohnacker (1997) defends the second hypothesis, the Strong Continuity Hypothesis. She studied the transcriptions of language data produced by a monolingual Swedish child, Embla, which were collected from age 1;8,2 (MLU: 1.64) to age 2;1,2 (MLU: 2.54). An analysis of the child's longitudinal development of the determiner system showed that only 10.4% of all her nominals were of the ungrammatical determinerless type. Bohnacker observes that there is a high percentage of overt definite determiners, which are productive right from the start of the recordings at age 1;8:

(7)   *bil-en   bada*
        car-the.COMM bathe
        (Embla, 1;8,2)

(8)   *Mamma laga   sate-t.*
        Mummy mend seat-the.NEU
        (Embla, 1;9,2).

Bohnacker states that Embla uses both common and neuter definite and indefinite articles and that her data show virtually perfect nominal-internal agreement in gender and number features.

On the basis of her analysis, Bohnacker concludes that the high occurrence of overt determiners must invoke at least one functional projection above the NP in Embla's initial

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grammar, which is an argument against the Maturational Hypothesis. Bohnacker found that the same noun can occur bare and with different determiners in Embla's productions. She takes this to mean that noun and determiners are stored separately in the child's lexicon and thus that nouns and determiners are not stored as an unanalyzed whole. According to Bohnacker, the occurrence of both free pre-nominal and affixed post-nominal articles, in different utterances, for a particular noun provides furthermore evidence that Embla has access to the processes that govern nominal head-raising to a functional head. Bohnacker adopts thus a noun-raising analysis for the post-nominal determiner in Swedish.

Bohnacker shows that the reanalysis of the data of another Swedish child, Tor (2;3 – 2;5), analyzed earlier by Svartholm (1978), provides the same results: Swedish children acquire the use of the article earlier than English children. This is confirmed by Kupisch, Anderssen, Bohnacker & Snape (2009). Kupisch et al. compared determiner acquisition in four Germanic languages. Differently from Bohnacker (1997) for Swedish, they show that the indefinite article is acquired in the four Germanic languages at the same age and later than the definite article, but that the definite article is acquired earlier in Swedish and Norwegian (MLU: 1.5 – 2) than in German (MLU: 2.5 – 3) and English (MLU above 3). They use this as an argument against Chierchia's (1998) Nominal Mapping Hypothesis, which Chierchia, Guasti & Gualmini (1999) use to relate variation in child languages to the syntactic and semantic properties of noun phrases across languages. Chierchia et al. (1999) show, e.g., that Romance children acquire article use earlier than Germanic children. This is attributed to the fact that in Romance determiners are obligatory used, whereas Germanic has a higher proportion of bare nouns. Kupisch et al. argue that the differences in the L1 acquisition of the article in Swedish/Norwegian and English/German, which behave in the same way with respect to the use of bare nouns, show that the Nominal Mapping Hypothesis cannot be correct.

In the literature, some linguists have tried to account for the initial omission of the article in terms of metrical structures. Gerken (1991) has argued that young children omit various function words, including pre-nominal articles, because they prefer trochaic templates. Differences with respect to article acquisition, e.g. in Romance and Germanic, have also been accounted for in terms of the metrical structure of the languages. Lléo & Demuth (1999) argue that Spanish children acquire correct article use earlier than German children because their Spanish input contains many trisyllabic WSW (weak-strong-weak) words, structures that are also required in the production of pre-nominal articles. German, on the other hand, contains many monosyllabic and bisyllabic words with an intial strong syllable. Since the Swedish and Norwegian post-nominal definite articles are acquired earlier than the English and German pre-nominal articles, Kupisch et al. (2009) wonder if a prosodic approach can account for this difference. They adopt a prosodic account for the early acquisition of the post-nominal definite determiner, but they show that a prosodic account also raises some problems. Although many nouns in the Scandinavian languages have the metrical structure SW, which could explain the early acquisition of the post-nominal article in Scandinavian, the trochaic template approach leaves unexplained any omission by the child of the definite article with monosyllabic nouns, such as *hus-et* 'house-the' and *bil-en* 'car-the' or the child's production of the third syllable in trisyllabic words such as *album-et* 'the album'. Furthermore, prosodic models cannot account for the fact that Scandinavian children do not yet produce (pre-nominal) indefinite articles although they already produce WSW utterances.

In sum, although Kupisch et al. argue that the early acquisition of the definite determiner in Scandinavian cannot be explained in terms of Chierchia's Nominal Mapping Parameter, they state that a metrical analysis cannot fully account either for article acquisition

in Scandinavian. In the next section, I show how the acquisition of the article in Romanian proceeds.

3.2   L1 acquisition of the article in Romanian

In studies on the L1 acquisition of the Romanian noun phrase, both Coene & D'Hulst (2002) and Avram (2001) show that the post-nominal article in Romanian is acquired very early and before the pre-nominal determiners. Coene & D'Hulst studied the acquisition of the noun phrase by a trilingual Dutch-Romanian-Italian child (1;07-2;07). Both Coene & D'Hulst and Avram studied the noun phrase acquisition by two monolingual Romanian children (1;03-2;07).

Coene & D'Hulst distinguish three stages in the acquisition of the noun phrase by their subjects. In stage 1 (1;03-1;08) there is an overall use of definite determiners. These post-nominal determiners seem to be used productively in all genders and numbers without agreement errors. In this stage the trilingual Dutch-Romanian-Italian child does not produce any determiners in Dutch or Italian. In stage 2 (1;08-2;01) the children start to produce possessive markers, adjectives, and, at the end of stage 2, indefinite articles (for the trilingual child in all languages). In stage 3 (2;01-2;06) the trilingual child starts to produce pre-nominal definite articles in Dutch and Italian. In this period, errors in gender and number between the noun and its post-nominal determiner in Romanian and between the noun and its pre-nominal article in Dutch start to occur.

In the previous section, we saw that Bohnacker (1997) argues against a Maturational account for Swedish, but embraces the Full Competence, i.e. Strong Continuity, Hypothesis instead. She argues that the acquisition of definite and indefinite determiners, possessive *'s*, pronouns, and proper names shows that the Swedish child Embla uses the whole DP-structure right from the beginning of the recordings at 1;8. The presence of a DP-projection at this age would constitute an argument against Radford's Maturation Hypothesis and in favor of the noun-raising analysis of post-nominal articles. In the previous section, we also saw, on the other hand, that according to Kupisch et al. (2009), Scandinavian children acquire the post-nominal definite article before the pre-nominal indefinite article. However, just like Bohnacker, they do not seem to adopt Radford's Maturational Hypothesis, because this would predict that all children acquire determiners at the same time. Kupisch et al. show, however, that there is variation. Although Kupisch et al. seem thus to adopt the Strong Continuity Hypothesis, they argue that a metrical account cannot totally explain the presence or absence of determiners in Scandinavian L1 acquisition of the noun phrase. Just like Kupisch et al. for Scandinavian, Coene & D'Hulst argue that the early acquisition of the post-nominal determiner in Romanian cannot be totally explained in terms of dominant or preferred metrical structure. They state that in Romanian, generally speaking, singular nouns ending in a vowel (mainly feminine words) have a trochaic (SW) pattern (e.g. *fată* , 'girl', *tigru* 'tiger'), whereas nouns ending in a consonant (mainly masculine and so-called neuter words) are predominantly iambic (WS, e.g. *copil* 'child'). Whereas the addition of a post-nominal article to a word ending in a vowel maintains the trochaic structure (*fata* 'the girl'), the addition of a post-nominal article to a word ending in a consonant modifies the metrical structure of the base: it adds an unstressed syllable to the iambic structure of the noun, changing the WS structure into a WSW structure (*copil* 'child' → *copilul* 'the child'). Coene & D'Hulst observe that an analysis of the data of one of the monolingual subjects shows that, unexpectedly under a metrical account, the child produces far more definite iambic masculines than bare ones, and that there are also more definite iambic nouns than definite trochaic ones in her productions. Coene & D'Hulst show thus that the absence or presence of

definite articles in the child's early productions in Romanian cannot be explained in terms of metrical preferences, which would save a Strong Continuity account in spite of the non-predicted later acquisition of pre-nominal determiners.

Although Romanian children acquire the post-nominal determiner earlier that the pre-nominal determiner, and although the trilingual child uses the definite article earlier in Romanian than in Dutch and Italian, Coene & D'Hulst seem to argue in favor of the Maturational Hypothesis. Although Romanian children produce post-nominal articles in stage I, they state that these are only impostors. In stage I, we are dealing with an unanalyzed noun, which would account for the absence of agreement errors in this stage. In stage II, the D-position is added to the structure, triggered by the emergence of the production of possessive and plural marking, which involve low functional projections: the definite article is analyzed as a clitic involving raising of the noun from N to D, and other determiners are merged in D^o. Although the definite article in Romanian seems to be acquired earlier than the definite article in Dutch or Italian, this is only apparently so, because, in Coene & D'Hulst's analysis, the Romanian definite article in stage I is not projected in Syntax, but is part of the unanalyzed noun.

This view of the acquisition of the Romanian determiner is shared by Avram (2001). Just like Coene & D'Hulst, she analyzes the post-nominal determiner in the first stage of acquisition (1;5 – 1;10) as an impostor, which means that in fact the post-nominal determiner as a D^o emerges at the same time as the pre-nominal determiners. Just like Coene & D'Hulst, Avram argues that children start by producing NPs in stage I, and that they only produce DPs in stage II of the acquisition of articles (1;10 – 2;4)

In this section we have seen that, whereas in Bohnacker's analysis the post-nominal article (in Swedish) is analyzed as a 2nd position clitic right from the start of acquisition, in Coene & D'Hulst and Avram's analyses the post-nominal article (in Romanian) is also analyzed as a 2nd position clitic, but only in stage II of acquisition. In stage I the noun and the post-nominal article form an unanalyzed complex. In the next section I discuss these analyses of the post-nominal determiner and I propose an alternative analysis.

4.   A suffixal analysis of the post-nominal determiner in Swedish and Romanian

In section 2 I showed that whereas Perridon (1989), using an NP-analysis of the noun phrase, analyzes the post-nominal article in Swedish as a suffix on the noun, the introduction of the DP-structure by Abney (1987) paved the way for noun movement analyses of the post-nominal article, which is analyzed as a clitic merged in D^o. Bohnacker (1997), Coene & D'Hulst (2002), and Avram (2001), discussed in the previous section, all adopt the DP-analysis and the noun-movement analysis of post-nominal determiners. The earlier emergence of the post-nominal definite article is problematic for these analyses, because the movement of the noun which creates the post-nominal article is computationally more costly than simply merging the pre-nominal article. Bohnacker therefore tries to show that the post-nominal article in Swedish emerges as the same time as other determiners, and as proper names and pronouns, which all involve the projection of DP in her analysis. Coene & D'Hulst and Avram argue that the early post-nominal determiners in L1 acquisition are not real D^os but part of the noun. Real post-nominal determiners involving N-to-D movement appear at the same time as free determiners, i.e. once the D-position has been acquired. Kupisch et al. however, show, contra Bohnacker, that, in Swedish, post-nominal articles are acquired before the indefinite determiner. This raises a problem for Bohnacker's analysis of the post-nominal article in Swedish as a D^o clitic attracting the noun, since Move is computationally more

costly than Merge. Coene & D'Hulst and Avram analyze the post-nominal definite article in stage I of L1 acquisition of Romanian as an impostor and in stage II as a D^o. A problem with this analysis is, however, what forces the child to reinterpret the post-nominal article as a D^o morpheme. The emergence of other determiners does not imply that the child cannot continue analyzing the post-nominal determiner as part of the noun. Another problem with this analysis is that it is not clear that the child analyzes the post-nominal determiner as an impostor before starting to use other determiners. The fact that both in Swedish and in Romanian children do not make agreement errors with post-nominal determiners (never according to Bohnacker and not in stage I according to Coene & D'Hulst) does not mean that children do not analyze post-nominal articles as morphemes. The error-free agreement might be due to the local character of the agreement relation. A third problem with the unanalyzed noun analysis is that Bohnacker observes that from the start of Embla's data collection (1;8,2) the same noun occurs with or without a determiner:

(9)   *en   gubbe*
        a.COMM man.COMM
        (Embla 1;9,2)
(10)   *gubbe-n   är glad.*
        man.COMM-the.COMM is   happy.COMM
        'The man is happy.'
        (Embla 1;10,2)

Because of these problems with an unanalyzed noun analysis, I propose another analysis of the post-nominal article in Swedish and Romanian. In line with Perridon's (1989) analysis of the post-nominal article in adult Swedish and Cornilescu & Nicolae's (2011) analysis of the post-nominal article in adult Romanian, I propose that the post-nominal article in child Swedish and child Romanian is never a D^o morpheme, but at least in stage II, and probably also in (part of) stage I of Coene & D'Hulst's and Avram's data is not an impostor but is a suffix on the noun. This accounts for the fact that the post-nominal article is acquired earlier than the pre-nominal article, as shown by Kupisch et al. and by Coene & D'Hulst and Avram. The pre-nominal article does not require a functional projection above NP (and movement). This analysis is in line with a Structure Building Approach as proposed by Guilfoyle & Noonan (1992) and defended by, e.g. Van der Linden & Sleeman (2007) for the L1 acquisition of Right and Left Dislocation in L1 French. In Guilfoyle & Noonan's approach, it is assumed that children acquiring their mother tongue start by acquiring lexical categories while functional categories are acquired later. This acquisition starts from the lowest elements in the structure. Functional elements come in one by one, the higher projections like CP coming in last. Van der Linden & Sleeman show that children acquire Right Dislocations earlier than Left Dislocations and use this evidence in defense of a sentence structure in which Right Dislocations are merged in a lower position in the clausal structure than Left Dislocations.

The analysis of the post-nominal article as a suffix also offers a solution to the theoretical problem raised by the existence of double definiteness in Swedish. In Swedish, the definite post-nominal article is doubled by a pre-nominal definite article if the noun is preceded by a weakly declined adjective, as illustrated by (11). The post-nominal definite article can also be doubled by a pre-nominal demonstrative, as illustrated in (12). The examples are taken from Giusti (1994):

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(11) *den gamle mann-en*
      the old   man   the
      'the old man'
(12) *denna mann-en*
      this   man   the
      'this man'

Kester (1992) and Santelman (1992) propose that in (11) it is the adjective that blocks the raising of the noun into D^o, which forces the *–en* to lower onto the N^o in order for the bound morpheme to be attached to a lexical head. A free determiner (*den*) is then inserted into the D-position. As argued also by Bohnacker (1997), this analysis raises several problems. First, the blocking of noun raising crucially depends on the analysis of the adjective as a head. However, in a more traditional analysis adjectives are analyzed as adjuncts. In the DP-framework, Cinque (1994) analyzes adjectives as specifiers in functional projections of the noun. Second, lowering of morphemes is not permitted in current models (e.g. Chomsky 1995). Third, as (12) shows, double definiteness also exists in noun phrases in which there is no adjective, but in which there is a pre-nominal demonstrative. Perridon (1989) argues that the pre-adjectival article in Scandinavian evolved in fact from a demonstrative. A solution to the theoretical problem of double definiteness is offered by an analysis in which the post-nominal determiner is a suffix and not a 2nd position clitic. Such an analysis is proposed by, e.g., Perridon (1989) and Giusti (1994).

Finally, it should be noticed that the analysis of the post-nominal determiner as a suffix makes the analysis of the noun phrase as a DP unnecessary. The suffix is attached to the noun, and does not move to D^o. For pre-nominal determiners, it is not necessary to adopt a DP-analysis either. They can be merged into Spec,NP, as in Perridon's (1989) analysis.

5.   Conclusion

In this paper I have defended Perridon's (1989) suffixal analysis of the post-nominal determiner in Swedish. On the basis of Cornilescu & Nicolae (2011) for Romanian I have advanced Perridon's defense of a demonstrative origin of the post-nominal determiner in Swedish as an argument for its suffixal nature. I have furthermore shown that the assumption that the post-nominal article in Swedish is a suffix simplifies the analysis of its use in the double definiteness construction. Finally, on the basis of L1 acquisition, I showed that in Swedish, just like in Romanian, children produce post-nominal determiners before they start producing pre-nominal determiners. I argued that a structure-building approach to L1 acquisition without initial movement can easily account for the acquisition pattern, if it assumed, as in Perridon (1989) that post-nominal articles are suffixes and not 2nd position clitics.

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