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THE ADJECTIVE IN GERMANIC AND ROMANCE DEVELOPMENT, DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

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Abstract

In this introductory chapter the similarities and differences in the development and the current behavior of the adjective in Germanic and Romance, both within and between the language families, are discussed. A deeper analysis suggests that what seem to be differences may in fact be similarities and vice versa. Topics that are discussed are the emergence of the adjective as a category, the distinction between attributive and predicative adjectives, the position of adjectives within the noun phrase, and adjectival inflection. This introduction forms the basis for the chapters that follow and in which current visions on variation and change with respect to the adjective in Germanic and Romance are presented in more detail.

1. Introduction

In this introductory chapter we discuss recent and more firmly established insights in the historical development and the synchronic analysis of the adjective in Germanic and Romance. This chapter consists of a diachronic part (§2) and a synchronic part in which analyses of the adjective in its current use are discussed (§3–4). Topics discussed are the adjective as a category, the distinction between attributive and predicative adjectives, the position of the adjective within the noun phrase, and adjectival inflection. This discussion leads to a short presentation of the papers contained in this volume at the end of the chapter (§5).

2. Development

2.1 Adjectives in Romance and Germanic

While some scholars maintain, often on theory-dependent grounds, that adjectives constitute a universal category (see e.g. Baker 2003), the surface realization in ancient Indo-European dialects of lexemes that are

uncontroversially held to be adjectives in the present-day Romance and Germanic languages suggests that Proto-Indo-European adjectives did not constitute a separate part of speech, a view that goes back at least to Hermann Paul. This does not mean, of course, that speakers of Proto-Indo-European were not able to express properties such as “beautiful”, “rich”, or “black”. They just did not make a morphological distinction between nouns and adjectives (see Prokosch 1939: 259), which suggests they had one part of speech category that covers both categories (Bammesberger 1992: 52; Kurzová 1993: 41; Van de Velde 2009, ch. 6). Note, in this respect, that the old grammarians saw the adjective as a subtype of nouns (*nomen adjectivum*, see e.g. Törnqvist 1974: 324).

The situation in which there is a single, broader part of speech for what present-day Romance and Germanic languages distribute over two separate parts of speech, namely adjectives and nouns, is cross-linguistically not uncommon. Similar systems have been reported for languages such as Quechua or Turkish (see e.g. Schachter 1985; Hengeveld 1992).

The category of the adjective only emerged in the daughter languages. For Germanic, Bammesberger (1992: 52–53) writes:

The development of the adjective is perhaps one of the most conspicuous innovations in Germanic morphology. In Germanic the adjective is not only semantically delimited by generally expressing some “quality” (...), but it is also morphologically clearly definable.

For Romance as well, we can assume an ancestral stage in which the adjective was basically a noun (or more accurately: an undifferentiated nominal) in apposition. The situation lingers on, to some extent, in classical Latin, where declension classes of adjectives match up with nominal classes and where some adjectives do not agree for all genders, resisting full agreement control by its assumed head noun. Latin *felix* “happy” has just one form for all genders and *fortis* “brave” only has a split between neuter and non-neuter. Moreover, many a Latin lexeme is indifferent to the distinction between entity-denoting use (‘noun’) and property-denoting use (‘adjective’), and one has to decide on the basis of the context whether, for instance, a noun like *natus* means “son” (‘noun’) or “born” (‘adjective’) (Brugmann & Delbrück 1889: 436–437, 444–448). Moreover, Latin shows cases of what has been termed ‘dependency reversal’, exemplified in (1), a construction in which the adjective is the controller of a noun in the genitive. This type of construction seems to be favored in languages in which adjectives are underdifferentiated from nouns (or verbs) (see Malchukov 2000: 44).

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------------------------|-------|
| (1) | <i>extrema</i>
extreme:NOM/ACC.N.PL
“the extreme battle” | <i>agminis</i>
battle:GEN.N.SG | LATIN |
|-----|--|-----------------------------------|-------|
- (Kühner & Gerth 1963: 278)

2.2 Inflection

2.2.1 Germanic

The specialized adjectival morphology that Germanic developed consists of two sets of endings that are commonly referred to as the strong and weak declensions. An oft-quoted syntactic minimal pair is given in (2)-(3).¹

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--|
| (2) | <i>hairdeis</i>
shepherd:NOM.SG
“the good shepherd” | <i>gods</i>
good: STRONG .NOM.M.SG | GOTHIC |
| (3) | <i>hairdeis</i>
shepherd:NOM.SG
“the good shepherd” | <i>sa</i>
the:NOM.M.SG | <i>goda</i>
good: WEAK .NOM.M.SG
GOTHIC |
- (John 10:11)

An overview of the formal paradigms can be found in Prokosch (1939: 261–265) or in Ringe (2006: 281–283). The question that immediately arises is: where does this double declension come from? The weak declension draws on the stem-building *n*-suffix in nouns. It is not clear to what extent it was still productively derivational in late Proto-Indo-European, but it seems to trace back to a nominalizing suffix. As can still be seen in Greek (*strabós* “squinting” vs. *strábōn* “squinter”) and Latin (*catus* “shrewd” vs. *cato* (stem: *caton-*) “the shrewd one”), the *n*-suffix indicated individual-level properties as opposed to stage-level properties (Brugmann & Delbrück 1889: 131, 424–426, 431, 437; Hirt 1927: 149ff.; Prokosch 1939: 260–161; Ranheimsæter 1945: 13–14; Nielsen 1989: 29–30; Braunmüller 2008; Perridon & Sleeman 2011: 13). These individual-level properties, denoting permanent, distinctive qualities were often used as nicknames, and as such were used in apposition to proper names. Such appositions may have led to the constituency structure in which the first element was analyzed as a dependent of the second (see also Heine & Kuteva 2007: 286–287). The origin of the strong inflection, on the other hand, is the endings in the demonstratives, which rubbed off onto other elements, through an intermediate group of semi-pronouns (Kluge 1913: 209; Prokosch 1939: 261; McFadden 2009). There is some disagreement on what the original function was of strong and weak endings in Proto-Germanic. In an early stage, the weak declension may have retained its Proto-Indo-European nominalizing function while the strong declension had evolved to become the default attributive adjectival ending (see e.g. Van de Velde 2006), but in

¹ Gothic examples have been retrieved from: <http://www.wulfila.be>.

late Proto-Germanic (Common Germanic 200–500), the system became involved in the marking of definiteness, such that the weak declension became a marker of definiteness (Harbert 2007: 130–137), although it is not clear whether the system was really clear-cut outside the Scandinavian languages. The strong declension was neutral with regard to definiteness (Quirk & Wrenn 1969: 68; Traugott 1992: 173), but the contrast with the weak declension may have eventually related it to indefiniteness. The semantic and syntactic import of both inflectional types is the subject of several papers in this volume (see Roehrs & Julien; Schoorlemmer; Stroh-Wollin & Simke).

2.2.2 Romance

The diachrony of nominal inflection in Romance is largely one of morphological simplification (deflection), with a merger in the formal exponents as well as in a reduction of the functional categories, such as case, gender, and declension classes.² The process took place both in nouns and adjectives. In the transition from Latin to modern Romance, nouns and adjectives were reduced from five or six to two cases, from three to two genders and from five to three declension classes, with some subdivisions and relics.³

Romance adjectives agree with their head noun in gender, number, and – at least in Latin – in case. In most instances, gender is expressed by different endings on the adjective, except for the adjectives that derive from the third declension class in Latin (e.g. adjectives like *fortis* “brave, strong”). Here, the adjective does not have a gender contrast in Spanish (SG *fuerte*, PL *fuertes*), Italian (SG *forte*, PL *forti*) and Old French (SG *fort*, PL *forz*). In present-day French, these adjectives do distinguish between masculine and feminine, but this is a post-Latin innovation. In Middle French, the third-declension type adjectives analogically converged on adjectives like *sec* “dry”, which did differentiate between masculine (Old and Modern French SG *sec*, PL *secs*) and feminine (Old French SG *seche*, PL *seches*, Modern French SG *sèche*, PL *sèches*), by adopting the schwa as a unequivocal marker of the feminine (Alkire & Rosen 2010: 191–192). Ossified relics like *grand-mère* “grand-mother” (instead of *grande-mère*), *pas grand-chose* “nothing much” (instead of *grande-chose*) or the toponym *Rochefort* (instead of *Rocheforte*) still testify to the earlier state (Alkire & Rosen 2010: 192).

² One can call into question whether declension class really is a functional category, with a discernible signifié. We will not pursue the matter, and assume it is (see Carstairs-McCarthy 1994 and Enger 2013 for further discussion).

³ The decision between five or six cases in Latin depends on whether one discerns a separate vocative case.

2.3 *Position with regard to the noun*

The ancient appositional nature of the relationship between a lexeme referring to an entity (a ‘noun’) and one denoting a property (an ‘adjective’) (see section 2.1) motivates a lack of hard ordering constraints in the ancestral stages of the Germanic and Romance languages. The comparative evidence provided by the old Indo-European dialects indicates that the order of modifiers and heads was flexible, and was probably determined by discourse and pragmatic factors (Fortson 2010: 154). Though there is considerable disagreement among specialists of the early stages of both language families, certain tendencies can be discerned regarding the relative order of adjectives and nouns in Germanic and Romance. In its earliest reconstructable stages, Germanic may have had a preference for adjectives following the noun (see below, section 2.3.1), but then decidedly developed a default prenominal position for attributive adjectives. In Romance, by contrast, an original adjective–noun word order preference later flipped to a default noun–adjective order (Bauer 2009; Ledgeway 2012: 210–213 and Trips, this volume, for the development in Old French). Still, although these preferences can be perceived in the recorded history of Germanic and Romance, word order remained relatively flexible for quite some time, and both Latin and Gothic display grammatically free word order, though discontinuous structures, which are conspicuously attested in classical Latin, are far less common in Gothic, which may be explained by the time lag.⁴ In the course of the early Middle Ages, Germanic and Romance developed so-called configurational word order, with a hierarchical syntactic structure in the noun phrase. The rise of configurationality in Germanic (see Faarlund 2001: 1713, among others) and in Romance (see Ledgeway 2011, 2012, among others) resulted in a designated position for adjectives, which had become inflectionally differentiated from nouns in Germanic (see section 2.2.1). The crystallization of noun-phrase internal word order transpired gradually over the course of many centuries, and consequently, it is next to impossible to pinpoint more exactly when pragmatically determined word order became syntactically determined.

2.3.1 *Germanic*

For the oldest stages of Germanic, the data are equivocal. First of all, the ancestral stages of the present-day Germanic languages all could have discontinuous noun phrases (and *noun phrase* may be an anachronism here), with adjectives being expressed non-contiguously to the noun. This is attested in all branches of Germanic, but seems to be in rapid recession over time. Modern Swedish still sports this construction, though.

⁴ Alternatively, it may simply be due to the restricted size of the Gothic textual corpus. Caution is in order here.

- (4) WEST GERMANIC: OLD SAXON (Van der Horst 2008: 305)
huand it an fastaronis erthu gitimbrid
 for it on steady not.is ground built
 “for it is not built on steady ground”
- (5) EAST GERMANIC: GOTHIC (Behaghel 1932: 241)
dauns sijum woþi
 odor we.are sweet
 “we are a sweet savour”
- (6) NORTH GERMANIC: OLD NORSE (Faarlund 1994: 56)
góðan eigum vér konung
 good have we king
 “we have a good king”

What about when the adjective is expressed contiguously to the noun? Again, we are not provided with a clear image for the earliest stages. While Hopper (1975) states that adjectives tended to precede the noun in Proto-Germanic, the adjective frequently follows the noun in the oldest Runic inscriptions and in Gothic (Harbert 2007: 127). Some scholars maintain that this was in fact the unmarked position in Gothic (Perridon & Sleeman 2011: 12), and possibly also in other branches of Germanic, especially Ancient Nordic (Faarlund 2002: 730). With regard to the situation in Gothic, however, it is not clear whether the translational interference of the Greek original in the Gothic text has been consistently factored in. The Gothic adjective *fairneis* occurs before as well as after the head noun, see (7) and (8) respectively, but in each case, the Gothic translation consistently copies the Greek word order. Still, there are informative instances of adjectives in postnominal position that are less likely to be due to interference from Greek. In (9), the Greek original has one word, rather than an adjective–noun combination, which we see in Gothic.

- (7) *ushraineip þata fairnjo* GOTHIC
 purge_out:ACT.IMP.2PL that:ACC.N.SG old:ACC.N.SG
beist
 leaven:ACC.SG
 “purge out therefore the old leaven” (Corinthians I 5: 7)
 (GREEK: *ekkathárate tēn palaiàn zúmēn*)
- (8) *in beista fairnjamma* GOTHIC
 in leaven:DAT.SG old:DAT.N.SG
 “with old leaven” (Corinthians I 5: 8)
 (GREEK: *en zúmēi palaiāi*)
- (9) *naudibandjom eisarneinaim* GOTHIC
 chain:DAT.PL iron(ADJ):DAT.PL
 “iron chains” (Mark 5: 3)
 (GREEK: *halúsei*)

One could wonder whether it is appropriate to compare pre- and postnominal position in Germanic as full alternatives: there are reasons to assume that postnominal adjectives are not syntactically integrated in the noun phrase (Harbert 2007: 127; Van de Velde 2009), so that their evidence for N–A word order in the noun phrase is limited. This view is not uncontested, though. Perridon (1996) fails to see any semantic difference between preposed and postposed adjectives in Runic Swedish, and Pfaff (this volume) argues that Modern Icelandic postposed weak adjectives are integrated in the noun phrase, while preposed strong adjectives have a predicative feel.

In sum, it seems safest to assume that Proto-Germanic did not have a ‘grammaticalized’ template for the position of adjectives, in the sense that left-adjacent position was a syntactic marker of dependency. “Word-position acquiring grammatical significance” (in the words of Jespersen 1993: 111) only happened later (see Van de Velde 2009 for an extensive treatment), especially in West Germanic. The diachrony of the noun phrase in North Germanic is more complex, and is open to different interpretations. Braumüller (1994) contends that North Germanic is more ambiguous in its typological orientation in its noun phrase, having mixed SVO/SOV characteristics.⁵ Indeed, in Old Nordic (7th – 15th century), adjectives could (but need not) follow the noun (see (10)), but in the modern North Germanic languages, the adjective precedes the noun, even in a rather conservative language like Icelandic (Thráinsson 1994: 166, though see Pfaff, this volume, for patterns with (weak) adjectives in postposition, like (11)), underscoring the general drift in the Germanic family towards preceding attributive adjectives.

- (10) *eldar stórir* OLD NORSE
 fires great
 “great fires” (Faarlund 1994: 54)

⁵ Braumüller operates under the Greenbergian assumption that the relative order between adjective and noun is correlated with the order between verb and object (and subject). This insight has been contested on the basis of large typological surveys (see Dryer 1998). Characterizing languages as belonging to a major linearization type has proven to be difficult. Even among the proponents of a linearization parameter approach, in which languages can be classified as OV vs. VO, there is no consensus on how to deal with noun phrases (see Schoorlemmer, this volume). The prenominal position of attributive adjectives is *prima facie* evidence for assuming head-final OV organization, yet Haider (2010, Ch.1) maintains that continental Germanic NPs are head-initial (as opposed to VPs), and draws on PP postmodifiers for making this claim. In Van de Velde (2009, Ch.3, 2012), on the other hand, it is argued that PP postmodifiers do not qualify as diagnostics for the internal branching for the noun phrase. Compounding the difficult issues in establishing the basic word order in NPs is the fact that some scholars argue that OV vs. VO do not exhaust all the possibilities. Haider (2010, 2013) argues that ancient stages of Germanic and Romance were so-called ‘T3 languages’, lacking a major branching direction.

- (11) *kreppan mikla* ICELANDIC
 crisis great
 “the Great Depression” (Pfaff, this volume)

In older stages of the Germanic languages, and in Western Scandinavian, see (12) and (13)–(15), respectively, the possessive adjective could follow the noun, rather than precede it. They do not qualify, however, as real adjectives anymore in present-day Germanic, and as such do not detract from the strong A–N tendency.

- (12) *sunu min* OLD ENGLISH
 son my
 “my son”
- (13) *bróðir minn* ICELANDIC
 brother my
 “my brother”
- (14) *drongur mín* FAROESE
 boy my
 “my boy”
- (15) *bok-a mi* NYNORSK
 book-the my
 “my book”

2.3.2 Romance

Latin did not have a fixed position for attributive adjectives. Though certain word order tendencies can be recognized in the relative order of adjective and noun, the position as such did not carry a grammatical meaning, as it does in the present-day Romance languages. So adjectives, including possessives, could either precede or follow the noun, or could even be separated from it in various kinds of discontinuous structures, see (16)–(18).

- (16) LATIN (Ledgeway 2012: 44)
arbusta per alta
 timber.tree:ACC.PL through tall:ACC.N.PL
 “through tall timber trees”
- (17) LATIN (Horace, Odes)
vitae summa brevis spem
 life:GEN.SG sum:NOM.SG short:GEN.F.SG hope:ACC.SG
nos vetat incohare longam
 us:ACC forbids commence:INF long:ACC.F.SG
 “Life’s brief total forbids us to cling to long-off hope”

- (18) LATIN (Perridon & Sleeman 2011: 4)
meo tu epistulam dedisti servo
 my:DAT.SG you letter:ACC.SG gave slave:DAT.SG
 “to my slave you gave a letter?”

In the transition from Latin to Romance, the noun phrase developed two designated positions for adjectives, one preceding the noun and one following the noun. It has proven notoriously difficult to define the functions of the two positions. It has been suggested that the prenominal position was dedicated to given/non-contrastive adjectives and the postnominal position to new/contrastive readings (see Ledgeway 2012: 50). This, interestingly, corresponds to Fischer’s (2001) account of the difference between preposed and postposed adjectives in Old English, which she claims to be motivated by iconicity. Romance appears to have solidified this iconic difference by grammaticalizing it further, whereas English eventually leveled the iconic difference by discarding postnominal adjectives, after a short-lived increase in Middle English, probably as a grammatical replication from French (Trips, this volume), a certain well-known exception notwithstanding (see section 3). Eventually this yields a marked difference between Romance, with a default postnominal position for adjectives, and a marked option of preposition, and Germanic, with a default prenominal position for adjectives, and a marked option of postposition. The present situation will be discussed in the next section.

3. *The current position of adjectives with respect to the noun*

In the modern Germanic languages adjectives generally appear in prenominal position, in modern Romance in postnominal position. Cinque (2010), however, argues that postnominal adjectives (and reduced relative clauses) are underlyingly prenominal. This suggests that, in fact, there is no difference between Germanic and Romance. After comparing the surface position of adjectives in modern Germanic and Romance in §3.1, we discuss Cinque’s analysis in §3.2.

3.1 *The surface position of adjectives*

In modern Germanic, adjectives and participles generally precede the noun, while full relative clauses follow the noun (19–20). In SOV languages such as Dutch and German, adjectives and participles preceded by their complement generally also precede the noun (21):⁶

⁶ For German, see Struckmeier & Kremers (this volume). Dryer (1998) questions the relation between OV/VO and AN/NA (see fn. 5). Delsing (1992) shows indeed that, although Swedish is an SVO language, adjectives and participles preceded by their

- (19) *lange mensen* DUTCH
 “tall people”
- (20) *mensen die lang zijn* DUTCH
 people that tall are
 “people who are tall”
- (21) *het aan zijn broer verkochte huis* DUTCH
 the to his brother sold house
 “the house sold to his brother”

In English, some types of adjectives and participles may or must follow the noun. Among these types are adjectives followed by a complement or an adjunct, participles and deverbal adjectives ending in the suffix *-ble* (Bolinger 1967):

- (22) parents proud of their children
 (23) the stars visible

In Icelandic postnominal adjectives are also accepted (see Pfaff, this volume):

- (24) *málfræðingur-inn frægi* ICELANDIC
 linguist-DEF famous
 “the famous linguist”

Other Germanic languages only marginally allow adjectives or participles in postnominal position. The Dutch example has been taken from Perridon & Sleeman (2011) and the German example from Cinque (1994), who analyze the APs in these examples as predicative attributes:

- (25) *hagelstenen zo groot als tennisballen* DUTCH
 hailstones as big as tennisballs
- (26) *Gewehrkugeln gross wie Taubeneier* GERMAN
 “bullets big as pigeon eggs”

In Romance, just like full relative clauses, adjectives and participles generally follow the noun:

complement are also allowed in this language (see also Cabredo Hofherr 2010). He notices, however, that these constructions are literary style in Swedish and that some speakers consider them marginal:

- (i) *en över sin insats stolt försvarsadvokat*
 a over his accomplishment proud attorney.for.the.defense
 “a lawyer that is proud of his accomplishment”

- (27) *la casa que te gustaba* SPANISH
 the house that you pleased
 “the house that pleased you”
- (28) *la falda negra* SPANISH
 the skirt black
 “the black skirt”
- (29) *un libro leído recientemente* SPANISH
 “a book read recently”

Some types of adjectives and adjectival participles can (or must) precede the noun. According to Bouchard (1998), in French, adjectives occurring in prenominal position modify components internal to the noun (e.g., *futur* “future”, *ancien* “ex”, *supposé* “alleged”), whereas those occurring in postnominal position modify the components of N as a whole (e.g., *rouge* “red”, *intelligent* “intelligent”). Adjectives that can be used in both positions have both functions:

- (30) a. *un bon chef* FRENCH
 “a good chef (= good at cooking)”
 b. *un chef bon*
 “a good chef (= good on a broader scale, as a human being)”

Demonte (2008), on the basis of Spanish, suggests that in Romance prenominal modifiers receive a non-restrictive interpretation, whereas postnominal modifiers receive a restrictive reading:

- (31) a. *los pretenciosos amigos de Paloma* SPANISH
 the pretentious friends of Paloma
 “Paloma’s pretentious friends” (= all Paloma’s friends are pretentious)
 b. *los amigos pretenciosos de Paloma*
 the friends pretentious of Paloma
 “Paloma’s pretentious friends” (= the subset of Paloma’s friends who are pretentious)

In situations of language contact between a Germanic and a Romance language, the canonical position of adjectives (prenominal in Germanic vs. postnominal in Romance) may change. Alber et al. (2012) show that in some cases of German–Italian bilingualism in northern Italy, the postnominal adjectival position seems to have become the non-marked position in the German dialect spoken there:

- (32) *Disa is an korpete roat.* CIMBRIAN OF GIAZZA
 this is a sweater red
 “This is a red sweater.”

Bernstein (1991), on the other hand, shows that in the French dialect Walloon spoken in the southern part of Belgium the canonical position of adjectives, with the exception of ethnic adjectives, is prenominal. This might be due to the vicinity of Flemish, the Belgian variety of Dutch.^{7,8}

- (33) *dès malâtès bièsses* WALLOON
 “some sick animals”

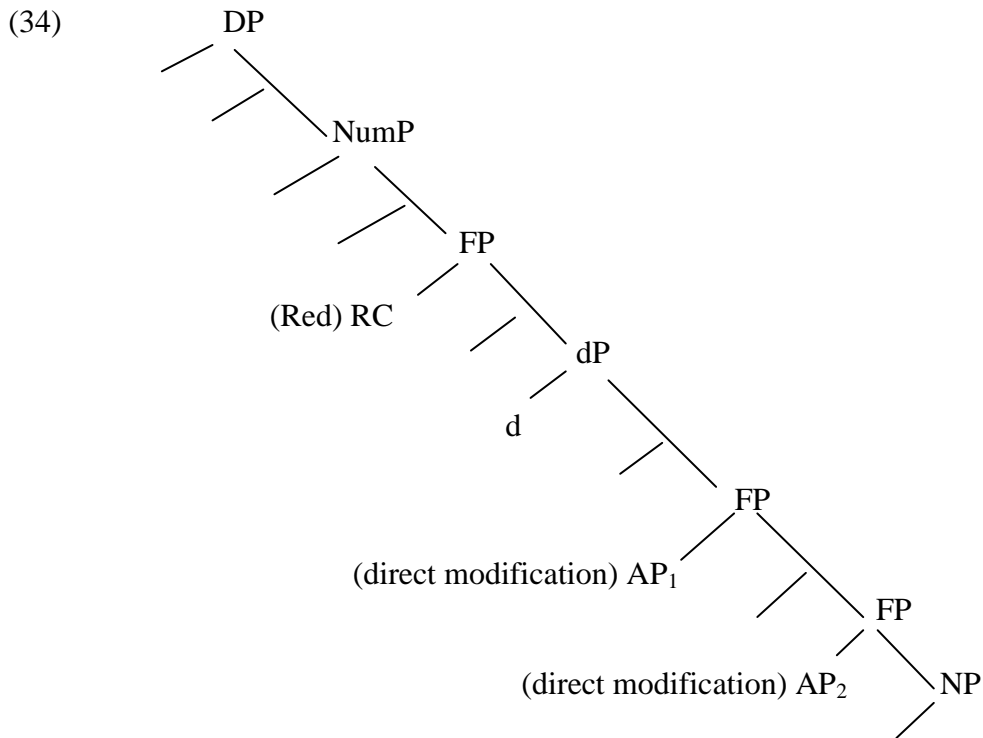
Despite the opposite canonical positions of the adjective and participle in standard Germanic and Romance (prenominal in Germanic and postnominal in Romance in surface structure), they have been analyzed as underlyingly the same (Cinque 2010). Cinque’s seminal work on adjectives and reduced relatives clauses in relation to Germanic and Romance is discussed in §3.2, also because it serves as a basis for the analyses presented in several papers in this volume.

3.2 Cinque’s (2010) analysis of adjectives

In Cinque’s (2010) analysis, adjectives and (reduced) relative clauses, both in Germanic and Romance, are underlyingly prenominal. Both are merged in the specifiers of functional projections dominating NP. Cinque (2010) makes a distinction between direct and indirect modifiers (cf. Sproat & Shih 1988) and claims that the indirect modifiers are merged in higher functional projections than the direct ones:

⁷ The prenominal position might also be a remnant of an earlier stage of the dialect. Boucher (2004) shows that in a late-13th-century translation of a Latin prose text in Old French, 219 modifiers are in pre-N position, whereas 33 are in post-N position in Old French. The analysis of the same text translated into Modern (19th century) French yields 39 modifiers in pre-N position and 254 modifiers in post-N position. However, in our view, another characteristic of Walloon, the schwa suffix on attributive prenominal adjectives might also be an influence of Flemish (contra Bernstein 1991, who analyzes the schwa as the overt realization of a functional head Num^o), see §4.3.

⁸ In this volume two other cases of possible syntactic influence through language contact between Germanic and Romance are discussed: adjectives in postnominal position in English (Trips) and adverbs (Hummel).



(Cinque 2010: 34)

Following Higginbotham (1985), Larson (1998), and Larson & Marušič (2004), Cinque correlates the distinction between direct and indirect modifiers with a difference in interpretation. Direct modifiers have for instance a non-restrictive, non-intersective, individual-level, and absolute interpretation, while indirect modifiers have a restrictive, intersective, stage-level, and relative reading. The a-sentences of the following examples contain direct modifiers, whereas the b-sentences exemplify indirect modifiers:

- (35) a. I do not appreciate his unsuitable acts (non-restrictive)
 b. Only his unsuitable acts were criticized (restrictive)
- (36) a. Olga is a beautiful dancer = dances beautifully (non-intersective)
 b. Olga is a beautiful dancer = a beautiful person (intersective)
- (37) a. the visible stars = the stars that are always visible (individual-level)
 b. the visible stars = the stars that are visible now (stage-level)
- (38) a. a small mouse = small object (absolute)
 b. a small mouse = small for a mouse (relative)

According to Cinque (2010), direct modifiers only surface in prenominal position in Germanic, whereas indirect modifiers surface both in prenominal and in postnominal position (39). In Romance, indirect modifiers only surface in postnominal position, while direct modifiers surface in both positions (41):

- (39) indirect – direct – NP – indirect
 (40) the stars visible (stage-level)
 (41) direct – NP – direct – indirect
 (42) *le noiose lezioni di Ferri* (non-restrictive) ITALIAN
 the boring lessons of Ferri
 “Ferri’s boring classes”

Cinque’s analysis of direct and indirect modifiers is discussed in §3.2.1 and §3.2.2, respectively.

3.2.1 *Direct modifiers*

Whereas Cinque (1994) proposes that the postnominal position of adjectives in Romance is the result of N-movement, Cinque (2010) proposes that the postnominal position of direct modifiers in Romance is the result of NP movement:

- (43) DP – NumP – d – AP₁ – NP₁ – AP₂ – e_i

Just like Cinque (1994), Cinque (2010) distinguishes several positions for direct modifiers. In Romance, NP obligatorily raises over, e.g., adjectives of nationality (44), optionally over adjectives of color, shape, size, value (45), but not over adjectives such as “former”, “future”, “alleged” (46–47). This is illustrated by the following Italian examples taken from Cinque (2010):

- (44) a. **un cinese vaso*
 b. *un vaso cinese*
 “a Chinese vase”
 (45) a. *l’enorme sagoma della cupola*
 b. *la sagoma enorme della cupola*
 “the enormous outline of the cupola”
 (46) a. *il futuro presidente*
 b. **il presidente futuro*
 “the future president”
 (47) *il futuro presidente americano*
 “the future American president”

Cinque’s (2010) roll-up/snowballing mechanism can account for the mirror

adjective ordering in DPs such as (48)–(49c) (Lamarche 1991). After the NP has moved to the position above AP₂ in (44), it can move to the position dominating AP₁ pied-piping AP₂ (see also Laenzlinger 2005).

- (48) a huge Chinese vase
 (49) a. *un enorme cinese vaso*
 b. *un enorme vaso_i cinese e_i*
 c. *un [vaso cinese e_i]_j enorme e_j*

As Cinque notices himself, NP movement with direct modifiers is not motivated. Another problem with Cinque's analysis is the relation between direct and indirect modifiers and the interpretations in (35–38). Sproat & Shih's (1988) distinction between direct and indirect adjectives suggests that intersective, restrictive adjectives such as *red* in *a red dress* can be direct modifiers (see also Alexiadou & Wilder 1998). This would mean that direct modifiers can have a restrictive interpretation (see also Pfaff, this volume).

3.2.2 Indirect modifiers

Cinque (2010) claims that the postnominal position of indirect modifiers is the result of attraction of the indirect modifier to a higher position, followed by remnant movement:⁹

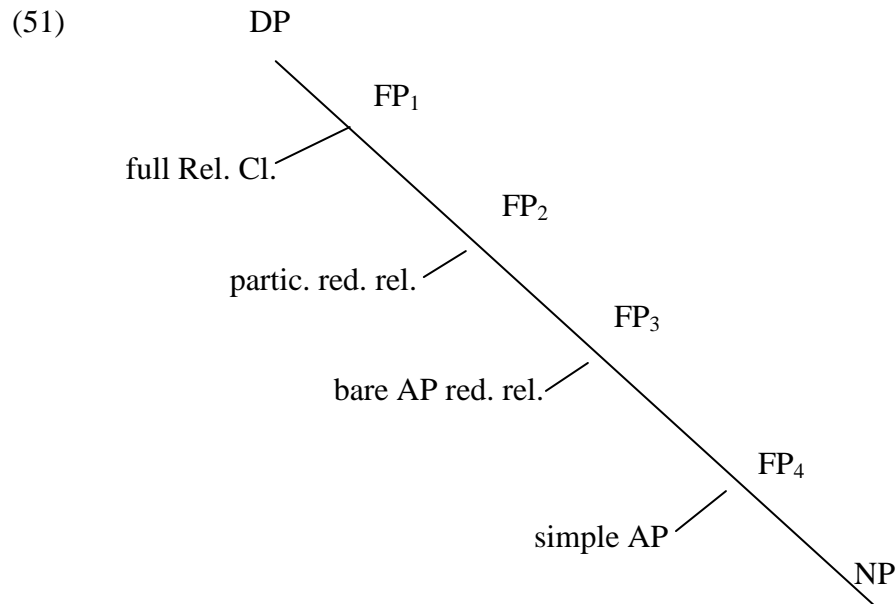
- (50) a. [the [[recently arrived] nice Greek vases]]
 b. [the [[recently arrived]_i [e_i nice Greek vases]]]
 c. [the [[e_i nice Greek vases]_j [[recently arrived]_i e_j]]]

In this analysis, the (remnant) movement of the NP to a position dominating the (reduced) relative clause depends on the prior movement of the relative clause itself. The relative clause only becomes postnominal (after remnant NP movement) if it is moved to a higher position. If it is not moved to a higher position, there is no (remnant) NP movement either, and the relative clause ends up in a prenominal position.

Since the final prenominal or postnominal position of the relative clause depends on its movement to a higher position, Cinque distinguishes prenominal and postnominal relative clauses on the basis of the force with which they are attracted to a higher position. More concretely, Cinque distinguishes three types of relative clauses. For English, he makes a distinction between full relative clauses, participial reduced relatives (*the*

⁹ Cinque calls this 'extraposition', but it is movement to the left (followed by remnant movement), instead of rightward movement as in the case of the traditional type of extraposition.

letters recently sent or *the letters sent recently*) and bare AP reduced relatives, such as *-ble* adjectives or adjectives such as *present*. Full relative clauses are merged in a higher position than participial reduced relatives, which are merged in a higher position than bare AP reduced relatives (which are merged in a higher position than purely adjectival, i.e. direct, modifiers of the noun):



Full relative clauses in English obligatorily occur in postnominal position. This means that in this case the force of attraction is very high (52). Participial reduced relative clauses followed by a complement or adjunct also obligatorily occur in postnominal position, due to a ban on right recursion for phrases found on left branches (Emonds 1976). They are therefore also attracted with great force to a higher position (53). Participial reduced relatives not followed by a complement or adjunct optionally occur in postnominal position. This means that the force of attraction is variably high in this case (54–55). Only bare AP reduced relatives that arguably have an (invisible) right-branching structure, can occur in postnominal position (56). Truly bare AP reduced relatives cannot occur in postnominal position (unless they are stressed), which means that the force of attraction is very low (57):¹⁰

¹⁰ Cinque (2010: §6.2) proposes that indirect modifiers can be focused, which means that there is movement to Spec,FocusP, followed by remnant NP movement. This accounts for the fact that a bare adjective such as *industriosi* “industrious” in Italian can follow a DP-internal PP. If *industriosi* is not focalized, it precedes the PP. In Cinque’s analysis, only indirect modifiers, but not direct modifiers, can move. On another view, if *industriosi* follows the PP, it might be a normal indirect modifier, whereas it would be a direct modifier if it precedes the PP (see the end of §3.2.1 for an objection against Cinque’s

- (52) the letters that I have sent to John
 (53) the letters sent to John.
 (54) the recently sent letters
 (55) the letters recently sent
 (56) a star visible
 (57) *a colleague angry (just stepped in)

In English there seems therefore to be a relation between the internal structure of the relative clause (full – reduced – bare), i.e. its syntactic complexity (presenting (invisible) right recursion or not), and its position with respect to the noun. In Cinque's analysis, these differences are related to the force with which (reduced) relatives are attracted to the specifier of a functional projection dominating them (followed by remnant movement).

According to Cinque (2010: ch. 5, fn. 13), in Romance, all three types of relative clauses obligatorily move to a higher position, followed by remnant NP movement (except for highly formal registers). This means that the force of attraction is equally high for the three types of relative clauses.

Cinque's analysis of indirect modifiers raises several questions. First, why should there be a difference between the internal structure of reduced relatives in prenominal and postnominal position in English (or Germanic in general)? Why should the postnominal reduced relatives in (58) be (invisibly) right-branching, while the prenominal ones in (59) aren't? There is no difference in interpretation that would justify this distinction:

- (58) a. the jewels stolen
 b. the letters recently sent
 c. the stars visible
- (59) a. the stolen jewels
 b. the recently sent letters
 c. the visible stars

Cinque's assumption that postnominal reduced relatives are invisibly right-branching, might account for the fact that, in Dutch, reduced relatives generally occur in prenominal position. Dutch is an SOV language and thus left-branching. This also holds for German. Cinque (2010: ch. 5, fn. 8) observes that, in German, participial reduced relatives cannot occur in postnominal position, which, according to him, is a problem that has yet to

distinction between direct and indirect modifiers):

- (i) a. [gli [industriósi [greci [di Megara]]]]
 b. [_{FocP} industriósi_i [i [e_i [greci [di Megara]]]]]
 c. [[i greci di Megara]_i [industriósi t_i]]

be understood:¹¹

- (60) a. *Er is ein [sein Studium seit langem hassender] student*
 he is a his study for long.time hating student
 “He is a student who has been hating his study for a
 long time.”
- b. **Er ist ein Student [sein Studium seit langem*
 he is a student his study for long.time
hassend(er)]
 hating.INFL

However, in Dutch, reduced relatives can also, marginally, occur in postnominal position. Although in (61) the adjunct follows the bare AP reduced relative, which might account for its postnominal position, in (62) the adjunct precedes the bare AP reduced relative, which is unpredicted under Cinque’s analysis of postnominal reduced relatives:

- (61) *de mensen aanwezig in dit gebouw* DUTCH
 the people present in this building
- (62) *de mensen hier aanwezig* DUTCH
 the people here present
 “the people present here”

Second, why are all relative clause types, including the participial and bare AP relative clauses, in Romance obligatorily postnominal? Does this mean that they are always right-branching, even if this is not visible? Does Romance not possess non-right-branching reduced relatives, as the prenominal ones in English?

If attraction does not depend on right branching, we still have to account for the apparent optionality in English, as exemplified in (58–59), or the differences in attraction between English, German, and Romance.

Cinque’s unitary analysis of prenominal and postnominal reduced relatives in English is based on the argument that there is no difference in interpretation between the two types of indirect modifiers. The different position is related to the force with which the reduced relative is attracted to a higher position (followed by remnant movement), which might be related to a right-branching structure. Sleeman (2011) argues, however, that there is a difference in interpretation and a difference in internal structure between the prenominal and postnominal participles in (58)–(59), based on an analysis of deverbal modifiers in English and Dutch (see also Struckmeier &

¹¹ Cinque observes, referring to Delsing (1993: 9) that in Scandinavian adjectives or participles can occur in postnominal position if they are followed by a complement or an adjunct or are part of a coordinated structure.

Kremers, this volume, for German). Sleeman (this volume) and Niculescu (this volume) show for the Romance languages French and Romanian, respectively, that deverbal modifiers, even if they are postnominal in Romance, can present the same semantic differences as the prenominal and postnominal ones in English. If there is a difference in interpretation, this would imply that Cinque's main argument for a unitary analysis of prenominal and postnominal reduced relatives in English cannot be used anymore.

At the end of §3.1.1 it has been noticed that the relation between source (direct or indirect) and interpretation (35–38) does not always correspond. Restrictive, intersective adjectives such as *red* in *my red dress* might have to be analyzed as direct modifiers with a restrictive interpretation and not as indirect modifiers. As argued by Pfaff (this volume), the reverse holds for indirect modifiers. Pfaff argues that strongly inflected adjectives in the Icelandic DPs are indirect modifiers, in spite of their non-restrictive interpretation. He calls the adjective in (63) an adjectival appositive. It is inherently predicative and may be paraphrased by a non-restrictive relative clause: “the X, which by the way”:

- (63) *Ég horfði upp í bláan himin-inn*
 I looked up into blue.STR sky-DEF
 “I looked up into the sky, which happened to be blue/which
 BTW was blue (at that moment)” (Thráinsson 2007: 3)

Pfaff notices that strongly inflected adjectives, i.e. indirect modifiers, can also be used as expressives (*bölvadur* “damn, bloody”). They differ from appositives in not being predicative, therefore they cannot be merged as reduced relative clauses. On the few occasions where a strong and a weak adjective co-occur, the strong one necessarily precedes the weak one:

- (64) *bölvad.ur gaml.i níðingur-inn*
 bloody.STR old.WK scoundrel-DEF

In Pfaff's view, both appositives and expressives presuppose an already fully established (DP) referent. Interestingly, the same types have been distinguished in Romanian. According to Marchis & Alexiadou (2009), the adjective in the Romanian *cel*-construction is an appositive specificational reduced relative clause (see also Niculescu, this volume). Marchis & Alexiadou adopt De Vries' (2002) analysis of appositive relatives as involving specifying co-ordination. The adjective is generated in the predicative position of the relative clause:

- (65) a. *băiatul cel frumos*
 boy.the cel beautiful
 “the boy, namely the beautiful one”

- b. [_{&:P} [_{DP} baiatul]_i &: [_{DP} cel_i [_{CP} [_{C'} [_{IP} Ø_i frumos]]]]

Just like Pfaff (this volume) for Icelandic, Cornilescu & Nicolae (2011) show that in Romanian, emotive adjectives can occur at the left edge of the DP, presupposing the rest of the DP to their right. Since they can precede numerals, they precede NumP in structure (34), cf. (66):

- (66) The [_{NumP} three [_{Ind.mod.} recently bought [_{Dir.mod.} Chinese [_{NP} vases]]]]
- (67) *aceste fenomenale șapte legi*
these phenomenal seven laws
- (68) *acești importanți șapte foști oficiali*
these important seven former officers

Examples such as (63–65) and (67–68) and their proposed analyses suggest that indirect modifiers might not be restricted to the ones distinguished by Cinque, but come in two flavors.

Cinque's structure (34) contains two determiner/definiteness positions: D(P) and d(P). In the next section we discuss the position of adjectives with respect to determiners and the expression of definiteness.

4. Determiner and adjective

Cinque assumes that there are two DEF-positions within the DP: D and *d* (see e.g., Julien 2005; Lohrmann 2011; Stroh-Wollin 2011). In this section we discuss the position of the adjective in the case of double definiteness (§4.1), the position of the adjective in the case of single definiteness (§4.2) and the influence of the determiner on adjectival inflection (§4.3).

4.1 Double definiteness

In definite DPs containing an adjective in some Scandinavian languages, viz. in Swedish, Norwegian and Faroese, the suffixal definiteness marker is doubled by a free, pre-adjectival, determiner.¹² In current analyses of double definiteness it is assumed that in a structure such as (34) both D and *d* are filled (e.g., Julien 2005; Lohrmann 2010, 2011; Stroh-Wollin 2011; Schoorlemmer 2012):

¹² Schoorlemmer (2012) claims that the adjective has to be licensed by a c-commanding *D*. Since the suffixed definiteness marker on the noun does not c-command the adjective, it does not suffice.

- (69) DEF – A – N – DEF
den lilla flicka-n SWEDISH
 DEF little girl.DEF

- (70) [DP [D° *den*] [*lilla* [dP [d [N *flicka*_i [d *n* [NP e_i]]]]]]]]
 the little girl

The Romanian *cel*-construction has also been assigned a double definiteness structure as the one in (34) (Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011):¹³

- (71) N – DEF – DEF – A
băiat-ul cel frumos ROMANIAN
 boy.DEF cel beautiful
 “the beautiful *cel* boy”

- (72) [DP [dP *băiat-ul*]_i [D *cel* [AP *frumos* [dP e_i]]]]
 boy.def *cel* beautiful
 “the beautiful boy”

The order N–DEF might be the result of movement of N to *d*, as in (70) (e.g., Julien 2005; Lohrmann 2011; Stroh-Wollin 2011) or DEF might be a suffix or the spell-out of a definiteness feature on N, as in (72) (e.g., Perridon 1989; Giusti 1994; Roehrs 2006; Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011).

Cornilescu & Nicolae (2011) claim that in the Romanian *cel*-construction, the suffixed noun moves as dP to Spec,DP. Interestingly, the same word order is attested in Swedish and Norwegian, although it only occurs in verse and in certain fixed expressions. For the Norwegian example (73), Julien (2003) proposes a structure parallel to (72), viz. one in which the suffixed noun moves as a dP to Spec,DP:

- (73) [DP [dP *skog- en*] [D *de-n* [AP *grønn-e* [dP e_i]]]]
 forest.DEF.MASC.SG DEF-SG green-W
 “the green forest”

Lohrmann (2011), partly based on Julien (2005), proposes that, in Scandinavian, *D* dominates the feature ‘discourse’, whereas *d* dominates the feature ‘specific reference’ (in Julien’s analysis *d* contains the feature ‘inclusiveness’). For French, a distinction has been made between D_{deixis} (referentiality, deixis) and d_{determination} (definiteness, indefiniteness, partitivity) by Ihsane & Puskas (2001) and Laenzlinger (2005). According

¹³ These analyses are in line with a split DP-structure as Cinque’s structure (34). However, Perridon & Sleeman (2011) analyze both *den* in the Swedish example and *cel* in the Romanian example as an adjectival article in the structures [*den* + A] Ndef (Scandinavian) and Ndef [*cel* + A] (Romanian).

to Cornilescu & Nicolae (2011), in Romanian, *D* expresses specificity, whereas the lower *d* expresses genericity.

At the end of the previous section we saw that the adjective in the Romanian *cel*-construction has been analyzed as an appositive, i.e. non-restrictive, indirect, modifier. In structure (34) and in (73) the adjective is in the higher DP and is thus an indirect modifier. Its position in the Swedish structure (70) also suggests that the adjective is an indirect modifier. Being a size adjective, the adjective seems, however, rather to be a direct modifier. This would, however, yield the incorrect order DEF – N – DEF – A.¹⁴

4.2 Single definiteness

In double definiteness languages, in which the presence of an adjective triggers a preadjectival, free, determiner, definiteness may sometimes also be expressed in one position, as illustrated by the Norwegian examples (74–75) taken from Julien (2005). According to Julien (2005) and Lohrmann (2011), in (74) prenominal DEF may be left out if the referent is very familiar (recall that in Lohrmann’s analysis *D* dominates the feature ‘discourse’, whereas *d* dominates the feature ‘specific reference’)

- (74) (DEF) – A – N – DEF
Du kan ta (den) ny-e bil-en. NORWEGIAN
 you can take DEF new-W car-DEF
 “You can take the new car.”

In the double definiteness construction (75b), but not in the single definiteness construction (75a), the speaker refers to specific people:

- (75) a. DEF – A – N – (DEF)
Dei oppfører seg som dei verst-e bøll-ar
 they behave REFL as DEF worst-W brute-PL
 “They behave like the worst brutes”
 b. *Dei oppfører seg som dei verst-e bøll-a-ne*
 they behave REFL as DEF worst-W brute-PL-DEF
 “They behave like the worst brutes”

Danish and Icelandic do not have double definiteness, but only prenominal DEF and suffixed DEF. Lohrmann (2011) claims that in these languages the features ‘discourse’ and ‘specific reference’ are united in one position (either in prenominal DEF, i.e. *D*, or in suffixed DEF, i.e. *d*):¹⁵

¹⁴ In Stroh-Wollin’s (2011) analysis, the adjective is in Spec,dP. Although dP is the domain of direct modifiers, Spec,dP is not an adjectival position in structure (34).

¹⁵ For the Danish example (77), Lohrmann argues that there is no feature Disc in the lower *d*.

- (76) DEF – A – N
det stor-e hus DANISH
 the big.WK house
- (77) A – N – DEF
hel-e hus-et DANISH
 whole-WK house-DEF
 “the whole house”
- (78) DEF – A – N
hinn goð-i maður ICELANDIC
 DEF good-WK man
 “the good man”
- (79) A – N – DEF
gaml-a hús-ið ICELANDIC
 old.WK house.DEF
 “the old house”
- (80) N – DEF – A (example from Pfaff, this volume)
Borg-in eilíf-a ICELANDIC
 city-DEF eternal.WK
 “~Rome”

The position of the adjective with respect to the suffixed noun suggests that in (79) the adjective is an indirect adjective, whereas it is a direct adjective in (80). For (78) both analyses would be possible. Pfaff (this volume) argues, however, that in all three cases the adjective is a direct adjective.

Next to the *cel*-construction, which has been analyzed as a double definiteness construction (see §4.1), Romanian also has single (suffixed) definiteness constructions.^{16,17} If DEF is a suffix, A should be a direct modifier. However, in (82) the adjective can have a restrictive, intersective interpretation:

- (81) A – DEF – N
importante-le legi ROMANIAN
 important.DEF laws
 “the important laws”

¹⁶ Since the single (suffixed) definiteness construction exists next to the double definiteness construction, this suggests that there are only definiteness features in *d*, as in the Swedish and Norwegian suffixed construction.

¹⁷ In Old Romanian, the order A – N – D existed as well (Cornilescu & Nicolae 2010).

- N – DEF – A
- (82) *legi-le importante* ROMANIAN
 laws.DEF important
 “the important laws”

The position and interpretation of the adjective in other Germanic and Romance single definiteness languages have already been discussed in §3. Since there are no corresponding double definiteness constructions in these languages, in Lohrmann’s (2011) analysis both definiteness features would be in D (as in the Danish and Icelandic examples 76 and 78, respectively):

- DEF – A – N
- (83) the big house ENGLISH
- DEF – N – A
- (84) *la petite maison* FRENCH
 the small house
- DEF – N – A
- (85) *la machina rossa* ITALIAN
 the car red
 “the red car”

4.3 Weak and strong adjectival inflection

In Romance, both attributive and predicative adjectives agree with the noun in gender and number. Whereas in German attributive adjectives may also agree in gender and number in non-definite noun phrases, and whereas in Scandinavian predicative adjectives also agree with the subject in gender and number, in Germanic a distinction is also made between weak and strong inflection. It has been argued in the literature that weak inflection, occurring on attributive adjectives, may depend on the definiteness of the determiner (e.g., Menuzzi 1994; Schoorlemmer 2009, 2012). Predicative adjectives in Northern Germanic only take strong inflection (Schoorlemmer, this volume). In this section we discuss the relation of adjectival inflection to definiteness in Germanic.

Vangsnes (1999) points out that weak adjectival inflection in Norwegian can give the NP a presuppositional reading. In the adjectival example (86a), where the adjective bears the strong inflectional ending, it is not clear if there is any unripe apple at all, while in (86b), in which the adjective bears the weak ending, there is at least one unripe apple.

- (86) a. *Legg hvert umoden-t eple i denne kassen.*
 put every unripe-S apple in this box-DEF
 “Put every unripe apple in this box.”
- b. *Legg hvert umodn-e eple i denne kassen.*
 put every unripe-WK apple in this box-DEF

“Put each unripe apple in this box”.

(Norwegian, Vangsnes 1999)

According to Lohrmann (2010, 2011), the weak adjectival ending individuates the relevant members in the A+N denotation. In her analysis, the weak adjectival ending spells out the feature [Identity] (see also Roehrs & Julien, this volume).

- (87) [DP₂([sref]),([disc][_{#P} [FPAP[F' [ident] [DP₁ ([sref]),([disc])[ClassP [ind] NP]]]]]]]

According to Roehrs & Julien (this volume), in German the strong/weak endings are a function of the immediate syntactic context, while in Norwegian they are dependent on the general semantic context. Strohwollin & Simke (this volume) show that, in Old Swedish, strong adjectival forms still appeared in semantically definite noun phrases.

Roehrs & Julien propose that the weak ending in German is the result of impoverishment, which applies under certain lexical and structural conditions. This might also hold for the Icelandic examples (78–80) containing weak adjectival inflection, and which contrast with (63–64) discussed in §3.2.2 containing strong adjectival inflection. While the weakly inflected adjectives in (78–80) are analyzed by Pfaff (this volume) as direct modifiers, those in (63–64) are analyzed as appositive adjectives outside the strict DP, which might account for the strong inflection. Van de Velde & Weerman (this volume) also show that, in Dutch, adjectives bearing weak inflection are closer to the noun than those bearing strong/no inflection.

5. An overview of the contributions to this volume

In the preceding part we have argued that adjectives derive from nouns in Indo-European, and that whereas the weak adjectival inflection in Germanic might trace back to a nominalizing suffix, the origin of strong inflection in Germanic might be demonstratives. The nominal origin of adjectives might be reflected in congruence and agreement, i.e. the expression of gender, number, and case by both nouns and adjectives simultaneously. The nominal, i.e. appositional, nature of adjectives might also explain the non-fixed order of the adjective and the noun in older stages of both Germanic and Romance.

Although historically the adjective might have developed from the noun, which is expressed in both being [+N] categories, adjectives share the feature [+V] with verbs, in a binary feature system such as Chomsky's (1970). Therefore we might expect adjectives to derive from verbs as well.

Historically there was already early a distinction with respect to inflection (the strong vs. weak inflection in Germanic, but not in Romance),

but the adjective's position with respect to the noun was not fixed for a long time.

Although a synchronic description should in principle be independent of the historical development of a language (Saussure 1916), diachronic insights might help gain insight into the synchronic analysis of a language. The same holds for a typological analysis. That is why a deeper analysis of a synchronic stage within a language family or between language families might eventually lead to a more similar analysis of apparently different phenomena or to a differentiation of apparently similar phenomena.

In this volume, recent analyses of various aspects of the adjective in Germanic and Romance are presented. We have divided them into two groups (change and variation), although both aspects are sometimes treated in the same paper. The papers are shortly introduced in the following subsections, in the order in which they appear in the volume.

5.1 *Change*

Martin Hummel discusses the adjective as a category in relation to the adverb. He sets out to challenge the widely-held position that Romance and English make a rigid distinction between adjectives and adverbs with derivational affixes, as opposed to languages like German and Dutch, which use the same lexemes indifferently in both contexts. A careful analysis of the bewildering variation in the languages under scrutiny reveals that the use of suffixes for marking adverbials is to some extent artificial, as it is driven by literacy (and language contact), and that the old system of flexible marking is still alive.

Carola Trips, just like Martin Hummel, who discusses the possible diachronic influence of French on deadjectival adverb formation in English, argues that (Old) French might have influenced Middle English. On the basis of a corpus study, she advances grammatical replication from Old French as a possible explanation for the rise of postposed rhematic adjectives in Middle English.

Ulla Stroh-Wollin & Rico Simke take a closer look at the occurrences of weak and strong adjectival forms in Old Swedish, and arrive at the conclusion that the widespread belief that strong forms are not possible in (formally and/or semantically) definite noun phrases is unfounded: in the oldest periods of post-runic Swedish weak forms are indeed restricted to definite noun phrases, but strong forms may occur in both definite and indefinite contexts. The modern rule, which requires any adjective occurring inside a definite noun phrase to be in the weak form, dates from the latter part of the 15th century.

Freek Van de Velde & Fred Weerman discuss the somewhat erratic nature of Dutch adjectival inflection. In this language adjectives remain uninflected when used predicatively or adverbially, but get an ending *-ə* in

prenominal position, unless the noun is singular, indefinite and neuter, in which case it is not inflected. Van de Velde & Weerman argue that there are indications that the schwa-less forms in prenominal position are on their way out of the language. This would result in a situation in which the schwa indicates that the adjective is used attributively, and as such is distinguished from the determiners that precede it within the noun phrase.

5.2 Variation

Volker Struckmeier & Joost Kremers investigate the nature of attributive structures (adjectives, participles, and relative clauses) in German. They propose a common representation for all the attributive structures in this language, viz. a phase-level functional head, which they call CGN-C (Case-Gender-Number-C). A comparison with Dutch, Arabic, and Chinese shows according to Struckmeier & Kremers that similar attributive C heads also exist in other languages.

Petra Sleeman inquires into the participle in Germanic and Romance. In line with her earlier work on English and Dutch, she claims on the basis of her corpus study on the combination of the passive participle with the adverbs *très* “very” and *beaucoup* “much” in French, that participles subsume four subtypes. Apart from a fully adjectival type and a fully verbal type, two intermediate types are to be distinguished: a resultative type, which expresses the result of an event and resorts to the adjectival category, and an eventive property type, which is more verbal in nature, but occurs in prenominal position in Germanic, which is not predicted by Cinque (2010). On the basis of various syntactic tests, Sleeman is able to show that this four-way division runs parallel in both language families.

Dana Niculescu studies the behavior of attributive present participles in Romanian, which are either (a) fully eventive (verbal participle), in which case they do not agree with the noun, or (b) adjectival, agreeing with the noun in case, number, and gender. In the latter case the participle may be preceded by the (adjective-) article *cel*. In her corpus Niculescu found a previously hardly attested construction, viz. *cel* combined with the uninflected verbal participle. The participle in this construction has still a eventive meaning, but less so than without *cel*.

Alexander Pfaff analyzes the adjective’s position, interpretation and inflection in Icelandic within the framework of Cinque (2010), just like Petra Sleeman partly arguing against Cinque’s analysis. On the basis of Icelandic he argues against a relation between interpretation (restrictive – non-restrictive) and source (indirect – direct). However, he establishes a relation between source and adjectival inflection (strong – weak). Whereas strongly inflected adjectives are merged outside DP in his analysis, weakly inflected adjectives can occur before (after movement) or after the article.

Dorian Roehrs & Marit Julien discuss, just like Alexander Pfaff, the influence of the determiner on adjectival inflection. They claim that

adjectival inflection is not necessarily related to the definiteness of a linearly preceding definite determiner in Germanic. While in German weak forms are analyzed as feature-reduced forms that have a specific local relation to certain lexical types of determiner, it is argued that in Scandinavian the weak endings have semantics on their own. Just as in Alexander Pfaff's analysis of Icelandic, the strong endings in German and Norwegian are analyzed as the elsewhere case.

Erik Schoorlemmer analyzes the contrast between the absence of strong adjectival inflection in predicative constructions in Dutch and German as opposed to their presence in Northern Germanic. He discards a purely syntactic difference between the Germanic languages as a possible explanation, and argues that the difference might be either lexical or morpho-syntactic in nature.

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