

The structural location of adnominal adjectives: Prospects for Old English

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This paper discusses the structural location of adnominal adjectives in the light of the Chomskyan tradition of generative syntax. The discussion starts with presenting a selection of approaches towards the structural location of adnominal adjectives which have been proposed in the generative literature. It continues with considering a number of merits and shortcomings associated with these approaches. It ends with sketching a preliminary account of adnominal adjectives in Old English (OE) which takes into consideration a selection of their surface properties.

Key words: adnominal adjectives, Old English, generative syntax

0. Introductory remarks

There have been many attempts in the generative literature to work out a structural analysis of adnominal adjectives which could straightforwardly handle a variety of properties associated with the categorial class of adjectives. Despite considerable advances in the subject, the search for an optimal analysis of adnominal adjectives continues and is very much alive in current syntactic theory. The aim of the current paper is modest: it is intended as a preliminary attempt to confront the structural analyses of adjectives with the surface properties of adnominal adjectives in Old English (henceforth, OE). The paper does not aspire to offer a ready-made account of OE adjectives. Rather, it seeks to weigh up the prospects for an analysis which would deal with OE adjectives in a possibly optimal way. An assumption is made that in order to be successful a prospective analysis must be able to deal (at least) with the following facts (1a-1d).

- (1a) OE adnominal adjectives appear in preposition and/or in postposition to the noun
- (1b) OE prenominal adjectives assume two types of inflectional endings, i.e. weak and/or strong, whereas postnominal adjectives assume only strong endings
- (1c) OE prenominal adjectives occur in a stack (this claim is at odds with most views in the traditional literature), whereas postnominal adjectives are not stacked
- (1d) OE prenominal adjectives surface after their prenominal complements, whereas postnominal adjectives surface before their postnominal complements

The paper is organised as follows. Section 1 presents a selection of theoretical approaches towards the structural location of adnominal adjectives which have been put forward by generative scholarship. Section 2 takes an evaluative stance and discusses the pros and cons of the approaches presented in section 1. The final part of the paper (section 3), instead of offering ‘conclusions proper’, suggests a tentative account applicable to OE. It is argued that the properties of OE adjectives are best captured by means of a mixed account, according to which prenominal adjectives and postnominal adjectives receive a different structural treatment.

A few terminological remarks are in order. Throughout the paper the term ‘adnominal adjective’ is used to refer to any adjective appearing in nominal phrases, with no regard to its type. The term ‘nominal phrase’ is used in a theory neutral sense; whenever the distinction is

relevant, the label DP stands for the determiner phrase, a maximal projection of the functional head D° and the label NP for the noun phrase, a maximal projection of the lexical head N°. The discussion takes for granted the DP hypothesis (Abney 1987)¹, despite a long-standing controversy as regards the validity of adopting it cross-linguistically.²

1. Theoretical analyses of adnominal adjectives: An overview

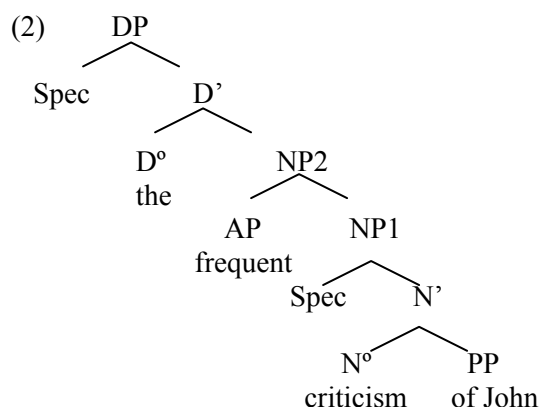
This section presents a selection of approaches towards the structural location of adnominal adjectives. Given that it is impracticable to review all of them, the discussion focuses on four approaches, according to which adjectives are analysed as adjuncts (1.1.), heads (1.2.), specifiers (1.3.), and reduced relative clauses (1.4.) (see, e.g., Alexiadou – Wilder 1998).

1.1 Adjunction analysis of adnominal adjectives

The syntactic operation of adjunction allows for three basic configurations which adjoined elements may enter, i.e. they may adjoin to a maximal projection, to an intermediate projection or to the head.³ Adjunction to maximal and intermediate projections requires that adjoined elements have a phrasal status. Similarly, adjunction to the head requires that adjoined elements be heads themselves (see the Structure Preservation Hypothesis by Emonds 1976). Given the available possibilities in which adjunction may be executed, adnominal adjectives may thus be analysed in a threefold way: they may be adjuncts to the maximal projection of the nominal head (i.e. to NP), to its intermediate projection (i.e. to N') or to the nominal head itself (i.e. to N°). The three options are presented below.

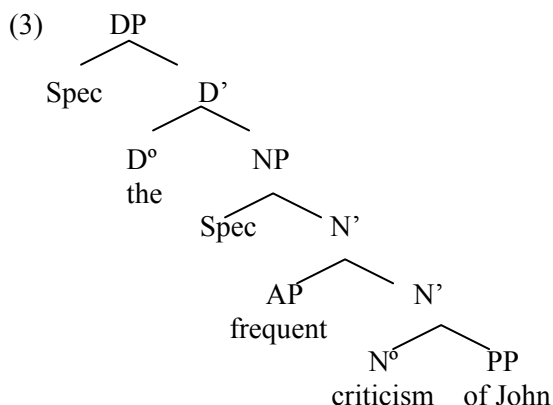
1.1.1 Adjectives as adjuncts to NP

The analysis whereby adnominal adjectives are treated as adjuncts to the maximal projection of the nominal head (i.e. to NP) has been adopted, e.g., by Bernstein (1991), Bosque – Picallo (1996), Picallo (1991), Ritter (1992), Svenonius (1993, 1994). The structural diagram in (2), adapted from Haegeman – Guéron (1999: 456, their 180), presents AP which is left-adjoined to NP.



1.1.2 *Adjectives as adjuncts to N'*

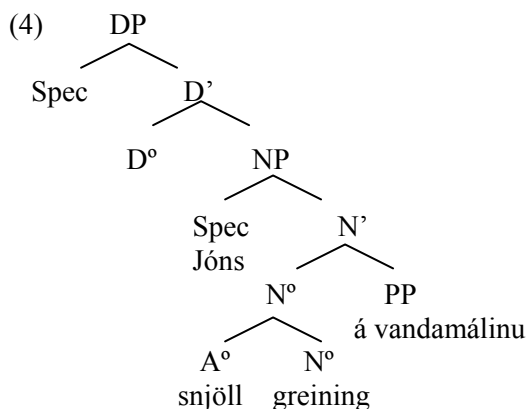
The second possibility of structurally representing adjectives as adjuncts is to adjoin them to an intermediate projection of the nominal head (i.e. to N'); such an analysis has been employed, e.g., by Cooper (1986), Santelmann (1993). The structural diagram in (3), adapted from Delsing (1993: 108, his 7a), presents AP which is left-adjoined to N'.



1.1.3 *Adjectives as adjuncts to N°*

The third possibility subsumed under the general adjunction approach is to analyse adjectives as elements adjoined to the nominal head, i.e. to N°. Although somewhat less popular, this option has been defended for Modern Icelandic by Sigurðsson (1993) and for French by Bouchard (1998).

As mentioned above, to say that adjectives adjoin to the nominal head requires that adjectives have a head status themselves. The configuration in which an adjectival head appears as an adjunct to a nominal head is represented in (4), adapted from Sigurðsson (1993: 195, his 78).



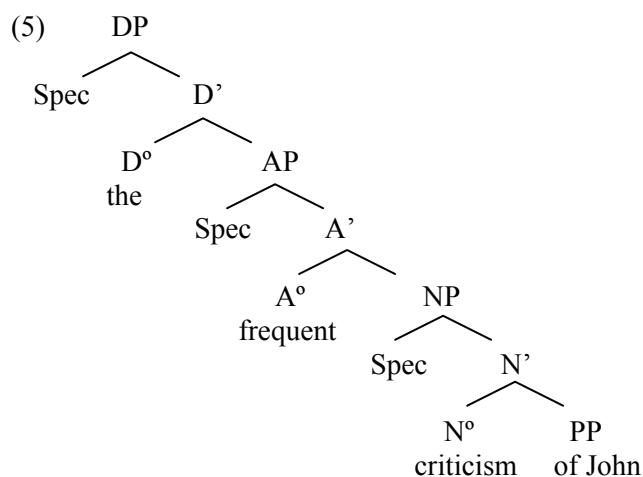
Sigurðsson argues that the surface order [N-Genitive NP] in (4a), which is required in such constructions in Modern Icelandic, may be easily derived if one assumes that the base order is [Genitive NP-N] and that the adjectival head is adjoined to the nominal head. The surface order is thus obtained by implementing an overt N°-movement, which raises the whole constituent at one go, as shown by (4b).⁴

(4a) snjöll greining Jóns á vandamálinu
clever analysis John's on problem-the
‘John’s clever analysis of the problem’

(4b) [DP [D° snjöll greining] [NP Jóns [N° t_{snjöll greining}] á vandamálinu]]
clever analysis John's on problem-the

1.2 Head analysis of adnominal adjectives

According to the head analysis, adnominal adjectives have the status of adjectival heads, as proposed by Abney (1987) (cf. Berman 1973, Bouchard 1998, Kester 1993). The configuration corresponding to Abney’s analysis is provided in (5), adapted from Delsing (1993: 108).⁵



The assumption that adjectives are heads entails their possibility to take complements. Abney (1987) proposes that the process whereby adjectives take their complements be cast in terms of functional selection (i.e. f-selection).⁶ Adjectival (prenominal) heads are able to f-select three types of complements, namely NPs, DPs or APs. The selection of NPs occurs in constructions when an adjective appears prenominally, as in (6a). The selection of DPs is implemented in constructions with an adjective used predeterminally, as in (6b).⁷ Finally, the selection of APs obtains in constructions with a stack of adjectives, as in (6c).

(6a) [DP [D° a] [AP [A° perplexing] [NP [N° question]]]]

(6b) [DEGP [DEG° too] [AP [A° difficult] [DP [D° a] [NP [N° problem]]]]]

(6c) [DP [D° a] [AP [A° delicious] [AP [A° green] [NP [N° apple]]]]]

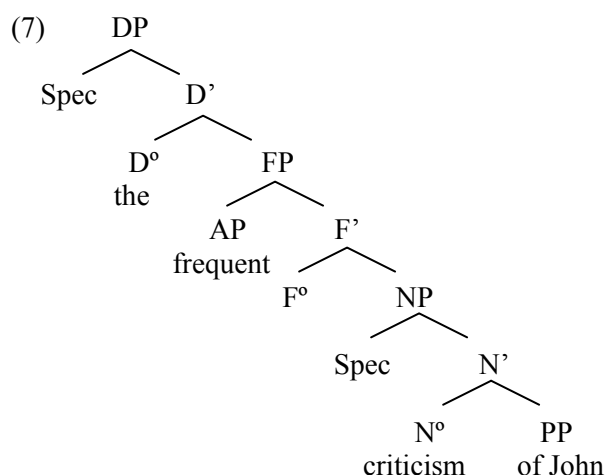
1.3 Specifier analysis of adnominal adjectives

This section presents two generation-in-Spec proposals. The first applies to modifying adjectives and states that they are generated as specifiers of functional projections (i.e. SpecFP) (1.3.1.). The second applies to thematic adjectives and states that they are generated as specifiers of noun phrases (i.e. SpecNP) (1.3.2.).

1.3.1 *Adjectives as specifiers of FP*

The claim that adnominal adjectives should be analysed as specifiers of functional projections (FPs) has been employed in various guises, e.g., by Cinque (1995), Crisma (1993), Julien (2002), Laenzlinger (2000). The discussion below is primarily based on Cinque's (1995) account.

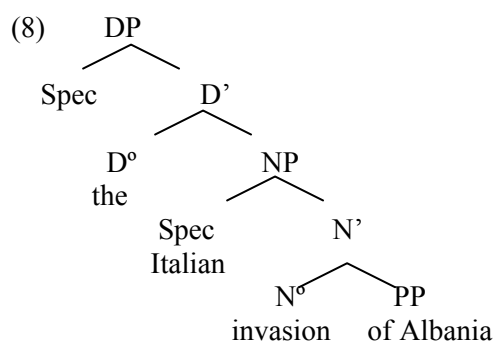
According to Cinque, adjectives are generated as specifiers of functional projections situated between the highest functional projection (i.e. DP) and the lowest lexical projection (i.e. NP) of the nominal phrase. Each and every adjective is said to be uniquely associated with a specific FP. The analysis is structurally rendered in diagram (7), adapted from Delsing (1993: 107).



There is little consensus as to whether the number of FPs between DP and NP perfectly matches the number of modifying adjectives in a given nominal phrase. One possibility is that each nominal phrase is universally equipped with a complete set of adjective related FPs. Alternatively, it may be the case that specific FPs are generated only if there is evidence in the form of overtly realised adjectives associated with them.

1.3.2 *Adjectives as specifiers of NP*

In contradistinction to modifying adjectives, a selected group of adjectives called ‘thematic adjectives’⁸ is frequently argued to occupy the specifier of the noun phrase (i.e., SpecNP) (see Cinque 1995). The analysis of (thematic) adjectives as specifiers of NP is illustrated in diagram (8), adapted from Haegeman – Guéron (1999: 457, their 181c).



One of the main reasons for which adjectives like *Italian* in (8) are given a different treatment from adjectives like *frequent* in (7) stems from the claim that the former are thematically related to the nominal head. Witness the phrase in (9a), which corresponds to the interpretation ‘the invasion of Albania by Italy/Italians’.

(9a) the unprovoked Italian invasion of Albania

Given the above interpretation it is reasonable to argue that *Italian* realises the external thematic role of N° (here, Agent) and that it occupies the position typical of canonical subjects, i.e. [Spec NP] (see, e.g., Giorgi – Longobardi 1991, Kayne 1981).

In linear terms, it is usually the case that such ‘thematic adjectives’ appear closest to the noun. Thus, if they are separated from the noun by some lexical material, ungrammaticality ensues, as shown in (9b).

(9b) *the Italian unprovoked invasion of Albania

The ungrammaticality of (9b) may be explained by saying that *Italian* cannot receive the thematic role from the head noun (i.e. *invasion*) because the configuration required for thematic role assignment is disturbed by the intervening adjective (i.e. *unprovoked*) (see, e.g. Svenonius 1994).

There are some equally cogent arguments which suggest that what some scholars call ‘thematic adjectives’ should not in fact be regarded as thematic role bearers. For instance, Matushansky (2002) claims that adjectives like *Italian* are not different from regular run-of-the-mill modifiers, either syntaxwise or semanticswise. For a fuller discussion see Matushansky (2002: 123-124, §A1.3.1.; 162, §A3.6.; 165, §A3.6.2.).

1.4 Generalised reduced relative clause analysis

The generalised reduced relative clause analysis rests on the assumption that adjectives have a predicative source and are derived from underlying relative clauses. The approach draws on the raising/promotion analysis of relative clauses as well as the so-called Det-complementation hypothesis, both of which have been employed by Kayne (1994) as part of his antisymmetric approach towards syntax.

For cases when a reduced relative contains an adjectival predicate, Kayne proposes a structure which involves a predication relation between a nominal subject in [Spec IP] and a predicate AP. In order to obtain the surface order with prenominal and postnominal adjectives, the movement operations within the reduced relative may follow two possible paths.

First, if the derivation is to result in a construction with a prenominal adjective, the raising inside the relative affects the adjectival predicate. If this option is followed, the fronting of the adjective entails crossing the subject in [Spec IP] and eventually landing in [Spec CP]. The derivation of this so-called ‘predicate raising’ is presented on the basis of PDE with a prenominal adjective, as in (10a-10b), adapted from Kayne (1994: 101, his 72).

(10a) the yellow book

(10b) [DP [D° the] [CP [AP yellow] [C°] [IP [book] [I° t_{yellow}]]]]

The second option applies if the derivation is to result in a construction with a postnominal adjective. In such cases, two movement operations are at work inside the relative. The first consists in moving the adjectival predicate from its base position to [Spec CP], in a way analogous to the one in (10b). The second operation is implemented in two steps: moving the head of the phrase from [Spec IP] to the head C° and raising it further to the head of an FP sandwiched between DP and CP. This yields the linear order in which an adjective surfaces after the noun. The derivation of this so-called ‘head raising’ is presented on the basis of French with a postnominal adjective, as in (11a-11b), adapted from Kayne (1994: 101, his 74).

(11a) le livre jaune
the book yellow

(11b) [DP [D° le] [FP [F° livre] [CP [AP jaune] [C° t_{livre}] [IP [t_{livre}] [I° t_{jaune}]]]]]

2. Theoretical analyses of adnominal adjectives: Critical evaluation

This section presents a critical evaluation of the four analyses of adnominal adjectives presented in section 1. It reviews what advantages each of the analyses offers and what problems each of them creates. A proviso should be made that the review is meant to be selective rather than exhaustive. The review is based, *inter alia*, on Kester (1996), Matushansky (2002), Svenonius (1994).

2.1 Adjunction analysis: The pros and cons⁹

2.1.1 Arguments for analysing adjectives as adjuncts

The general adjunction analysis may be supported by at least three arguments (see, especially, Svenonius 1994). The first argument draws on two characteristics shared by attributive adjectives, namely optionality and iteration. The second has to do with the function of modification and its semantic effects. The third concerns the different inflectional patterning of attributive and predicative adjectives.

To begin with, Svenonius (1994) observes that the analysis of adjectives as adjuncts neatly aligns with two properties of attributive adjectives, i.e. optionality and iteration. As regards optionality, the fact that the presence of adjectives in nominal phrases is not obligatory tallies with the syntactic nature of adjunction, which is optional by assumption. As regards iteration, the possibility of iterating adjectival modifiers in a nominal phrase follows from the fact that syntactic adjuncts can be freely added to a given structure.

When it comes to the second argument, Svenonius (1994) points out that the analysis of attributive adjectives as adjuncts aligns with the semantic function of modification. One of the characteristic features of adjectival modifiers is that they do not change the syntactic category of elements with which they combine. Differently put, rather than creating new syntactic categories, modifiers return the same category with which they combine. In Montague (1974), for instance, attributive adjectives are said to be functions which combine with common nouns and return common nouns accordingly. It is reasoned therefore that the semantics of modifiers is in line with the syntax of adjuncts, which similarly do not alter the label of the node to which they attach.

Finally, the analysis of adjectives as adjuncts may help to account for the empirical fact that in some languages attributive and predicative adjectives inflect differently. This applies to many contemporary Germanic languages (see Kester 1996) but also to OE (see section 3.1.2). The difference in inflection between attributive adjectives and predicative adjectives is illustrated in (12-13) on the basis of Norwegian, where attributive adjectives inflect strong and/or weak (12a-12b), whereas predicative adjectives inflect strong (13a) but not weak (13b) (incidentally, the analogous patterning holds for OE, as illustrated in section 3.1.2).

- | | | | | |
|-------|------|-----------------|----|-----------------|
| (12a) | et | kjempestor-t | | pinnsvin |
| | a | gigantic.NS.ST | | hedgehog.NS |
| (12b) | det | kjempestor-e | | pinnsvinet |
| | that | gigantic.NS.WK | | hedgehog-the.NS |
| | | | | |
| (13a) | Det | pinnsvinet | er | kjempestor-t |
| | that | hedgehog-the.NS | is | gigantic.NS.ST |
| (13b) | *Det | pinnsvinet | er | kjempestor-e |
| | that | hedgehog-the.NS | is | gigantic.NS.WK |

Svenonius (1994) claims that the difference between the inflection of attributive and predicative adjectives stems from two different structural configurations which the two types of adjectives enter. A proposal along these lines is suggested for OE adjectives in section 3.2.2 (see also Kester 1996).

2.1.2 *Arguments against analysing adjectives as adjuncts*

One major accusation which can be levelled against the general adjunction analysis is that it allows excessive permissiveness. This general drawback may be split into three specific areas with respect to which the analysis of adjectives as adjuncts seems to run aground. Firstly, the analysis imposes no upper limit on the number of adjectives occurring in a nominal phrase. Secondly, it fails to account for their linear ordering. Thirdly, it provides no mechanism regulating the directionality of attachment.

To start with, the syntactic operation of adjunction emerges as unconstrained in the sense that it does not impose any limit on the number of elements that can be adjoined to a given category. In other words, adjuncts may be theoretically multiplied ad infinitum. This theoretical assumption, however, seems to be irreconcilable with the empirical observation that, cross-linguistically, the number of adjectival modifiers a given nominal phrase may host is fairly restricted. More specifically, the permissible number of modifiers occurring in non-coordinated strings does not usually exceed a series of six or seven (e.g. Cinque 1995: 299). In this light the analysis of adjectives as adjuncts does not readily align with empirical facts.

The second imperfection has to do with the fact that, in standard GB accounts, adjunction is considered intrinsically unordered (see Cinque 1995: 299). As a result, there seems to be no way in which the analysis of adjectives as adjuncts could explain the unmarked serialisation of adjectival classes, which is often claimed to hold cross-linguistically. If the adjunction analysis were to be adopted as it stands, the question of universal ordering patterns would remain unexplained. One would have to resort to additional stipulations or, in the worst case, one would have to concede that these patterns are a matter of sheer coincidence.

The third problem concerns the mechanism responsible for the directionality of attachment. By its nature, the operation of adjunction is directionally unspecified so that the attachment of adjoined elements (here, adjectives) may be freely executed either to the left or to the right¹⁰ of the category adjoined to (here, NP, N' or N^o). It is hard to imagine how this bidirectionality of attachment could be tamed in such a way as to align with the fact that, after all, it is not random whether adjectives are linearly placed before or after the noun (if it were random one could expect that both *a red apple* and *an apple red* are equally possible in PDE). It is not clear how the adjunction approach could deal with these issues.

2.2 Head analysis: The pros and cons

2.2.1 Arguments for analysing adjectives as heads

This section focuses on arguments supporting the head analysis of adjectives, as proposed by Abney (1987). First, it is shown that the head-based approach may straightforwardly explain why in many languages adjectives in the prenominal domain are not allowed to take complements. Second, the adoption of the head analysis may be useful in handling certain facts from Scandinavian.

To recall, according to Abney's analysis, adjectives are assigned the status of heads specified for f-selecting NP-, DP- or AP-complements. Crucially, Abney's analysis is largely based on PDE, where complements of adjectives are generally not allowed to appear before nouns, whether they appear after adjectives, as in (14a-14b)¹¹, or before adjectives, as in (14a'-14b').

(14a) *a proud [of his students] professor

(14b) *a similar [to this one] problem

(14a') *a [of his students] proud professor

(14b') *a [to this one] similar problem

For such constructions to be well-formed there are basically two procedures available. One option is to shift the whole AP, i.e. the adjectival head with its complement, to the right of the nominal head ('right extraposition', as in *a professor proud of his students*). The other is to separate an adjective from its complement by placing the former before the nominal head, whereas the latter after ('argument separation', as in *a similar problem to this one*) (for details see Matushansky 2002: 113ff.).

The second merit with which the head analysis of adjectives may be credited has to do with some empirical data from Scandinavian, illustrated on the basis of nominal phrases from Norwegian in (15a-15b) and (15a'-15b').

(15a) et bryggeri 'a brewery'

(15b) bryggeriet 'the brewery'

(15a') et grøn-t bryggeri 'a green brewery'

(15b') *bryggeriet grøn-t

Examples (15a-15a') involve indefinite phrases, whereas (15b-15b') involve definite phrases. Examples in (15a-15b) involve nominal phrases without adjectives: the surface

string in (15a) corresponds to the base generation order, whereas (15b) may be derived from (15a) by means of N^o-to-D^o movement. Examples in (15a'-15b') involve nominal phrases with adjectives. Assuming that adjectives are heads, the grammatical phrase in (15a') involves the determiner *et* in D^o, the adjective *grønt* in A^o and the noun *bryggeri* in N^o. Applying analogous assumptions for (15b'), the ungrammaticality of the phrase may be explained by the fact that N^o-to-D^o movement is illicit here due to the prohibition imposed by the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984) or the Empty Category Principle.

2.2.2 Arguments against analysing adjectives as heads

Despite the two assets mentioned in section 2.2.1., Abney's analysis is not devoid of flaws. Three selected problems of the head analysis are pinpointed below. Firstly, it is observed that the head-based approach is not easily reconcilable with the data from languages which allow prenominal adjectives to take complements. Secondly, the analysis faces some problems concerning scope. Thirdly, it is problematic insofar as it says nothing about the way in which postnominal adjectives could be handled.

The first drawback of Abney's proposal is that the analysis fails to work for languages in which prenominal adjectives can licitly appear with complements (see, e.g., Alexiadou – Wilder 1998, Delsing 1993, Svenonius 1994). Witness an illustrative sample of examples from Russian, Polish, German and Dutch. Examples from Slavic (16a-16b) involve PP-complements on the right of prenominal adjectives, whereas examples from Germanic (17a-17b) involve PP-complements on the left of prenominal adjectives.

- (16a) gotovyj [na vse] student
 ready on everything student
 'a student ready for anything' (Babby 1975, 1.6)
- (16b) dumna [ze swej córki] kobieta
 proud of her daughter woman
 'a woman proud of her daughter'
- (17a) die [auf ihr Kind] stolze Mutter
 the of her child proud mother
 'the mother proud of her child'
- (17b) een [zijn vrouw] trouwe man
 a his wife faithful husband
 'a husband faithful to his wife' (Kester 1996: 46, her 85b)

The reason why the data in (16-17) are problematic is because the presence of adjectival complements in the prenominal domain cannot be accommodated under Abney's approach. Given that f-selection and normal complementation exclude each other, if an adjectival head f-selects one complement (NP, DP or AP; see section 1.2.), it cannot at the same time subcategorise for another complement. Thus, since there can be only one complement of an adjective present (the Single Complement Hypothesis) there is a difficulty in accommodating the presence of another complement.¹²

The second area with respect to which the head-based approach does not pass muster concerns the issue of scope. Witness example (18) from PDE (see Matushansky 2002: 144, Svenonius 1994).

- (18) some barely hot black coffee

If adjectives (here, *hot* and *black*) were heads, as Abney has it, one would wrongly predict that *barely* (left-adjoined to the higher AP) takes scope over *hot black coffee*. In actual fact, however, *barely* takes scope over *hot* and nothing else. In other words, the interpretation of the phrase is not rightly captured by the configuration where adjectives are represented as heads.¹³

The third problem encountered by the head analysis is that it is limited to prenominal adjectives only. If one is willing to accept, first, that adjectives are generated as heads between DP and NP and, second, that the postnominal position of adjectives results from N^o-raising over one or more adjectives, the head analysis cannot be sustained on account of its being at odds with locality conditions on movement (Head Movement Constraint, Empty Category Principle). Naturally, this particular counterargument may be considered a mite far-fetched because, after all, there is no a priori requirement for the head analysis to be compatible with the N^o-raising approach. Nevertheless, if N^o-raising is not adopted the head analysis still has to find some way in which the postposition of adjectives could be reasonably derived. Unfortunately, postnominal adjectives are not handled by Abney's account.

2.3 Specifier analysis: The pros and cons

2.3.1 Arguments for analysing adjectives as specifiers

For expository purposes, the selected arguments supporting the specifier analysis are presented in two groups. The first group covers three specific areas which pose some problems for the adjunction analysis (see section 2.1.2.) but which seem to be successfully handled by the specifier analysis. The second group presents three further arguments in favour of the specifier analysis, pinpointing its compatibility with Cinque's (1999) analysis of adverbs, Kayne's (1994) antisymmetric view of syntax, and Chomsky's (1995) minimalist theory of checking.

Let us start with the first group of assets. The generation-in-Spec analysis offers a way of handling the permissible number of adjectives in nominal phrases by stating that the limited number of adjectives stems from a finite number of FPs between DP and NP. A finite number of FPs implies, in turn, a finite number of specifiers available as generation sites for adjectives.

Second, the specifier analysis does not sidestep the issue concerning the universal ordering of adjectives. According to such an approach, the ordering restrictions among adjectives are explained by the c-selection mechanism, whereby a given functional head F^o_1 selects a specific functional head F^o_2 . In this way, the ordering of adjectives $A_1 \dots A_n$ on the surface follows from the hierarchical ordering of functional heads $F^o_1 \dots F^o_n$ in the extended nominal domain.

Third, as regards the directionality of attachment, the specifier analysis can deal with it by excluding the possibility of right branching specifiers. Such a stipulation may not even be necessary taking into account that in the majority of generative analyses only left-hand specifiers are permitted. The postnominal placement of adjectives on the surface may be derived by means of N^o-raising (Bernstein 1991, Cinque 1995).

As for the second group of arguments, Cinque's (1995) specifier analysis of adjectives bears a close resemblance to his analysis of adverbs (Cinque 1999), whereby they are treated as specifiers of FPs in the verbal domain. In both analyses, adjectives and adverbs occupy a

specific position in the universal hierarchy and correspond to a specific FP representing a given category. The correlation between the unmarked serialisation of adjectives in the nominal domain and that of adverbs in the verbal domain¹⁴ is highly desirable from the point of view of Universal Grammar.

The second aspect with respect to which the generation-in-Spec hypothesis fares well concerns its compatibility with Kayne's (1994) antisymmetric theory. Although under Kayne's account adjectives are analysed as reduced relatives, his restrictive theory of phrase structure is consonant with Cinque's account, whereby all adjectives are generated as left-hand specifiers of FPs between DP and NP (to recall, right-hand specifiers are ruled out by Kayne's system).

The final supporting argument, noted by Laenzlinger (2000: 60-61), rests on the idea that the treatment of adjectives as specifiers is in keeping with the Checking Theory proposed within the Minimalist Program by Chomsky (1995). In Chomsky's formalism, the process of feature checking is implemented in the structural configuration of Spec-head.¹⁵ Given that adjectives occupy [Spec FP] and that the nominal head moves through the heads of respective FPs, the agreement relation between adjectives and the nominal head can be legitimately executed in the required configuration.

2.3.2 *Arguments against analysing adjectives as specifiers*

In this section three drawbacks of the specifier analysis of adjectives are mentioned. First comes the issue of regulating the order of adjective-related FPs. Secondly, a question arises as to the motivation behind the existence of particular FPs. Finally, there is a problem concerning the issue of complement taking.

Let us recall that one of the assets with which the specifier analysis can be credited has to do with its ability to provide an apparently straightforward account of unmarked adjective ordering: the surface order of adjectives follows from the structural hierarchy of distinct FPs and the hierarchy follows from the c-selection properties of functional heads. It is exactly the validity of c-selection as a mechanism responsible for the ordering of adjective-related FPs that has been explicitly questioned by Matushansky (2002). The crux of her claim is that positing the existence of discrete FPs in no way explains adjective ordering facts. Rather, it raises an equally problematic question why f-heads are ordered in the way they are, i.e. why a given head F°_1 selects another functional head F°_2 and not, for instance, F°_3 .

The second drawback of the specifier analysis concerns the validity of evidence for the existence of adjectival FPs. Given that the heads of these FPs are lexically empty, their existence would have to be motivated solely on the basis of the presumed existence of their specifiers.¹⁶ Even if this were legitimate, it may be observed, after Svenonius (1994), that the specifier analysis of adjectives runs counter to X-bar analyses of the Specifier which grant it the status of a theoretical primitive, specifically a thematic position occupied by subjects. Svenonius finds it unclear on what grounds adjectives could be analysed as subjects, considering that they are usually unrelated to the argument structure of the noun (see, however, the discussion of 'thematic adjectives' in section 1.3.2.).

The third shortcoming of the specifier analysis is linked with the fact that it disregards the question of adjectival complements. As already mentioned, in some languages prenominal adjectives are free to take complements, whereas in others this option is not readily available. The specifier analysis ignores these facts because it provides no mechanism which would regulate whether adjectives may or may not take complements. Taking into account that, as a rule, specifiers host phrasal categories, the most likely solution which the

specifier approach could adopt is to impose some kind of filtering mechanism, whereby adjectives would be precluded from taking complements in some cases but not in others.¹⁷

2.4 *Reduced relative clause analysis: The pros and cons*

2.4.1 *Arguments for analysing adjectives as reduced relatives*

The analysis of adjectives as reduced relatives can be credited with at least two assets. In the first place, the approach may find some support on semantic grounds. In the second place, it may be viewed as superior on account of its uniformity.

As regards the first point, Traugott (1972: 64, italics mine) argues that "[t]here are several reasons why it is useful to consider *at least certain* pronominal adjectives as derived from relative clauses". She bases her argument on the claim that the meanings expressed by adjectives and relative clauses are to a large degree convergent. Thus, a pronominal adjective *old* in (19a) carries the same meaning as the expression with a (restrictive) relative clause and the same adjective in (19b).

(19a) the old man

(19b) the man who Tense¹⁸ be old

Traugott argues that (19a) is derived from (19b) by deleting the relative pronoun and the (tensed) verb and by preposing the adjective. What Traugott's argument relies on is that the meanings expressed by adjectives in nominal phrases and those in relative clauses are fundamentally similar. She thus states that there are good reasons for regarding adjectives as derived from relatives.

The second argument supporting the reduced relative approach concerns its uniformity. The fact that under this particular analysis all adjectives originate in a single (i.e. predicative) position is highly desirable from the point of view of Universal Grammar. Besides, it counts as a merit if it is borne in mind that one of the main accusations levelled against other approaches towards adjectives was their lack of uniformity. For instance, the head analysis (see sections 1.2. and 2.2.) emerges as non-uniform if it is taken into account that it handles pronominal adjectives only. Thus, in this particular respect the reduced relative analysis fares better.

2.4.2 *Arguments against analysing adjectives as reduced relatives*

There are at least three arguments which can be levelled against the analysis of adjectives as reduced relatives. First, the analysis is restricted to adjectives which have a predicative use. Second, it offers no explanation for the inflectional differences between attributive and predicative adjectives. Third, it does not state on what basis a particular adjective position is derived.

To start with, it is an old claim that not all adjectives are amenable to the reduced relative analysis because not all of them can be argued to have a predicative source, e.g., adjectives which cannot be used predicatively cannot be analysed as reduced relatives (e.g. Bolinger 1967). What is more, as Bolinger (1967) notes, the overall number of adjectives which are restricted to a predicative use is lower than the number of adjectives which are restricted to an attributive use. This empirical observation suggests that attribution is not very likely to be derived from predication because if predication were the source of attribution, it

is the distribution of predicative adjectives that would be more widespread (see also Alexiadou – Wilder 1998: 312, §2.3, Cinque 1995: 295, fn.12).

The second drawback of the reduced relative analysis concerns the issue of inflection, specifically the fact that there are languages in which attributive and predicative adjectives are differently marked for concord/agreement (see section 2.1.1). OE is a case in point as it has two inflectional patterns: attributive adjectives inflect strong and/or weak, whereas predicative adjectives usually inflect strong. The existence of such a pattern is somewhat problematic for the reduced relative analysis because if all adjectives were derived from the same source they would be predicted to pattern uniformly with respect to agreement (Alexiadou 2001: 242-243; see also Delsing 1993: 112-114).

The third shortcoming of the analysis concerns its vagueness as to the way in which the surface position of adjectives is derived. As it stands, Kayne's analysis does not clearly state on what grounds it is decided whether the movement inside the relative affects only the adjectival predicate or both the adjectival predicate and nominal subject. Also, it seems unclear how it is ensured that prenominal adjectives can be derived by raising either an adjective alone or an adjective together with its complement. To say that these two options result from two different parameter settings is not very fortunate as it is hardly possible to sieve out languages where prenominal adjectives cannot take complements from those which can (even in languages of the former type, e.g. PDE, some exceptions may be found; see examples (14) in section 2.2.1. as well as footnotes 11 and 24).

3. In lieu of conclusion: Prospects for OE adnominal adjectives

Having presented and evaluated the four approaches towards the structural location of adnominal adjectives (sections 1 and 2) let us now consider which of these approaches can deal with OE adjectives in a possibly optimal way. As mentioned in the prefatory section, an assumption is made that a successful account must deal (at least) with the four selected properties of OE adnominal adjectives (repeated here for convenience as (20a-20d)).

- (20a) OE adnominal adjectives appear in preposition and/or in postposition to the noun
- (20b) OE prenominal adjectives assume two types of inflectional endings, i.e. weak and/or strong, whereas postnominal adjectives assume only strong endings
- (20c) OE prenominal adjectives occur in a stack (this claim is at odds with most views in the traditional literature), whereas postnominal adjectives are not stacked
- (20d) OE prenominal adjectives surface after their prenominal complements, whereas postnominal adjectives surface before their postnominal complements

In the following, each of the above properties is illustrated (section 3.1) and a preliminary attempt is made to suggest a way in which they can be handled formally (section 3.2).

3.1 Four properties of OE adnominal adjectives illustrated

3.1.1 The surface placement

The property (20a) is illustrated by examples (21a-21c). Example (21a) shows that adnominal adjectives may be placed in preposition to the noun, whereas (21b) shows that they can be

placed in postposition to it. Example (21c) shows that there are phrases in which one adjective surfaces in preposition, whereas the other in postposition to the noun.

- (21a) (on) þisum lænan stoclif
 (on) this fleeting dwelling-place.DAT
 ‘(in) this fleeting dwelling-place’ (Quirk – Wrenn 1957: 68)
- (21b) (in) þisum life onwardum
 (in) this life.DAT present
 ‘(in) this present life’ (Carlton 1963: 782)
- (21c) (mid) soðum geleafan untweogendum
 (with) true faith.DAT staunch
 ‘(with) true staunch faith’ (Fischer 2001: 264, her 17c)

3.1.2 *The inflectional patterning*

The property (20b) is illustrated by examples (22-26). Examples (22-23) show that prenominal adjectives have two inflectional patterns available: in (22a-22c) prenominal adjectives inflect weak, whereas in (23a-23c) they inflect strong.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (22a) se dol-a fæder
the foolish.M.WK father.M | (23a) dol-Ø fæder
foolish.M.ST father.M |
| (22b) seo eald-e modor
the old.F.WK mother.F | (23b) eald-u modor
old.F.ST mother.F |
| (22c) þæt wis-e cild
the wise.N.WK child.N | (23c) wis-Ø cild
wise.N.ST child.N |

For clarity, let us specify that the choice between the two inflectional patterns depends on the syntactic context in which prenominal adjectives appear. Specifically, an adjective inflects weak if it appears in one of the contexts enumerated in (24a-24e). Otherwise, it inflects strong.¹⁹

- (24a) preceded by a demonstrative (either proximal or distal)
 (24b) preceded by a possessive pronoun or genitive NP
 (24c) in the vocative case (=in direct address)
 (24d) in the comparative form (regularly)
 (24e) in the superlative form (less regularly)²⁰

The inflectional behaviour of postnominal adjectives is different because they can take only strong inflection, as in (25a-25c). The unavailability of weak inflection in the case of postnominal adjectives is illustrated by hypothetical examples (26a-26c).²¹

- | | |
|--|---|
| (25a) leodhatan grimm-e
persecutors fierce.ST | (26a) *leodhatan grimm-an
persecutors fierce.WK |
| (25b) (mid) soðum geleafan untweogend-um
(with) true faith staunch.ST | (26b) *(mid) soðum geleafan untweogend-an
(with) true faith staunch.WK |
| (25c) (mid) þone ilcan ceaddan iung-ne
(with) the same Chad young.ST | (26c) *(mid) þone ilcan ceaddan iung-an
(with) the same Chad young.WK |

Strikingly, adjectives in typically predicative positions, e.g., after a copula, also inflect strong, as shown by examples (27a-27c). Hypothetical examples (28a-28c) show that predicative adjectives with weak inflection are infelicitous.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (27a) Se fæder is dol-Ø
the father.M is foolish.M.ST | (28a) *Se fæder is dol-a
the father.M is foolish.M.WK |
| (27b) Seo modor is eald-u
the mother.F is old.F.ST | (28b) *Seo modor is eald-e
the mother.F is old.F.WK |
| (27c) Ðæt cild is wis-Ø
the child.N is wise.N.ST | (28c) *Ðæt cild is wis-e
the child.N is wise.N.WK |

3.1.3 Stacking

As regards the property (20c), the possibility of stacking prenominal adjectives is illustrated by examples (29a-29b). The nominal phrase in (29a) involves a stack of two prenominal adjectives which inflect weak, whereas the nominal phrase in (29b) involves a stack of two prenominal adjectives which inflect strong.

- (29a) se gooda heofenlica fæder
the good.WK heavenly.WK father (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_18:322.150.3542))
- (29b) rice hæþene men
rich.ST heathen.ST men (comart1,Mart_1_[Herzfeld-Kotzor]:De27,A.5.93))

The claim that OE prenominal adjectives are not precluded from stacking is at odds with most claims in the literature (e.g., Spamer (1979) maintains that stacking is unavailable for strong adjectives, whereas Fischer (2000, 2001) argues that the unavailability of stacking applies not only to strong but also to weak adjectives).

In contradistinction to prenominal adjectives, postnominal adjectives do not occur in a stack.²² This should not be taken to mean that there are no cases in which two (or more) postnominal adjectives occur next to each other. Example (30) shows that sequences of postnominal adjectives (here, *gedefe. gesceadwis*) is not excluded. However, rather than representing stacking, such constructions are best treated as instances of asyndetic coordination (see section 3.2.3.).

- (30) [æþele lareow arfæst & gedefe. gesceadwis & syfre]
noble preacher pious & gentle wise & temperate
(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_38:518.315.7776)

3.1.4 The placement of adjectival complements

Finally, the property (20d) is illustrated by examples (31-32). Examples (31a-31b) are meant to show that whenever both an adjective and its complement appear in preposition to the noun, the former usually surfaces after the latter, i.e. [Complement of Adjective+Adjective+Noun].

- (31a) Gode andfenge onsægednys
God.DAT agreeable sacrifice (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_29:425.210.5811)
- (31b) Gode sylfum god bræð
God.DAT self.DAT good breath (coaelhom,ÆHom_18:156.2566)

Notice that examples (31a-31b) from OE correspond to examples (17a) from German and (17b) from Dutch (the only difference is that the complements in (31a-31b) are expressed by means of nominal phrases, whereas those in (17a-17b) by means of prepositional phrases).

Examples (32a-32b) are meant to show that whenever both an adjective and its complement appear in postposition to the noun, the former usually surfaces before the latter, i.e. [N+Adjective+Complement of Adjective].

(32a) se apostol gebyld þurh ðone halgan gast
 the apostle exhorted through the Holy Ghost
 (cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_31-32:241.12.5358)

(32b) ane dohtor wlitig-e on ansyne
 a daughter.ACC beautiful.ACC in sight (coaelhom,ÆHom_24:102.3821)

Notice that examples (32a-32b) from OE correspond to constructions which are most frequently used in PDE when an adnominal adjective is accompanied by a complement, i.e. both are normally postposed to the noun, as in *a driver fond of whiskey* (in this connection see examples (14) in section 2.2.1. as well as footnotes 11 and 24).

3.2 *Four properties of OE adnominal adjectives handled structurally*

In this section a preliminary attempt is made to sketch an account of OE adnominal adjectives which would capture the four surface properties illustrated in section 3.1. It is suggested that OE adjectives are best handled by a mixed account, whereby prenominal and postnominal adjectives receive a different structural treatment (compare a mixed analysis of adjectives proposed by Bernstein (1992, 1993)). Specifically, prenominal adjectives are best analysed as adjuncts to NP (à la Svenonius 1994), whereas postnominal adjectives as reduced relatives (à la Kayne 1994). The reason for which prenominal and postnominal adjectives cannot be offered a uniform treatment stems from the fact that they differ not only in their surface placement but also in the relation they have with respect to the noun (prenominal adjectives are attributive; postnominal adjectives are predicative).

3.2.1 *The surface placement*

A mixed account, according to which prenominal adjectives are analysed as adjuncts to NP, whereas postnominal adjectives as reduced relatives, neatly aligns with their surface placement insofar as no movements have to be postulated to derive surface pre- and postposition.

As far as prenominal adjectives are concerned, a claim is made that if right adjunction is excluded, as in Kayne (1994), the surface preposition may be taken to correspond to adjunction to the left of NP, as schematically shown by (33).

(33) [DP D [NP gode [NP [N° dæda]]]]
 good deeds

The analysis of postnominal adjectives as reduced relatives is also compatible with their surface postposition. If an adjectival predicate enters a predicate argument relation with a nominal subject, no movement operations need to be stipulated (unlike in Kayne (1994),

who proposes that the postposition of adjectives be derived by movement, as in (11a-11b) from section 1.4.). This is shown by (34).

(34) [DP D [Clause [XP leodhatan] grimme]]
 persecutors fierce

3.2.2 *The inflectional patterning*

The mixed account advocated here may also help to handle the fact that prenominal adjectives differ from postnominal adjectives in terms of their inflectional patterning.

It is proposed that the availability of weak and strong inflection in the case of prenominal adjectives is linked with their attributive nature (see Kester 1996). According to the current proposal, the concord between attributive adjectives and nouns is achieved by the mechanism of selection employed in the framework of the Head Driven Phrase Structure Grammar and adopted by Svenonius (1993) to deal with concord in Scandinavian languages (see, e.g., Mikkelsen 1998, Pollard – Sag 1994). As in Svenonius (1993), the adoption of the selection mechanism allows adjectival adjuncts to select the NP hosts to which they can licitly attach. This is implemented by means of the MOD feature with which adjectives are equipped and on which they specify the value(s) of their NP hosts (e.g. the value(s) of case, number and/or gender). Thus, for instance, the weak adjective in the phrase *se dola fæder* would have the MOD feature with the following values [DECL_{ADJ} *weak*, CASE *nom*, NUM *sing*, GEND *masc*], whereas the strong adjective in the phrase *dol fæder* would have the MOD value [DECL_{ADJ} *strong*, CASE *nom*, NUM *sing*, GEND *unspecified*] (see the Appendix at the end of the paper for the whole set of values associated with attributive adjectives in OE).

By contrast, the availability of only one type of inflection in the case of postnominal adjectives is taken to follow from their predicative nature. According to the suggestion from section 3.2.1, postnominal adjectives enter a predicate argument relation with nominal arguments, i.e. an adjectival predicate and a nominal argument form a small clause configuration, as in (34) above (see Alexiadou – Wilder 1998: 305). It may be thus argued that the reason for which postnominal adjectives have only one inflection available follows from their entering one specific type of configuration for establishing agreement between a predicate and its argument.

3.2.3 *Stacking*

As regards stacking, the difference between the stacking potential of prenominal and postnominal adjectives is also readily captured by the mixed account suggested here.

The ability of prenominal adjectives to appear in a stack tallies with the proposal that they have a syntactic status of adjuncts. Since adjuncts are by nature recursive (see sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2), the occurrence of uninterrupted strings of adjectives on the surface follows directly. On such a scenario, the fact that adjectival strings have a limited number of members, i.e. not more than six or seven, does not receive a structural explanation but may be accounted for by processing limitations.

As mentioned, postnominal adjectives are normally not found in a stack. Under the current assumptions, cases in which postnominal adjectives occur next to each other do not represent stacking proper but are best treated as cases of asyndetic coordination. Witness example (30), repeated here as (35).

- (35) [æpele lareow arfæst & gedefe. gesceadwis & syfre]
 noble preacher pious & gentle wise & temperate
 (cocathom1, ÆCHom_I,_38:518.315.7776).

It is suggested here that the sequence *gedefe. gesceadwis* represents coordination of two (most probably, nominal) entities, which is superficially signalled by punctuation (here, a period between the adjectives). Whatever the right syntactic treatment of (35) might be, it is tentatively proposed that the construction involves four conjuncts and is derived by means of deletion under identity, in a way schematised in (36)²³ (for the sake of simplicity, the prenominal adjective *æpele* has been omitted). For a deletion-based account of split coordinated structures in late OE see Sielanko (1994).

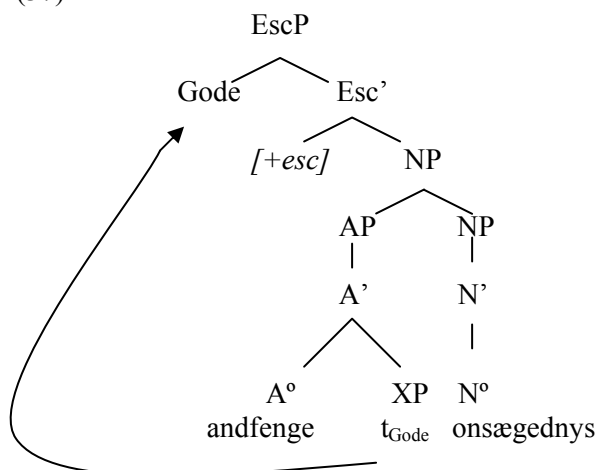
- (36) [_{ConjP} lareow arfæst [_{Conj} & [_{ConjP} ~~lareow~~ gedefe [_{Conj} . [_{ConjP} ~~lareow~~ gesceadwis [_{Conj} & [_{ConjP} ~~lareow~~ syfre]]]]]]]]

3.2.4 The placement of adjectival complements

Finally, a mixed analysis of OE adjectives may come to grips with the surface placement of their complements, i.e. preposition with respect to prenominal adjectives and postposition with respect to postnominal adjectives.

As regards prenominal adjectives, the following suggestion is made. The fact that whenever both an adjective and its complement appear in preposition to the noun the former is usually placed after the latter has to do with some poorly-understood tendency towards ensuring the adjacency between adjectives and nouns.²⁴ Whatever the exact reason for this tendency may be, a suggestion is made here that the adjacency between a prenominal adjective and a noun is achieved by employing the so-called ‘escape movement’ of the complement from the right branch of the adjectival head, as rendered by a diagram (37) (the proposal assumes that XPs (here, APs) are uniformly head-initial, in line with Kayne’s (1994) Universal Base Hypothesis). For further details of such an account see Pysz (2006), where three surface patterns are handled, i.e. [Complement of Adjective+Adjective+Noun], [Adjective+Complement of Adjective+Noun] and [Adjective+Noun+Complement of Adjective].

- (37)



When it comes to postnominal adjectives, it is tentatively suggested that the same tendency towards adjacency may account for the fact that whenever both an adjective and its complement appear in postposition to the noun, the former is usually placed before the latter. Since, under the current proposal, postnominal adjectives are predicates which form a small clause with their nominal arguments, the surface placement of postnominal adjectives with respect to their complements follows directly as it does not require any movement operations (again, the Universal Base Hypothesis is assumed). Thus, the surface order [N+Adjective+Complement of Adjective], as in *se apostol gebyld þurh ðone halgan gast*, corresponds to the schematic structure in (38).

(38) [DP D [Clause [XP se apostol] gebyld þurh ðone halgan gast]]
 the apostle exhorted through the Holy Ghost

3.3 *Final remarks*

The aim of the current paper was to weigh up the prospects for a possibly optimal account of OE adjectives couched in the Chomskyan framework of generative syntax. Upon reviewing the four approaches towards the structural location of adnominal adjectives (section 1) and their critical evaluation (section 2) it has been proposed that adnominal adjectives in OE are best handled by a mixed account, whereby prenominal and postnominal adjectives receive a different structural treatment (specifically, prenominal adjectives are treated as adjuncts to NP, whereas postnominal adjectives as reduced relatives). A tentative sketch of such an account was offered (section 3), with a focus on the four surface properties with respect to which OE prenominal and postnominal adjectives differ. Although a fully-fledged version of the account is yet to be developed, it is hoped that the current paper will serve as a good starting point for further explorations into the issue.

Appendix. A set of values associated with OE attributive adjectives on the basis of the adjective *dol* ‘foolish’ (based on Pollard – Sag 1994: 66).

FORM	DECL _{ADJ}	CASE	NUM	GEND
dol-e	<i>weak</i>	<i>nom</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>–masc</i>
	<i>weak</i>	<i>acc</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>neut</i>
	<i>strong</i>	<i>acc</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>fem</i>
	<i>strong</i>	<i>nom v acc</i>	<i>plur</i>	<i>–neut</i>
dol-an	<i>weak</i>	<i>gen v dat</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>unspecified</i>
	<i>weak</i>	<i>acc</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>–neut</i>
	<i>weak</i>	<i>nom v acc</i>	<i>plur</i>	<i>unspecified</i>
dol-Ø	<i>strong</i>	<i>nom</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>unspecified</i>
	<i>strong</i>	<i>acc</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>neut</i>
	<i>strong</i>	<i>nom v acc</i>	<i>plur</i>	<i>neut</i>
dol-um	<i>unspecified</i>	<i>dat</i>	<i>plur</i>	<i>unspecified</i>
	<i>strong</i>	<i>dat</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>–fem</i>
dol-u	<i>strong</i>	<i>nom</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>fem</i>
	<i>strong</i>	<i>nom v acc</i>	<i>plur</i>	<i>neut</i>
dol-a	<i>weak</i>	<i>nom</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>masc</i>
	<i>strong</i>	<i>nom v acc</i>	<i>plur</i>	<i>fem</i>
dol-ra	<i>unspecified</i>	<i>gen</i>	<i>plur</i>	<i>unspecified</i>
dol-ena	<i>weak</i>	<i>gen</i>	<i>plur</i>	<i>unspecified</i>
dol-es	<i>strong</i>	<i>gen</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>–fem</i>
dol-ne	<i>strong</i>	<i>acc</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>masc</i>
dol-re	<i>strong</i>	<i>gen v dat</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>fem</i>

Notes

¹ Traditional analyses of nominal phrases as single headed constructions, exercised in the early stages of generative grammar, can be found, e.g., in Chomsky (1970), Jackendoff (1977).

² With regard to OE, Osawa (2000) denies the presence of a DP projection in OE nominals, whereas Wood (2003) argues to the contrary.

³ Chomsky (1986) tolerates only adjunction to maximal projections but not to intermediate projections or heads (see Svenonius 1994). Adjunction to intermediate projections is also excluded, e.g., by Hellan (1989).

⁴ If there is an adverb before an adjective it is analogously taken to be head-adjoined to an adjectival head (Sigurdsson 1993). In such cases the movement of the N^o-constituent is implemented as in (i) below:

(i) [mjög snjöll greining] Jóns t_{mjög snjöll greining} á vandamálinu
 very clever analysis John’s on problem-the
 ‘John’s very clever analysis of the problem’

⁵ Two other head analyses may be mentioned. The first assumes that the maximal projection of A^o appears as a complement of N^o (see Matushansky 2002: 141). The second assumes that the maximal

projection of A° takes NP as its right-hand specifier, as in the so-called ‘SpecA analysis’ proposed by Delsing (1993) for Scandinavian and by Bhatt (1990) for German.

⁶ F-selection denotes a syntactic relation between functional elements (here, attributive adjectives) and their (f-selected) complements. Complements which are f-selected are not arguments and do not require Case (Abney 1987: 207).

⁷ Sadler – Arnold (1994: 199-203, §3.3.) call them ‘Big Mess’ constructions.

⁸ ‘Thematic adjectives’ are referred to as ‘nationality adjectives’ by Svenonius (1994) or ‘referential adjectives’ by Alexiadou (2001: 243).

⁹ The pros and cons presented in this section concern the general adjunction analysis of adjectives, with no regard to whether one deals with adjunction to NP, N’ or N°. For specific arguments against the analysis of adjectives as adjuncts to N’ see, e.g., Abney (1987: 323), Scott (2002: 94), whereas for arguments against the analysis of adjectives as adjuncts to N° see, e.g., Laenzlinger (2000: 61; 101, fn. 35).

¹⁰ Right adjunction is rejected by Kayne’s (1994) antisymmetric approach.

¹¹ In some cases, albeit rarely, it is also possible to place both an adjective and a complement in preposition to the noun. Such a possibility seems to be restricted to the so-called ‘easy-to-please’ constructions, illustrated by (i) and (ii) (for some discussion see Sadler – Arnold 1994).

- (i) a difficult [to please] child
- (ii) an easy [to wash] dress

¹² In Sadler – Arnold’s (1994: 199-200) words, “[t]he explanation for the non-occurrence of complements to prenominal [a]djectives is straightforward if f-selection and normal complementation are incompatible: when [a]djectives f-select NPs or DPs, they do not subcategori[s]e other complements”.

¹³ The same argument based on Norwegian may be found, e.g. in Bašić (2004: 10), Julien (2002).

- (i) altfor heit sterk kaffe
all-too hot strong coffee
‘much too hot strong coffee’

¹⁴ Compare the ordering of adjectives and adverbs in (i) and (ii) respectively, from Italian (after Bašić 2004: 10, her 19a-19b; see also Laenzlinger 2000: 59):

- (i) La probabile goffa reazione immediata alla tua lettera
the probable clumsy reaction immediate to your letter
‘The probable clumsy immediate reaction to your letter’ (Bašić 2004: 10, her 19a)
- (ii) Probabilmente avranno goffamente reagito subito alla tua lettera
probably have-3Pl clumsily reacted immediately to your letter
‘They probably have clumsily reacted immediately [to your letter]’ (Bašić 2004: 10, her 19b)

¹⁵ Laenzlinger (2000: 61) refers to Chomsky (1995), where checking can take place not only in the Spec-head but also in the Head-Head configuration (i.e. when a head incorporates with another head; this enables checking if adjectives are analysed as head adjoined). See also Kester (1996), Willim (1998: 140).

¹⁶ See, however, Scott (2002: 97), who suggests that evidence for the existence of adjectival f-heads may be drawn from languages such as Russian, where augmentative and/or diminutive affixes may be treated as overt manifestations of these heads.

¹⁷ For a variety of filtering mechanisms see, e.g., Emonds (1976), Giorgi – Longobardi (1991), Williams (1982).

¹⁸ Note, however, that if the past Tense is involved, a semantic ambiguity arises. Thus, the sentence in (i) can mean either that the man was already old as a student, or that he is old now. See Traugott (1972: 64, fn. 20).

(i) The old man was a student at Harvard.

¹⁹ It may be mentioned as an aside that OE adjectives sometimes take inflectional endings which do not fit the standard rules of concord stated in OE grammars. By way of illustration, in (i) *christen-Ø* inflects strong although it appears in a postdemonstrative slot. In (ii), in turn, *æþel-um* inflects strong, whereas *hæþn-an* inflects weak, which is likewise unexpected.

(i) þæt christen-Ø folc
the Christian folk

‘the Christian folk’ (Mitchell 1985: 58, §118)

(ii) sumum æþel-um hæþn-an were
some.DAT famous.DAT heathen.DAT man.DAT

‘to a famous heathen man’ (comart3,Mart_5_[Kotzor]:My20,A.4.841)

²⁰ Mitchell (1985: 80, §181) claims that superlatives inflect weak or strong, whereas comparatives can be only weak. Compare Brunner (1962: 62), Quirk – Wrenn (1957: 69).

²¹ The claim that postnominal adjectives cannot take weak inflection may be questioned on the basis of examples (i) and (ii), where adjectives which surface in postposition to the noun inflect weak.

(i) se æðela papa & se halga
that noble.WK pope and that holy.WK

(ii) Saulus se arleasa
Saul the wicked.WK

The weak inflection on *halga* in (i) and *arleasa* in (ii) is explained here by assuming that such adjectives are not postnominal but prenominal (see Haumann (2003) for detailed argumentation that constructions analogous to (i) involve *pro*, with respect to which *halga* is prenominal).

²² “[R]ecursion is difficult in the case of ‘postnominal’ adjectives, whereas it is exactly what happens with prenominal adjectives” (Stavrou 1996: 84; see also her examples 8a-8b).

²³ The same would carry over to adjectival strings in uncontroversially predicative positions. That is, although adjectival strings are encountered in such positions, e.g., *Voters were angry, sceptical and bitter* from PDE, it is suggested that the sequence *angry, sceptical* represents coordination of two clauses (here, coordination is superficially signalled by a comma). In similar vein, a derivation of such constructions may involve deletion under identity, as schematically shown in (i).

(i) [_{ConjP} [_{CP} Voters were angry]] [_{Conj} , [_{ConjP} [_{CP} ~~Voters were~~ sceptical]] [_{Conj} and [_{CP} ~~Voters were~~ bitter]]]]]

²⁴ The use of the word ‘tendency’ rather than ‘rule’ seems more appropriate, taking into account the difficulty with making a clear-cut division between languages which apparently require such adjacency and those which do not.

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