

Universal Quantifiers in the Romanian DP

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1 Roadmap

- Overview of traditional assumptions about the Romanian DP
- Modification of some assumptions about Romanian DP-structure
- Universal quantifiers as adjectives and the ban on multiple adjunction
- Three positions for universal quantifiers in the DP
- Pronouns and universal quantifiers - focus movement in the DP

2 Traditional assumptions on the Romanian DP

- relative position of the noun and adjective is derived by N-movement (Dobrovie-Sorin (1987), Grosu (1988), Valois (1991), Bernstein (1993), Cinque (1994), Giusti (1993, 1995, 1997, 2002), Cornilescu (1992, 1995), and Brugè (1997, 2002) among others)
- demonstrative is a specifier of a functional projection immediately below the DP (Giusti (1993)); becomes postnominal when the noun moves to D

- (1) băiatul acesta frumos
 boy.the.M.SG this.M.SG beautiful.M.SG
 'this handsome boy'

- adjacency effect between the definite noun and the postnominal demonstrative

Problems for this account of adjacency: adjunction to the phrase containing the demonstrative or the possibility of multiple specifiers

- prenominal position of the demonstrative in (2) is derived by movement to SpecDP in order make the DP projection visible when the noun remains below DP (Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998))

- (2) acest băiat frumos
 this.M.SG boy.M.SG beautiful.M.SG
 'this handsome boy'

- standard adjectival position - specifier of a functional projection (à la Cinque (1994))

Problems with the standard analysis:

- interpretation of prenominal and postnominal adjectives
- scopal effects with modifiers on both sides of the noun (see Dimitrova-Vulchanova (2003) for a more complete exposition)

3 The analysis

3.1 The demonstrative is a head

Cardinaletti and Giusti (1991) - the universal quantifier in Romance can combine with definite DPs only:

- (3) a. *toți studenții*
all.M.PL students.the.M.PL
'all the students'
- b. **toți studenți*
all.M.PL students.M.PL
'all students'

-postnominal demonstrative always appears with a definite NP (4a)

-prenominal demonstrative takes a bare noun (4b) and precludes the appearance of the definite article on the noun (5b)

- (4) a. *studenții aceștia* (5) a. *acești studenți*
students.the these.the these students
'these students' 'these students'
- b. **studenți aceștia* b. **acești studenții*
students these.the these students.the
'these students' 'these students'

- a universal quantifier can appear with a prenominal demonstrative, which does not carry an article at all (6)

- (6) *toți acești studenți*
all.M.PL these.M.PL students.M.PL
'all these students'

Conclusion: definiteness requirement of the universal *toți* is satisfied because the demonstrative is inherently definite and should therefore be generated in D

Further assumption: movement to D (by adjunction if the demonstrative is present) is triggered exclusively by the definite article on a [+N] category

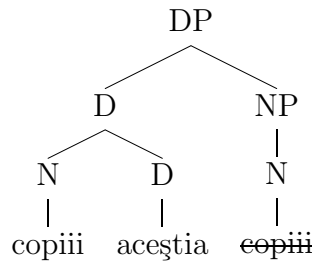
Results: - height of the noun depends exclusively on the presence of the article

- double correlation between a definite article on the noun and its position: any noun with a definite article must move to D, and any noun that is located in D must bear the definite article

Derivation:

- demonstrative does not carry the definite article per se; inherently definite
- a noun or adjective with the definite article carries a definiteness feature to be checked in D, by adjunction to the demonstrative as in (7)
- article-like ending *-a* on the postnominal demonstrative is a morphological reflex of feature checking between the noun and the demonstrative

(7)



Further consequence: - derives the adjacency effect between the noun and postnominal demonstrative, which had to be stipulated under the previous analyses

- demonstratives: - long form - postnominal position and by itself
- short form - in prenominal position; if the noun in the structure is bare it does not move to D

Conclusion: demonstratives are heads in D

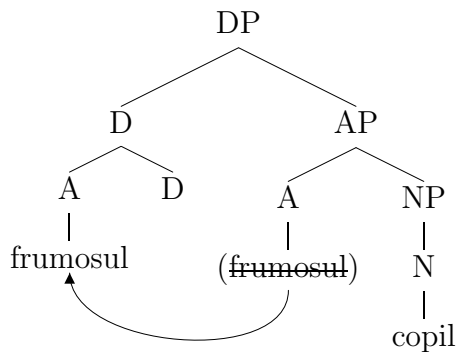
3.2 Prenominal adjectives are heads

- if the demonstrative is a head and the adjective a specifier, the adjective should be able to move to SpecDP, contrary to fact

- (8) * frumosul acesta băiat
 beautiful.the.M.SG this.M.SG boy.M.SG
 'this handsome boy'

Solution: following Abney (1987) - prenominal adjectives in Romanian are heads selecting an NP complement and move to D as heads when they are inserted in the derivation with a definite article, as in (9)

(9)



- behavior of exclusively prenominal adjectives in Romanian - prenominal position of adjective cannot be derived by movement because the meaning of the adjective is not available postnominally

- (10) a. bieții studenți
 poor.M.PL.the students.M.PL
 'the pitiable students'
- b. *studenții bieți
 students.M.PL.the poor.M.PL
 'the poor students'

- prenominal adjectives in Romanian cannot carry complements (11a), unlike postnominal adjectives (11b)

- (11) a. *un mândru de fiul său tată
 a proud of son his father
 'a father proud of his son'
- b. un tată mândru de fiul său
 a father proud of son.the his
 'a father proud of his son'

Potential problem - prenominal adjectives with modifiers (12); indirectly argues against head-analysis

- (12) foarte frumosul băiat
 very beautiful.the boy
 'the very handsome boy'

Solution: the adverb preceding the adjective (12) is a head adjoined to the adjectival head (following Travis (1988) and Bošković (2001) for Bulgarian)

Aside: if the demonstrative is in D, we expect the adjective, which is a head to be able to precede the demonstrative by left-adjoining to it. However, (8) above, repeated here as (13) is judged as ungrammatical.

- (13) *frumosul acesta băiat
 beautiful.the.M.SG this.M.SG boy.M.SG
 'this handsome boy'

- Ungureanu (2003) allows adjective-demonstrative sequences only if the demonstrative is in the short form
- my informants rejected adjective-demonstrative sequences unless the demonstrative is in the long form!
- the current account actually predicts that the adjective-demonstrative should be possible, and that the long form should appear (as a result of agreement)
- possibility of long or short form can be attributed to a low-level morphological process

3.3 Postnominal adjectives right adjoin to NP

- postnominal adjectives are phrases since they can take complements (14)

- (14) un tată mândru de fiul său
 a father proud of son.the his
 'a father proud of his son'

Assumption: the postnominal AP is base-generated adjoined to NP
 - leaving aside the issue of partial N-movement and its necessity

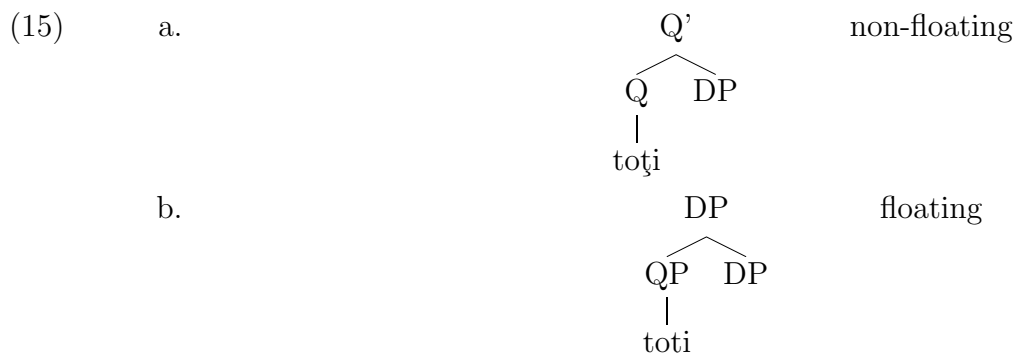
Advantages:

- unifies movement to D as head movement for both nouns and adjectives
- solves the problem of different adjectival meanings prenominally and postnominally

4 Universal quantifiers in the DP

Assumptions about floating quantifiers - based on Bošković (to appear):

- quantifiers cannot be floated in θ -position
- two structures for universal quantifiers - a complementation structure (non-floating - (15b)) and an adjunction structure (floating - (15a))



- adjunction in θ -position interferes with θ -role assignment, therefore the noun cannot float the quantifier in that position
- the complementation structure is possible in θ -position since it does not interfere with θ -assignment

PROPOSAL: besides taking the DP as complement, or adjoining to DP, the universal quantifier can be base-generated as a postnominal adjective right-adjoined to NP

- morphologically, the universal quantifier *toți* in Romanian behaves like an adjective; it agrees in gender (16a) and case (17a) with the head noun, just like the adjective does in (16b) and (17b).

- (16) a. studentele acestea toate
 students.the.F.PL these.F.PL all.F.PL
 'all these students'
- b. studentele acestea inteligente
 students.the.F.PL these.F.PL intelligent.F.PL
 'these intelligent students'

- (17) a. tuturor studentilor
 all.dat students.the.dat.pl
 'to all the students'
- b. inteligentilor studenti
 intelligent.dat.pl students
 'to the intelligent students'

- postnominal universals also behave like adjectives with respect to stacking:

- (18) *o carte mare groasă
 a book.F.SG big thick.F.SG
 'a big thick book'
- (19) a. *studentii aceștia inteligenți toți
 students.the.M.PL these.M.PL intelligent.M.PL all.M.PL
 'all these intelligent students'
- b. *studentii aceștia toți inteligenți
 students.the.M.PL these.M.PL all.M.PL intelligent.M.PL
 'all these intelligent students'

- conjoined multiple adjectives are allowed, as in (20), and so are two adjectives that appear on different sides of the noun (21).

- (20) o carte mare și groasă
 a book.F.SG big and thick.F.SG
 'a big and thick book'
- (21) un biet student român
 a poor student Romanian
 'a poor Romanian student'

Ban on adjectival stacking can be ascribed to a ban on multiple adjunction

Ban on multiple adjunction to the same side (here multiple right adjunction) or to the same constituent?

- generalized ban on multiple adjunction should rule out an adjoined prenominal universal quantifier and an adjoined postnominal adjective in the same sentence

- (22) toți copiii inteligenți
 all.M.PL children.the.M.PL intelligent.M.PL
 'all the intelligent children'

- however, (22) is always ambiguous between the adjunction and the complementation structure
 - force the floating/adjunction structure:

- (23) Copiii aceștia inteligenți au rezolvat toți
 children.the.M.PL these.M.PL intelligent.M.PL have.AUX solved all.M.PL
 enigmele.
 enigmas.F.PL
 'All these intelligent children solved the enigmas.'

- the universal quantifier must have been adjoined to the DP at the point of insertion, while the postnominal adjective is also adjoined

Conclusion: general ban on multiple adjunction is too strong; ban on multiple adjunction to the same side is preferable

Summing up:

- postnominal universal quantifiers in the DP are not floating quantifiers but adjectives right adjoined to NP

- prenominal universal quantifiers are either adjoined to DP or take the DP as a complement
- prenominal universal quantifiers never appear in the prenominal adjectival position (prenominal adjectives are special!)

5 Floating Quantifiers and Pronouns inside the DP

- pronouns must always precede the universal quantifier in the Romanian DP

- (24) a. Ei toți au venit la timp. (Romanian)
 they all have come at time
 'They all came on time.'
- b. *Toți ei au venit la timp.
 all they have come at time
 'They all came on time.'

- a universal quantifier can only precede the pronoun in a partitive structure

- (25) toți dintre ei
 all.M.PL among them.M.ACC
 'all of them'

Possible analyses:

A. Right-adjunction

- post-pronominal quantifiers as right-adjoined adjectives - however, pronouns cannot usually be modified by adjectives (26):

- (26) *ei frumoși
 they beautiful

B. Cliticizing head-movement

- Bošković (to appear) - English and Icelandic accusative pronouns undergo cliticizing head movement from their object shift and "object shift" positions, respectively.

- (27) I saw them all.

- (28) *I saw the students all.

- argument for cliticization analysis comes from nominative pronouns in Icelandic, which also require universal quantifiers to follow them despite the fact that no "object shift" is expected with nominative pronouns.

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|--|------|----|---|
| (29) | a. | þeir fóru allir.
they left all
'They all left.' | (30) | a. | að þeir fóru allir.
that they left all
'that they all left.' |
| | b. | *Allir þeir fóru.
all they left
'They all left.' | | b. | *að allir þeir fóru.
that all they left
'that they all left.' |

- word order can be explained if both accusative and nominative pronouns undergo head-movement.

C. DP-internal focus movement in Romanian - Modifying Bošković's analysis - constituency tests for English pronoun+quantifier sequences argue against DP-internal Q-pronoun reordering as suggested by Postal (1974) and Maling (1976)

- some of these tests indicate a single constituent analysis could work for Romanian

PROPOSAL: reconcile the head-movement analysis and the single constituent analysis by assuming head-movement to a left-peripheral position inside the extended projection of the nominal domain in Romanian

Constituency tests:

- the pronoun-quantifier sequence should have the same distribution as simple pronouns
- the Romanian pronoun-quantifier sequence can be left-dislocated as in (31):

(31) Pe ei toți i-am văzut.
 PE them all them.ACC.CL seen
 'As for them all, I saw them.'

- it can also serve as answer to a question, as in (32):

(32) Cine pleacă primii? Voi toți.
 who leave.3.PL first.PL you.PL all
 'Who is leaving first? You all.'

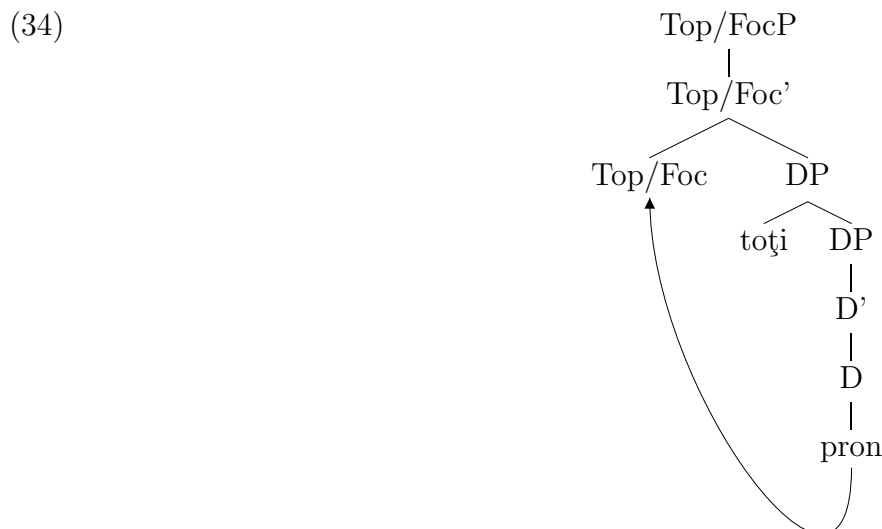
- or, be coordinated with a full NP, like in Hebrew (Shlonsky (1991)), as in (33):

(33) Ei toți și Maria au plecat la munte.
 they.M.PL all and Maria have left to mountain
 '*They all and Maria left to the mountains.'

- there is evidence for a rich left-periphery of the DP in other Romance and Balkan languages: Giusti (1996) and Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998) - Italian, Albanian, and Serbo-Croatian have a Top/FocP below the DP, while Bulgarian has a TopP above the DP

- according to Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998), Romanian does not have a fine structure for the left-periphery

PROPOSAL: pronouns head-move to a Top/FocP above the DP, but inside the extended projection of the traditional NP:



- the pronoun and the quantifier still form one constituent, since the pronoun moves inside the extended projection of the traditional NP

Why is this movement obligatory?

- full pronouns in Romanian have a contrastive interpretation
- because of the availability of *pro*, full nominative pronouns are only used contrastively or indexically (see (35a) vs. (35b) below)

- (35) a. Unde e Ion? *pro*/(**el*) a plecat.
where is Ion? *pro*/(he) has left
'Where is Ion? He left.'
- b. Cine a fluierat? Ion/El a fluierat.
who has whistled? Ion/He has whistled
'Who whistled? Ion/He whistled.'

6 Conclusions

- universal quantifiers in the DP behave like adjectives
- there are three structural positions for universal quantifiers in the DP:
a. left-adjoined to the DP (the floating structure)
b. taking the DP as a complement (the non-floating structure)
c. right-adjoined to the NP (non-floating postnominal universal quantifiers)
- the pronoun and the quantifier pass constituency tests in Romanian, as opposed to English, for example
- pronouns always precede the universal quantifier in the DP because they undergo head-movement to a focus position above the DP but inside the extended nominal projection
- the Romanian DP has a rich left periphery (contra Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998))

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