

Recap: why determinatives are not adjectives

- (a) Determinatives cannot be used as predicative complements.
- (b) Determinatives only rarely express comparative grade.
- (c) Determinatives don't take intensifying modifiers.
- (d) Determinatives don't stack, or even co-occur.
- (e) Adding a Determinative can make a singular count noun into a grammatical NP, but adding an adjective cannot.
- (f) Many determinatives occur as **fused determiner-heads**, making a whole NP (*I saw some*).
- (g) Many determinatives occur in the **partitive** construction (*some of the children*).
- (h) Determinatives can begin with phonological /ð/, adjectives can't.

Determinatives as a distinct category

There are about 35 basic Determinatives:

<i>a(n)</i>	<i>a few</i>	<i>a little</i>	<i>all</i> ⁺	<i>another</i>
<i>any</i>	<i>both</i>	<i>certain</i> ⁺	<i>each</i>	<i>either</i>
<i>enough</i>	<i>every</i>	<i>few</i> ⁺	<i>little</i> ⁺	<i>many</i>
<i>much</i>	<i>neither</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>one</i> ⁺	<i>said</i> ⁺
<i>several</i>	<i>some</i>	<i>such</i> ⁺	<i>sufficient</i> ⁺	<i>that</i>
<i>the</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>various</i> ⁺	<i>we</i> ⁺	<i>whatever</i> ⁺
<i>whatsoever</i> ⁺	<i>what</i> ⁺	<i>whichever</i>	<i>which</i> ⁺	<i>you</i> ⁺

Words with superscript ‘+’ belong to other categories as well.
Words in ***boldface italics*** are lexemes with varying inflectional forms.

The Determiner function

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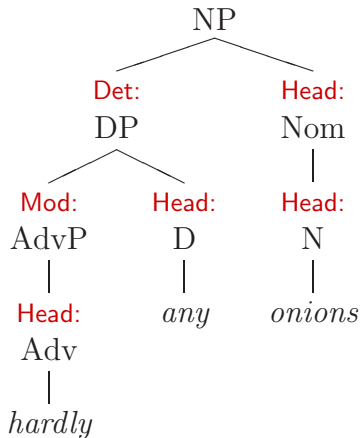
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The **Determiner** function in English is filled by either a Determinative (*this house*) or an **NP in the genitive case** (*the president's house*).

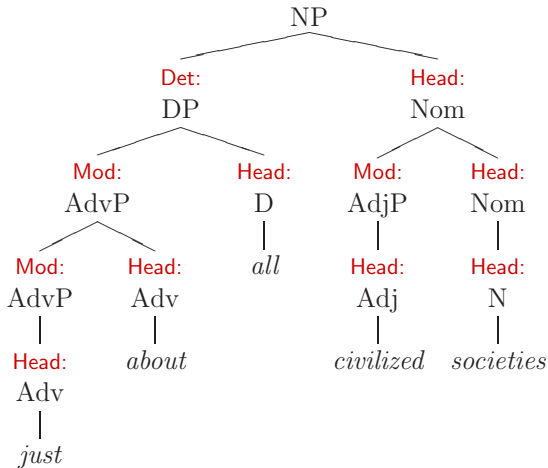
The 'DP Hypothesis'

Notice, *CGEL* does posit phrases with D as Head, e.g. *hardly any*:



The 'DP Hypothesis'

Just about all is also a DP according to *CGEL*:



The 'DP Hypothesis'

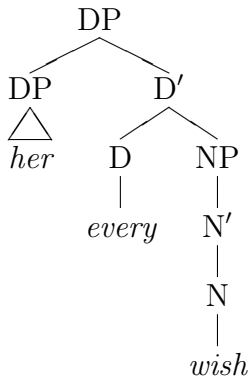
But the so-called 'DP hypothesis' is **not** just that some phrases have D as Head; it is that **phrases like *the sandwich* and *this bicycle* have the D as Head!**

The claim is that in a phrase like *the king of France*, *the* is the Head. The rest of the phrase, *king of France*, is its **Complement**.

This was informally proposed by John Lyons, but revived in 1987 in the MIT doctoral dissertation of Steven Abney (never published).

The 'DP Hypothesis'

Abney proposed this structure for the phrase *her every wish*:



The 'DP Hypothesis'

But this is archaic and non-productive:

* *your each bicycle*

* *the archbishop's any mistake*

* *those workmen's the tools*

* *my both feet*

So Abney chooses an extraordinarily non-representative case to provide initial motivation for his analysis.

It represents a rare survival of *every* in an adjective use (compare with *several*).

The 'DP Hypothesis'

CGEL does not accept the DP Hypothesis in Abney's sense.

At least four arguments tell strongly against it.

They are based on

1. syntactic selection
2. semantic selection
3. constructions without determiners
4. facts about obligatoriness and optionality

The 'DP Hypothesis'

Contra-DPH Argument 1: Syntactic selection

1. Syntactic selection

Many verbs and adjectives are strictly subcategorized for a PP complement with a specific Preposition as Head: *rely on somebody*, *trust in somebody*, *laugh at somebody*, *approve of somebody*, *agree with somebody*...

Not a single lexical item has been found that syntactically requires a DP complement with a specific Determinative.

The 'DP Hypothesis'

Contra-DPH 2: Semantic selection

2. Semantic selection

Verbs often need a Subject or Object NP with a certain semantic sort of Noun as Head.

E.g., transitive *disperse* needs an Object NP headed by an N denoting a collection of separable entities; intransitive *disperse* needs a Subject of that sort.

But no verb has ever been found to select an Object that is universally quantified, or downward-entailing, or indefinite.

The 'DP Hypothesis'

Contra-DPH 3: Determinerless constructions

3. Determinerless constructions

Large numbers of distinct NP constructions have no Determiner, or have only a genitive NP as Determiner. Under the DP Hypothesis these must have **heads that are both phonologically and semantically empty**.

- all NPs with prenominal genitive (*his eye*; *the baby's hat*);
- all bare plural NPs (*pictures of children*);
- all bare role NPs (*bishop of London*);
- all strong proper nouns (*Berkeley*, *Obama*, *Japan*);
- all pronoun-headed NPs (*him*, *we*, *it*);
- all one-word bare-NP exclamations or accusations (*Idiot!*)

The 'DP Hypothesis'

Contra-DPH 3: Determinerless constructions

and also hundreds of other constructions with bare NPs:

- *with hand on heart; functioning as Head; tongue in cheek; time for a drink; engine roaring like a lion; ear to the keyhole; face smeared with chocolate; next morning; speaking German; under Turkish rule; we made good time; when evening comes; at nightfall; of considerable height; pistol at the ready ...*

Spot check: 57 of the first 100 NP tokens in *Dracula* have no Determinative.

The 'DP Hypothesis'

Contra-DPH 3: Determinerless constructions

By contrast, NPs that lack a head noun are entirely restricted to cases analysed by *CGEL* as **function fusion** of **Head** with **Determiner** or **Modifier**.

- (1) The **Head** function may be filled by one of a special list of Determinatives: in *Look at this* the word *this* is both **Determiner** and **Head**.
- (2) The **Head** function may be filled by one of a select range of **Modifiers**: in *The French dislike it* the word *French* is both **Modifier** and **Head**.

The 'DP Hypothesis'

Contra-DPH 4: Obligatoriness and optionality

4. Obligatoriness and optionality Under the DP Hypothesis and X-bar theory we should expect that D (the Head) would be **obligatory**, and the noun-containing NP complement optional.

But with the articles — central and prototypical determinatives — we find the D is often optional:

I love the children. ~ *I love children.*

A cabbage would be nice. ~ *Cabbage would be nice.*

The noun-containing complement, on the other hand, is absolutely obligatory:

The stuff impressed me. ✗ **The impressed me.*

An alligator attacked me. ✗ **An attacked me.*

The 'DP Hypothesis'

There have been extraordinarily few serious defenses of the 'DP Hypothesis'.

One survey article:

Bernstein, Judy B. 2001. 'The DP Hypothesis: Identifying Clausal Properties in the Nominal Domain.' In Mark Baltin and Chris Collins (eds.), *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 536-561.

The arguments given seem weak and inconclusive.

The 'DP Hypothesis'

A morphological argument of Bernstein's: Some languages (not all) have identical or very similar morphology for **genitive + head** constructions and **subject + predicate** ones.

A semantic argument: there is a rough analogy
IP : CP :: NP DP. The semantic correlates are:

IP	:	proposition
CP	:	clausal argument
NP	:	nominal predicate
DP	:	nominal argument

Such correlations may be interesting. But how do they support the claim that *the*, rather than *children*, is Head in a phrase like *the children*?

The 'DP Hypothesis'

CGEL has the semantic correlates too:

bare Clause	:	proposition
Subordinator-marked Clause	:	clausal argument
Nominal	:	nominal predicate
NP	:	nominal argument

I can see no argument for DP here.

The 'DP Hypothesis'

Bernstein's syntactic discussion seems oriented not toward arguments that D is Head and N is not, but merely toward reviewing ways in which transformational movement can be used to defend the 'DP Hypothesis' against objections.

On the problem of phrases with no D serving as arguments:

'It is natural to assume . . . that these nominal expressions are (DP) arguments introduced by a determiner [i.e., 'determinative' — GKP] devoid of lexical content.'

The 'DP Hypothesis'

But another strategy is available too:

'another argument-forming strategy ... (subject to parametric variation), namely, raising the N-head to D. This strategy may form articleless nominal expressions involving proper names ...'

So the idea is that you start with

[DP [D \emptyset] [NP Noun]]

and move the noun to get

[DP [D Noun] [NP \emptyset]]

The 'DP Hypothesis'

The closest thing to an argument for N to D raising comes from observations by Longobardi (1994):

Il mio Gianni ha finalmente telefonato.
the my John has finally called

**Mio Gianni ha finalmente telefonato.*
my John has finally called

Gianni mio ha finalmente telefonato.
John my has finally called

“My Johnnie finally called.”

The generalization: **Italian dependent genitives with proper names are prenominal iff the definite article is present.**

But that is not does not seem to entail that D has to be Head.

The 'DP Hypothesis'

There is doubtless more to be said.

But in the remainder of the course we will continue to follow *CGEL* in assuming that nouns are the lexical heads of phrases containing determinatives and nouns.

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