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Against a dual syntactic source for adjectival modification

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Overview of the talk

1. A few examples to warm up
2. Pilot study
3. Intersective versus non-intersective readings
4. Results of the *beautiful* and *good* examples
5. Conclusion

1. A few examples to warm up

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------------|--------------------|
| (1) | John is an old friend | |
| | - John is a friend and John is old | (intersective) |
| | - The friendship is old and established | (non-intersective) |
| | | |
| (2) | John is a good lawyer | |
| | - #John is good and John is a lawyer | (intersective) |
| | - John is good as a lawyer | (non-intersective) |

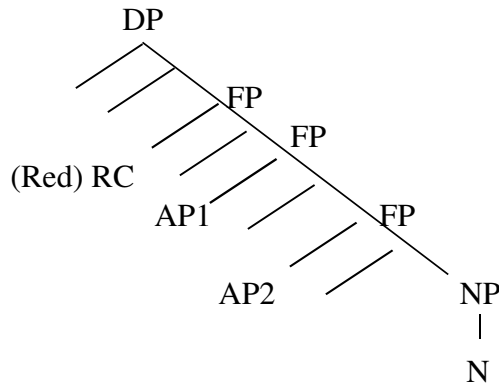
2. Pilot Study

2.1 Motivation

Recently, Alexiadou (2004), Cinque (2003) and Larson (2004) argued that different readings of adjectives are due to syntactic differences, i. e. they depend on the base position of the adjective and subsequent movement operations. Specifically, Cinque (2003) assumes the underlying structure in (3). Following Sproat & Shih (1988), he refers to the RC pattern as indirect modification (IM) and to the other pattern as direct modification (DM). The interpretation of IM is equivalent to adjectives in relative clauses, i. e. they yield an intersective, stage-level, restrictive, and implicit relative

reading, whereas DM provides a non-intersective, individual-level, non-restrictive, and modal reading.

(3)



The position of the reduced RC is the base position for IM, the functional positions lower than that position (AP1, AP2) are the base positions for DM.

Cinque discusses these different readings on the basis of English and Italian examples. In Italian, the linear order is derived via snow-balling XP-movement. In English, he assumes no movement at all for prenominal adjectives; for postnominal adjectives he assumes focus-induced movement of the adjective to Spec,Focus and subsequent remnant movement of DP.

2.2. Goal

Question: Can Cinque's findings be transferred to other languages or do they hold only for English and Italian?

So far, I presented Cinque's examples to native speakers of Albanian, Arabic, Brazilian Portuguese, Catalan, German, English, French, Finnish, Georgian, Icelandic, Japanese, Lithuanian, Romanian, Rhaeto-Romanic, Russian, Spanish, Swedish, and Turkish. This being a pilot study, I asked one or two persons per language. Most of these speakers are students, linguists, or they work in the Sprachenzentrum. I asked the native speakers to translate the examples into their own languages and to tell me, which reading they could get. Depending on their language skills, I presented them the examples in English, German or Italian.

Examples taken from Cinque (2003):

- (4) Olga is a **beautiful dancer**
- Olga is a dancer who is also a beautiful person (intersective)
 - Olga dances beautifully (non-intersective)
- (5) Un **attaccante buono** non farebbe mai una cosa del genere
- A forward good at playing forward would never do such a thing (non-intersective)
 - A good-hearted forward would never do such a thing (intersective)

- Un **buon attaccante** non farebbe mai una cosa del genere (unambiguous)
 - A forward good at playing forward would never do such a thing (non-intersective)
 #- A good-hearted forward would never do such a thing (intersective)
- (6) a) The only **possible Italian invasion** of Albania
 b) * The only **Italian possible invasion** of Albania
 c) La sola **possibile invasione italiana** dell' Albania
 d) La sola **invasione italiana possibile** dell' Albania
 e) * La sola **possibile italiana invasione** dell' Albania
 f) * La sola **invasione possibile italiana** dell' Albania
- (7) a) The **American musical comedy** of the '50' s
 b) * The **musical American comedy** of the '50' s
 c) La **commedia musicale americana** degli Anni ' 50
 d) * La **commedia americana musicale** degli Anni ' 50
- (8) a) The **visible stars** include Aldebaran and Sirius (ambiguous)
 - The stars that are generally visible include ... (individual-level)
 - The stars that happen to be visible now include ... (stage-level)
- b) The **stars visible** are Aldebaran and Sirius (unambiguous)
 #- The stars that are generally visible are ... (individual-level)
 - The stars which happen to be visible now are ... (stage-level)
- c) Le **stelle invisibile** di Andromeda sono molto distanti (ambiguous)
 - A' **stars**, which are generally invisibile, are very far (individual-level)
 - A' s **stars** which are generally visible, but which (stage-level)
 happen to be invisibile now, ...
- d) Le **invisibile stelle** di Andromeda sono molto distanti (unambiguous)
 - A' **stars**, which are generally invisibile, are very far (individual-level)
 #- A' s **stars** which are generally visible, but which (stage-level)
 happen to be invisibile now, ...
- (9) a) All of his **unsuitable acts** were condemmed (ambiguous)
 - All of his acts were condemmed, they were unsuitable (non-restrictive)
 - All of his acts that were unsuitable were condemmed (restrictive)
- b) Every **word unsuitable** was deleted (unambiguous)
 #- Every word was deleted; they were unsuitable (non-restrictive)
 - Every word that was unsuitable was deleted (restrictive)
- c) Le **lezioni noiose** di Ferri se le ricordano tutti (ambiguous)
 - Everybody remembers F's classes, all of which were boring (non-restrictive)
 - Everybody remembers just F's classes which were boring (restrictive)

- d) Le **noiose lezioni** di Ferri se le ricordano tutti (unambiguous)
 - Everybody remembers F's classes, all of which were boring (non-restrictive)
 # - Everybody remembers just F's classes which were boring (restrictive)
- (10) a) Mary interviewed every **possible candidate** (ambiguous)
 - Mary interviewed every potential candidate (modal)
 - Mary interviewed every candidate that it was possible for her to interview (implicit relative)
- b) Maria ha intervistato ogni **candidato possibile** (ambiguous)
 - Mary interviewed every potential candidate (modal)
 - Mary interviewed every candidate that it was possible for her to interview (implicit relative)
- c) Maria ha intervistato ogni **possibile candidato** (unambiguous)
 - Mary interviewed every potential candidate (modal)
 # - Mary interviewed every candidate that it was possible for her to interview (implicit relative)

3. Intersective versus non-intersective

Kamp & Partee (1995)

(11) The intersectivity hypothesis

Given the syntactic configuration [CNP Adj CANP], the semantic interpretation of the whole is ? Adj ? ? ? CNP ? (set intersection, predicate conjunction)

(12) Olga is a beautiful dancer.

- a) Olga is a dancer who is also a beautiful person (intersective)
 ? beautiful dancer ? = ? beautiful ? ? ?dancer?
- b) Olga dances beautifully (non-intersective)
 ? beautiful dancer ? ≠ ? beautiful ? ? ?dancer?

(13) Un attaccante buono non farebbe mai una cosa del genere

- a) A forward good at playing forward would never do such a thing (non-intersective)
 ? attaccante buono ? ≠ ? attaccante ? ? ?buono?
- b) A good-hearted forward would never do such a thing (intersective)
 ? attaccante buono ? = ? attaccante ? ? ?buono?

(14) intersective reading ? indirect modification
 non-intersective reading ? direct modification

4. Results

BEAUTIFUL

Olga is a beautiful dancer

ambiguous	intersective	non-intersective
Eng	Ice	
	Swe	
	D	
It	It	
Ca	Ca	
	BPo	BPo
	RR	
F		
	Rom	
	Rus	
	Alb	
	Tu	
	Geo	
	Lit	Lit
	Fin	
	Ara	
	Jap	

- 1. Ambiguous** Eng (A N); F (A N)
- 2. Intersective only** Ice (A N) Swe (A N); D (A N); Tu (A N); Geo (A N);
Fin (A N);
Jap (A N)
Alb (N A); Ara (N A)
Rom (A N/ N A); Rus (A N/ N A)
- 3. Standard position intersective,
other position ambiguous** It (N A); Cat (N A)
It (A N); Cat (A N)
- 4. Either intersective or
non-intersective** BPo (N A); Lit (Olga A N)
BPo (A N); Lit (A N Olga)

Expected under Cinque' approach

- ? ambiguous readings if DM and IM adjectives are on the same side of the noun (English)
- ? a distinction between ambiguous readings in postnominal position and non-intersective reading in prenominal position (none)
- ? a clear distinction between intersective or non-intersective reading with the prenominal adjective giving the non-intersective reading and the postnominal one the intersective reading (Brazilian Portuguese).

What is not expected:

- ? All languages that have exclusively either pre- or postnominal adjectives (Icelandic, Swedish, German, Albanian, Turkish, Georgian, Finnish, Arabic and Japanese) have only the intersective reading with *beautiful*
- ? French, Italian and Catalan have an ambiguous reading in prenominal position although an IM-interpretation should only be possible in postnominal position (Cinque 2003, p. 8: *Analysis of Italian: Indirect modification APs always follow the N*). French does not have a postnominal position with *beautiful* although most adjectives are postnominal.
- ? Romanian has an intersective reading in pre- and postnominal position

My assumption:

- ? interpretation is influenced by world knowledge and pragmatics
 - ? the observed ambiguity of *beautiful* is due to different lexical properties in the respective languages and not to different structures
 - ? otherwise restrictions in distribution (DM or IM) must be stated in the lexicon
- (15) a) * Olga ist eine schöne Tänzerin aber keine schöne Frau.
b) ? Olga ist zwar keine schöne Frau aber eine schöne Tänzerin.
- (16) a) Olga is a beautiful dancer (ambiguous)
b) John is a beautiful dancer (more non-intersective)
c) Sheila is a beautiful architect (intersective only)
d) ?? John is a beautiful architect
- (17) a) Reagan was a famous president. (more non-intersective)
b) Schwarzenegger is a famous governor. (more intersective)

Expected under Cinque' approach

- ? ambiguous readings if DM and IM adjectives are on the same side of the noun (none)
- ? a distinction between ambiguous readings in postnominal position and non-intersective reading in prenominal position (Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Brazilian Portuguese, Romanian)
- ? a clear distinction between intersective or non-intersective reading with the prenominal adjective giving the non-intersective reading and the postnominal one the intersective reading (none)

What is not expected:

- ? Rhaeto-Romanic and French have only prenominal *good* which is ambiguous
- ? Only language (Turkish ?) that use a form of *buono* can have two different interpretations English, which is ambiguous with *beautiful*, has only the non-intersective reading.
- ? Speakers of languages that only allow for the non-intersective reading could allow *good* to have a moral quality aspect in a context with a highly emphasized contrast between a good and a bad forward. However, they could get the good-hearted reading only additionally. They did not accept the proposition that this forward be an untalented player.

My assumption:

- ? the lexeme *buono* (and respective lexemes in the other Romance languages) has two different meanings: *good* and *good-hearted*

5. Conclusion

The assumption that intersective and non-intersective readings depend on the structure does not hold crosslinguistically in the case of *beautiful* and *good*. To accommodate for the given data, one has to make additional assumptions concerning restrictions for individual lexemes, i. e. why can one lexeme be base-generated in a DM position or IM position and others not and how does the same lexeme get different interpretations depending on the context? I see no theoretical advantage of the structure based hypothesis, at least for the intersective/non-intersective distinction.

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Appendix

Alb	Albanian
Ara	Arabic
BPo	Brazilian Portuguese
Cat	Catalan
D	German
Eng	English
F	French
Fin	Finnish
Geo	Georgian
Ice	Icelandic
It	Italian
Jap	Japanese
Lit	Lithuanian
Rom	Romanian
RR	Rhaeto-Romanic (Rumantsch Grischun)
Rus	Russian
Spa	Spanish
Swe	Swedish
Tu	Turkish

A. Intersective versus Non-Intersective

I. BEAUTIFUL

Eng	1)	Olga is a beautiful dancer	(ambiguous)
Ice	2)	Olga er fallegur dansari Olga is beautiful dancer	(intersective)
Swe	3)	Olga är en vacker dansös Olga is a beautiful dancer	(intersective)
D	4)	Olga ist eine schöne Tänzerin	(intersective)
It	5)	Olga é una bella ballerina	(ambiguous)
	6)	Olga é una ballerina bella	(intersective)
Cat	7)	L' Olga és una bella ballarina	(ambiguous)
	8)	L' Olga és una ballarina (ben) bella	(intersective)
BPo	9)	Olga é uma bela dançarina	(non-intersective)
	10)	Olga é uma dançarina bela	(intersective)
RR	11)	Olga è ina bella sautunza	(Olga' s liŋg)

	12)	Olga è ina sautunza bella (Depending on the variety, bella is prenominal with all three interpretations)	or pejorative for dance) (intersective)
F	13)	Olga est une belle danseuse	(ambiguous)
	14)	Olga est une danseuse magnifique	(ambiguous)
	15)	Olga est une magnifique danseuse	(non-intersective)
Rom	16)	Olga este o frumoasă dansatoare	(intersective)
	17)	Olga este o dansatoare frumoasă	(intersective)
Rus	18)	Olga krasivaja tancovščica . Olga beautiful dancer	(intersective)
	19)	Olga tancovščica KRASIVAJA Olga dancer beautiful	(colloquial, intersective)
Alb	20)	Olga vallëzon bukur/mrekullueshëm/mirë Olga dances beautifully/wonderful/well	
	21)	Olga është vallëzuese e bukur Olga is dancer the beautiful	(intersective)
	22)	Olga është vallëzuese e mrekullueshme Olga is dancer the wonderful	(non-intersective)
	23)	Olga është vallëzuese e mirë Olga is dancer the good	(non-intersective)
Tu	24)	Olga çok güzel bir dansöz	(intersective)
Geo	25)	Olga lamasi mocekvavea Olga beautiful dancer	(intersective)
Lit	26)	Olga (yra) graži šohija Olga (is) beautiful dancer	(intersective)
	27)	Graži šohija (yra) Olga Beautiful dancer is Olga	(non-intersective)
Fin	28)	Olga on kaunis tanssijatar Olga is beautiful dancer	(intersective)

Ara	29)	Olga rakasa şamila Olga dancer beautiful	(intersective)
	30)	Olga rakasa hullua dancer sweet	(ambiguous)
Jap	31)	Oruga-wa kireina dansaa da Olga-TOP beautiful dancer be	(intersective)

II. GOOD

Eng	32)	A good forward would never do such a thing	(non-intersective)
Ice	33)	Góður framherji myndi aldrei gera svona nokkuð Good forward would never do such anything	(non-intersective)
D	34)	Ein guter Stürmer würde so etwas nicht tun	(non-intersective)
It	35)	Un attaccante buono non farebbe mai una cosa del genere	(ambiguous)
	36)	Un buon attaccante non farebbe mai una cosa del genere	(non-intersective)
Spa	37)	Un delantero bueno no haría nunca una cosa de éstas	(ambiguous)
	38)	Un buen delantero no haría nunca una cosa de éstas	(non-intersective)
Cat	39)	Un atacant bo no faria mai una cosa així	(ambiguous)
	40)	Un bon atacant no faria mai una cosa així	(non-intersective)
BPo	41)	Um atacante bom nunca faria qualquer coisa do gênero.	(ambiguous)
	42)	Um bom atacante nunca faria qualquer coisa do gênero.	(non-intersective)
RR	43)	In bun attatgader na faschess mai ina tala chaussa.	(ambiguous)
	44)	* In attatgader bun na faschess mai ina tala chaussa.	
F	45)	Un bon attaquant ne ferait jamais une chose pareille	(ambiguous)
Rom	46)	Un atacant bun n-ar face nici odata așa ceva	(ambiguous - but strongly biased)
	47)	Un bun atacant n-ar face nici odata așa ceva	(non-intersective)
Rus	48)	Xorošij napadajuščij nikogda by ne sdelał etogo. Good forward never would not do this.	(nonintersective)
	49)	* napadajuščij xorošij nikogda by ne sdelał etogo. forward good never would not do this.	

(In Russian only intersective adjectives may be postnominal)

Alb	50)	Sulmuesi i mirë nuk do të bënte diçka të tillë. forward the good not do something such	(non-intersective)
Tu	51)	Iyi bir forvet oyuncu genelde böyle bir şey yapmaz.	(non-intersective)
	52)	Bir iyi forvet oyuncu genelde böyle bir şey yapmaz.	(ambiguous)
Geo	53)	kargi mebrcoli aset rames ar isamda good forward such thing not do	(non-intersective)
Fin	54)	Hyvä hyökkääjä ei tekisi koskaan sitä good forward NEG-V do never this	(non-intersective)
Ara	55)	Hudşumu alqalbi aldşajjidu lan jamalu ha:kaða: Attack heart-GEN good no make such	(non-intersective)
Jap	56)	Yoi fowaado wa keshite sonoyoona koto wa shinai good forward TOP never such thing TOP make-not	(non-intersective)