



Article scientifique

Article

2001

Published version

Open Access

This is the published version of the publication, made available in accordance with the publisher's policy.

Specific is not definite

Ihsane, Tabea; Puskas, Genoveva

How to cite

IHSANE, Tabea, PUSKAS, Genoveva. Specific is not definite. In: GG@G, 2001, vol. 2, p. 39–54.

This publication URL: <https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch/unige:93392>

SPECIFIC IS NOT DEFINITE*

Tabea Ihsane (Tabea.Ihsane@lettres.unige.ch) and
Genoveva Puskás (Genoveva.Puskas@lettres.unige.ch)

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, we propose a structure for the left periphery of nominals that is parallel to the one discussed by Rizzi (1997) for the left periphery of the clause. The observation that definite DPs are not necessarily specific leads us to make a structural distinction between a functional projection in which specificity is checked and another one where definiteness appears. The projection hosting the [+/-definite] feature syntactically corresponds to the clausal Finiteness Phrase, the lowest projection of the left periphery, whereas the [+specific] feature characterises a projection parallel to the clausal Topic Phrase, in that it hosts information which has already been introduced in the discourse. Building on the notions of specificity and definiteness, we argue that they trigger DP-internal movement. In specific DPs, be they definite or indefinite, the determiner checks the specificity feature. Other elements, like demonstratives, may also move to the specificity projection. On the basis of data which show that different types of elements can be emphasised, we also argue for a Focus Phrase. Dominating the various projections mentioned, we postulate a Determiner Phrase, parallel to the clausal Force Phrase.

The paper is organised as follows: Section 2 is devoted to the Definite Phrase and the Topic Phrase. First, the difference between definite and specific nominals is addressed. We propose that (in)definite articles are generated in the Definite Phrase and that it is the projection TopP which hosts the feature [+specific]. When the reading is specific, the article moves to Top⁰. When demonstratives are involved, as they contribute to the specific reading of DPs, we argue that they reach TopP. The Focus Phrase postulated to account for the stress displayed by some elements is dealt with in Section 3. In Section 4, the Determiner projection is discussed on the basis of Hungarian examples of possessives. In Section 5, we address the checking of the specificity feature at the clause level. Section 6 briefly mentions potentially problematic examples. Section 7 is the conclusion to this paper.

2. DEFINITE PHRASE AND TOPIC PHRASE

2.1. Specific is not definite

Since the landmark paper by Enç (1991), it is widely assumed in the literature that specificity is necessarily correlated to definiteness. With respect to the notion of definiteness, Enç argues that “names, pronouns, and definite descriptions are definite NPs”. Adopting Heim’s theory of definiteness, Enç works on a formalism which “ensures that all definites are specific (...)”. The analysis proposed here predicts that there will be no non-specific definite NPs” (1991:9). However, this generalisation seems too strong, since we observe that definite DPs can have a non-specific reading. The French examples in (1) below are ambiguous between the specific and the non-specific reading:

* Part of this paper was presented at the *Motivating Movement* conference, in Jordanstown, Ulster. We would like to thank the audience for valuable comments and questions, in particular Aria Adli, Ellen Brandner, Nomi Erteschik-Shir, Phoebos Panagiotidis, Ivy Sichel and Balázs Surányi. We also thank Enoch Aboh, Eric Haeberli and Uri Shlonsky for the fruitful - and friendly - debates.

- (1) a. J' ai pris le train. French
 I have taken the train
 'I took the train.'
 b. Jean a raté le bus.
 John has missed the bus
 'John missed the bus.'

In (1a) above, the definite DP *le train* 'the train' can get a specific interpretation, as predicted by Enç. But it can also be interpreted as a non-specific DP, where the referent of the DP *le train* is not pre-established in the discourse. In this case, the sentence describes the event of 'a taking of train', the train being any, non-specified train. It seems thus that the two properties, namely definiteness and specificity, cannot be collapsed into one, nor is there a necessary correlation between the two.

Giusti (1997) also mentions that a noun phrase with non-specific interpretation may contain a definite article. She gives the following Italian example:

- (2) Scommetto che non troverai mai la segretaria di un onorevole che sia disposta a testimoniare contro di lui.
 'I bet you'll never find the secretary of a deputy who is-SUBJ willing to witness against him.'

Here, the DP *la segretaria di un onorevole* 'the secretary of a deputy' appears with the definite article *la* 'the'. However, it is not interpreted as referring to a particular person pre-established in the discourse. The two notions of definiteness and specificity are two distinct properties. In order to make our claims explicit, we will therefore use the following definitions:

- (3) a. *Definiteness*: selects one object in the class of possible objects
 b. *Specificity*: relates to pre-established elements in the discourse

In our definition of definiteness, we follow in part Heim (1982), who argues that in an intuitive way, the description part of definite descriptions "serves to narrow down the range of things that can felicitously be referred to" (1982:231).¹ As for specificity, we adopt a somewhat standard approach of the notion, as it is discussed for example in Enç (1991), who assumes that "specificity involves a weak link, that of being a subset of or standing in some recoverable relation to a familiar object" (1991:22) (see also, among others, Cardinaletti and Starke, 1995; Knittel, 1998 and the references therein). The definitions in (3) above make a clear-cut distinction between two properties that are standardly interrelated. Note, for example, that Enç's analysis which defines definiteness as identity of the referent of an NP with a pre-established referent includes in itself the notion of specificity.

On the basis of the distinction discussed above, we would like to argue that the ambiguity we observe in (1a,b) results from the combination of the definiteness property with either a specific or a non-specific property. There is clear evidence from some languages that the two are distinct. Hungarian is a case in point and offers a contrast to the examples in (1). In (4) below, the specific and non-specific interpretations are available and are dependent on the position of the definite DP. Whereas the non-specific reading is favoured when the DP appears post-verbally (4a), only the specific reading obtains when the DP is fronted to the Topic position (4b):

¹ We depart, on the other hand, from the necessary correlation she postulates between definiteness and context.

- (4) a. Anna lemaradt a vonatrol. Hungarian
 Anna down-stayed the train-from
 ‘Anna missed the train.’
 b. A vonatrol lemaradt Anna.
 the train-from down-stayed Anna
 ‘Anna missed the train [specific].’

Although (4a) retains the ambiguous interpretation, that is either specific or non-specific, the same DP can only be interpreted as specific in the Topic position (4b). As topic is generally associated with ‘givenness’, ‘old information’ (Reinhart, 1982; Krifka, 1991; Partee, 1991 among others), the restriction to specific DPs is not surprising. What is crucial, though, is that the same DP can be interpreted as non-specific in other syntactic contexts as seen in (4a). It shows that a definite DP is not necessarily specific, and that the two properties are independent.

We propose that these properties are syntactically realised by two separate features. Assuming a split DP, in which each feature appears in a different functional projection, we propose that the feature [+specific], which realises specificity, appears on a head Top^0 , whereas the feature [+definite], which corresponds to definiteness, is hosted on a different head, Def^0 . We assume that the difference between the DPs in (4a) and (4b) lies in the presence versus absence of the [+specific] feature: the DP in (4b) is [+specific] which enables it to be licensed in the clausal Topic position, independently of its definiteness. The projections in which these features appear are discussed in the next sections.

2.2. The Definite Phrase (DefP)

The definite article is standardly assumed to occupy the head of a Determiner Phrase (Abney, 1987, Szabolcsi 1987). In order to account for the elements that we argue to be dissociated in DP, we adopt an articulated structure of DP, containing several functional projections, very much in the way the left periphery of the clause is split into a discrete set of projections. We propose that the definite article heads the lowest projection of the left periphery which we label Definite Phrase (DefP). We will argue that it corresponds to the clausal Finiteness Phrase (FinP) postulated by Rizzi (1997). Note that the presence of such a projection in nominals is also postulated in Haegeman (2000).

According to Rizzi, FinP is the projection of the left periphery which is directed downwards. In other words, it contains specifications which match those of the inflectional system. In the same vein, the choice of the article reflects certain properties of the nominal system. The first argument is that the determiner selects the nominal domain. For example, mass nouns are restricted in their selection: a mass noun can only be selected by a null indefinite article:

- (5) John bought (*a) rice.

The second argument has to do with the respective properties of FinP and DefP. Finiteness is traditionally considered to anchor the event in time and determines the truth conditions of the proposition containing the predicate. Temporality is distinct from morpho-syntactic tense marking which appears in the Tense Phrase (TP) of the verbal system. Correspondingly, definiteness relates to nominals in the sense that it determines the presupposition of existence of the entity represented by the nominal. We can consider it as an “existence-anchor”. It appears that the presupposition of existence as a property of definiteness does not necessarily correspond to the morpho-syntactic reflex of definiteness in

sentences are either finite or infinitive, in a binary setting (recall that we argued that the determiner heads a functional projection parallel to the clausal FinP). On the other hand, the elements which appear in the left periphery, say in the Topic position, do not have this strict binary nature: it is not the case that a phrase is either a Topic or an “in-Topic”, that is either discourse related or discourse-banned. The non-Topics simply have no relevant connection to the discourse. Therefore, we assume that although the two features seem to function in a parallel way, and that DPs should be endowed with any of the four possible feature combinations, the syntactic realisations will not be strictly parallel. In other words, a non-specific article will not have to raise to a Top^0 head marked for [-specific]. This might amount to saying that there is no [-specific] feature as such. To avoid any misinterpretation, we adopt the label [non-specific].

Given that specificity and definiteness are distinct and that we associate these properties with syntactic features, the four possible feature combinations are given in the table below:

(9)

	[+definite]	[-definite]
[+specific]	[+def, + spec]	[-def, +spec]
[non-specific]	[+def, non-spec]	[-def, non-spec]

It turns out that there is empirical evidence for the four possibilities illustrated in (9). Consider (10).

- (10) a. L'étudiant est venu voir la professeur. French
 the student is come to-see the professor
 'The student came to see the professor.'
- b. Jean a raté le train.
 John has missed the train
 'John missed the train.'
- c. Un étudiant est venu voir la professeur.
 a student is come to-see the professor
 'A student came to see the professor.'
- d. L'étudiant a acheté un livre.
 the student has bought a book
 'The student bought a book.'

In (10a), the DP *l'étudiant* 'the student' is definite. It preferably has a specific reading, in that it is easily interpreted as pre-established in the discourse. As discussed in Section 2.1, *le train* 'the train' in (10b) is definite and can be non-specific. In (10c) *un étudiant* 'a student' is indefinite and can be interpreted as specific, again on the basis of being pre-established in the discourse; and finally in (10d), *un livre* 'a book' is indefinite and has a favoured non-specific reading.³ Note that Diesing (1992) also argues in favour of a distinction between indefinites, split into presuppositional and non-presuppositional indefinites (see also Milsark 1974).

³ It is interesting to note that objects tend to have a non-specific reading whereas subjects are more easily interpreted as specific. This falls in line with the notion of subjects being “topics”, and the idea that a topic functions as notional subject about which the VP is predicated (see e.g. Rothstein, 1983; Williams, 1980). It also calls to mind the recent proposals about two subject positions in some languages, the higher one being related to “subject-of-predication” (Cardinaletti, 1997; Ordoñez, 1997).

Syntactic evidence for a distinction between specific and non-specific definites can also be found in German. In the examples below (E. Brandner, p.c.), the definite article *der* ‘the’ can either be contracted with the preposition *zu* ‘to’ yielding *zur* ‘to-the’, as in (11a), or appear as a separate word (11b):

- (11) a. Anna geht zur Schule. German
 Anna goes to-the school
 ‘Anna goes to school.’ (non-specific)
 b. Anna geht zu der Schule.
 ‘Anna goes to the school.’ (specific)

The distinction between specific and non-specific definites can be attributed to different feature sets. These features appear on different functional projections. Under the assumption that features need to be checked and that checking can be a movement triggering operation, the immediate conclusion is that the different interpretations result from different DP structures. Let us come back to (10a,b) to illustrate the point.

As proposed in the previous section, the definite article is generated in Def^0 . In (10a), the definite article *le* ‘the’ comes with a set of features [+definite, +specific]. The feature [+definite] is checked locally, whereas the [+specific] feature needs to be checked in TopP . Therefore, this article moves to Top^0 . In (10b), *le* ‘the’ is a realisation of the feature [+definite] without the specific feature. Therefore, it remains in Def^0 . The corresponding resulting structures are given in (12):

- (12) a. TopP
 $\bar{3}$
 Top'
 $\bar{3}$
 Top DefP
 [+spec] $\bar{3}$
 le_i Def'
 $\bar{3}$
 Def ...
 [+def]
 t_i *étudiant*
- b. TopP
 $\bar{3}$
 Top'
 $\bar{3}$
 Top DefP
 $\bar{3}$
 Def'
 $\bar{3}$
 Def ...
 [+def]
 le *train*

The parallel with the clausal left periphery raises the question of the recursivity of Topic Phrases. However, recent work on the clausal CP-domain shows that the notion of Topic is in need of further refinement, and that it may well turn out that what was initially proposed as a recursion of the Topic projection is more like a Topic domain, with distinct projections (see Haegeman, 2000; Poletto, 1997; Puskás, 2000b; Rizzi, 1999-2000). To the extent that DP-internal TopP checks the specificity feature, there is no evidence for a recursion of Topics.

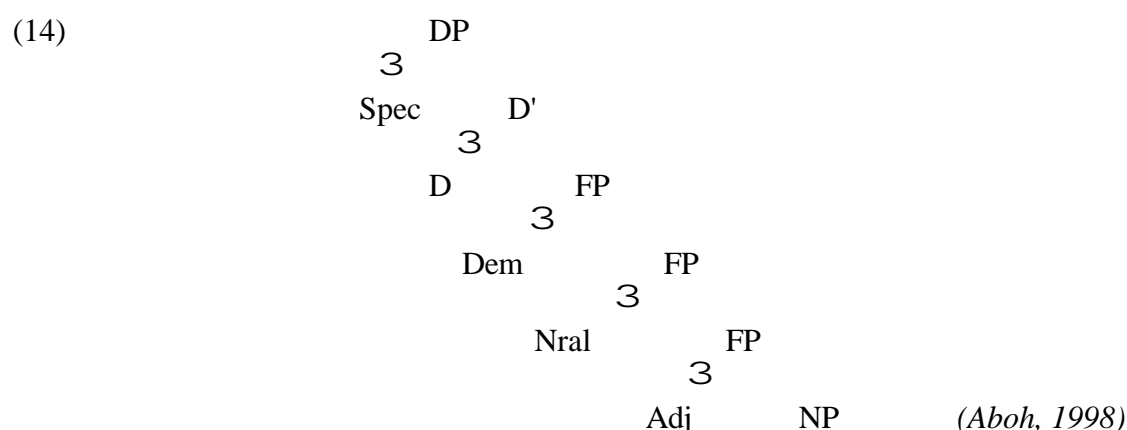
2.4. Demonstratives

In the previous section, we have seen that some articles reach the Topic Phrase to check their [+specific] feature. As demonstratives are very often pre-nominal, we propose that they exhibit the same behaviour.

In the literature (Greenberg, 1966; Hawkins, 1983), it has been proposed that demonstratives, on a par with numerals and adjectives, are noun modifiers generated in the inflectional system, a position adopted here. We also assume that these modifiers are generated in a universal word order, partially reported in (13a). Adopting (13a), based on Hawkins (1983), implies that all other word orders involving demonstratives, numerals and adjectives are derived orders. (13b) and (13c), from German and English respectively, illustrate the universal word order (13a).

- (13) a. **Universal base order**
 Demonstrative > Numeral > Adjective > Noun
 b. Diese fünf grossen Häuser German
 c. These five large houses English
 (*Aboh, 2000, his (3)*)

Although (13b,c) might be derived orders, given that there is no article, we follow Giusti (1994) among others, and assume that demonstratives are generated in the specifier position of the highest projection of the inflectional system, i.e. immediately below the projections forming the left periphery of nominals. (14) represents the structure we adopt⁴. FP stands for Functional Phrase.



In some languages, the demonstrative and the article can co-occur. In Irish and Hungarian the co-occurrence of the demonstrative and the definite article is obligatory.

⁴ As the functional projection NumP postulated by Ritter (1991), and widely adopted in the literature, is not relevant in our discussion, it is omitted in (14) and in subsequent examples.

- (15) * (an) fear mór téagartha groí seo Irish
 the man big stocky cheerful this
 ‘this big stocky cheerful man’ (McCloskey, 1998)
- (16) a. Ez a lány Hungarian
 this the girl
 ‘the girl’
 b. * Ez egy ház
 this a house

In (16a), *ez* ‘this’ precedes the definite article *a* ‘the’. On the basis of the ungrammaticality of (16b), we tentatively propose that demonstratives are licensed by a [+definite] Def⁰ (but see Section 6 for additional discussion). The above assumptions imply that the order in (16) must be derived by movement: the demonstrative does not occupy its base-position but has moved to a position to the left of the article.

Two questions immediately arise on the basis of (16): what is the landing site of the demonstrative and what triggers this movement? As an answer to the second question, we claim that since demonstratives are linked to the discourse, they move to the left periphery of nominals (Ihsane, 2000b). Concerning the landing site of demonstratives, their contribution to the specific interpretation of DP suggests that they reach the projection where specificity gets checked, i.e. the nominal TopP discussed in Section 2.3. Note that (16) supports our claim that the Definite Phrase is lower in the left periphery than the nominal TopP hosting *ez*.

In short, to account for (16), we assume that the demonstrative, which is endowed with the features [+specific, +definite], moves from its base position through DefP to TopP to check its [+specific] feature. In the course of the derivation, the [+definite] feature is checked. Whether this movement is an instantiation of X⁰- or XP- movement has to be determined. Example (17), from Syrian Arabic, suggests that the demonstrative may head-move.

- (17) a. hal-be:t (Cowell, 1964) Syrian Arabic
 this-the-house
 ‘this house’
 b. han-n«swa:n (Cowell, 1964)
 these (those)-the women
 ‘these women’

The bi-morphemic element *hal* (*ha* + *l* ‘dem + def’) in (17a) is an illustration of incorporation, suggesting that the head of DemP extracts and moves through Def⁰. Further evidence for this analysis comes from the assimilation of *-l* in (17b) to the following consonant, a property of definite articles (Cowell, 1964). As demonstratives, numerals and adjectives sit in the specifier position of functional projections, they are maximal projections, implying that their head can extract⁵:

⁵ See also Shlonsky (2000) who, in addition to (18), proposes that some demonstratives can also head a projection which is in a complement position.

A similar account has been proposed by Bernstein (1997) for French. Consider (20) which is the representation of (17a) and (19).

(20)

		DefP		
		3		
	Spec		Def'	
		3		
		Def		FP
		g	3	
	hal _i		DemP	F'
	ce _j	g	3	
		Dem'	F	...
		g		
		Dem		
		g		
		t _i		
		t _j		

(20) is compatible with the analysis proposed here if we assume that *hal* ‘this + the’ and *ce* ‘this’ further head-move to Top^0 to check their feature [+specific]. In (16) however, nothing excludes the possibility for the demonstrative to move as a maximal projection through the specifier of the Definite Phrase to the specifier of the Topic Phrase⁶. We leave the question open for further research. Independently of the type of movement illustrated – X^0 or XP-movement – demonstratives reach TopP to check their feature [+specific].

In addition to the Definite Phrase and the Topic Phrase, we propose that the left periphery of nominals includes a Focus Phrase, to which emphasised elements such as numerals and possessive modifiers can move (Knittel, 1998; Ihsane, 2000a).

Recall from (14) that numerals are generated in the inflectional system, i.e. below the projections forming the split DP. Numerals can be emphasised as (21b) shows. We propose that (21b) is, to some extent, similar to (16): an element generated in the inflectional system

⁶ In a snowballing account, we could propose that the movement of DefP to Spec,TopP checks the feature [+specific].

(24) a. Az én ház-am Hungarian
the my house-poss.1sg
'MY house'
b. * én a ház-am
my the house-poss.1sg

Hungarian is not the only language in which possessive modifiers may be emphasised. Consider (25).

- In (25), the possessives *MY*, *MA* and *ZYN* are emphasised, suggesting that they have a focus feature.

In Section 2.2, we argued that the left periphery of the DP contains a Definite Phrase, which corresponds to the clausal FinP. It is dominated by the Focus Phrase and the Topic Phrase. In this section, we would like to propose that the Topic Phrase is in turn dominated by another functional projection, which we will call Determiner Phrase (DP), in a very general sense.

(26) a. [A lány] könyve Hungarian
the girl-nom book-poss
'the girl's book'
b. [A lánynak] a könyve
the girl-dat the book-poss
'the girl's book'

⁸ The base position of the possessor is not relevant here. We assume that it can be compared to a type of subject which suggests that it is generated in the specifier of the lexical projection NP (Alexiadou & Wilder, 1998).

- (29) J'ai pris le train. French
 I have taken the train
 'I took the train.'

The DP *le train* 'the train' is interpreted as either specific or non-specific. (30) illustrates the two representations which correspond to the two interpretations.

- (30) a. [TopP [+specific] le_i [DefP t_i [... [NP train]]]]
 b. [TopP [non-specific] [DefP le [... [NP train]]]]

In languages like Hungarian, the [+specific] feature on DPs is checked in the clausal Spec,TopP, allowing specific DPs to be interpreted as Topics, that is discourse-related, - and ruling out non-specific DPs from that position (see Puskás 2000b for a discussion of Topic positions). The two interpretations of the French examples show the same properties. When the DP *le train* 'the train' in (29) is interpreted as non-specific, it does not have a [+specific] feature to check. On the other hand, in the case the reading is that of a specific DP, the interpretational properties of the DP are similar to that of its Hungarian counterpart: the DP is discourse-related. We propose that in this case, the equivalent of the overt feature-checking movement of the DP in Hungarian obtains covertly in French: the [+specific] DP undergoes covert Topic movement. Thus the two LF representations of (29) will be as in (31) below:

- (31) a. [IP J'ai pris [DP[non-specific] le train]
 b. [Top [DP[+specific] le train] [IP J'ai pris e]]

6. SOME FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

In this section, we examine some problematic data with respect to the existential construction. It is well known that in existential sentences such as (32) only indefinite nominals are attested. The definiteness of *le livre* 'the book' in (32b) leads to ungrammaticality. In the same vein, the impossibility for the demonstrative to survive in such contexts suggests that *ce livre* in (32c) is not only specific but also definite.

- (32) a. Il y a un livre sur la table. French
 'There is a book on the table.'
 b. * Il y a le livre sur la table.
 there Y has the book on the table
 c. * Il y a ce livre sur la table.
 there Y has this book on the table

The ungrammaticality of (32b) can be related to the intrinsic property of definites, which come with a presupposition of existence (see Section 2.2). As existential constructions assert existence (Keenan, 1987 cited in Enç, 1991), they typically exclude elements whose existence is presupposed. However, consider the following example:

- (33) There are the following counterexamples to Streck's theory...
 (Pesetsky, cited in Enç 1991, her (46))

Although the DP is introduced by a definite article in the existential (33), the sentence is grammatical. But as Enç notes, "this particular kind of definite NP does not presuppose existence the way other definites do (compare **There are the above counterexamples*)"

(1991:14). It seems that what looks like a definite DP is somehow stripped of its definiteness. Some types of modifiers force an indefinite interpretation of definite articles, that is they cancel the presupposition of existence of definite article by contributing to the assertion of existence. This is the case for the adjective *following* in (33). It also seems to be the case of the relative clause which characterises the definite DP in (34).

- (34) il y a le livre que j'ai lu sur la table. French
 there Y has the book that I have read on the table

In (34), the existential construction contains an apparently definite DP. The relative clause asserts the existence of the modified nominal and therefore forces the indefinite reading of the definite article (compare with the ungrammatical (32b)).

If demonstratives are [+definite, +specific] as proposed in Section 2.4, their ungrammaticality in existential contexts is expected. This was illustrated in (32c). However, consider (35), where the demonstrative is licit.

- (35) (il y a) ce gars (from Bernstein 1997:96) French
 (there's) this guy
 'a guy'

In our opinion, (35) is grammatical only when the DP is followed by a relative clause, as in (36):

- (36) il y a ce gars qui entre dans le café French
 there Y has this guy who enters in the café
 'there's this guy who enters the café'

As it was the case for the definite article, the presence of the relative clause in (36) asserts the existence of the nominal *ce gars* 'this guy', suggesting that the demonstrative is not definite. The role of the relative is to characterise the noun in the same way as the adjective *following* in (33). We conclude that here again the existential construction licenses DPs which are void of any definite content.

7. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we proposed a distinction between the notions of specificity and definiteness using a feature related account. Assuming a split DP, we argued that the feature [+specific] is encoded on the functional head Top^0 and the feature [+definite] on Def^0 . This system of feature combination yields four types of DPs, each of which empirically supported. Different elements related to specificity can move to check the feature [+specific]. To support this claim, we discussed articles and demonstratives. We showed that possessive modifiers, on the other hand, are not specific but that in some languages, such as Hungarian, they can move to the Focus Phrase, another functional projection of the left periphery. Hungarian also provided evidence that the structure contains yet another projection, the Determiner Phrase, dominating the Topic Phrase. Thus the structure proposed for the nominal left periphery corresponds to the clausal one.

References

- Abney, S. P. (1987) "The English noun phrase in its sentential aspect". PhD dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Aboh, E. (1998) "On the Syntax of Gungbe Noun Phrases". Clearing house on Languages and Linguistics ERIC Documentation Reproduction service. No ED 420 209.
- Aboh, E. (2000) "DP licensing and snowballing movement". Handout *NP-Conference*, Antwerp.
- Alexiadou A. & Ch. Wilder (1998) *Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the Determiner Phrase*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Bernstein, J. (1997) "Demonstratives and reinforcers in Romance and Germanic languages". *Lingua* 102: 87-113.
- Brody, M. (1990) "Some remarks on the focus field in Hungarian". UCL Working Papers 2: 201-225.
- Cardinaletti, A. & M. Starke (1995) "The typology of structural deficiency: On the three grammatical classes". *FAS Papers in Linguistics* 1: 1-55.
- Cardinaletti, A. (1997) "Subjects and clause structure". In L. Haegeman (ed.) *The New Comparative Syntax*, Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Cinque, G. (1990) *Types of A'-Dependencies*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Cowell, M. W. (1964) *A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Diesing, M. (1992) *Indefinites*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Enç, M. (1991) "The semantics of specificity". *Linguistics Inquiry* 22.1:1-25.
- Giusti, G. (1994) "Enclitic articles and double definiteness: A comparative analysis of nominals". *Linguistic Review* 11: 231-255.
- Giusti, G. (1997) "The categorial status of determiners". In L. Haegeman (ed.) *The New Comparative Syntax*, Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Granfeldt, J. (1999) "Sur la structure du DP dans les langues Scandinaves". Presentation in the DES seminar, Geneva.
- Greenberg, J. (1966) *Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements*. In J. H. Greenberg ed., *Universals of Language* (2nd ed.) Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Haegeman, L. (2000) "Remote possessors and possessor movement in West Flemish? Relating nominal periphery to clausal periphery". Talk given at the York *Periphery Conference*, Sept 2000.
- Hawkins, J. A. (1983) *Word order universals*. New York: Academic Press.
- Heim, I. (1982) "The Semantics of Definite and Indefinite Noun Phrases". PhD dissertation, University of Massachusetts.
- Ihsane, T. (2000a) "Three Types of Possessive Modifiers". *Generative Grammar in Geneva*, 1:21-54.
- Ihsane, T. (2000b) "That's a demonstrative: that's a head!" Presentation at the 5th *International Afroasiatic Linguistics Conference (CAL5)*, Paris, France.
- Keenan, E. (1987) "A Semantic Definition of 'Indefinite NP'", in E. J. Reuland and A. G. B. ter Meulens, eds., *The Representation of (In)definiteness*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Knittel, M.-L. (1998) "Structure morphosyntaxique des syntagmes nominaux possessivés du hongrois". In *La grammaire de la possession*, J. Guéron & A. Zribi-Hertz (eds): 83-128. Nanterre: Presses Universitaires de Paris 10.

- Krifka, M. (1991) "A Compositional Semantics for Multiple Focus Constructions". In *Proceedings from Semantics and Linguistic Theory I*, S. Moore and A. Z. Wyner (eds), 127-158. Cornell University Working Papers 10.
- McCloskey, J. (1998) Class lectures. UC Santa Cruz.
- Milsark, G. (1974) "Existential Sentences in English". PhD dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Ordoñez, F. (1997) "Word Order and Clausal Structure in Spanish and Other Romance Languages". PhD dissertation. CUNY.
- Partee, B. (1991) "Topic, Focus and Quantification". In *Proceedings from Semantics and Linguistic Theory I*, S. Moore and A. Z. Wyner (eds), 159-187. Cornell University Working Papers 10.
- Poletto, C. (1997) "Raetoromance Verb Second: split CP and subject positions". Talk given at the *Incontro di Grammatica Generative*. Pisa.
- Puskás, G. (2000a) *Word Order in Hungarian: the Syntax of A-bar Positions*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Puskás, G. (2000b) "On Topics". Talk given at the *York Periphery Conference*, Sept 2000.
- Reinhart, T. (1982) "Pragmatics and Linguistics: an Analysis of Sentence Topics". Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Ritter, E. (1991) "Two Functional categories in Noun Phrases: Evidence from Modern Hebrew". In S. Rothstein (ed.), *Perspectives on Phrase Structure* [Syntax and Semantics 26]. New York: Academic Press: 37-62.
- Rizzi, L. (1997) "The fine structure of the left periphery". In *Elements of Grammar*, L. Haegeman (ed.), 281-337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Rizzi, L. (1999-2000). Class lectures. Geneva.
- Roberts, I. (1994) "Two Types of Head Movement in Romance". In N. Hornstein & D. Lightfoot (eds) *Verb Movement*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 207-242.
- Rothstein, S. (1983) *The Syntactic Forms of Predication*. PhD dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Shlonsky, U. (2000) "The form of Semitic noun Phrases". Ms. Geneva.
- Szabolcsi, A. (1987) "Functional categories in the noun phrase". In I. Kenesei (ed.), *Approaches to Hungarian*, 2, 167-89.
- Szabolcsi, A. (1994) "The Noun Phrase". In *The Syntactic Structure of Hungarian* [Syntax and Semantics 27], F. Kiefer & K. E-Kiss (eds): 179-274. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Williams, E. (1980) "Predication". *Linguistic Inquiry* 11, 208-238.