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# Index

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- 9-45      **Belletti, Adriana** (Università di Siena. Dipartimento di filologia e critica della letteratura)  
«Inversion» as focalization and related questions. *CatWPL*, 1999, vol. 7, p. 9-45, 55 ref.

The main empirical area studied in this article concerns so called subject «inversion» structures. The proposal is put forth that the postverbal subject is licensed in the specifier of a low Focus projection, internal to the functional clausal architecture. Focus is considered a morphosyntactic feature giving rise to its own projection and constituting a regular checking domain. Consequences of the hypothesis are investigated for other structures assumed to involve the same process of clause internal focalization such as: structures containing «emphatic» pronouns, structures undergoing complement reordering, unaccusative structures. Some speculative remarks are also made on the so called process of «marginalization» which is taken to constitute a case of clause internal «topicalization»; the process is also assumed to be involved in interrogative structures necessarily requiring a postverbal subject which displays behaviors different from the focalized postverbal subject of declarative sentences.

**Key words:** subject inversion, clause internal focalization, «emphatic» pronouns, complement reordering, unaccusative structures, «marginalization».

- 47-57      **Cabredo Hofherr, Patricia** (Université de Paris 7)  
Two German Impersonal Passives and Expletive *pro*. *CatWPL*, 1999, vol. 7, p. 47-57, 17 ref.

In the present article I argue that the null subject observed in German impersonal passives is neither a null expletive nor in canonical subject position (e.g. AgrSP). We will link the possibility of null subjects in German constructions involving the participle to the possibility of nominative assignment into the VP. The null subject is then analysed as a syntactically projected null cognate object that is assigned nominative case in situ.

**Key words:** null expletives, nominative-assignment, German impersonal passives.

- 59-69 **Costa, João** (Universidade Nova de Lisboa); **Gonçalves, Anabela** (Universidade de Lisboa. Faculdade de Letras)  
Minimal Projections: evidence from defective constructions in European Portuguese. *CatWPL*, 1999, vol. 7, p. 59-69, 18 ref.

This article discusses some of the problems generated by the proliferation of functional categories. Empirical evidence is presented favoring approaches according to which functional categories are only projected if necessary either to create hosts for lexical nuclei or to satisfy subcategorization properties of specific verb classes. The empirical arguments come from the following defective constructions in European Portuguese: adverbs in simple declarative sentences; complements of causative verbs in clause-union contexts; and topicalization constructions.

**Key words:** functional categories, causatives, adverbs, topicalization.

- 71-87 **Drijkoningen, Frank** (Utrecht Institute of Linguistics. Department of Foreign Languages)  
Antisymmetry And The Lefthand In Morphology. *CatWPL*, 1999, vol. 7, p. 71-87, 13 ref.

As Kayne (1994) has shown, the theory of antisymmetry of syntax also provides an explanation of a structural property of morphological complexes, the Righthand Head Rule. In this paper we show that an antisymmetry approach to the Righthand Head Rule eventually is to be preferred on empirical grounds, because it describes and explains the properties of a set of hitherto puzzling morphological processes —known as discontinuous affixation, circumfixation or parasynthesis. In considering these and a number of more standard morphological structures, we argue that one difference bearing on the proper balance between morphology and syntax should be re-installed (re- with respect to Kayne), a difference between the antisymmetry of the syntax of morphology and the antisymmetry of the syntax of syntax proper.

**Key words:** antisymmetry, Righthand Head Rule, circumfixation, parasynthesis, prefixation, category-changing prefixation, discontinuities in morphology.

- 89-105 **Fernández Soriano, Olga** (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)  
Datives in Constructions with Unaccusative *Se*. *CatWPL*, 1999, vol. 7, p. 89-105, 42 ref.

In this talk I argue that in Spanish there is a type construction, involving a verb with the unaccusative *se* clitic and a dative, where the dative is in fact the external argument, which renders the construction comparable to a transitive structure (in the well-established unaccusative-transitive alternation). A number of tests and criteria are reviewed to support the external argument status of the dative (which in fact can be assimilated to the status of locatives and datives with some impersonal verbs, see Fernández Soriano 1999). These are: unmarked word order, raising and binding. On the other hand, there is also evidence for the non externalized status of other, internal, argument: impossibility of anaphor binding, possibility of being a bare NP, inability to control, among others. I conclude that in this constructions the dative is an instance of quirky case.

**Key words:** Spanish, quirky case, *se*-unaccusatives, argument structure.

- 107-124 **Gumiel Molina, Silvia** (Universidad de Alcalá. Departamento de Filología); **Nieto Herranz, Isabel** (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Departamento de Filología Inglesa); **Pérez Jiménez, Isabel** (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Departamento de Lengua Española) Some Remarks on De-adjectival Verbs and Resultative Secondary Predicates. *CatWPL*, 1999, vol. 7, p. 107-124, 29 ref.

The major aim of this paper consists in showing that de-adjectival verbs like *engordar* (<en+adjective+ar>, 'fatten'), *agrandar* (<a+adjective+ar>, 'enlarge') and *ampliar* (<null affix+adjective+ar>, 'widen'), share some crucial properties with resultative secondary predicates (*Mary pounded the metal flat*). A detailed analysis of these constructions seems to indicate that de-adjectival verbs and resultative secondary predicates share a common structure. The structure that we propose for de-adjectival verbs and constructions with resultative secondary predicates is the one suggested by Hale and Keyser for denominal location verbs (*bottle, can*) and by Hale and Keyser (1991, 1992) and Romero (1997), among others, for basic ditransitive constructions (*John gave the book to Mary*). This hypothesis allows us to explain some co-occurrence restrictions, for example the impossibility of having resultative secondary predicates and Goal arguments with denominal and de-adjectival verbs.

**Key words:** de-adjectival verb, resultative secondary predicate, argument structure, complex predicates, goal arguments, event delimiters.

- 125-139 **Kennedy, Christopher** (Northwestern University. Department of Linguistics); **McNally, Louise** (Universitat Pompeu Fabra. Departament de Traducció i Filologia) Deriving the Scalar Structure of Deverbal Adjectives. *CatWPL*, 1999, vol. 7, p. 125-139, 22 ref.

Focusing on the case of deverbal gradable adjectives such as *acquainted*, we show that the selective behavior of degree modifiers such as *very* and *well* provides an important prove on the semantic typology of adjectives. Specifically, we demonstrate that the distribution of degree modifiers is closely tied to the scalar structure of the adjectives they modify, and that scale structure also determines one of the core semantic properties of gradable adjectives: the nature of the «standard values» according to which sentences involving adjectival predications are judged to be true. In addition, we show that in the case of deverbal gradable adjectives, scalar structure can be inferred from the aspectual properties of the source verbs, providing a basis for predicting which degree modifiers will be acceptable with which participles.

**Key words:** adjectives, aspect, degree modification, participles.

- 141-158 **Martí i Girbau, Núria** (University of Oxford. Taylor Institution Library; Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Departament de Filologia Catalana) *En* Preceding Direct Objects in Galician: An Indefiniteness Marker? *CatWPL*, 1999, vol. 7, p. 141-158, 25 ref.

In Galician direct objects of eventive verbs can be introduced by the preposition *en*. Presence of *en* signals semantic differences related to aspect and speci-

ficity: definite objects preceded by *en* pattern like bare NPs—and not like the corresponding definite objects without *en*—in that they required an atelic sentential aspect and are non-specific. Properties of *en* + DO resemble to some extent those of the partitive article—i.e. French: *du, de la, des*—, especially at its origin.

In this paper I explore the possibility of assigning a similar analysis to both *en* + DO and partitive article based on Kayne (1994)'s DP hypothesis, according to which D selects a D/PP projection which dominates a predication and one of the components of that predication raises to Spec D/PP. I propose that the head of this D/PP is *en* or *de*, and the element that raises to Spec D/PP is a nul quantifier which is generated as the predicate.

**Key words:** aspect, specificity, partitivity.

- 159-174 **Mateu Fontanals, Jaume** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Departament de Filologia Catalana); **Amadas Simon, Laia** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Departament de Filologia Catalana)  
Extended Argument Structure: Progressive as Unaccusative. *CatWPL*, 1999, vol. 7, p. 159-174, 27 ref.

Our lexical relational analysis of the progressive construction is based on Mateu's (1999) theory of Relational Semantics. Drawing empirical evidence from cross-linguistic studies, we argue that the progressive involves a nominalization process that joins a locative unaccusative structure and the argument structure corresponding to the lexical verb. As a result, the unspecified Ground of the unaccusative structure in which the Figure is «centrally located» turns out to be the entire event coded by the lexical verb. Furthermore, a structurally-based solution of the so-called «Imperfective Paradox» is then pursued. Empirical evidence in favor of our analysis of the progressive is also shown to come from «thematically transparent» languages like Basque, where a different argument structure involves a different case assignment.

**Key words:** progressive aspect, unaccusativity, argument structure, Relational Semantics.

- 175-190 **Matos, Gabriela** (Universidade de Lisboa. Departamento de Linguística)  
Negative Concord and the Scope of Negation. *CatWPL*, 1999, vol. 7, p. 175-190, 18 ref.

In Romance languages like European Portuguese, Negative Concord may not be explained in terms of the licensing of multiple underspecified polarity items by a negative operator; ignoring expletive negation, negative phrases behave as inherent negative items which may constitute a complex negative expression. However, syntactic approaches involving negative sentential projections and relying on specifier-head Agreement of negative items are not able to deal with Negative Concord. Negative Concord is captured by Neg-Absorption, an LF operation which applies in a single negative domain. In what concerns sentence negation, this domain is delimited by an overt strong negative element, the sentence marker or some negative phrase, overtly having scope over the verbal element which checked Tense.

**Key words:** Negative Concord, Neg-Absorption, sentence negation, scope of negation.

- 191-206 **Mišeska Tomić, Olga** (University of Novi Sad/University of Leiden)  
Negation and imperatives. *CatWPL*, 1999, vol. 7, p. 191-206, 14 ref.

While some languages have negative imperatives, others do not, and express prohibition through suppletive subjunctives or infinitives. The present paper argues that a language with negative imperatives projects a mood/modality phrase, ModP, which is c-commanded by Neg. In a language with no negative imperatives, however, ModP and NegP are fused.

Within the South European languages there is a distinction with respect to the distinct projection of ModP: while the majority of the Romance languages do not project it, all the South Slavic languages do. Within South Slavic there is a parametric difference with respect to the strength of Neg, however. This difference is reflected in two distinct positionings of the clitics relative to the imperative verb: in the South Slavic languages with strong Neg the clitics are wedged between the negation operator and the imperative verb, while in the South Slavic languages with weak Neg they occur to the left of the verb.

**Key words:** word order, negated imperatives, Wackernagel clitics, South-Slavic.

- 207-218 **Prieto i Vives, Pilar** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Departament de Filologia Catalana)  
Patrons d'associació de l'estructura tonal en català. *CatWPL*, 1999, vol. 7, p. 207-218, 10 ref.

It is widely accepted that the phonetic realization of intonation contours over short utterances triggers a gestural reorganization of the tones involved. According to the way intonation contours are realized in these sequences, Grønnum (1991) and Ladd (1996) have observed two strategies, *compression* (or complete realization of the melodic form) and *truncation* (or elision of the initial/final part of the contour). This article describes the so-called «neutral» contours in Central Catalan (specifically, declarative, interrogative and imperative sentence-types) and examines the process of temporal realization of these tunes over short utterances (monosyllabic phrases and utterances containing just one stressed syllable). Catalan is a strongly compressing language, a tendency shown by all tunes except for the interrogative one. The article shows how the apparent cases of «gestural reorganization» can be explained by a left-to-right association of the pitch accents involved in the phonological tune with the metrically strong positions available in the sentence. Thus, each contour adopts two different shapes according to the number of tonic syllables it contains. Pierrehumbert's model of tonal representation can therefore obtain in a straightforward way the resulting contours, showing its superiority over other representational models.

**Key words:** Catalan intonation, tone association, pitch timing.

- 219-237 **Vigário, Marina** (University of Minho/University of Lisbon. Dep. Português)  
Pronominal cliticization in European Portuguese: a postlexical operation. *CatWPL*, 1999, vol. 7, p. 219-237, 30 ref.

Pronominal clitics in the Romance languages are known to display affix-like behaviour. This fact has led to proposals, such as Zwicky (1987) and Halpern

(1995) for European Portuguese (EP), that pronominal clitics behave like lexical affixes because they *are* (inflectional) affixes. In this paper we argue against such an analysis of EP pronominal clitics. First, we present a bulk of phenomena—including distributional facts, the (non-)application of phonological rules, and the (non-)application of morphophonological rules—that clearly differentiate EP pronominal clitics from inflectional affixes, and argue for the postlexical combination of verbs and clitics. We then survey the arguments put forward in favour of the lexical attachment of pronominal clitics in EP, and show that these are not compelling arguments for the lexical hypothesis. We conclude that pronominal cliticization must be treated as a postlexical operation in EP.

**Key words:** pronominal clitics, cliticization, European Portuguese.

- 239-252 **Villalba, Xavier** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Departament de Filologia Catalana)  
Nihil est in LF quod prius non fuerit in SS. *CatWPL*, 1999, vol. 7, p. 239-252, 23 ref.

In this paper it is argued that dislocates are interpreted in their surface position. Evidence from binding and scope phenomena is provided to support such strong hypothesis. Moreover, it is shown that its interaction with the Split-Topic Hypothesis, which argues for a partition of the focus-topic structure of the sentence, can explain some otherwise surprising asymmetries. Finally, it is argued for an integration of discourse and modality aspects in the computation of binding and scope facts.

**Key words:** dislocation, topic, binding, scope, reconstruction.

- 253-277 **Zubizarreta, Maria Luisa** (University of Southern California. Department of Linguistics)  
The Cl(itic) Projection in Questions. *CatWPL*, 1999, vol. 7, p. 251-277, 31 ref.

This abstract attempts to provide an explanation for the wellknown constraint, pervasive in the Romance languages, which disallows the subject in wh-questions to intervene between a wh-phrase and the verb. It is suggested that the difference stems from a fundamental structural difference between the two types of languages. Romance, unlike English, projects an abstract *Cl(itic)* category above TP. *Cl* is an abstract operator whose function is to «externalize» an argument of a verb *v* with respect to the tense associated with *v*. *Cl* is identified by rich agreement or a clitic morpheme, which accounts for the presence of such a category in Romance and its absence in English. It is then argued that the projection of a *Cl*-operator between CP and IP in wh-questions gives rise to a minimality effect. The appendix deals with some cases of clitic-doubling of non-specific wh-phrases in modal contexts and suggests that the clitic (associated to *Cl*) functions as an E-type pronoun in such cases.

**Key words:** wh-questions, clitics, syntax.



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