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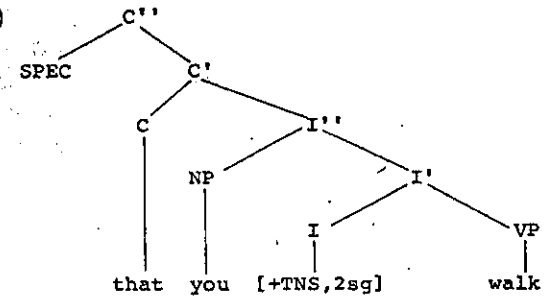
FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES IN THE NOUN PHRASE*

0. Introduction

In earlier work I have argued that the structure of the noun phrase in Hungarian is in several respects similar to that of a (configurational) clause. The observation of such a cross-categorial similarity has no theoretical status of its own. In this paper, I wish to suggest that the analysis can be extended in a way that may actually explain why exactly those two "units" that typically act as arguments appear to have similar internal structures. In particular, I will argue for the following kind of parallelism:

(1)



(2)

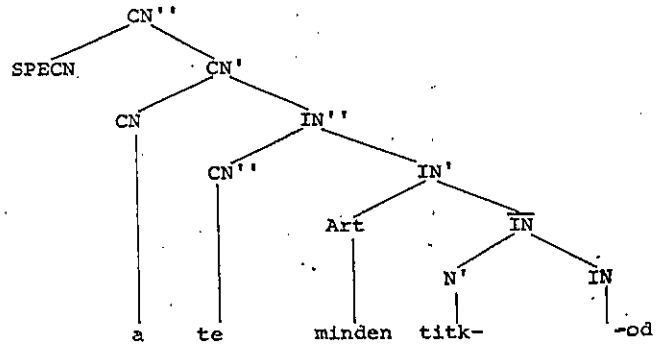


Figure (1) shows the clausal structure proposed in Chomsky (1986). The traditional category S is taken to be the maximal projection of I(nflection), and $\overline{S}$ to be the maximal projection of C(omplementizer). C is distinguished from the target of WH-movement: WH-phrases land in the SPEC(ifier) of C''.

The category symbols in (2) are chosen to express the intended parallelism with the functional categories in (1). IN is the nominal counterpart of I: it assigns nominative Case (and possibly, a theta-role) to the subject. CN is the nominal counterpart of C: it enables the IN-projection to act as an argument, and its SPECN position serves as an escape hatch for the subject. The bar notation is used for a complex predicate, and primes are reserved for projection levels.

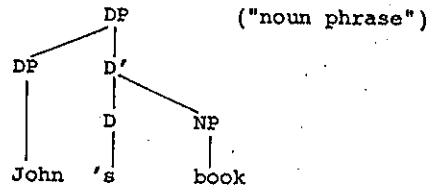
The term "noun phrase" will only be used informally, to refer to CN''.

1. Recent Proposals for English

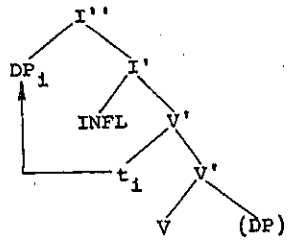
Chomsky's (1986) proposal has been very stimulating for

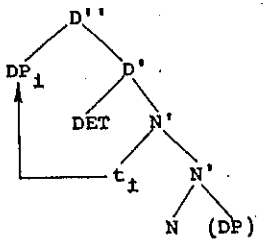
research concerning the role of functional categories in general and in other phrases in particular. As for the noun phrase, both Abney (1986) and Fukui and Speas (1986) suggest that it is the maximal projection of D(eterminer), and assimilate D to I. To quote Abney (pp. 8-9), "Determiner and Infl have similar semantic functions. The function of the determiner is to specify the reference of a noun phrase. The noun provides a predicate, and the determiner picks out a particular member of that predicate's extension. The same function is performed in the verbal system by tense, or Inflection... Assuming that Det heads the noun phrase, a question arises immediately concerning the position of the subject of the noun phrase, that is, the prenominal genitive. Since the subject is not a word, but a phrase, we can no longer assume that it shares the same position as the determiner. The natural hypothesis is that it is the subject of DP. Let us take the possessive morpheme, *'s*, to be the determiner. This provides an immediate explanation for Case assignment of the genitive noun phrase: *'s* is the head and Case-marker. It assigns Case to its subject in the same way that Infl plus Agr assigns nominative Case. A final problem is that it is generally assumed that only maximal categories may be selected. If D selects $\overline{N}$, $\overline{N}$ should be a maximal category. Assume that it is, in fact. This gives us a structure for the noun phrase as in (8) [=(3)]":[1]

(3)



Fukui and Speas essentially follow Abney; the differences are due to the general proposal they put forth:

(4) S: 

NP: 

On the basis of Hungarian facts, I will argue in detail that the assimilation of D to I is premature. Prior to turning to Hungarian, however, let us see whether there are any purely descriptive reasons that cast doubt on the above claim for English.

Notice that Abney assimilates D to I on the basis of (i) the similarity of the determiner and inflection with respect to binding an open place in the predicate, and (ii) the similarity of *'s* and inflection with respect to Case assignment to the subject. Thus the complementarily of *'s* and the determiner is crucial to his analysis. But let us ask what "the determiner" is. *'s* and *the* are certainly complementary; but *'s* and *every* are not:

(5) John's/his every word/step/move/secret

This piece of data is noted in Quirk et al. (1975) but is generally ignored in later work, e.g., Jackendoff (1977). It may be added that while typical examples involve "agentive" nouns (in a loose sense), some native informants conjecture that the pattern may actually be grammatical with any noun.

One might claim that (5) is predicted by Abney, given that he takes the complement of D to be maximal. Nevertheless, *every* is usually assumed to play exactly the role he attributes to D: it binds the open place of the noun. If *every* does in fact do this job, within NP, we must find some other job for *'s* and, by transitivity, for

the. Moreover, note that I is not the only item that tends to assign Case to the subject in clauses. Besides matrix verbs, the complementizer *for* has been assumed to do so.

2. *Licensing and Extraction of Noun Phrase Subjects*[2]

Hungarian noun phrases can have an overt subject if and only if the possessed noun bears person-number agreement. In one version the subject is morphologically unmarked (like nominatives) and has a fixed front position:

(6) a. az én kalap-om
the I hat-POSS.1sg
'my hat'

b. a te kalap-od
the you hat-POSS.2sg
'your hat'

c. a Péter kalap-ja
the Peter hat-POSS.3sg
'Peter's hat'

These data indicate that the subject has nominative Case assigned by AGR under government. (AGR also licenses pro-drop in the noun phrase, just as it does in clauses.) More generally, I appears to have a nominal counterpart IN:

(7) IN [-poss] or IN [+poss,AGR]

[+poss] presumably differs from [+tense] in being a theta-role assigner to the subject, at least in cases like (6) when the possessed noun is obviously not. This assumption accounts for the non-existence of PRO and expletives in [-poss] and [+poss] noun phrases, respectively, and the non-lexicality of [+poss], as opposed to verbs, explains the arbitrary relation between possessor and possessed.

Nominative subjects cannot be extracted from the noun phrase:

(8) a. *Péter-$\emptyset_i$ láttam [a t_i kalap-já-t].
Peter-NOM saw-I the hat-POSS.3sg-ACC

b. *Ki-$\emptyset_i$ láttam [a t_i kalap-já-t]?
who-NOM saw-I the hat-POSS.3sg-ACC

This is understandable if the subject position in the noun phrase is no more properly governed than in (configurational) clauses. The subject is not wholly impossible to extract, however.

The possessive construction has another version which differs from (6) in that the subject is dative-marked and precedes, rather than follows, the article *a(z)*:

(9) a. én-nek-em a kalap-om
I-DAT-1sg the hat-POSS.1sg
'my hat'

b. te-nek-ed a kalap-od
you-DAT-2sg the hat-POSS.2sg
'your hat'

c. Péter-nek a kalap-ja
Peter-DAT the hat-POSS.3sg
'Peter's hat'

Now, dative subjects can be extracted; the term extraction is justified by the fact that the detached dative has no other role than Possessor:[3]

(10) a. Péter-nek$_i$ láttam [t_i a α kalap-já-t].
Peter-DAT saw-I the hat-POSS.3sg-ACC
'For x = Peter, I saw x's hat'

b. Ki-nek$_i$ láttam [t_i a α kalap-já-t]?
who-DAT saw-I the hat-POSS.3sg-ACC
'For which x, I saw x's hat'

Both the noun phrase internal contrast between (6) and (9) and the clause-level contrast between (8) and (10) can be easily explained on the following assumption. α in (10) is a subject trace; the position of the dative-marked subject is a non-theta position, movement into which is in conformity with the requirements of proper government. If this is so, further movement from this position is predicted to be grammatical.[4]

In other words, the dative-marked position is analogous to the target of WH-movement in clauses. This analogy gains further support from the fact that operator subjects strongly tend to occupy this position within the noun phrase.

We may now ask what is the exact status of the non-theta position. Notice that the rigid placement of the article *a(z)* between this non-theta position and the subject position is reminiscent of the placement of the complementizer in clauses. If we have a reason to assume that this parallelism goes beyond word order, the non-theta position may be the SPEC of the category *a(z)* belongs to.[5]

3. Too Many Articles

Recall that Jackendoff (1977) assigns all the following items to the category Art on the basis of their complementarity:

(11) the, this, all, every, no, neither, which, ...

Hungarian is exactly like English in that the equivalents of these items are in complementary distribution in [-poss] noun phrases, and also in [+poss] ones without an overt nominative subject, i.e., whenever the subject is pro-dropped or moved:

(12) a. { a 'the' / ezen 'this' / minden 'every' / etc. } kalap

b. { a / ezen / minden / etc. } kalap-om (1sg)

c. * { az ezen 'the this' / a minden 'the every' / minden ezen 'this every' / etc. } kalap(-om (1sg))

The presence of an overt nominative subject eliminates complementarity, however.

Articles split into two groups: *a(z)* appears in front of the nominative subject, and only there; all others appear behind the nominative subject, and only there. Moreover, the two positions can be filled simultaneously. (13) summarizes the main possibilities:[6]

(13)

a(z) 'the' SUBJ-NOM { ezen/azon 'this/that' / minden 'every' / valamennyi 'each' / mindkét 'both' / semelyik 'neither' / melyik 'which' / etc. } N'-INFL

These data indicate that, marginal as it may seem in English, the behavior of *every* in (5) is in fact representative of a general situation.

We have two main questions to answer now: (i) What distinguishes *a(z)* 'the' from all the other articles?, and (ii) What explains the complementarity observed in (12)?

To simplify the following discussion, let me turn to (ii) directly. Recall that the relevant cases are of the following sort:

(14) a. *az ezen kalap *vs.* ezen kalap
the this hat

b. *az t/pro ezen kalap-om *vs.* ezen kalap-om
the this hat-POSS.1sg

I suggest that the ungrammaticality of (14a, b) has nothing to do with the problem whether the open slot of the noun is doubly bound. Rather, these are to be attributed to *a(z)*-deletion in the Phonetic Component under string-adjacency to another article. Independent justification for this claim comes from (15) and (16): here *a(z)* may not be string-adjacent to *ezen* or *az*, even though the latter undoubtedly belong to the embedded subject and not the head noun:[7]

(15) a. *az [ezen asszony] kalap-ja
the this woman hat-POSS.3sg

b. [ezen asszony] kalap-ja 'this woman's hat'
[ezen asszony]-nak$_i$ a t$_i$ kalap-ja

(16) a. *az [az én kalap-om] karimá-ja
the the I hat-POSS.1sg rim-POSS.3sg

b. [az én kalapom] karimá-ja 'the rim of my hat'
[az én kalapom]-nak$_i$ a t$_i$ karimá-ja

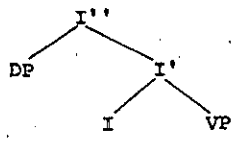
With this deletion rule available, we have in principle two sources for surface noun phrases without *a(z)*: one like (14), which undergoes *a(z)*-deletion, and one without any underlying *a(z)*. It will be the task of Section 5 to determine what the role of *a(z)* is and, consequently, how the two options are to be interpreted.

4. IN as Part of a Complex Predicate

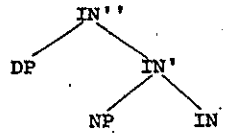
Let us now leave *a(z)* for a while and turn to the structure of IN''. The simplest assumption would be to let it mimic the structure of I'' in Chomsky (1986), with the minimal difference that IN'' is head-final (a case usual in Hungarian).

DP and NP are provisional labels:

(17) a.

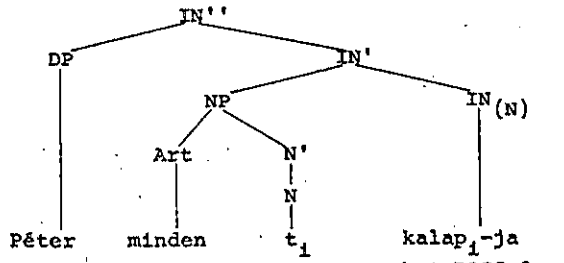


b.



As for (17a), Chomsky makes an additional assumption. Following Koopman (1984), he makes the ability of I to assign Case contingent on its having a lexical base. To achieve this, he moves V into I and amalgamates them. Given that IN is surely suffixed onto N, we may follow this and get the following structure, for instance:

(18)



'Peter's every hat'

We may immediately note a problem here. It is natural to assume that the trace in (18) is just an N, rather than of an "amalgam category" $IN_{(N)}$. This means that N-movement makes no difference for the scope of Art. That is, *minden kalap* 'every hat' continues to be a proper part of the interpretation of the whole noun phrase. This would make it natural for (19) to get the (a) interpretation:

(19) Péter minden kalapja elveszett.
'Peter's every hat got lost'

a. $\forall x[hat(x) \rightarrow (Poss(Peter,x) \wedge got\text{-}lost(x))]$

b. $\forall x[(hat(x) \wedge Poss(Peter,x)) \rightarrow got\text{-}lost(x)]$

(19a) is a non-restrictive relative kind of interpretation: it means that every hat belongs to Peter and got lost. (19b) is a of the restrictive relative kind: it means that those hats that belong to Peter got lost. Obviously, (19b), and not (19a), is correct.

One might object now that the current analysis of relative clauses is an NP—S analysis, irrespective of the restrictive/non-restrictive distinction. Therefore, whatever procedure makes the correct predictions there may also apply here to give the correct (19b) result. The trouble is, I do not see what this procedure is; in other words, this problem appears to be ignored, rather than satisfactorily solved. One might try to solve the problem of (19) by assuming that QR adjoins the NP containing *minden* 'every' to IN''. This solution may be incompatible with N-movement, cf. (18), because the trace in *minden* t_1 will no longer be c-commanded by $kalap_1$ after adjunction; nevertheless, we might abandon the assumption of N-movement. Note, however, that even if we had *minden kalap* to adjoin to IN'', we would get another incorrect prediction. Namely, the quantifier of the possessed noun will be predicted to be able to take scope over the quantifier of the subject:

(20) Két fiu minden kalapja elveszett.
'Two boys' every hat got lost'

a. $\forall x[(hat(x) \wedge \exists_2 y[boy(y) \wedge Poss(y,x)) \rightarrow got\text{-}lost(x)]]$

b. $\exists_2 y[boy(y) \wedge \forall x[(hat(x) \wedge Poss(y,x)) \rightarrow got\text{-}lost(x)]]$

(20) only has the (b) interpretation, whether the boys possess the hats jointly or individually.

All in all, it seems beneficial to follow the old N—S treatment of restrictives, and to make 'hat-POSS.3sg' a true unit. To achieve this result, I suggest that N and IN form a complex predicate, headed by IN. The revised structure is given in (21):

on $\overline{\text{IN}}$, like *-ize* on *victimize*. The object slot of the complex, originating as the subject slot of the base N, is bound by Art -- the subject slot of the complex, DP, is wholly a contribution of IN. As regards theta-roles, recall that the subject of *kalap-ja* 'hat-POSS.3sg' may have an arbitrary role, whereas the subject of a deverbal noun, say, *megmenekülés-e* 'escape[ING]-POSS.3sg' has the same role as that of *megmenekül* 'escape, V'. Theta-marking features may be factored into (i) a formal ability to assign a role, and (ii) a specific value for the role. The affix IN has (i) but not (ii). If the base N has no (ii), either, arbitrariness will be passed up to $\overline{\text{IN}}$. If, however, N has (ii), it takes precedence and the role to be assigned may not be arbitrary.

We may now ask, briefly, whether I also forms a complex with V. I assume it does not, and subscribe to Fukui and Speas' view that the clausal subject originates within VP and is raised into the specifier of I to get Case, cf. (4). If we adopt certain further assumptions, it may even be possible to explain the lack of V+I complexes with reference to the fact that I is not a theta-marker for the subject. Suppose that complexes are formed via a restructuring process involving two simultaneous structures, as proposed by Zubizarreta (1982) and Huybregts (p.c.). They both note that raising Vs do not restructure, and attribute this to a uniformity condition on theta-marking in the two structures. If a raising V underwent restructuring, its subject would get theta-marked on one side but not on the other, thus violating uniformity. If this kind of reasoning is correct, and we nevertheless find some language in which I appears to form a complex with V, we will have to assume that I also has a formal ability to assign a subject theta-role in that language.

5. CN as the Complementizer in the Noun Phrase

It is clear from the discussion of the examples above that I assume that the articles appearing after the nominative subject, cf. (13), are appropriate binders for the argument slot of the noun. There are hardly any semantic reasons to doubt that they are: they exhibit the full array of possibilities to be expected. We may thus return to the question left over from Section 3, concerning the role of *a(z)*'the'.

Recall that I have pointed out that the position of *a(z)* is highly reminiscent of the position of C. Let us ask then, first of all, what role C plays in clauses. Fukui and Speas (1986) restrict themselves to claiming that C is the assigner of the WH-feature to SPEC. This seems a bit too modest, though. I believe that the original unabbreviated name Complementizer (as well as the traditional name subordinating conjunction) may be rather suggestive: the lexical content of C turns the proposition into something that can act as an argument. Note that in most languages C is obligatorily empty in matrix clauses. Moreover, Den Besten (1977) and Kayne (1982) actually make use of this complementizing idea in their explanation of why the movement of V into C is a matrix clause phenomenon.

Let me assume, then, that a proposition may only get a theta-role if its head C is filled by a true complementizer from the lexicon -- independently of whether this complementizer is overt (24a), deleted (24b), or originally null (24c):

(24) a. I know $[_{C''}\ [_{C}$ that] John is here].
I want $[_{C''}\ [_{C}$ for] John to be here].

b. I know $[_{C''}\ [_{C}$ ɸɸɸ] John is here].
I want $[_{C''}\ [_{C}$ ɸɸɸ] John to be here].

c. I want $[_{C''}\ [_{C}\ \emptyset]$ PRO to be here].

On the other hand, the C of matrix clauses will be non-trivially empty now. The category and the WH-features must be assumed to be present, however, given the possibility of moving V into C, and WH-phrases into SPEC, in matrix clauses:

(25) a. $[_{C''}\ [_{C}$ e] John is here].

b. $[_{C''}$ Where$_i$ $[_{C}$ is$_j$] John t_j t_i]?

In the same vein, I submit that *a(z)* 'the' is a complementizer in the noun phrase: it enables the projection of IN to act as an argument. The data surveyed in Section 3 suggest that the question whether the noun phrase is definite is already decided within IN'': the selection of *a(z)* is merely concomitant with, and not the source of, definiteness. If this is so, then argumental definites must always come with *a(z)*, whether it be overt or deleted, cf. the discussion in Section 3. Furthermore, indefinite arguments, which have nothing in the same surface slot, must be assumed to have a complementizer whose lexical form is null. In these respects, (26a, b, c) parallel (24a, b, c):[8]

(26) a. Láttam $[_{CN''}\ [_{CN}$ a] kalap-ot].
saw-I the hat-ACC

b. Láttam $[_{CN''}\ [_{CN}$ ɸɸ] ezen kalap-ot].
saw-I the this hat-ACC

c. Láttam $[_{CN''}\ [_{CN}\ \emptyset]$ két kalap-ot].
saw-I two hat-ACC

Striking support for this claim can be found if we look for an analogue of matrix clauses in the domain of noun phrases. The case of vocatives suggests itself; vocatives are quite obviously not arguments of any predicate.

Vocatives never ever contain *a(z)*. The most straightforward proof that this is not due to some prohibition against definiteness comes from examples with proper names. Dialects of Hungarian differ with respect to the use of *a(z)* with names of persons:

(27) a. {Péter / *A Péter} beszél. dialect A
'Peter speaks'

b. {A Péter / ? Péter} beszél. dialect B
'Peter speaks'

It goes without saying that there is no semantic difference between these versions; in line with the considerations above, I will assume an underlying $\alpha(z)$ for both dialects, and a special deletion rule for dialect A. Note, however, that $\alpha(z)$ is absolutely out in vocatives in both dialects:

(28) {Péter! / *A Péter!} (Beszélj!) dialects A and B
'Peter (Speak)'

Similar contrasts can be obtained from possessive constructions like (6a, b), which contain an overt pronominal subject in the nominative. These are definite, and require the presence of $\alpha(z)$ in all dialects of contemporary Hungarian. But this $\alpha(z)$ must be absent from vocatives:

(29) a. {*Én testvérem / Az én testvérem} beszél.
'My brother speaks'

b. {Én testvérem! / *Az én testvérem!} (Beszélj!)
'My brother (Speak)'

These phenomena are not particular to Hungarian, cf. *der Peter* and *il mio fratello*, which are impossible as vocatives.

The fact that CN is merely void of lexical content but is present as a category can again be illustrated by showing that the subject of a vocative may be in the dative, cf. (25):

(30) [$_{CN''}$ Péter-nek$_i$ [$_{CN}$e] t$_i$ fia]! (Beszél-j!)
Peter-dat son-POSS.3sg speak-IMP
'Peter's son (Speak)'

It is to be admitted that there are languages with clause-type indicators in matrix clauses (some African languages, for instance, as H. Koopman informs me), and there are languages with systematic or occasional definite articles in vocatives (Romanian, French, and earlier Italian, as F. Bakos informs me). There are two conceivable accounts for these cases. One is to say that not all potential receivers of a theta-role must in fact receive one; they only need to if they are inside some proposition. (This proviso may be necessary for certain topics and left-dislocated phrases in any case.) Or, we may try to develop an account along the lines of Larson (1985), to the effect that the set of heads with an ability to assign a theta-role to their own maximal projections may include complementizers in some languages. Whichever may be the case, I assume these accounts will make complementized matrix clauses and vocatives the marked case.

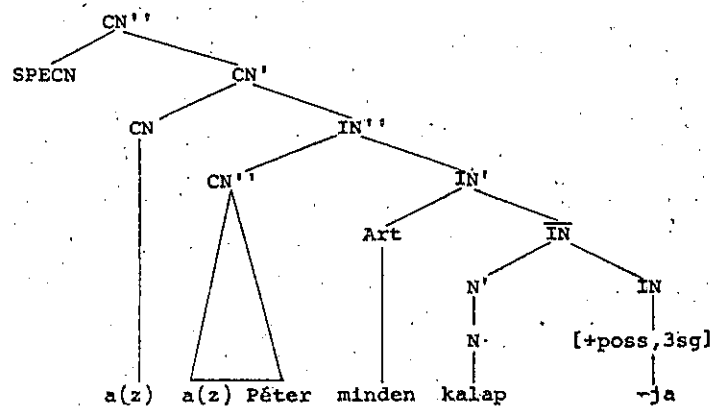
Let me finally turn to the question of how we can give a more exact semantic content to the claim that a lexical complementizer enables the projection of IN to act as an argument. It appears that the intuitive clue comes from considering how the interpretation of a vocative may differ from that of an argumental noun phrase.

Noun phrases are standardly assumed to denote generalized quantifiers, e.g., the interpretation of *Peter* is the set of properties such that Peter has those properties. In Montagovian notation: $\lambda P[P(peter)]$. This is indeed an appropriate interpretation for *Peter* if it is to combine with some verb phrase to yield, e.g., *walk*(*peter*) 'Peter has the property of walking'. But is the vocative *Peter!* to be interpreted in the same way? I suggest that vocatives are to be interpreted, not as sets of properties, but as tiny propositions with a free property (verb phrase) variable. In our case: P(*peter*).

This reasoning can be tied up with the above syntactic considerations in the following way. The property variable P in the interpretation of all noun phrases is a contribution of IN, whether IN be [+poss] or [-poss]. This variable remains free within IN''. The function of the lexical content of CN is, then, to lambda-bind P and turn the open proposition into a generalized quantifier. If this obtains, the noun phrase can be an argument; if it does not, it can only serve as a vocative.

The step-by-step interpretation of (31) can now be spelled out as follows (both (31) and (33) ignore *a(z)*-deletion):

(31)



'Peter's every hat'

(32) IN: $\lambda R \lambda D \lambda Q[Q(\lambda y[D(\lambda x[Rx \wedge Poss(y,x)])(P)])]$[9]

N: *hat*

$\overline{IN}$: $\lambda D \lambda Q[Q(\lambda y[D(\lambda x[hat(x) \wedge Poss(y,x)])(P)]$]

Art: $\lambda R \lambda P \forall z[Rz \rightarrow Pz]$

IN': $\lambda Q[Q(\lambda y \forall z[(hat(z) \wedge Poss(y,z)) \rightarrow Pz])]$

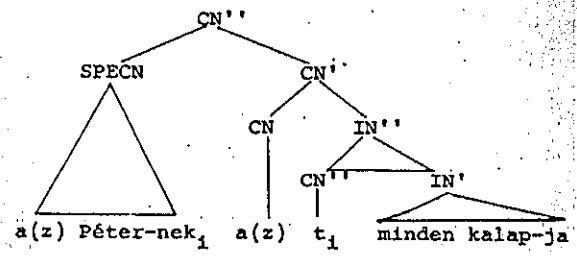
CN'': $\lambda P[P(peter)]$

IN'': $\forall z[(hat(z) \wedge Poss(peter,z)) \rightarrow Pz]$

CN': $\lambda P \forall z[(hat(z) \wedge Poss(peter,z)) \rightarrow Pz]$

Returning to purely syntactic aspects, subject movement proceeds in a standard fashion. I assume that the presence of *a(z)* in CN does not prevent *a(z) Péter-nek* from antecedent-governing its trace. In this respect Hungarian appears to pattern with Dutch, cf. Koopman (1984), rather than with English:[10]

(33)



NOTES

*This paper presents some of the results of my 1986 thesis, with additional comments on DP proposals, which have only come to my attention very recently. I wish to thank M. Bródy, K. É. Kiss, A. Kornai, and D. Massam for helpful objections and suggestions.

1. The idea that *'s* assigns Case, and sometimes a theta-role, to the subject, goes back to Anderson (1983).

2. A detailed discussion of the contents of this section can be found in Szabolcsi (1981; 1983).

3. In (10) I work on the assumption that *Péter-nek a kalap-ja* and *ki-nek a kalap-ja* are not mere strings but constitute a maximal projection. This is straightforwardly justified by the fact that they are input to WH-movement, for instance. Parallel movement examples with pronominal dative subjects are out for some unknown reason; thus the constituenthood of (9a, b) is assumed by analogy to (9c), to account for (i), for instance:

(i) Te -nek-ed$_i$ láttam [t_i a α kalap-od -at].
you-DAT-2sg saw-I the hat-POSS.2sg-ACC
'For x=you, I saw x's hat'

4. It is to be noted that Kornai (1985) and Kenesei (1986) analyze these data without recourse to movement. Both assume that the dative subject occupies the same position as the nominative subject. Kenesei attributes all the contrasts to a certain adjacency condition on nominative Case assignment. This condition is violated if either *a(z)* 'the' or sentential material intervenes between the subject and the possessed noun with AGR. I will not argue against these proposals directly. Let me note, however, that, apart from the strategic difference concerning the availability of movement, my analysis will account for a body of data that go unnoticed or are merely registered in their works.

5. I crucially differ from Kornai (1985), who assumes that *a(z)* is a sister to *én/te/Péter* in (6). He takes *én* 'I' and *te* 'you' to be (as yet unagglutinated) agreement markers on the article, and claims that (6c) *a Péter kalapja* is only possible for speakers who use *a Péter*. I find the first claim unconvincing and the second simply false, in view of well-attested data from the Debrecen dialect. Cases with *a(z)*-deletion will be discussed below.

6. The fact that *a(z)* may co-occur with post-subject articles was pointed out to me by M. Bródy. This was an important argument against my previous attempts to derive the surface position of *a(z)* by fronting, and thereby prompted me to find a raison d'être for *a(z)*.

7. A detailed discussion of the cyclic application of *a(z)*-deletion, together with a proposal for the idiosyncracies of proper names, is to be found in Szabolcsi (1986). I assume this is not very interesting to the English reader.

8. The assumption that *a(z)* is a complementizer is consonant with Horvath's (1986) discussion of the formation of relative pronouns (*a-ki* etc.).

9. The interpretation of [-poss] IN differs minimally from this in that it does not introduce a subject slot (Q) and a theta-role (*Poss*) for its filler.

10. Possible explanations for dative morphology in SPECN are discussed in Massam (1985). She concludes that it is unlinked Case provided by the verb. The fact that dative marking is also possible in vocatives, cf. (30), argues against this. Unfortunately, this kind of example did not occur to me during our discussions. Maybe we should resort to the suggestion in Szabolcsi (1981), i.e., that

the dative morpheme is a peripheral position marker, with the additional assumption that it is assigned by CN. This possibility is to be expected according to Fukui and Speas (1986).

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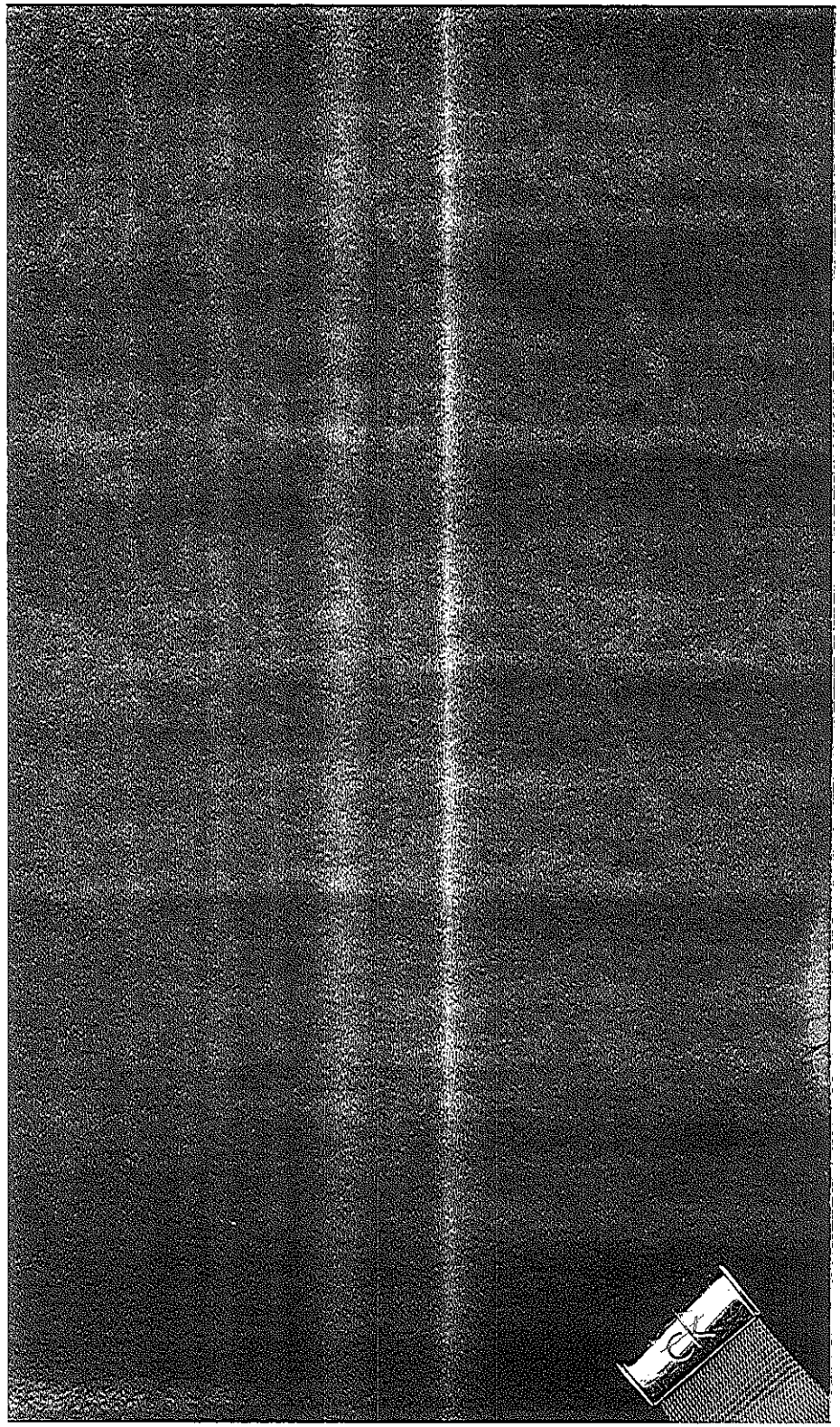

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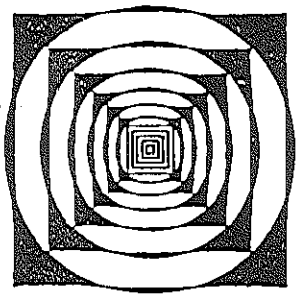

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