

# Table of Contents

1. Introduction to the topic and the approach.....	15
1.1 The architecture of morphosyntax.....	16
1.2 Levels of insertion: (Radically) Distributed Morphology.....	18
1.3 Categories and labels .....	21
1.4 Morphosyntactic lexicalization and locality.....	23
2. A structural overview of Czech nominal phrases .....	27
2.1 Pre-modification of nominals .....	27
2.1.1 Determination and quantification.....	28
2.1.2 (Pre-) Modification by adjectives .....	28
2.1.3 Agreement inside the nominal complex.....	29
2.1.4 The Surface Recursion Restriction on complements .....	30
2.2 Post-modification.....	32
2.2.1 Postnominal Adjectives .....	32
2.2.2 Postnominal Genitives in Czech.....	33
2.2.3 Genitive pronouns in postnominal position.....	41
2.2.4 The general structure of the postnominal field.....	43
3. The DP hypothesis for Czech.....	47
3.1 The historical layout .....	47
3.1.1 Jackendoff (1977) and multi-layered NPs .....	47
3.1.2 Abney (1987) and the general DP hypothesis.....	49
3.1.3 Cinque (1994) and the cartographic approach.....	54
3.1.4 Veselovská (1994) and the Slavic window onto UG.....	57

3.1.5 A universal or parametrised DP projection? .....	60
3.2 Semantic features of the Determiner.....	62
3.3 Constituents in the functional domain of N .....	63
3.3.1 Functional vs. lexical morphology .....	64
3.3.2 Quantifiers as heads of a QP .....	65
3.3.3 N-to-D movement (head-to-head movement).....	67
3.4 A note about NP island violations .....	69
3.4.1 The left branch condition and the lack of articles .....	71
3.4.2 Veselovská (1994): remnant movement.....	74
3.5 The DP hypothesis revisited .....	78
<b>4. The hierarchy in the prenominal field .....</b>	<b>81</b>
4.1 Traditional descriptions of the prenominal field in English .....	81
4.1.1 Present-day grammar manuals for English.....	81
4.1.2 Comparison with adjectival ordering in the Czech tradition.....	84
4.2 Universal constraints on left to right ordering of Adjectives .....	85
4.3 The order of Noun modifiers in Czech .....	87
4.3.1 Proposals of Czech linguistics.....	87
4.3.2 Examining the order in Czech using corpora study .....	88
4.3.3 A pilot study: prenominal or postnominal?.....	88
4.3.4 Corpus based study of lexical vs. functional domains: Syn2010.....	91
4.4 Distribution of entries within the functional domain.....	92
4.4.1 Multiple entries in the Czech D field .....	93
4.4.1.1 Multiple Quantifiers and demonstratives.....	93
4.4.1.2 Partitive versus non-partitive readings.....	95
4.4.2 The repertory of D modifiers in Czech.....	96
4.5 Distribution of items in the lexical domain: Adjective pre-modifiers.....	97
4.5.1 Comparing English and Russian: Scott (2002) and Pereltsvaig (2007) .....	98
4.5.2 Comparing Czech pre-modifiers with Russian and English.....	101

4.5.2.1	Data and their analyses .....	101
4.5.3	Drawing conclusions from the statistics.....	107
4.5.3.1	Distance Criterion .....	108
4.5.3.2	A Frequency Criterion .....	110
4.5.4	Interpreting the Czech and English data for the lexical domain of Nouns.....	112
<b>5.</b>	<b>A universal structure .....</b>	<b>113</b>
5.1	Three theoretical approaches to adjectival modification of Nouns .....	113
5.2	Diagnostic characteristics of the prenominal domain.....	117
5.2.1	Distinct types of constraints in the D- and N-fields .....	117
5.2.2	Recursive stacking in the N-field.....	119
5.2.3	Subcategorization: insensitivity to the N-field.....	120
5.2.4	N(P) pro-forms in the D-field.....	122
5.2.4.1	The English substitute <i>one</i> .....	122
5.2.4.2	N(P) pro-forms in Czech.....	123
5.2.5	A Left Branch Recursion Restriction on complementation.....	125
5.2.6	Comparing the three analyses of prenominal Adjectives.....	128
5.3	The Derived Nominal Analysis (DNA) of adjectival agreement .....	129
5.3.1	Adjectival agreement: the Gender infix [ <sub>N</sub> ε].....	131
5.3.2	Generalizations based on soft adjectival agreement .....	133
5.3.3	The (pro)nominal nature of adjectival agreement .....	135
5.3.4	The DNA hypothesis and the structure of the nominal complex ....	137
<b>6.</b>	<b>Czech Possessive structures.....</b>	<b>143</b>
6.1	Morphology of the Czech Possessive .....	144
6.1.1	Introducing the Possessive morphemes .....	144
6.1.2	Agreement endings on the Possessive.....	146
6.2	The feature content and structure of Czech Possessives .....	148
6.2.1	The combinatorial potential of the Possessive suffix.....	148

6.2.2	The constituent type of the Czech Possessive .....	152
6.3	Semantics of Possessives .....	156
6.3.1	Possessive as an A(argument)-position .....	157
6.3.2	The argument hierarchy in a Czech DP .....	159
6.4	Derivation of the Possessive: a movement analysis .....	165
6.5	Possessive morphology: the Case stacking analysis .....	168
6.5.1	Morphology of the Possessive: a new perspective on Case theory.....	169
6.5.2	The GEN nature of the Possessive morpheme.....	172
6.5.3	Possessive suffixes are allomorphs of the phrasal-level N-Case ....	175
6.5.4	Confirming non-canonical variations among Possessives.....	176
6.6	Theoretical implications of Czech Possessives .....	178
<b>7.</b>	<b>Quantified nominals in Czech .....</b>	<b>181</b>
7.1	Czech variety of quantified phrases.....	182
7.1.1	The principal Czech patterns .....	182
7.1.2	Lexical vs. functional Qs: double DP vs. a single QP.....	184
7.1.2.1	Semantics and morphosyntax of the double DP .....	185
7.2	Referential index of the D projection .....	186
7.2.1	Relativisation.....	187
7.2.2	AP postmodification and secondary predicates .....	190
7.2.3	Pragmatic antecedent of a pronoun .....	192
7.2.4	Categorial distinctions among the Quantifiers.....	194
7.3	Premodification of a double DP versus a single DP .....	194
7.4	The nominal feature set and morphology.....	199
7.4.1	Morphology (feature content) of container and group Nouns.....	200
7.4.2	Morphology of $Q_{[\pm]}$ Quantifiers (including 5&up cardinals).....	201
7.4.3	Morphology of agreeing $Q_{[\varphi]}$ Quantifiers (including low cardinals) .....	205
7.4.4	Ellipsis of quantified Nouns .....	208
7.4.5	Interim summary.....	211

7.5 Case and agreement patterns.....	212
7.5.1 Theoretical basis for formulating agreement .....	213
7.5.2 Case features and Case stacking .....	214
7.6 The variety of agreements patterns with Czech Quantifiers .....	214
7.6.1 Homogenous double agreement pattern: adnominal Genitive .....	214
7.6.2 The specificity of Czech group Nouns: $Q_N$ .....	217
7.6.3 Heterogeneous split agreement pattern for $Q_{[\pm]}$ .....	221
7.6.3.1 The agreement patterns of the Czech Partitive $Q_{[\pm]}$ .....	221
7.6.3.2 Two sources of GEN.....	225
7.6.3.3 An analysis of the Czech $Q_{[\pm]}$ .....	225
7.6.3.4 The frozen paradigm of the Czech $Q_{[\pm]}$ .....	229
7.6.4 Homogeneous single agreement pattern of the $Q_{[\varphi]}$ .....	232
7.6.5 Right vs. left adjunction .....	235
7.6.6 A note about the morphosyntactic terminology for Czech Quantifiers .....	238

<b>8. Nominal features outside DP: (Dis)agreements .....</b>	<b>241</b>
8.1 A theory of (morphological) agreement .....	241
8.1.1 Agreement hierarchies .....	243
8.1.2 The many faces of agreement (in Serbo-Croatian) .....	244
8.1.3 Minimalist unification of agreement types .....	247
8.2 Explicit agreements in Czech: introduction .....	250
8.2.1 Synthetic and analytic subject-predicate agreements .....	250
8.2.2 Two kinds of subject-predicate agreement.....	253
8.3 Subject-predicate disagreements in Czech .....	255
8.3.1 Three disagreements of personal pronouns .....	256
8.3.2 Agreement with Quantifiers and Numerals.....	260
8.3.3 Postverbal coordinate structures .....	261
8.3.4 Special lexical items ( <i>děvče</i> ‘das Mädchen’) .....	262
8.4 The building blocks of analytic agreement .....	265
8.5 Decomposing the Czech predicate .....	265

8.5.1 Positions of Czech synthetic Verb forms .....	267
8.5.2 Analytic verbal forms in Czech .....	269
8.5.3 Distinctions between the functional and lexical domains .....	271
8.5.3.1 Possibility of Tense and Aspect.....	272
8.5.3.2 Word orders of small v and I.....	272
8.5.3.3 The position of clausal Negation.....	273
8.5.3.4 VP ellipsis and short answers: I is not enough .....	273
8.5.3.5 Dialectal variation in morphology.....	274
8.5.3.6 Phonetic reduction in I, not V .....	274
8.5.3.7 Reduction to bound morphemes.....	275
8.5.4 Structural representation of lexical and functional domains.....	276
8.6 Summary of extended nominal projections in Czech.....	279
<b>9. The phi features of predicate agreement.....</b>	<b>281</b>
9.1 The position of Czech pronouns .....	281
9.1.1 The Gender feature of pronouns.....	282
9.1.2 Gender impoverishment with pronouns .....	283
9.2 Analytic subject-predicate agreement .....	286
9.2.1 Features of the N(P) domain.....	286
9.2.2 Features of the D(P) domain.....	287
9.2.3 Pronominal (dis)agreement patterns .....	289
9.2.4 The VP internal subject hypothesis.....	295
9.3 Agreement with imperative Verbs .....	297
9.4 Coordinate structure agreement.....	299
9.4.1 Symmetry and asymmetry of Czech coordinations.....	300
9.4.2 Coordinate structure projection and the <i>variety</i> of Czech coordinators .....	303
9.4.3 Predicative vs. argumental coordinations .....	304
9.4.4 Partial (first conjunct) agreement with post-verbal subjects.....	306
9.5 A note about combining analyses .....	311
9.6 Summary of subject-predicate agreement analyses.....	315

<b>10. Appendix: a case study of Czech Quantifiers .....</b>	319
10.1 A group Noun <i>spoušt(a)</i> ‘plenty’ .....	319
10.1.1 Verbal agreement with <i>spousta</i> ‘plenty + N <sub>GEN</sub> ’ .....	323
10.1.2 Premodification of the group Noun <i>spousta</i> .....	325
10.1.3 Relativization of the quantifying element <i>spousta</i> .....	326
10.1.4 Case of the complement of the Q <sub>N</sub> .....	328
10.2 Elements with dual lexical specifications .....	330
10.2.1 The Noun and Quantifier <i>pár</i> ‘a/the couple’ .....	330
10.2.1.1 A note about Czech diminutives .....	334
10.2.2 The semi-Numerals <i>sto</i> ‘hundred’, <i>tisíc</i> ‘thousand’, <i>milión</i> ‘million’ .....	336
10.3 Pronominal Quantifiers .....	339
10.3.1 Animate compound pronouns [+WH, +HUMAN].....	341
10.3.2 Inanimate compound pronouns [+WH, -HUMAN] .....	347
<b>11. Summary of this work.....</b>	353
<b>12. Bibliography .....</b>	355
Corpora (and other data sources) .....	355
Literature .....	356
<b>13. Thematic Index.....</b>	381

Phenomenon

Head Rule

Functional projection of a Verb, also

Left Branch Condition

Lexical items

General

Lexical Categories

Phenomenal Phrases

Phenological Form

Pl.

Plural

POSS

Possessive (morpheme)

Q(P)

Quantifier (Phrase)

Q<sub>g</sub>

Partitive Quantifier

Q<sub>a</sub>

Agreeing (adjectival) Quantifier

Q<sub>n</sub>

Quantified numeral

Q<sub>g</sub>

Group Noun