

Determiner vs Pronoun table: hybrid (!) – half traditional, half “BESE-style”, ie “modern”

	Determiner	Pronoun	Subtype & Traditional sub-sub-type
0 [-def]	<b>cars/petrol</b>	—	central D (Art)
0 [+def]	<b>Peter</b>	—	central D (Art)
<b>a</b>	<b>a car</b>	—	central D (Art) <b>see a car – *see a</b>
<b>all</b>	<b>all cars/petrol</b>	<b>all</b>	<b>PREDET</b>
<b>another</b>	<b>another car</b>	<b>another</b>	central D (Quantif)
<b>both</b>	<b>both cars</b>	<b>both</b>	PREDET
<b>each</b>	<b>each car</b>	<b>each</b>	central D (Quantif)
<b>either</b>	<b>either car</b>	<b>either</b>	central D (Quantif)
<b>enough</b>	<b>enough cars</b>	<b>enough</b>	central D (Quantif)
<b>every</b>	<b>every car</b>	—	<i>postdet</i>
<b>few<sup>+</sup></b>	<b>few cars</b>	<b>few</b>	<i>postdet</i>
<b>further</b>	<b>further cars</b>	<b>further</b>	<i>postdet</i>
<b>half</b>	<b>half the petrol</b>	<b>half</b>	PREDET
<b>little<sup>+, ++</sup></b>	<b>little petrol</b>	<b>little</b>	<i>postdet</i>
<b>many</b>	<b>many cars</b>	<b>many</b>	<i>postdet</i>
<b>much</b>	<b>much petrol</b>	<b>much</b>	<i>postdet</i>
<b>my</b>	<b>my car</b>	<b>mine</b>	central D (Possessive Pron)
<b>neither</b>	<b>neither car</b>	<b>neither</b>	central D (Quantif)
<b>next</b>	<b>next</b>	<b>next</b>	<i>postdet</i>
<b>no</b>	<b>no car</b>	<b>none</b>	central D (Quantif)
<b>several</b>	<b>several cars</b>	<b>several</b>	<i>postdet</i>
<b>the</b>	<b>the car</b>	—	central D (Art) <b>see the car – *see the</b>
<b>these/those</b>	<b>these/those cars</b>	<b>these/those</b>	central D (Demonstr Pron)
<b>this/that</b>	<b>this/that car</b>	<b>this/that</b>	central D (Demonstr Pron)
<b>three</b>	<b>there cars</b>	<b>three</b>	<i>postdet</i>
<b>third</b>	<b>third car</b>	<b>third</b>	<i>postdet</i>
<b>we</b>	<b>we Hungarians</b>	<b>we</b>	Pers Pron!! <b>! hate us Hungarians, ?see them hills</b>
<b>what<sup>+++</sup></b>	<b>what car</b>	<b>what</b>	wh-word
<b>which</b>	<b>which car</b>	<b>which</b>	wh-word
<b>whose</b>	<b>whose car</b>	<b>whose</b>	wh-word

Notes

+ *≠ kicsi but kevés*

++ **a few cars ≠ few cars; a little petrol ≠ little petrol**

+++ Hungarian: *milyen* for the Determiner & *mi(csoda)* for the Pronoun

Traditionally:

PREDET: **all, both, half; double, twice, three etc. times**

Central / Core Det: **0 [1 only!], a, another, each, (n)either, enough, no, the, these/those, this/that**

PostDet: **every, few, further, little, many, much, next, several, three, third**

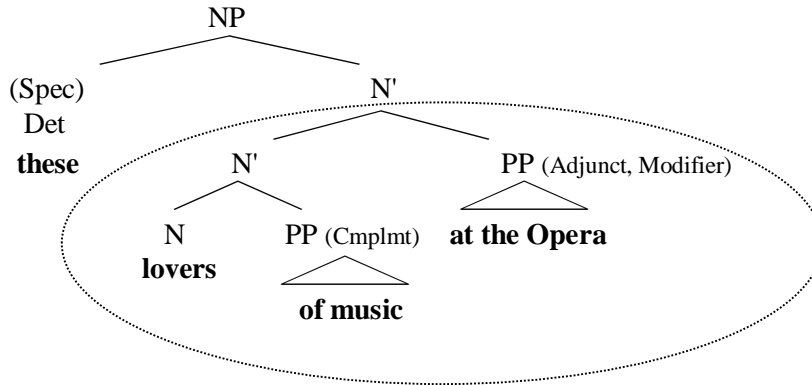
Patterning	PreDet	CentrDet	PostDet	
		<b>the</b>	<b>three</b>	<b>books</b>
	<b>double</b>	<b>that</b>		<b>amount</b>
		<i>his</i>	<b>many</b>	<b>talents</b>
		<i>your</i>	<b>every</b>	<b>word</b>
	<b>one-third</b>	<b>the</b>		<b>time</b>
	<b>all</b>	<b>the</b>		<b>coffee</b>
	{ <b>both</b>	<i>my</i>		<b>feet</b>
		? <i>the</i>	<b>both</b>	<i>of the students</i>
	{ <b>half</b>	<b>the</b>		<b>apples</b>
		? <i>the</i>	<b>half</b>	<i>of the apples</i>
	<b>all</b>	<b>those</b>	<b>many</b>	<b>books</b>
	<b>both</b>	<b>these</b>	<b>two</b>	<b>keys</b>
		<b>a</b>	<b>few</b>	<b>cats</b>
		<b>the</b>	<b>first three</b>	<b>calls</b>
	<b>many</b>	<b>a</b>		<b>day</b>

\*three the  
\*that double  
\*many his  
\*every your  
\*the one-third  
\*the all cf H az összes  
\*my both  
\*all many those / \*those all many etc  
\*both two those / those both two etc  
\*few a

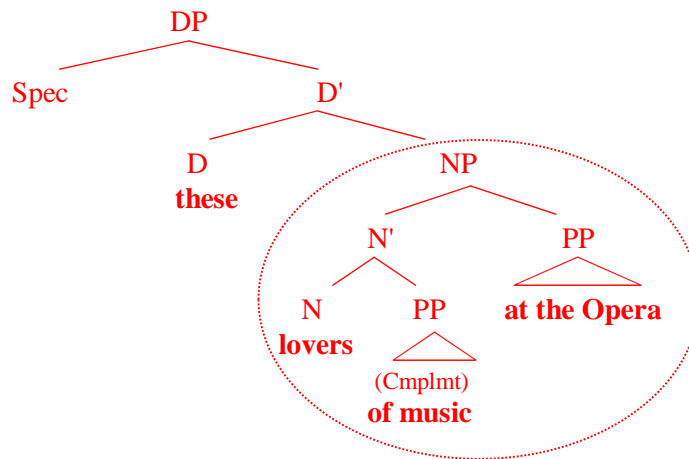
The DP • The big picture

Nominals, or Nominal Phrases

(a) The classical NP (e.g. Radford 1988) framework



(b) The DP framework

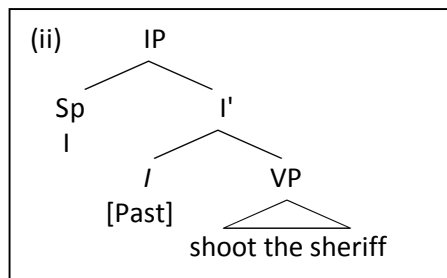
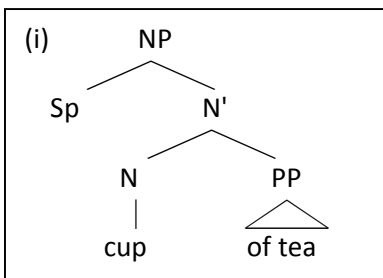


The noun is important → syntactic head?

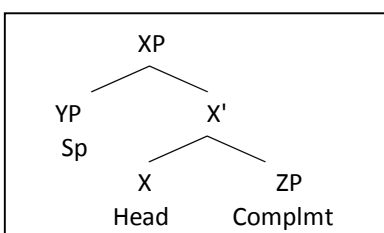
semantically: N most important; consequently, head? NO

(i) Recall “light nouns” [non-F, non-θ nouns] such as **cup** in **cup of tea** or **group of tourists**:  
**cup/group** = head, **tea/tourists** = complements BUT **tea /tourists** ≠/= argument of **cup/group**

(ii) **I shot the sheriff**: semantically, **shoot** = centre (core of VP); still syntactic head of sentence = Finite [past] I



Standard X' pattern: phrase in Spec; *word* in Head; phrase in Complement position



Problems for (a) above:

- (1) Determiner = W, not phrase ↔ (a) above cannot be right: Determiner cannot be Specifier  
 also: possessives include not just **his** but also **the man's** & **the man next door's** – traditionally Det  
 BUT these are Phrases

**the man**  
**he**  
**Henry**  
**men**  
**oil**

} all same distribution of (some kind of [nominal] ) phrase, ie “**the man** phrase”  
 e.g. **I hate [...]**

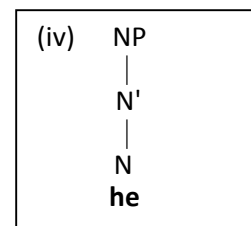
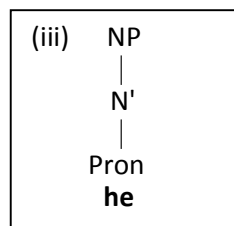
Also: N seems to contribute features important for the interpretation of *whole* phrase

**the cup** vs **the cups**: Sing vs. Plu agreement seems to be determined by N

BUT: (i) many Det's do have number features: **a**; **this/these**; **each**: e.g. **each cup** – where does Sing come from?

- (2) if Det were NOT head – and cannot be Spec: see (1) – then must be Adjunct: but Det's not recursive

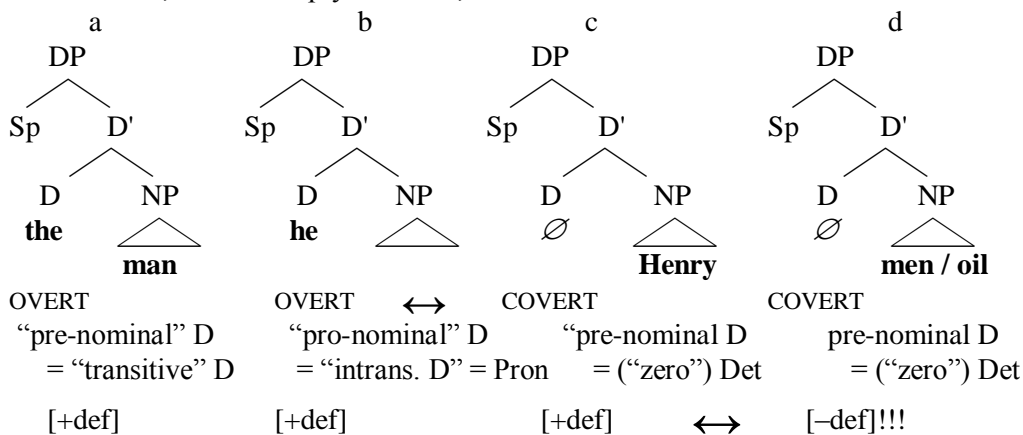
- (3) Pronouns in single-Pronoun phrases:  
 – NP headed by Pron as in (iii)?  
 – Pron = N, ie NP headed by N, as in (iv)?  
 cannot be: **\*the he**: in complementary distribution



- (4) Definiteness: from Det – **a cup** vs **the cup**  
 – Definiteness different, N same!

- (5) multiple Det's: see Preliminaries above – still a problem for either analysis:  
**all those many books**: 3 determiners? — solution postponed until last section

So: pronouns = Det; recall: empty elements, and “intransitive” determiners



Proof of (in)definiteness: **there** construction cf. **\*there arrived the man / he / Henry** vs  
**there are men in the corridor / there's oil on the water**

Then, items with a “-” sign in the right-hand column (Table on Preliminaries page) =  
 obligatorily transitive, i.e. have obligatory complement

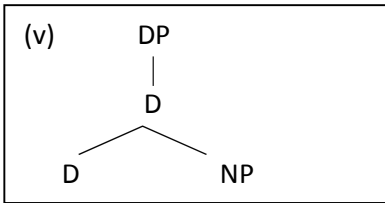
Recall: **the/a** – subcategorize for [Nominal]; **this** – subcateg. for [(Nominal)]; **he** – subcateg. for [∅]

Determiners as Heads subcategorize (restrict) their NP complements:

Det / Complement	Sing Count	Plu Count	Mass	Proper
<b>a</b>	<b>a man</b>	<b>*men</b>	<b>*an oil</b>	? <b>a Henry</b>
<b>both</b>	<b>*both man</b>	<b>both men</b>	<b>*both oil</b>	<b>*both Henry</b>
<b>some</b>	<b>some man</b>	<b>some men</b>	<b>some oil</b>	? <b>some Henry</b>
∅ [+Def]	*∅ [+Def] <b>man</b>	*∅ [+Def] <b>men</b>	*∅ [+Def] <b>oil</b>	∅ [+Def] <b>Henry</b>
∅ [-Def]	*∅ [-Def] <b>man</b>	[-Def] <b>men</b>	[-Def] <b>oil</b>	*∅ [-Def] <b>Henry</b>

this **man** = Hu. *férfi* =/= **Man (or man)** Hu. *az ember* – which is Proper; ? of perhaps doubtful status

Typical Head behaviour: D restricts; N projects features up to the phrase itself:



Heads:

- **the** projects [+def] but no Number; **some** projects [-def], no Number; **a** projects [-def] *and* [Sg]
- German Det (Article) **der** projects [+def], [Sg], [+Masc] Gender
- Recall: Case is *not* projected from Head!!

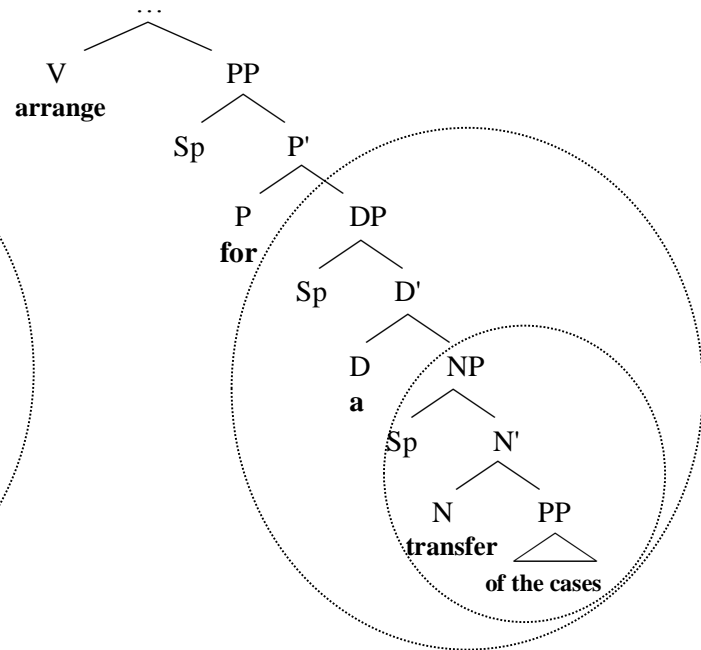
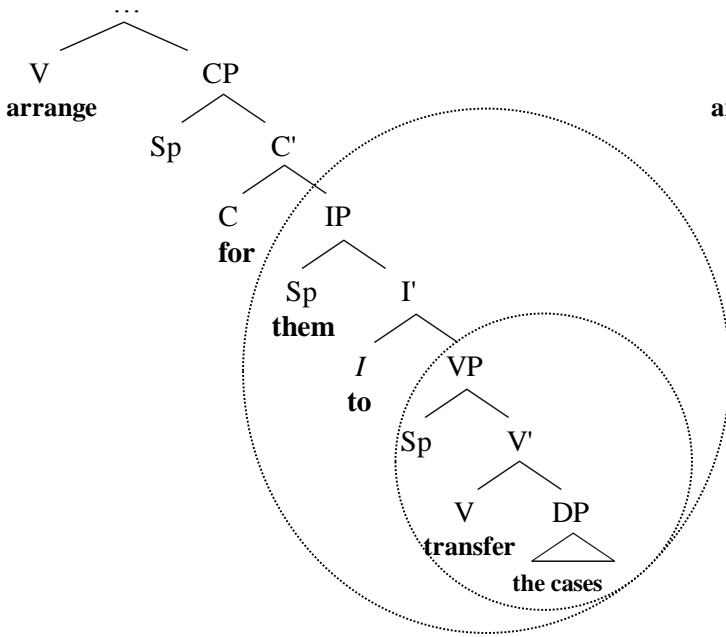
Showing *parallelism* between nominal phrases and clauses possible with DP hypothesis:

V has extended (indirect) projection into IP  
plus: further into CP

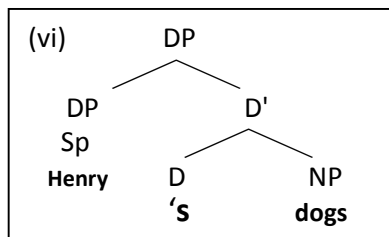
N has extended (indirect) projection into DP  
plus: further into PP

we'll arrange [for them to transfer the cases]

we'll arrange [for a transfer of the cases]

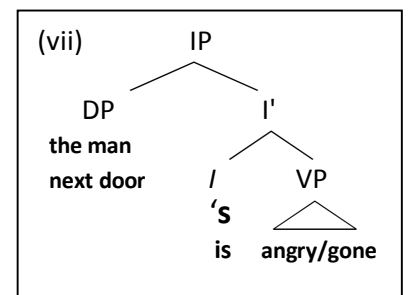


Specifier of DP  
Possessives



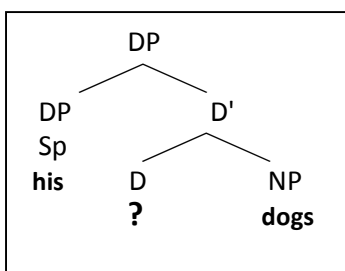
and then 's cliticizes onto the Spec DP,  
i.e. its *right-most* word:  
e.g. [the man next door]'s dogs

cf. [the man next door]'s angry/gone  
where the 's in I may or may not  
also cliticize onto the Spec DP

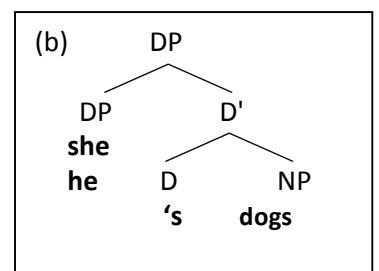
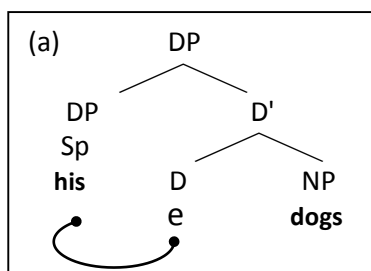


THIS is why it *appears* that Possessors and Determiners are in complementary distribution: \***Henry's the car**  
it is the Possessive Determiner" 's and other Determiners – expectably – that are in Complementary Distrib'n

Problem: pronoun possessors, i.e. possessive pronouns



- (a): Possessor in  
Genit. – D is covert  
(b): abstract realization of DP & D together



Multiple determiners

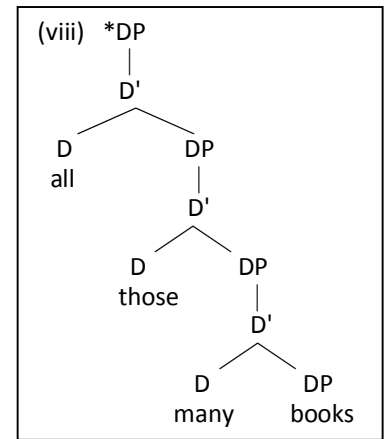
(very) few dogs; a (very) few dogs; all those many books  
both these two keys

– asterisk marks impossible analysis:

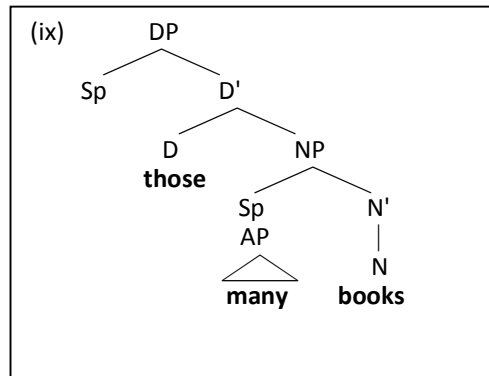
- ① Determiners cannot come in any order
- ② different Determiners cannot take different types of complement

PostDet really “light” Adjectives, i.e. undefined for [F] (neither F nor  $\theta$ )

Not Det’s, not word level constituents: complete phrases (e.g. **very few**)!  
(Recall: eg comparative degree)



→ in Spec, NP



predeterminers

(with which “partitive” makes sense, i.e. quantifiers)

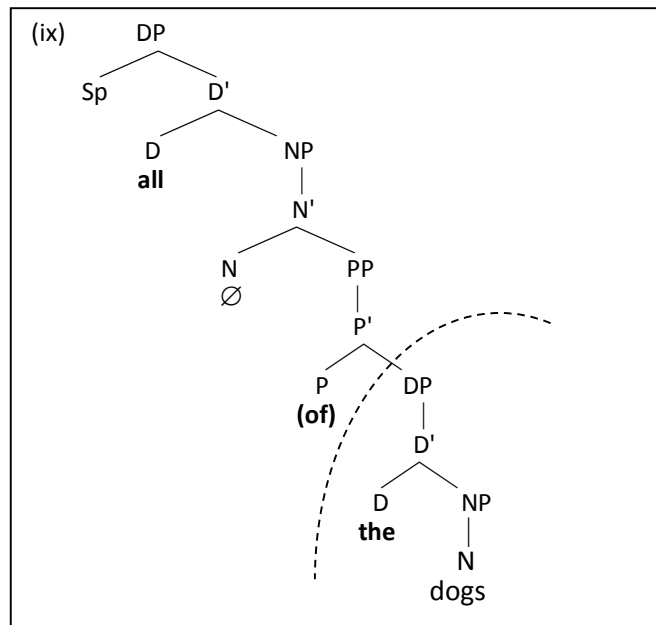
apparently: no more slots in either DP or NP!

→ PreDet: like standard Determiners BUT:  
may take the P **of** optionally, while other  
Determiners take **of** obligatorily:

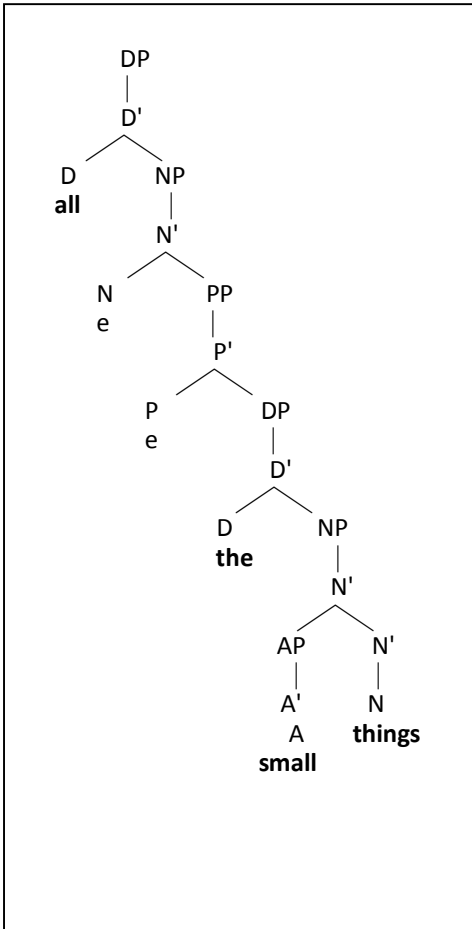
**a few of the dogs** — \*a few the dogs  
**those of the dogs that...** — \*those the dogs  
**all (of) the dogs** — ✓ all the dogs

with empty “measure” Noun head hypothesized, and  
**of** being optional,

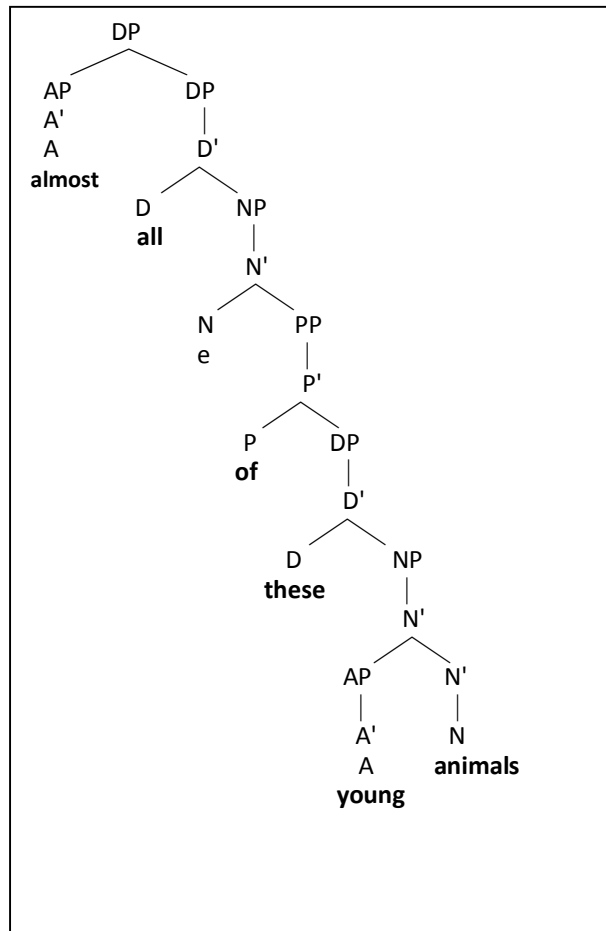
need a 2-layer DP →



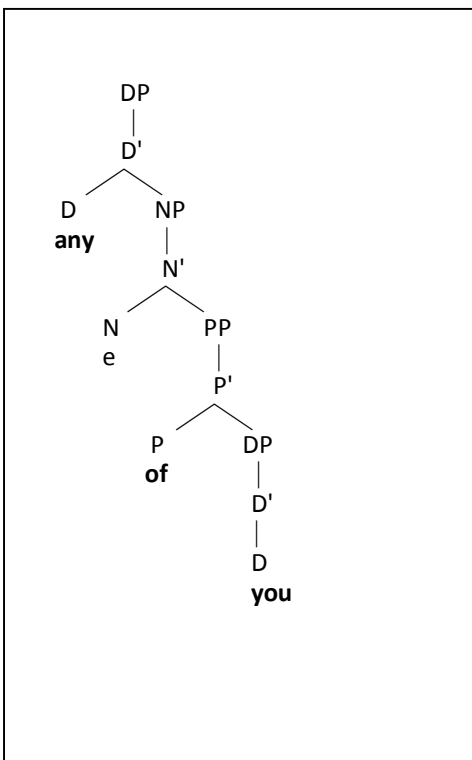
(i) all the small things



(ii) almost all of these young animals



(iii) any of you



(iv) (a) few of those large dogs

