

THE STRUCTURE OF JAVANESE AND MADURESE DETERMINER PHRASES*

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Javanese and Madurese DPs display a great deal of fluidity in the ordering of their constituents. The number of possible permutations makes description difficult and a coherent analysis seem nearly impossible in a deterministic theory such as that underpinning the Minimalist Program. The present paper attempts to account for some of the variations, showing that making use of some proposals already available in the literature allows some inroads into an account of the Javanese and Madurese data. Perhaps more importantly, the data from both languages require treating some adjectival modifiers not as phrases but as X° adjuncts to the N head. Just such an analysis has been proposed on various occasions for prenominal adjectives in English, including Stowell 1981, Sadler & Arnold 1994, and Baker 2003. The Javanese and Madurese data thus provide new evidence in support of that analysis.

1. INTRODUCTION

Javanese and Madurese determiner phrases display a dizzying array of possibilities in the ordering of their internal constituents. The number of possible permutations makes difficult a coherent analysis in a deterministic theory such as that underpinning the Minimalist Program. In this paper, we attempt an analysis that accounts for some of the orderings. While the analysis requires positing a number of distinct functional heads, these heads have all been proposed for DPs in other languages, and no new devices are introduced. Unsurprisingly, therefore, these DPs show a number of similarities with DPs in other languages. What is somewhat surprising, however, is evidence from Javanese and Madurese DPs for an analysis in which adjectives adjoin directly to the N heads they modify, an analysis suggested for some English adjectival modifiers in Stowell 1981, argued for at length in Sadler and Arnold 1994, and adopted more recently in Baker 2003.

In section 2 of this paper we will lay out the basic constituent order variations available in the two languages. We will then attempt to build the analysis of Javanese and Madurese DPs up in section 3, accounting for the internal positions of the nouns, possessors and demonstratives. Section 4 will present our data and analysis for some adjectival modifiers in the languages. Finally, we will bring up some residual issues with the data in section 5. Our conclusion is in section 6.

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2. VARIATION IN DP WORD ORDER

DPs in both Javanese and Madurese allow a variety of orders. We will describe a few of these, illustrating with data from both Javanese and Madurese. In each instance, we cite the Javanese data first, and the Madurese data second.

First, numbers can both precede and follow a head noun, as illustrated in (1) and (2). In (1), *sepuluh* ‘ten’ can either precede the noun *kucing* ‘cat’ or follow it. The same is illustrated with *tello’ kanca* ‘three friends’ in Madurese in (2).

- (1) Hasan tuku {sepuluh **kucing** / **kucing** sepuluh}
 H buy 10 cat cat 10
 ‘Hasan bought ten cats.’
- (2) Hasan ngerem paket ka {tello’ **kanca** / **kanca** tello’}.
 H AV.send package to 3 friend friend 3
 ‘Hasan sent a package to three friends.’

Second, quantifiers can also either precede or follow the head noun. In (3) the quantifier ‘all’ precedes the noun *apel* in one instance and follows in the other.¹

- (3) Siti mangan {sakabehane **apel** / **apel** sakabehane}
 S AV.eat all apple apple all
 ‘Siti ate all the apples.’
- (4) Guru-na a-berri’ buku dha’ {kabbi **mored** / **mored** kabbi}.
 teacher-DEF AV-give book to all student/ student all
 ‘The teacher gave books to all the students.’

Prepositional modifiers of a noun must follow the noun but can both precede and follow a deictic demonstrative such as Javanese *iku* ‘that’ and Madurese *rowa* ‘that’. In (5) the modifier *teka Kamal* ‘from Kamal’ precedes *iku* in one case and follows in the other.

- (5) {Murid teka Kamal **iku** / Murid **iku** teka Kamal} maca buku.
 student from K that student that from K AV.read book
 ‘That student from Kamal read a book.’
- (6) Siti kennal {kana’ dhari Kamal **rowa** / kana’ **rowa** dhari Kamal}.
 S know child from K that child that from K
 ‘Siti knows that boy from Kamal.’

¹ Due to length considerations we do not address numbers and quantifiers in this paper. Suffice it to say that we posit a NumP within the DP and a QP that dominates DP.

Both prepositional and adjectival modifiers can occur (and frequently do occur) as the predicate of a relative clause modifier. This is illustrated with the adjective *tuwa* ‘old’ in (7a) and *teka Malang* ‘from Malang’ in the other.

- (7) a. Atin *tuku sepedah* **sing tuwa**.
 A buy bicycle REL old
 ‘Atin bought an old bike.’
- b. Ali *nggepok murid* **sing teka Malang**.
 A AV.hit student REL from M
 ‘Ali hit the student from Malang.’
- (8) a. Mored **se penter** *noles buku*.
 student REL smart AV.write book
 ‘The smart student wrote a book.’
- b. Siti *kennal kana'* **se dhari Kamal**.
 S know child REL from K
 ‘Siti knows the boy from Kamal.’

And, as (9) and (10) show, these relative clause modifiers can both precede and follow a deictic demonstrative.

- (9) a. Hasan *tuku kucing* **sing soklat iku**.
 H buy cat REL brown that
 ‘Hasan bought that brown cat.’
- b. Hasan *tuku kucing* **iku** *sing soklat*.
 H buy cat that REL brown
 ‘Hasan bought that brown cat.’
- (10) a. Mored **se penter rowa** *noles buku*.
 student REL smart that AV.write book
 ‘That smart student wrote a book.’
- b. Mored **rowa** *se penter noles buku*.
 student that REL smart AV.write book
 ‘That smart student wrote a book.’

Finally, adjectival modifiers can either precede or follow a possessor. In the Javanese sentence in (11), the adjective *soklat* ‘brown’ follows the possessor *Atin* in the first case and precedes in the second.

- (11) Hasan *tuku* {*kucing-é Atin soklat* / *kucing soklat-é Atin*}.

H buy cat-DEF A brown cat brown-DEF A
 ‘Hasan bought Atin’s brown cat.’

(12) Sengko' mareksa {koceng celleng koros-sa **Atin** / koceng-nga **Atin** celleng koros}.
 I AV.examine cat black skinny-DEF A cat-DEF A black skinny
 ‘I examined Atin’s skinny black cat.’

While it is outside the scope of this paper to provide a complete analysis of Javanese and Madurese DPs, we will attempt to account for some of the variation.

3. BASIC DP STRUCTURE

As is evident in the majority of the DPs illustrated thus far, the N head appears at the left edge of the DP; only quantifiers and numbers can precede. So, the N precedes an adjectival modifier as in (13a), a PP modifier as in (13b), a possessor as in (13c), and a demonstrative as in (13d).

- (13) a. kucing soklat
 cat brown
 ‘brown cat’
- b. murid teka Kamal
 student from K
 ‘student from Kamal’
- c. kucing-é Atin
 cat-DEF A
 ‘Atin’s cat’
- d. kucing iku
 cat that
 ‘that cat’

3.1. *The surface position of the N head*

The distribution of the N with respect to the other elements in the DP suggests a high position for the N within the DP at Spell-Out. But the fact that they have scope over the N suggests a position c-commanded by these other elements. Most analyses position the NP as occupying the lowest position in the DP, and we do the same here. And as in other analyses of left-peripheral N heads, it must move into its surface position. This movement might be either movement of the NP to the Spec of DP, or movement of the N head to the head of D. This latter treatment has been proposed in a variety of analyses, including Ritter (1991), Longobardi (1994),

Bernstein (1997), and others. As we will see, there is reason in Javanese and Madurese for this movement to be head movement to the D head.

For example, the particle *-(n)é/- (n)a* functions as a definite element suffixed to the head N, as in (14).

- (14) a. *Kucing-é nyolong iwak.*
 cat-DEF AV.steal fish
 ‘The cat stole (some) fish.’
- b. *Koceng-nga ngeco' juko'.*
 cat-DEF AV.steal fish
 ‘The cat stole (some) fish.’

It is the D head which contains the feature for definiteness, here realized as the definite suffix on the N *kucing/koceng* ‘cat’. We propose that the movement of the N to adjoin to the D head is motivated by the need to check this definiteness feature. An analysis as in (15) thus closely parallels that proposed by Giusti (1994) for the Romanian example in (16), in which the N *om* ‘man’ adjoins to the article *ul* ‘the’.

- (15) a. $[_{DP} [_D \text{ kucing}_i\text{-é} \dots [_{NP} t_i]]]$
 b.
-
- ```

graph TD
 DP --> D1[D]
 DP --> NP[... NP]
 D1 --> Ni[Ni]
 D1 --> D2[D]
 Ni --- kucing[kucing]
 D2 --- e[e]
 NP --- ti[ti]

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- (16) *omul acesta*  
 man-the this  
 ‘this man’

### 3.2. Possessors

The definite particle also occurs in the possessive construction as in (17). In Madurese the definite particle occurs in first and second person possession as well as third person as illustrated in (18b). However, in Javanese, special first and second person particles occur, illustrated for second person in (18a).

- (17) a. *Murid-é Siti maca buku.*  
 student-DEF S AV.read book  
 ‘Siti’s student read a book.’
- b. *Mored-da Siti noles buku.*  
 student-DEF S AV.write book



Additionally, the first and second person Javanese possessive clitics will be generated as head of the PossP and cliticize to the N when it adjoins to the Poss head.

### 3.3. Demonstratives

We next consider the placement of deictic demonstratives such as *iku/rowa* ‘that’ and *iki/reya* ‘this’. Analyses of DPs have treated demonstratives in a variety of ways. Brugè (1996) analyzes demonstratives as being in the specifier of an agreement projection in her account of noun-demonstrative order in languages such as Spanish. Given that the demonstrative *este* ‘that’ can follow the noun and its modifiers, Brugè argues that the demonstrative must be generated in a low position in the DP. Bernstein (1997) adopts this analysis for Germanic languages as well. Other work has suggested that the functional node in which the demonstrative is generated is the category Dem (e.g. Roca 1996, Rosen 2003). It is clear that the demonstrative follows the N, and we will see later that modifiers can precede the demonstrative as well. A simple DP with a demonstrative is given in (21).

(21) a. Murid iku maca buku.  
 student that AV.read book  
 ‘That student read a book.’

b. Mored rowa noles buku.  
 student that AV.write book  
 ‘That student wrote a book.’

The demonstrative obligatorily follows a possessor as well.

(22) a. Hasan tuku kucing-é Ali iku. (\*kucing iku-né Ali)  
 H buy cat-DEF A that  
 ‘Hasan bought that cat of Ali’s.’

b. Mored-da Siti rowa noles buku. (\*mored rowa-na Siti)  
 student-DEF S that AV.write book  
 ‘That student of Siti’s wrote a book.’

So, the demonstrative neither moves to the head of D, as suggested by Bernstein (1997) in her analysis of Germanic languages and prenominal demonstratives in Romance, nor does it move to Spec, DP as proposed by Panagiotidis (2000) for Modern Greek. Under our analysis, the object DP in (22a) would by Spell-Out have the derivation in (23).

(23) [DP [D kucing  $i$ -é [PossP Ali [Poss  $t_i$  [DemP iku [Dem  $t_i$  [NP [N  $t_i$  ]]]]]]]]

In (23) the N *kucing* ‘cat’ first moves to the Dem head, and then to the Poss head before adjoining to the D.<sup>2</sup>

Further, as shown above, relative clause modifiers can follow the demonstrative, as in (24).

- (24) a. Hasan *tuku kucing iku sing soklat*.  
 H buy cat that REL brown  
 ‘Hasan bought that brown cat.’
- b. Mored *rowa se penter noles buku*.  
 student that REL smart AV.write book  
 ‘That smart student (student that is smart) wrote a book.’

#### 4. ADJECTIVE-POSSESSOR ORDER

Given that an adjectival modifier contained in a relative clause can follow a demonstrative, it is unsurprising to find that one may follow a possessor, as in (25).

- (25) a. Murid-é *Siti sing pinter maca buku*.  
 student-DEF S REL smart AV.read book  
 ‘Siti’s smart student read a book.’
- b. Mored-da *Siti se penter noles buku*.  
 student-DEF S REL smart AV.write book  
 ‘Siti’s smart student wrote a book.’

What is perhaps unexpected is the fact that an adjective can intervene between a noun and a possessor. When it does so, the definite marker occurs on the adjective.

- (26) a. Murid *pinter-é Siti maca buku*.  
 student smart-DEF S AV.read book  
 ‘Siti’s smart student read a book.’
- b. Mored *penter-ra Siti noles buku*.  
 student smart-DEF S AV.write book  
 ‘Siti’s smart student wrote a book.’

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<sup>2</sup> If we were to include the NumP in this derivation, it would appear between the PossP and DemP, and the N° would move through the Num° on its way to D°.



Given the analysis in which the N raises to adjoin to the D head, how can an adjective intercede? If the adjective occurs as an AP adjoined to the NP, there is no position to which it can move and come between the N and the definite affix *-(n)é/-na*. Before addressing this question head on, however, let us consider some other facts about adjectival and pre-possessor modifiers in these languages.

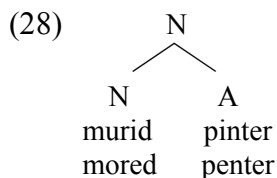
The fact that the A intercedes between the N and the definite affix is the first indication that the A and the N are closely bound to each other. Additionally, only adjectives, and no other NP modifiers, can reduplicate to show plurality. This is illustrated in the Javanese DPs in (27):

- (27) a. sepuluh kucing-kucing soklat  
       10       cat-RED       brown  
       ‘10 brown cats.’  
       b. sepuluh kucing soklat-soklat  
       10       cat       brown-RED  
       ‘10 brown cats’  
       c. kucing-kucing sepuluh iku  
       cat-RED       10       that  
       ‘those 10 cats’  
       d. kucing sepuluh iku-iku  
       cat       10       that-RED  
       ‘the same 10 cats’

In (27a), the N head reduplicates, while in (27b) the adjectival modifier reduplicates. (27c) shows that the N head can reduplicate when the number follows. (27d) shows that while the demonstrative can reduplicate, the meaning changes. Thus, while the adjectival modifier may reduplicate without altering the meaning of the DP, the demonstrative may not.

#### 4.1. *N-A Adjunction*

What we propose here is that rather than heading a phrasal category of its own, adjectives adjoin directly to the N they modify, the result being an N. So that *murid pinter/mored penter* ‘smart student’ has the structure in (28):



Such an analysis of adjectival modifiers of nouns has been proposed sporadically over the past 25 years, and likely longer. Stowell (1981), Sadler and Arnold (1994), and most recently Baker (2003) have suggested this approach for English. Sadler and Arnold maintain that in English there is a demonstrable difference between prenominal and postnominal adjectives. In their

analysis, postnominal adjectives are full phrasal constituents based upon the fact that phrasal modifiers can be used in the postnominal position but not in the prenominal position.

- (29) a. the key *to open the door with* [S&A (2c)]  
 b. \*the *to open the door with* key [S&A (4b)]

Sadler and Arnold claim on the other hand that prenominal adjectives form a ‘small construction’ with the noun. One piece of evidence for this assertion is that overt agreement features are excluded within prenominal adjectival modifiers (30a) as opposed to postnominal adjectival modifiers (30b).

- (30) a. a three mile/\*miles long walk [S&A (5)]  
 b. a walk three ?mile/miles long

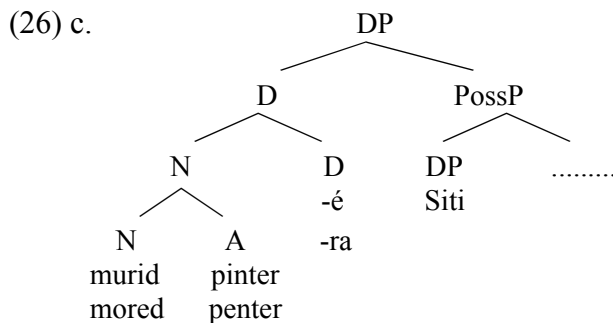
In the prenominal modifier, *mile* cannot be inflected for number, whereas in postnominal position, the plural agreement is preferred.

Additionally, prenominal adjectives cannot contain complements (31c), whereas they can in other positions (31a) and (31b).

- (31) a. The child was grateful for the present. [S&A (6)]  
 b. a child grateful for the present  
 c. \*a grateful for the present child

Sadler and Arnold liken their small construction to lexical A-N constructions such as *medical building*, *athletic facility* and others. However, inasmuch as such collocations take compound stress (on the first word), they are nonetheless distinct from the A-N pairs of common adjectival modification, which take phrasal stress on the N. They refer to these as ‘weakly lexical constructions’. Baker (2003) proposes a similar structure for English attributive adjectives within his theory of lexical categories within the Bare Phrase Structure framework.

So, adopting this adjunction analysis and applying it to one of our examples, the DP subjects in (26a) and (26b), would have the structure in (26c).



The N *murid pinter/mored penter* ‘smart student’ will have moved head to head through at least a Num and Poss head, although we do not show that here.

#### 4.2. N-A Adjunction and Modifier Distribution

The adjunction analysis for attributive adjectival modifiers explains some of the distributional facts about Javanese and Madurese DPs. Clearly, if the adjective and noun combine to form a noun rather than a phrasal category, the fact that the definite particle can affix to the N-A combination just as it does to a plain N is entirely unremarkable; *-(n)é-na* affixes to N and to no other category.

This predicts that other types of modifiers should not be possible in this position. Phrasal modifiers of all sorts should be impossible in this position, which is, in fact, the case. (32) and (33) demonstrate the inadmissibility of PP’s in pre-possessor position.

- (32) a. Murid-é Siti saka Kamal maca buku.  
 student-DEF S from K AV.read book  
 ‘Siti’s student from Kamal read a book.’  
 b. \*Murid saka Kamal-é Siti maca buku.

- (33) a. Mored-da Siti dhari Batam noles buku.  
 student-DEF S from B AV.write book  
 ‘Siti’s student from Batam wrote a book.’  
 b. \*Mored dhari Batam-ma Siti noles buku.

Additionally, adjectives modified by degree elements such as ‘very’ or ‘too’ cannot occur in pre-possessor position. So, in (34c) *pahit banget* ‘very bitter’ cannot precede the possessor in Javanese and (35c) *manes gellu* ‘too sweet’ cannot precede the possessor in Madurese.<sup>3</sup>

- (34) a. Kopi iku pahit banget.  
 coffee that bitter very  
 ‘That coffee is very bitter.’  
 b. Siti ng-rasakké kopi-né Hasan sing pahit banget.  
 S AV-taste coffee-DEF H REL bitter very  
 ‘Siti tasted Hasan’s very bitter coffee.’  
 c. \*Siti ng-rasakké kopi pahit banget-é Hasan.

- (35) a. Kopi rowa manes gellu.

<sup>3</sup> While degree modifiers must be countenanced within this approach for a language such as English (*the very bitter coffee*), the inadmissibility of these in Javanese and Madurese may signal a more restrictive grammar or the fact that these degree modifiers require a different analysis than their English counterparts. Regardless, the ungrammaticality of (32b) and (33b) finds an explanation within the adjunction approach to attributive adjectives.

coffee that sweet too  
 ‘That coffee is too sweet.’

- b. Sengko' ng-enom kopi-na Siti se manes gellu.  
 I AV-drink coffee-DEF S REL sweet too  
 ‘I drank Siti’s too sweet coffee.’
- c. \*Sengko’ ng-enom kopi pahit gellu-na Siti.

And relative clause modifiers cannot occur in this position either. Thus (36b) and (37b), in which we have attempted to do just that, are both ungrammatical.

- (36) a. Murid-é Siti sing pinter maca buku.  
 student-DEF S REL smart AV.read book  
 ‘Siti’s smart student read a book.’  
 b. \*Murid sing pinter-é Siti maca buku.

- (37) a. Mored-da Siti se penter noles buku.  
 student-DEF S REL smart AV.write book  
 ‘Siti’s smart student wrote a book.’  
 b. \*Mored se penter-ra Siti noles buku.

The proposed analysis also accounts for the fact noted before that demonstratives cannot occur immediately preceding the possessor, as illustrated in (22) and repeated here for convenience.

- (22) a. Hasan tuku kucing-é Ali iku. (\*kucing iku-né Ali)  
 H buy cat-DEF A that  
 ‘Hasan bought Ali’s cat.’
- b. Mored-da Siti rowa noles buku. (\*mored rowa-na Siti)  
 student-DEF S that AV.write book  
 ‘Siti’s student wrote a book.’

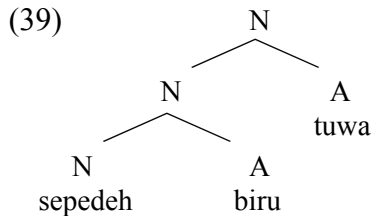
#### 4.3. Multiple Adjectives in Pre-Possessor Position

Stacked adjectives and coordinated adjectives are also possible in the pre-possessor position, although there is some speaker variation.

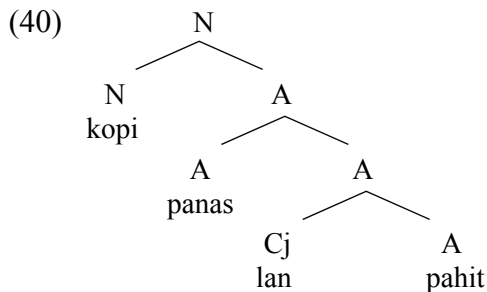
- (38) a. Atin tuku sepedah biru tuwa-né Bambang.  
 A buy bicycle blue old-DEF B  
 ‘Atin bought Bambang’s old blue bicycle.’
- b. Siti ng-rasakké kopi panas lan pahit-é Hasan.

S AV-taste coffee hot and bitter-DEF H  
 ‘Siti tasted Hasan’s hot and bitter coffee.’

These constructions are not problematic for the present proposal. Inasmuch as the result of the merger of an adjective with a noun is a noun, it is then possible to merge a second adjective with *that* noun. Thus in (38a), *biru* ‘blue’ merges with *sepedah* ‘bicycle’ and the result then merges with *tuwa* ‘old’, as in (39).



With coordinated adjectives, the adjectives *panas* ‘hot’ and *pahit* ‘bitter’ are coordinated, resulting in an adjective that is then merged with the noun *kopi* ‘coffee’, as in (40).



Speakers differ with respect to whether they accept stacked and conjoined adjectives in pre-possessor position. Some speakers reject them. This may be due to the weight of the adjective interceding between the noun and definite marker, or some other factor. Alternatively, it may be due to the particular adjectives chosen or other lexical idiosyncrasies.

##### 5. RESIDUAL ISSUES: THE RELATIVE ORDERING OF MODIFIERS AND DEMONSTRATIVES

One issue that we have yet to resolve is the relative ordering of phrasal modifiers and demonstratives. As we have seen, relative clauses may either precede or follow the demonstrative, and the same is true for prepositional phrase modifiers. So, for example, in (41a), the relative clause modifier *sing pinter* ‘that is smart’ precedes the demonstrative *iku* whereas in (41b) it follows. Likewise, the PP modifier *teka Kamal* ‘from Kamal’ precedes the demonstrative in (43a), yet follows it in (43b).

- (41) a. murid sing pinter iku  
 student REL smart that  
 ‘that smart student’

b. murid iku sing pinter

(42) a. buku se e-belli Atin rowa  
 book REL OV-buy A that  
 ‘those books that Atin bought’

b. buku rowa se ebelli Atin

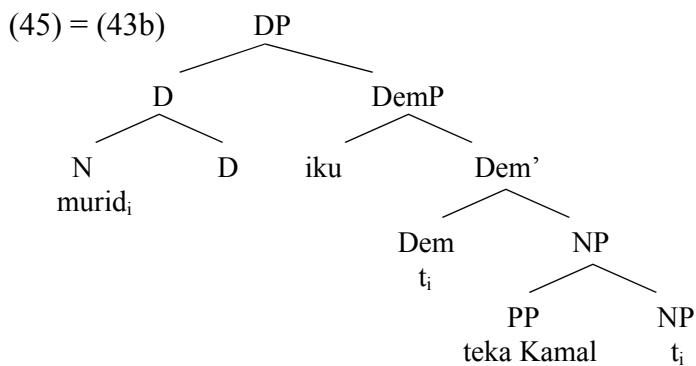
(43) a. murid teka Kamal iku  
 student from K that  
 ‘that student from Kamal’

b. murid iku teka Kamal

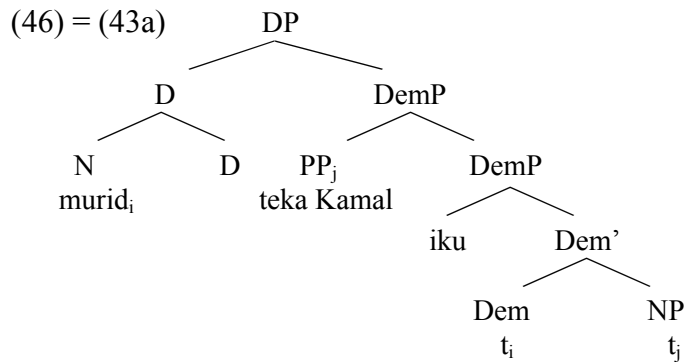
(44) a. mored penter dhari Batam rowa  
 student smart from B that  
 ‘that smart student from Batam’

b. mored penter rowa dhari Batam

The problem is accounting for both positions. The analysis readily accounts for the post demonstrative position, leaving the demonstrative and the modifier in the positions into which they merge. So, (43b) would have the structure in (45), leaving aside some potentially necessary node between the DP and DemP.



So, it is clear, if we assume head movement of the N, that (43b) is easily derived. It is the ordering in (43a), where the PP modifier precedes the demonstrative, which is problematic. One obvious solution would be to invoke remnant movement of the NP to adjoin to the DemP, resulting in a substructure such as (46).



While (46) accounts for the word order we find in (43a), there are two potential objections to the analysis. First, what motivates the remnant movement? Second, without any special context, the order in (43a) is the order preferred by native speakers. So, we have to invoke what seems like an unmotivated movement to derive the ‘basic’ order. This appears to do a disservice to the language in service of the theory.

However, the difference in the interpretation of the two variants may, in fact, provide a rationale. When the modifier follows the demonstrative, the information in the modifier is being emphasized. Thus, we can view this information as being focused, likely a kind of contrastive focus. Cross-linguistically, one finds that phrase-final position is a focus position for diverse languages, e.g., Italian, Russian, and Chinese. The fact that focused post-demonstrative information is in DP-final position may therefore be unsurprising. The way in which this may provide some rationale for moving the remnant is that the material left in the NP may move in order to avoid being in focus, perhaps not unlike the quiet person who moves to the center of a crowd to avoid the limelight. Thus, the remnant movement allows the modifier(s) to maintain a neutral, low profile: positive movement for a negative reason. This idea, however, remains in the development stage.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

Thus, we find, perhaps as we should, that a number of the facts of Javanese and Madurese structure find an account within the theoretical assumptions made here. More important though is the finding that the facts support an account in which attributive adjectives are best analyzed as head adjoined to the nouns they modify rather than projecting a phrase of their own, which provides interesting empirical support for a proposal that has been made periodically but never widely embraced.

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