

On Force and Case, Fin and Num¹

GIULIANA GIUSTI

Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia

giusti@unive.it

Rizzi (1997) splits C into Force and Fin, which head separate projections if discourse pragmatic features Top and /or Foc are merged in the clausal left periphery. In this paper, I revise a proposal of mine (Giusti 1996, 2006) on the upper layer of the nominal expression originally inspired by Rizzi's proposal. In the course of the discussion here, I reconsider the parallels and the similarities between Case and Force and between Fin and Num, concluding that Case and Num do not actually split, but are bundled together either higher or lower than the left peripheral portion of the nominal expression.

1. Introduction

In the last three decades, the DP-hypothesis has opened up the possibility of extending the projection of Nominal Expressions (henceforth NEs), based on analogies with clauses. But there is no unanimity as to what projection in the clause DP corresponds to.

Alexiadou, Haegeman and Stavrou (2007: Ch. 1), reviewing the literature of the last 20 years, point out the following two apparently alternative considerations. From the observation that possessors have the grammatical function of "subjects" of the NEs, it can be argued that DP is parallel to IP, especially in view of the fact that in some languages, possessors (both genitive DPs or possessive adjectives/pronouns) are in complementary distribution with determiners. On the other hand, from the observation that NEs in argument positions need an overt determiner in some languages (including all Romance languages), it can be concluded that DP is parallel to an embedded CP, which is usually filled by an overt complementizer. In this paper, I will support the latter hypothesis, arguing that a split DP is *mutatis mutandis* a perfect parallel to Rizzi's split CP.

We will see that there are reasons to assume a portion of structure in NEs that provides the landing site of A-bar movements (triggered by discourse pragmatic features), parallel to the Top-Foc system in CP, and that this must be distinguished from the portion of structure which provides the landing site for A-movements (triggered by the necessity to satisfy an EPP feature, as is the case for possessives, which are the "subjects" of the nominal expression)², parallel to IP.

¹ The ideas developed in this paper were seeded a long time ago (June 1995), at the Café Glacier Remor at place du Cirque near the Linguistics Department in Geneva, in a conversation with Luigi after a seminar I had given. I had already known Luigi and Adriana for a long time. As a matter of fact, Luigi's teaching was among my first contacts with generative linguistics, as an undergraduate student at the GLOW Summer School in Salzburg in July 1982. Later on (1989), I spent a semester of study and research as *assistente benévole* in Geneva, where I started to work for my PhD thesis. I can never be too grateful to Luigi who has always been available for discussion and so generous of his insights.

² On this cf. Giusti (2008).

This hypothesis is not only welcome in the perspective of deriving the clausal/nominal parallels from general principles, but it can also help us motivate apparent counter facts to well-established hierarchies of arguments and modifiers. In other words, in studying the different properties of the left peripheral structure of NEs in different languages, we can make predictions about what orders convey an additional pragmatic interpretation and are therefore to be considered as pragmatically marked.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 presents some apparent violations of Cinque's (1994) hierarchy of modification and proposes to analyze them as displacements triggered by the discourse-pragmatic feature Contrast. Section 3 reviews some empirical support for the CP split into Force and Fin of Rizzi's (1997). Sections 4 and 5 provide theory internal and empirical motivation for the parallels between Force and Case, and Fin and Num, assumed in Giusti (1996, 2006) without detailed justification. I propose that Rizzi's principle *Avoid Structure*, which motivates the impossibility for Force and Fin to be split in the case nothing is merged in between, forces bundling of Case and Fin with the immediately adjacent discourse feature obtaining Foc+Fin, and/or Force+Top. Section 6 raises doubts on the possibility of ever splitting Case and Num, at least in the languages considered here, suggesting that split DPs amount to optionally projecting a KonP either higher or lower than DP, subject to parametric variation.

2. Apparent violations of Cinque's (1994) hierarchy of modification

Cinque (1994) proposes that adjectival modifiers are inserted in a fixed hierarchy of nominal modification which is universal and depends on the class of the head noun. In (1) each hierarchy is exemplified by an Italian and English example. The order of the adjectives is the same in the two languages, the only difference being the position of the noun:³

- (1) a. (Possessive) > Cardinal Numerals > Ordinal Numerals > Speaker oriented > Subject Oriented > Manner > Thematic > event-denoting N
 (i) *le tre stupide arroganti proposte italiane all'UE*
 (ii) *the three stupid arrogant Italian proposals to the EU*
 b. Possessive > Cardinal Numerals > Ordinal Numerals > Quality > Dimension > Shaper > Color > Nationality > object-denoting N
 (i) *le sue ultime belle grandi tonde mele rosse italiane*
 (ii) *her last beautiful large round red Italian apples*

But there are cases in which the hierarchy is apparently violated. In (2), we observe displacements obtained from (1b.i). The superlative *-issim-* on the fronted adjective improves the acceptability:

- (2) a. le bell(issim)e sue ~~belle~~ grandi mele rosse italiane
 b. le grandi(ssime) sue ~~grandi~~ belle mele rosse italiane
 c. le ross(issim)e sue belle grandi mele ~~rosse~~ italiane
 ecc.

There are two ways to account for such a phenomenon: either renouncing the universal hierarchy, claiming that adjectives may be stacked in different orders due to different scope relations, or taking the orders in (2) as derived by movement of the

³ In (1a) the possessive is in complementary distribution with a thematic adjective, because they both absorb the role assigned by the noun, even if they have a different distribution (cf. Giusti 2008 for an explanation in terms of Agreement for possessives vs. Concord for thematic adjectives). This is however irrelevant for our discussion.

adjective from its merge position to the left of possessive, as suggested by the ~~crossed-out~~ copy of the adjective. This is the line of research I took in Giusti (1996, 2006) to deal with a number of crosslinguistic properties.

First of all, languages differ as regards the kind of constituents that can be displaced in the Left Peripheral Position. In Italian only non-restrictive adjectives that are already known as attributes of N allow this kind of fronting. For example, even though color adjectives are generally postnominal (*la neve bianca/nera* “white/black snow”), *la bianca neve* “white snow” is rather acceptable especially with an emphatic prosodic contour, while ~~#~~*la nera neve* “black snow”, in an out-of-the-blue context, is rather bad. It seems that an attribute that is intrinsically related to the meaning of the noun can more easily be prenominal than an attribute that is unexpected or than a restrictive adjective. Our knowledge of the world lets us categorize snow as naturally white. But if a polluted environment becomes part of our discourse, *la nera neve* “black snow” becomes acceptable in the emphatic fronted position. So emphasis and “intrinsic property” are prosodic and semantic conditions, under which a postnominal adjective may appear fronted to the left of a high possessive adjective in Italian.

Following Rizzi’s (1997) split CP, Giusti (1996) proposes that the Italian DP should be split to host a Focus or Topic feature, which in Giusti (2006) changes into a Contrast features (KonP), following suggestions by Rita Puglielli⁴ and Valeria Molnár⁵ (also cf. Molnár 2002). In Italian the article is in the upper D. There is no independent reason to assume the activation of a low (null) D when KonP is merged. In (3), we can observe that any attributive adjective can be moved to KonP:

- (3) [_{DP}D [_{KonP} XP [_{FP} possAP [_{FP} ordAP [_{FP} sizeAP N [_{FP} colorAP ~~N~~ [_{NP} ~~N~~]]]]]]]]
- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------|---------|-------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|
| a. | queste/le | sue | prime | grandi | mele | rosse |
| | these/the | his/her | first | big | apples | red |
| b. | queste/le | ROSSE | sue | prime | grandi | mele <u>rosse</u> |
| c. | queste/le | GRANDI | sue | prime | <u>grandi</u> | mele rosse |
| d. | queste/le | PRIME | sue | <u>prime</u> | grandi | mele rosse |
-

In Italian, genitive PPs never front. But in other languages Genitive possessors may also be able to move to the left periphery with an emphatic interpretation. This is the case of Albanian, in (4)-(5), briefly observed in Giusti (1996), and of Bulgarian, in (6)-(7) studied in detail in Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998, 1999). In Albanian, the overt part of DP is the higher one; in Bulgarian it is the lower one. In Albanian, either an adjective or a genitive may front; in Bulgarian, fronting is constrained to the possessor PP:

⁴ Anna Rita Puglielli and Mara Frascarelli (p.c.) pointed out to me that Focus is a unique feature in the clause. This would not be the case if it appeared in the NE, given that a clause may have more than one NE.

⁵ Valeria Molnár (p.c.) pointed out to me that the emphasis on the Italian examples could not be the marking of Focus, given that the adjectives had to be shared knowledge (typical property of Topics). She proposed that Contrast was the correct feature because it can combine with either Topics or Focus, two features that can be further checked by operators in the left periphery of the clause.

(4) Albanian unmarked order

- a. [DP D [FP N [FP AP2 [N [FP AP1 [N]]]]]
 kyo vajzë tjetër shumë e bukur
 this girl other very AdjArt nice
 "this other very nice girl"
- b. [DP D [FP N [AgrP DP_{GEN} [NP N]]]]
 ky libër i Benit
 this book GenArt Ben.gen

(5) Albanian AP and Possessor fronting

- a. [DP D [KonP AP1 [FP N [FP AP2 [N [FP AP1 [N]]]]]
 kyo shumë e bukur vajzë tjetër
 this very AdjArt nice girl other
- b. [DP D [KonP DP_{GEN} [FP N [AgrP DP_{GEN} [NP N]]]]
 ky i Benit libër
 this GenArt Ben.gen book

(6) Bulgarian unmarked order (Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti 1999)

- a. тази нова книга на Иван
 this new book of Ivan
- b. неговата нова книга
 his-the new book
- c. новата книга (new-the book)
- d. книгата (book-the)

(7) Bulgarian: possessor fronting with clitic doubling

- [KonP [DP D(+Cl) [PossP PossAP [AP1 [NP N [naPP]]]]]]
- a. на Иван тази (му) нова книга ~~на Иван~~
 to I. this (his.Cl) new book
- b. на Иван новата (му) книга
 to I. new-the (his.Cl) book
- c. NO ADJECTIVAL FRONTING

In (8) we find the empirical generalizations to be drawn from (3)-(7):

- (8) a. Some languages allow displacements of contrasted elements inside the Nominal Expression to a left peripheral position.
 b. This position appears to host a unique constituent.
 c. The category of this constituent may vary: only APs in Italian, both APs and Genitive DPs in Albanian, only possessive PPs Bulgarian.
 d. The position of demonstratives and other determiners vary as to whether they precede or follow the left peripheral position.

These generalizations are partly parallel to the properties of the left periphery of the clause that Rizzi (1997) captures splitting the CP system into two different heads, namely Force and Fin: the former interfacing the external side of the structure (discourse in the case of root clauses or the selecting element in the case of embedded clauses); the latter interfacing the IP system, which he takes to represent the propositional content of the clause. Between these two heads the Top-Foc system can be merged, to represent discourse-pragmatic features. TopPs and/or the FocP are merged only if necessary. If the Top-Foc system is not merged, Force and Fin must be realized in a unique projection, according to a principle of economy. When Force and Fin are split to make space for part of the Top-Foc sys-

tem, it is not often the case that both are realized by an overt element; in some cases one is zero and the other is overt. The zero element has however important effects on extraction, as we will review in section 3.

For the Nominal Expression, I proposed minimal differences: the discourse feature that can be checked is Contrast (KonP). It cannot be iterated. The split features of D (which were labeled D and d) correspond to Case and Number:

- (9) a. ForceP > TopP* > FocP > TopP* > FinP Rizzi (1997)
 b. DP(CaseP) > KonP > dP(NumP)
 Giusti (1996, 2006)

In next sections, I examine in some detail the properties of the DP system that makes it parallel to the CP system. We will see however that the two features never appear as split in Nominal Expressions.

3. Split C as Force and Fin

This section reviews the empirical evidence that supports Rizzi's proposal for the clause, highlighting differences and similarities with the Nominal Expressions.

In Italian subordinate clauses, we can find left dislocated elements, such as *il tuo libro* in (10). In finite clauses the left dislocated element follows the complementizer (*che* in (10a)), in infinitival clauses it precedes the complementizer (*di* in (10b)):

- (10) a. credo {che} il tuo libro{*che} loro lo apprezzeranno molto
 [I] believe that your book they will appreciate it a lot
 b. credo {*di} il tuo libro{di} apprezzarlo molto
 [I] believe your book 'of' to appreciate it a lot

From (10), Rizzi concludes that Italian finite clauses realize declarative Force as *che*, which select a null [+finite] Fin, while infinitival clauses have a null Force combined with an overt [-finite] Fin *di*. A similar effect can be appreciated in English (11b) where the overt infinitival complementizer *for* must be adjacent to an overt subject in order to assign it case:

- (11) a. ... that, tomorrow, John will leave.
 b. ... for {*tomorrow} John to leave{tomorrow}.

Rizzi claims that when the Top-Foc system is not merged, Force and Fin are realized as a single head (or as immediately adjacent projections with obligatory incorporation of Fin into Force, his fn. 28). The distinction between a split Force-Fin system with one of the two heads overt and the other null, and a syncretic [Force+Fin] realized as a single head is crucial to account for the following (anti)adjacency effects.

A well-known subject-object asymmetry in French shows that in this language an extracted subject, but not an extracted object, must be adjacent to an agreeing complementizer (cf. the *que/qui* contrast in (12b)). A split CP, where the trace is not immediately adjacent to its antecedent *qui*, gives the same effect in (13b):

- (12) a. A qui crois-tu que Marie va parler t?
 To whom do you believe that Mary is going to speak?
 b. Qui crois-tu *que/qui t va parler à Marie?
 Who do you believe that is going to speak to Mary?

- (13) a. Je ne sais pas à qui, ton livre, je pourrais le donner t.
I don't know to whom, your book, I could give it.
b. *Je ne sais pas qui, ton livre, t pourrais l'acheter.
I don't know who, your book, could buy it.

Extractability of subjects in English requires the complementizer to be null. Rizzi takes this to show that the null Fin in English is something parallel to French *qui* in (12b) above. A null Fin with a subject agreement feature is incompatible with overt *that* in (14a). This explains why only the null complementizer realizing Fin in English allows for the extraction of the subject. But a fronted circumstantial like *next year* in (14b) improves the extractability of the subject across *that*, showing that if the CP system is split, due to the presence of the topicalized adjunct, the lower null Fin (agreeing with the subject) can do its job, cooccurring with the higher Force *that*:

- (14) a. An amendment which they say (*that) will be law next year.
b. An amendment which they say that next year, will be law.

The adjacency effect of French and the anti-adjacency effect of English can be accounted for only if the null complementizer has distinctive properties from the overt complementizer and if the split is allowed only when the Top-Foc system is activated. When Top or Foc are not inserted, the complementizer is realized as a unique head which can be null or overt according to the language, but cannot combine the properties of both. This is motivated by Rizzi as a principle of economy that is formulated as “*Avoid Structure*”, similar to the principle proposed by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) to account for the preference of weaker elements (with less structure) over stronger elements (with more structure). It is apparent that also in clauses, a weaker C (consisting of one projection) is to be preferred to a stronger C realized as separate projections of Force and Fin.

4. Case is parallel to Force

It is intuitive that in argument position, Case relates the projection to the external syntactic context, parallel to what Rizzi proposes for Force. While argument clauses have a Force that is directly related to the semantic and syntactic requirements of the item they are selected by, nominal arguments receive Case from a functional head of the extended projection of the selecting item:

- (15) a. I dislike [that you watch TV]. / [that TV program].
b. They told me [that you were watching TV]. / [a lie]

In root contexts Force relates the clause to the discourse and can not only assert or inquire, but also order, exclaim, etc. In English different properties of Force trigger different word orders in (16):

- (16) a. I was watching TV.
b. Did you watch TV?
c. Don't watch TV!
d. How much TV you watch!
e. Hadn't I watched TV!

Allocutions are root NEs. Vocative case on allocutions is evidence for Case being related to the grammar of the discourse. But even in English, which has no case morphology, we find that the highest portion of allocutive NEs has special proper-

ties. In (17) we observe that vocatives display a different word order from the one we find in argument NEs; for ex. the honorific *Sir* or the common N *boy* are bare if used as vocatives, but not in argument position. In (18)-(19), we observe that exclamative NEs also have a different form: the exclamative wh-element is licensed by the discourse but not as an argument; a pronoun (*you*) can be preceded by a predicative adjective when it is exclamative, but not in argument position:

- (17) a. Sir! Boy!
 b. *Sir/*Boy arrived.
 c. Sir John/The boy arrived.
 (18) a. What a mornig!
 b. *I was surprised at what a morning.
 (19) a. Poor you!
 b. *I saw poor you on the street.

Rizzi (1997: 285) observes that in many languages the higher complementizer is “nominal” in nature (e.g. *that* in English or *que/che* in Italian and French). Heine and Kuteva (2002) also observe that demonstratives have grammaticalized into complementizers, not only in English, but also in Faroese; and into adverbial clause subordinators in !Xun, Sango, Samaraccan, and Haitian. In this perspective, Force and Case could be taken to be related to a similar nominal feature. But this would run against the well known fact that CP and Case are in complementary distribution (an observation originally made by Stowell 1981). So, in a diachronic perspective, it should be proposed that the grammaticalization of a nominal modifier assuming the function of the head of Force consists of exactly losing the feature Case, as well as the possibility to be merged in a single head with Number.

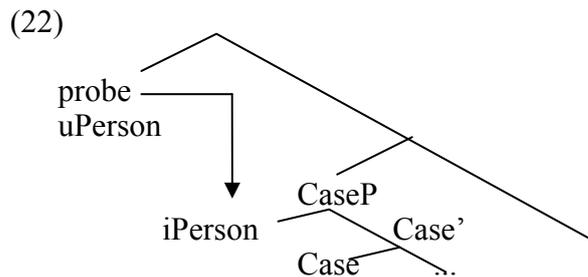
Let us now briefly speculate on the differences between Case and Force. Argument clauses cannot appear in case assignment positions (Haegeman and Guéron 1999), while argument NEs must. Compare the position of subject clauses and NEs. In (20a)-(21a), they are apparently in the same sentence initial position, but this is contradicted by the observation that in Subject Auxiliary Inversion the SpecIP after the auxiliary is only available to the NE in (21b), and not to a clause in (20b). Furthermore, an expletive antecedent is coindexed with a clausal subject, but not with a nominal subject (20c)-(21c):

- (20) a. [That John was late] didn't surprise us.
 b. *Did [that John was late] surprise us?
 c. Did it surprise us [that John was late]?
 (21) a. [John's delay] didn't surprise us
 b. Did [John's delay] surprise us?
 c. *Did it surprise us [John's delay]?

Following Luigi's (p.c., 1995) suggestion, I propose that the crucial difference between clauses and NEs resides in the fact that NEs refer to an individual (or denote a generalized quantifier), while clauses have propositional value. This amounts to reducing the difference to the T-feature of clauses vs. the Num-feature of NEs.

In Giusti (2008), I claimed that minimal reference to an individual includes at least the feature Person, which is targeted by EPP, whose satisfaction results in Case assignment. If this is correct, we may speculate that Person is assigned Case, which then percolates to the whole NE. This requires that CaseP be the highest projection of the NEs, and that Person is merged in its Specifier, as in (22). So

CaseP is to the NE what Force is to the clause, considering that SpecForceP hosts the operators that have scope over the clause:



The impossibility to coindex a NE with an expletive is then due to incompatibility of Person features, expletive *it* being non-referential.

The other side of the coin is the impossibility for NEs to check [+wh]-features (23a), opposite to embedded clauses (23b):

- (23) a. I asked the time / *what time.
 b. I asked what time it was.

Since polarity (negative, interrogative, etc.) is related with truth value, and truth value is directly related to the propositional nature of the clause, interrogative features cannot be checked in NEs because NEs are not propositional and do not have a truth value. This does not exclude that interrogative or negative items appear inside the NE, but it excludes that they are interpreted in the NE. Their interpretation requires checking features that are projected in the clause, as is the case of (23b). So, it seems that while Person is the most external operator in the NE, the propositional value is the most external element in the clause, in SpecForceP. If this is correct, we can speculate that the indexical value of expletive *it* is propositional and not individual reference. Expletive *it* is therefore a pure CaseP with no Person in its Specifier.

Let us leave this proposal at this speculative stage here and conclude our review of the differences and similarities between Case and Force, observing that at least across European languages, NEs rarely have a position for clitics. In particular, Romance-like clitics that are attracted by Tense are absent in NEs. Interesting exceptions are Bulgarian, Greek, Romanian, Macedonian, and some Central and Southern Italian dialects. Apart from Greek, in all other cases the clitic appears in a sort of Wackernagel position:

- (24) a. knigata i/mu Bulgarian (Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Giusti 1999)
 b. to vivlio tis/tu Greek (Giusti and Stavrou 2008)
 the book Cl.3p.s.f/m.
 “her/his book”
 c. venire-a-i Romanian (Cornilescu 1995)
 coming-the -Cl3p.s.
 “his arrival”
 d. majka mi Macedonian (Tomič 1996)
 mother Cl.1p.s.
 “my mother”
 e. mammeta, babbeto Maceratese
 mom-Cl.2p.s., dad-Cl.2.p.s.
 “my mother, your father”

The parallel with second position clitics in the clause is straightforward in Bulgarian. Note that the possessive clitic requires a definite article or a demonstrative as a host. This suggests that while DP does not have a T-feature, it may have a Wackernagel position. Very similar to Bulgarian (24a) is the case of Romanian (24c), where the clitic is marginal and not very productive but can only follow the enclitic definite article. In both cases, the possessive clitic immediately follows the first element of the NE, which is in general also the host of the definite article. In Macedonian (24d) and in Maceratese (24e), the only hosts for the possessive clitics are kinship terms, which have a special NE-internal position (for example, they can precede the adjective as in *mammeta vella* “mother-your beautiful”, or can appear with no article similar to proper names: *mamma è arrivata* “Mom arrived”). Note that in Maceratese, possessive *ta, ma, sa* are not homophonous to clausal clitics, differently from what we find in the Balkan languages. Finally, the Greek clitic in (24b) is not in second position. But it is also different from clausal clitics that are proclitic to the finite verbs (as in Romance); rather it is enclitic to lexical items (N or A). It is therefore not identical to clausal clitics attracted by Tense.

From this, we conclude that if a language has Romance-like clitics that are related to Tense, which is part of the intermediate layer of the clause, we do not expect these clitics to appear in NEs, since the intermediate layer of the NE does not have Tense. On the contrary “second position” clitics are possible, as well as clitics of the Greek type which do not appear to have a special host in the NE.

5. Fin is parallel to Num

The possibility for N to move to a high position in the NE in order to merge with an enclitic article is reminiscent of V-to-C, which is, in turn, a natural environment to establish the relation between the intermediate inflectional layer and the complementizer layer. In fact, there is no unanimity as to whether V-to-C targets Force (in that it is related to clause typing) or Fin (in that it is preceded by a single constituent), or rather is V-to-T, with a null CP-layer, cf. Fanselow (to appear).

Rizzi (1997) considers Fin to be the interface with the inflectional layer, which is related to T and is regarded as the natural extended domain of the V-projection, and observes that C has a “nominal nature”.

Haegeman and Guéron (1999) convincingly show that V-to-C in English is V to Foc, for the reasons exemplified in (25). Focused Negative fronting triggers Subject Auxiliary Inversion (SAI) both in main and embedded clauses, as in (25a) to be contrasted with the ungrammatical (25c). A Topic in English can only precede a fronted Negative Focus, as shown by the impossibility of inserting a Topicalized circumstantial with or without SAI in (25b-c):

- (25) a. (Mary said that) during the holydays, under no condition would she do that.
 b. *(Mary said that) under no condition (*during the holydays) would she do that.
 c. *(Mary said that) under no condition (during the holydays) she would do that.

On the basis of the position relative to Topic, Haegeman and Guéron (1999) also argue that wh-movement in main clauses targets FocP, while in embedded clauses it targets SpecForceP (26):

- (26) a. During the holydays, what would she do?
 b. I wonder what during the holydays, she would do.

- d. What (*during the holydays) would she do?
 c. *I wonder (during the holydays,) what would she do.

This is directly related to the mandatory nature of SAI in main clauses and to its impossibility in embedded clauses, regardless of the presence or absence of a TopP. Notice *in passim* that the richness of the Top-Foc system is subject to crosslinguistic variation. In English TopP is merged only higher and cannot be lower than FocP.

Furthermore, if SAI is V-to-Foc, this must take place through a Fin with no specifier, unless we admit that Fin can be bundled with Foc. In either case, Foc and Fin get to be merged together in a split CP, as in (27a-b). It is apparent in (27), that V can never reach the Force head: while the main interrogative in (27a) has a null element *Int* in the head Force, the embedded interrogative (27c-d) can either have a *wh*-element in SpecForceP or an interrogative complementizer like *if*. Either filler of Force sets no requirement on FinP apart from its being null:

- (27) a. [_{ForceP} Int [_{TopP} during the holydays [_{FocP} what will [_{FinPn} ~~will~~ [_{TP} she ~~will~~ do ~~what~~]]]]]
 b. ... [_{ForceP} that [_{TopP} during the holydays [_{FocP} under no condition will [_{FinPn} ~~will~~ [_{TP} she do that]]]]]
 c. V [_{ForceP} what 0 [_{TopP} during the holydays [_{FinP} 0 [_{TP} she will do ~~what~~]]]]]
 d. V [_{ForceP} if [_{TopP} during the holydays [_{FinP} 0 [_{TP} she will do that]]]]]

To sum up, all cases in (27) have a null Fin. One may wonder if the null Fin with the property of agreeing with the subject shouldn't be bundled with the immediately dominating head, either Foc or TopP, so that the structure in (27) should be reformulated as (28). The only difference is that Fin attracts T, when associated with a NegFoc but does not when associated with Top:

- (28) a. [_{ForceP} Int [_{TopP} during the holydays [_{Foc+FinP} what will [_{TP} she ~~will~~ do ~~what~~]]]]]
 b. ... [_{ForceP} that [_{TopP} during the holydays [_{Foc+FinP} under no condition will [_{TP} she do that]]]]]
 c. V [_{ForceP} what 0 [_{Top+FinP} during the holydays [_{TP} she will do ~~what~~]]]]]
 d. V [_{ForceP} if [_{Top+FinP} during the holydays [_{TP} she will do that]]]]]

The bundling can be reduced to Rizzi's *Avoid Structure*. It can explain why SAI targets Fin only when SpecFoc is occupied by QPs headed by a negative Q, a *wh*-item, or *only*, but not otherwise (cf. *That BOOK, (*did) I read.*).

The discussion so far suggests that the split CP system can merge with the Top-Foc system provided Force and Fin are merged respecting their relative position in the hierarchy (Force is higher than Fin). We now turn to the nominal domain and observe that there are reasons to believe that the lower head of the nominal complementation system can attract the head N in some languages.

Let us take the case of Albanian. In this language the head noun is usually so high as to even precede determiner-like adjectives such as "other". The marked position of the fronted AP in (4), whose structure is given in (29a), or of the fronted GenP in (5), whose structure is given in (29b), is therefore sandwiched between the demonstrative in SpecCaseP, which provides the referential feature (including Person), and the head N at the left of the hierarchy of modification:

- “Caesar’s passage through Apulia and Brundisium”
- b. ex [_{KonP} [_{AP} vetere] [_{DP} illa [____ [_{disciplina}]]]]
 from old.ABL.F.SG. that.ABL.F.SG. discipline.ABL.SG.
 “from that old discipline” (Cic. *Cluent.* 76)
- (32) a. ut [_{TopP} avaritiae [_{IP} pellatur etiam [_{KonP} ____ [_{DP} minima suspicio ____]]]]
 so-that self-seeking.GEN be-eliminated even minimal.NOM suspi-
 cion.NOM
 “So that even the slightest suspicion of self-seeking may be eliminated
- b. [_{CP} cui [_{TopP} magna [_{IP} Pompeius [_{KonP} ____ [_{DP} praemia]]] tribuit]
 whom.DAT great.ACC Pompeius.NOM prizes.ACC attributed (Caes.
 B.G. 3.4)

The extractability of adjectives is lost in Old Italian, which already displays an article. Parallel to modern Italian, we find contrasted adjectives following the determiner, as in (33a), to be contrasted with the unmarked order in (33b):⁶

- (33) a. Sanza quelle [grandi e pericolose] tre battaglie, ...
 without those great and dangerous three battles, (*Giamboni, Orosio, 5, 24, 345*)
- b. per tre grandi battaglie vinse,
 in three great battles [he] won. (*Giamboni, Orosio, 6, 17 404*)

This may suggest that in Latin N merges with Case, and for this reason D(Case+Num) is lower than KonP, while in Old and Modern Italian Case and N are separate, because Case is realized with/as the article (cf. Giusti 1994, 2001, 2002). Notice that in either case, there is no evidence that Case is separate from Num, given that Num appears both on N and on articles, and that an enclitic article can be lower (as in Bulgarian) or higher (as in Albanian) than KonP.

More research needs to be done to discover whether the low vs. high realization of Case/D can be related to an independent property of the DP system, but the obvious difference between Force and Fin, which can be split, and Case and Num, which cannot, may be reduced to the nature of Case and Num. If SpecCaseP is the place where the referential features of the Nominal Expressions are checked, Num must be bundled with Case in order for the interpretation of the NE to take place successfully. This brings us back to Luigi’s original suggestion that the crucial difference between clauses and NEs can be reduced to the fact that clauses have T while NEs have Num.

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⁶ For a detailed description of the adjectival hierarchy in Old Italian, cf. Giorgi (2010) and Giusti (2010).

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