

Individuation, Orphans, and Case?

15 April 2010

17th B&SS Conference, Columbus OH

Steven Franks
Indiana University

Anita Peti-Stantić
University of Zagreb

0. Background and overview

- ▶ Always fascinated by Perlmutter & Orešnik (1973)
- ▶ Renewed interest inspired by presentations of Rappaport (SLS; 2009) and Peti-Stantić (AAASS: 2009)

Rappaport: reviewed P&O, updated their account, and proposed generalizations of their ideas
Peti-Stantić had new observations which inspired the present collaboration, although it remains unclear how correct they are or whether there is more than one system at work

- ▶ Specific interest in structure of NP and question of whether Slvn was developing into a DP language

Extended (functional) projections above NP vary: case features and specificity features can be instantiated not just on NP, but also on KP and/or DP (cf. instantiation of agreement and tense in clause)
This variation compellingly demonstrated by the broad range of nominal structures in South Slavic

☞ However, on studying problem and returning to P&O's paper, decided they had pretty much said it all and gotten it right in the first place (more or less in concurrence with Rappaport's conclusion)

- ▶ Nonetheless, like P&O, Rappaport, and Peti-Stantić, we too have our list of questions.

These are (or should be) similar to everyone else's.
But we also have some new suspicions and hunches, which we hope will lead somewhere.

2. The core phenomenon

2.1. Some basic Slovenian data

Verbs canonically take accusative objects, as in other languages:

- (1) a. Kateri_{acc} kruh_{acc} hočete? 'Which bread do you want?'
b. Hočem beli_{acc} kruh_{acc}. 'I want the white bread.'
- (2) a. Katero_{acc} hišo_{acc} hočete? 'Which house do you want?'
b. Hočem novo_{acc} hišo_{acc}. 'I want the novo bread.'

However, when the object Noun is missing, the Adjective appears in the genitive if the N is masculine:

- (3) a. Hočem belega_{gen}/*beli_{acc}. 'I want the white one'.
b. Hočem *nove_{gen}/novo_{acc}. 'I want the new one'.

This is the so-called "Orphan Accusative" (OA), after Perlmutter & Orešnik.

The OA is not restricted to post-verbal position, but applies in in any accusative position, e.g., after Ps:

- (4) a. Za **katerega**_{gen}/***kateri**_{acc} si se odločila: za **belega**_{gen}/***beli**_{acc} ali za **modrega**_{gen}/***modri**_{acc}?
 ‘Which one did you pick: the white one or a blue one?’
 b. princip, v **katerega**_{gen}/***kateri**_{acc} verjavam ‘the principle in which I believe’

► The OA *never* applies when the missing N is feminine, dual or plural. When it is neuter the OA can apply (although with some speaker uncertainty). P&O say both are possible (5a), Rappaport cites (5b, c):

- (5) a. **Katero**_{acc} **proso**_{acc} hočete? **Navadnega**_{gen}/**navadno**_{acc}. ‘Which millet do you want? Ordinary.’
 b. ... določilo, ki je spolni odnos med dvema moškima obravnaval kot kaznivo dejanje, za **katerega**_{gen} je bila predvidena zaporna kazen od enega do petih let,
 ‘... the amendment that treated sexual relations between two men as a criminal act for which a prison sentence from one to five years is provided,’ (ISZ ZRC SAZU corpus)
 c. Se zaveda življenja, **kakršnega**_{gen} živi.
 ‘(He) is conscious of the (kind of) life which (he is) leading.’ (Toporišič)

2.2 Some fundamental questions

☞ P&O (1973: 422) pose exactly the right set of questions:

(6) Perlmutter & Orešnik’s questions about the Orphan Accusative

1. Why is it that the special form found in the OA is not just an arbitrary ending?
2. Why is the OA form the same as that of the genitive case?
3. Why do all constituents with adjectival endings, rather than just quantifiers or demonstratives or just adjectives that refer to transient properties, have a special form for the OA?
4. Why is it that masculines have a special OA form and feminines do not?
5. Why is it that the accusative has a special form, rather than some other case?
6. Why is there a special form in the absence of the head noun, and not some other environment?
7. Why Slvn—what is particular to Slvn in the OA phenomenon, and what is more general?

Our questions, echoing P&O:

- How does the OA work?
- Why is the form of the orphaned adjective(s) genitive(-like)?
 What is the internal structure of the Slvn nominal extended projection?
 What is the nature of the “missing” nominal part? (ellipsis or pro)
- Why does this happen in Slvn but not in other Slavic languages?
 How is Slvn different?

2.3 One obvious first step in formulating a coherent answer

☞ To cut to the chase, whatever is going on must be somehow parasitic on the more general Slavic morphological phenomenon of using the “genitive” morphological form (paradigmatic) in “accusative” syntactic contexts (syntagmatic) for animate (and certain other) masculine nouns

3. Brief review of some previous discussions

3.1 Perlmutter and Orešnik (1973)

☞ P&O's original account offered what we believe to have been basically the right insight:

A. Syntactic accusative is mapped onto morphological nominative or genitive for nouns and adjectives that lack a *distinct* morphological accusative. Not lexical syncretism *per se* but rather done by rule:

(7) Accusative Prediction Rule

- a. For animates, the accusative is like the genitive
- b. For inanimates, the accusative is like the nominative

NB: (7) applies iff there is no accusative form in the lexical entry of the item being spelled out.

☞ The puzzle posed by the OA is thus why (7a) *overapplies*, mapping adjectives which modify missing inanimate nouns into the genitive rather than the accusative form (as it would if the N were present)

B. The Orphan Accusative phenomenon has to do with the form and interpretation of Slvn pronouns:

- (8) a. Slvn pronouns behave morphologically as if they were animate
 b. Slvn pronouns allow Identity of Sense (I/S) interpretation, not just Identity of Reference (I/R)

▶ As elsewhere in Slavic, the accusative pronoun *ga* can refer to an inanimate masculine (or neuter) noun

▶ Unlike (all?) other Slavic languages, pronouns in Slvn are not necessarily referential, as in P&O's (9):

- (9) a. Stane je videl plav avto in tudi Tone **ga** je videl.
 'Stane saw a blue car and Tone also saw it/one.'
 b. Stane ima rjav površnik in tudi Tone **ga** ima.
 'Stane has a brown overcoat and Tone also has one.'
 c. Stane ima pametnega otroka in tudi Tone **ga** ima.
 'Stane has a smart child and Tone also has one.'
 d. Stane ima pametno ženo in tudi Tone **jo** ima.
 'Stane has a smart wife and Tone also has one.'

C. A specific implementation

- ① The noun is replaced by an appropriate pronoun
- ② Concord takes place between the modifiers and the pronoun
- ③ The pronoun is deleted, orphaning the modifiers

☞ Since pronouns are animate, concord leads to genitive form of the modifiers, but this only happens when the pronoun is *ga*. The reason is *ga* is the only form in the pronominal clitic paradigm where there is no accusative distinct from the genitive, hence masculine (and neuter) singular is the only place where (7) applies, to give rise to the Orphan Accusative.

An observation and a question:

P&O (pp. 436–8) comment that speakers are uncertain about the accusative of neuter animates (e.g. both *navdno dekle* ‘ordinary girl’ and *navadnega dekleta* are accepted), since there is a “conflict between the generalization that neuter endings are like masculine endings in the singular...and the generalization that the accusative of neuters is like the nominative throughout the paradigm.” Hence (5a).

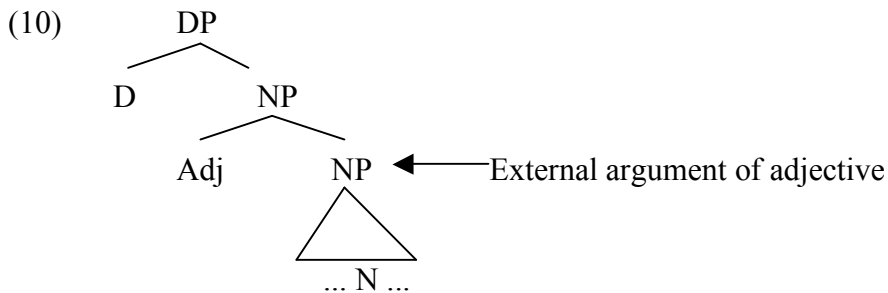
Why is it that *ga* can refer to inanimate or animate but full form *njega* can only refer to animate?
(NB: This reflects a more generally true distinction in Slavic between clitics and tonic forms.)

3.2 Rappaport (2009)

Takes issue with P&O claim that “pronouns are animate” is the thing that makes Slvn special: “...under the correct analysis the only thing that is particular to Slovenian is the marking [+animate] on pronouns.” (p. 457). We agree with Rappaport that this is generally true in Slavic, so cannot be the key factor.

☞ Instead, the special property of Slvn pronouns is their capacity to display I/S (8b).

Rappaport proposes a “lexical rule which changes the category of an adjective to N and fills its external argument slot with the feature [pronominal].” He further states that the “external argument” of an A is an NP not a DP, providing the structure in (10):



☞ Rappaport’s conclusion: “The personal pronoun in Slovene is lexicalized at both DP level (like other Slavic languages and English) AND the NP level (unlike other Slavic languages, like English ‘one’.”

▶ What is the difference? DP houses referential information (I/R), NP houses lexical information (I/S).

☞ While this distinction is true, we disagree about the implementation. We will argue that Slvn overt pronouns such as *ga* are never N and that the relationship between A and N is one of adjunct, not argument.

3.3 Peti-Stantić (2009)

▶ Talk is exploratory; argues for probing the Slvn facts more carefully and makes several observations:

A. Slvn does not apply the animacy rule as restrictively as some other languages. There are various types of nouns that do not denote animates, but to which function as if [+animate] so that (7a) rather than (7b) systematically applies. Peti-Stantić cites the following from Herrity (2000: 34):

- (11) a. names of cars: *ford, opel, folkswagen, golf, mercedes, rolsrojs, fiat, reno*
 b. diseases named after animals: *rak, volk*
 c. certain instruments and devices named after animals: *petelin, francoz, skobec, robot*
 d. creative works named after their author: *Rembrandt* ‘a Rembrand’, *Picasso* ‘a Picasso’
 e. names of chess pieces and playing cards: *kmet, kralj, as, pagat, fant*
 f. names of wines: *vipavec, jeruzalemčan, bizeljčan*
 g. names of mushrooms: *jurček, goban, turek, ciganček*
 h. names of sport teams: *Partizan, Železničar*
 i. certain terms for money: *tisočak, stotak*
 j. terms for dead persons or animals: *mrtvec, pokojnik, mrlič, mrtvak, piščanec*
 k. a few isolated words: *zmaj* ‘kite’, *konjiček* ‘rocking horse’, *metuljček* ‘bowtie, butterfly’

P&O take (11) to argue for extension of [+animate] in Slvn. Takes issue with P&O that this is relevant to the question of why Slvn exhibits the OA, since many examples in (11) reflect anthropomorphization and other Slavic languages show similar extension of animacy but nonetheless lack the OA.

☞ This is true, but does not invalidate P&O’s point that *not* everything grammatically animate is semantically animate.

States that “it remains unclear why *ga* should be marked [+animate], and *ju*, for example, should not.”

P&O claim *all* pronouns are marked [+animate] but the Accusative Prediction Rule (7) only applies in the absence of a distinct accusative form. Hence Slvn *jo* is also [+animate], it is just irrelevant. BUT ...

☞ If (8b) Identity of Sense is the key factor, rather than (8a) animacy, BCS *ju* can also be [+animate].

B. Argues that the “animacy story is not convincing” and the OA may have do with “extension of either animacy or some other semantic category in Slovene.”

► Possible candidates discussed include:

- ▶ animacy, definiteness, partitivity, ...
- ▶ in the end argues that most relevant is type of adjective. Claim: “the so called Orphan Accusative occurs as a standard possibility with qualitative and possessive adjectives, but *never* with relational”

4. Additional examples I

“Standard” examples from the literature

- (12) a. Moji sosedi imajo dva avta, **enega rdečega in enega zelenega**. (Herrity)
 ‘My neighbors have two cars, a red one and a green one.’
 b. Ima samo **enega starega rjavega**. ‘He has only one old brown one.’ (P&O)

(12) shows that *all* adjectives modifying a missing noun go into the OA.

- (13) a. Mlada žena zahtevala, naj ji prodajo parfum, prav **tistega**, ki je v izlozbi. (Rappaport)
 ‘The young woman wanted them to sell her perfume, precisely that one in the display window.’
 b. Se en prizor si je zamislil, **najprisrčnejšega, najneizraznejšega**. (Rappaport)
 ‘It’s quite a spectacle you’ve made up, a most hearty, a most distinctive one.’

(13) shows that appositive adjectives also go into the OA.

(14) Videl sem velik zemljevid, obsegajoč hrvatski okraj, in **majhnega, obsegajočega** slovenski okraj.
‘I saw a large map, comprising a Croatian district, and a small one, comprising a Slovene district.’

P&O’s (14) combines an appositive with a missing N: *in majhnega [zemljevid→ga→∅], obsegajočega*

NB: Depictive secondary predicates behaving like modifying adjectives, not appositives:

(15) Včeraj smo našli stol **pomazan**_{acc} s krvjo. (P&O)
‘Yesterday we found the chair stained with blood.’

“New” data from Peti-Stantić (2009)

► Qualitative Adjectives

(16) a. Kupila sem kavč. ‘I bought a couch.’
b. Za **katerega**_{gen}/***kateri**_{acc} si se odločila: za **belega**_{gen}/***beli**_{acc} ali za **modrega**_{gen}/***modri**_{acc}?
‘Which one did you pick: the white one or a blue one?’

► Possessive Adjectives

(17) a. Vzela sem dežnik. ‘I took an umbrella.’
b. **Katerega**_{gen}/***Kateri**_{acc}, **mojega**_{gen}/***moj**_{acc} ali **svojega**_{gen}/***svoj**_{acc}?
‘Which one, mine or yours?’

► Relational Adjectives

(18) a. Kupili smo nov stroj. ‘We bought a new machine.’
b. ***Katerega**_{gen}/**Kateri**_{acc}, ***pralnega**_{gen}/**pralni**_{acc} ali ***pomivalnega**_{gen}/**pomivalni**_{acc}?
‘Which one, the (clothes) washing one or the (dish) washing one?’

(19) a. Naredila je poskus. **Kakšen**_{acc}? **Kemičen**_{acc} ali **biološki**_{acc}?
‘She conducted an experiment. What kind? Chemical or biological?’
b. ***Katerega**_{gen}? **Kemičnega**_{gen} ali **biološkega**_{gen}?

(20) a. Prinesla je stol. ‘She brought a chair.’
b. **Kakšen**_{acc}? **Lesen**_{acc} ali **plastičen**_{acc}? ‘What kind? Wooden or plastic?’
c. **Kateri**_{acc}? **Leseni**_{acc} ali **plastični**_{acc}? ‘Which one? The wooden one or a plastic one?’
d. ***Katerega**_{gen}? **Lesenega**_{gen} ali **plastičnega**_{gen}?

On the basis of the judgments in (18)–(20) Peti-Stantić takes the type of adjective to be a relevant factor.

(21) Prosim **ta beli**_{acc}/***beli**_{acc}/**belega**_{gen}/***ta belega**_{gen}.

The judgments in (21) imply that the OA is somehow incompatible with the definite marker *ta*.

HOWEVER, many speakers do not share these judgments, which require further investigation.

5. Our proposal

- ☞ There is indeed a null pronoun (*pro_N*) in Slvn with which modifiers agree
 - ▶ This *pro_N* is [+animate], just like other (head, non-phrasal, atonic) Slavic pronouns
 - ▶ This *pro_N* works just like English ‘one’
- ☞ Slvn (like other Slavic languages) also has simple ellipsis
 - ▶ Ellipsis is deletion (non-pronunciation) of syntactic material in the mapping to PF (i.e., part of of the “Spell Out” process, culminating in acoustic instantiation)
 - ▶ The “nominative” accusative instead of the OA is thus a sign that simple ellipsis has taken place

5.1 Digression on the status of English *one*

One-substitution, a classic GB argument for the existence of intermediate level X'-level categories

- (22) a. I like this student from France better than that **one** [=student] from Italy.
 b. *I like this student of chemistry better than that **one** of physics.
 c. I like this student of physics from France better than that **one** [=student of physics] from Italy.

The ungrammaticality of (22b) was taken to imply that *one*-substitution targets a constituent higher than N^0 , i.e. N' , since N' includes the noun *plus its complements*. Thus, not only is (22a) acceptable because *from France* is an adjunct, but (22c) is also acceptable with *ones* substituting for *student of physics*.

Any N' was a viable target, assuming the structure [_{NP} my [_{N'} big [_{N'} black [_N dog]]]]

- (23) Jane kissed Fred’s big black dog and Jean kissed Sam’s small **one** [=black dog OR =dog].

On the other hand, *one* cannot refer to the entire NP:

- (24) Jane kissed Fred’s big black dog and Jean kissed **one** too.

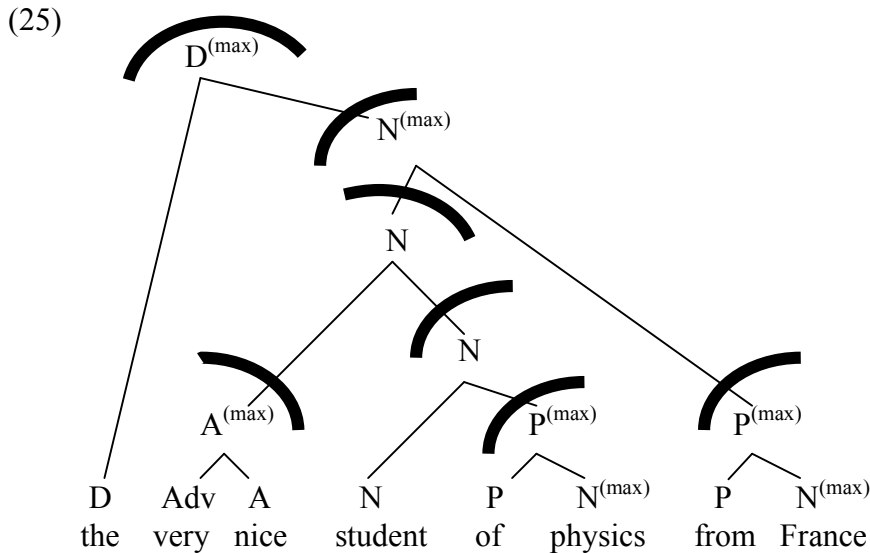
The point is *one* in (24) cannot mean ‘it’, i.e., ‘Fred’s big black dog’, only another dog.

- ☞ This is canonical I/S rather than I/R. English *one* thus works just like Slvn *pro_N*.

A minimalist version

Minimalism, however, eschews X' as a syntactically accessible node. It is invisible because X-bar status is not a primitive, but rather relationally defined, as neither head/ X^0 (=a category which does not project at all) nor phrase/XP (=a category which does not project any further). This is “Bare Phrase Structure”.

- ▶ In minimalism, trees are crucially built from the bottom up. An item is selected from the “Numeration” (or the tree) and merged with some other element, resulting in a binary branching structure. If Merge takes place to satisfy the needs of the head X , then the non-head is an argument of X ; otherwise the non-head is an adjunct. For example, a noun is selected and merged with phrasal (non-projecting or maximal) material (which has already been constructed in a separate work space but according to the same principles) and the N projects. However, when the projection of N eventually combines with another head X , then that head X projects instead. Consider *the very nice student of physics from France*:



To build (25), successive applications of Merge combine two nodes into one, projecting the head. Note that the relative scope of the AP *very nice* and the PP *from France* could be different, with *very nice* merging after *from France* rather than before, but because these are adjuncts the order in which they merge (thus their relative scope) is technically free (i.e., this could mean ‘the student of physics who is very nice from France’—Which very nice student of physics?, as depicted in (25), or ‘the student of physics from France who is very nice’—Which student of physics from France?).

☞ The same is not true of the complement of *physics*, which is an argument of *student*. When an adjunct merges with X, its meaning combines with that of X in a purely compositional manner. When a complement merges with X, the meaning of [X + complement] is a function of the argument structure of X.

Another complement versus adjunct minimal pair

- (26) a. *David’s claim that the world is flat was not as strange as Elisabeth’s **one** that there are dinosaurs on a remote Caribbean island.
 b. David’s claim that you denied was not as strange as Elisabeth’s **one** that you believed.

An account

► Following Franks (1999), the pronoun *one* is just that, a noun. As a noun, it receives its sense from its antecedent, which can be any N in the discourse. Formal relations such as c-command are irrelevant:

- (27) a. Which textbook did you end up buying?
 b. The **one** by Radford.
- (28) a. Elisabeth decided to read the dust jackets of dull linguistics books, after realizing that all the interesting **ones** had already been checked out.

As an N, however, it has no referential features, which is what differentiates it from words like *it*, *he*, or *she*. These traditional pro-“nouns” are really pro-Ds, i.e., they substitute full, referential DPs. Compare:

- (28) a. Jane kissed Fred’s big black dog and Jean kissed **one** too.
 b. Jane kissed Fred’s big black dog and Jean kissed **it** too.

☞ Also, as a pro-form it can have no theta-roles of its own to assign. This is why *one* never takes a complement: the complement has no way to receive a theta-role, hence is not interpreted.

Note that discourse reference by *one* can even exclude the noun's argument, given the proper context; the crucial point is that no new arguments can ever be introduced:

(29) Julia's claim that soccer is more exciting than basketball is a credible **one**.

5.2 Back to Slovenian

5.2.1 Obtaining the Orphan Accusative

① If pro_N is available (i.e., in the Numeration) it merges (optionally) with adjuncts until another head is selected to merge with it. (If pro_N were to merge with an argument that argument would not receive a theta-role and the result would be semantically ill-formed.)

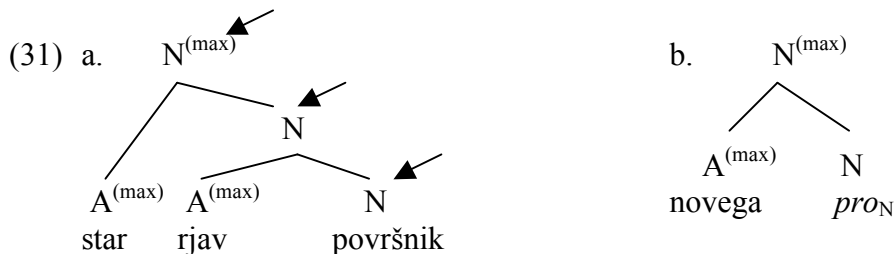
② When those adjuncts are adjectival, they undergo concord with pro_N , giving rise to the OA.

③ The sense of pro_N is determined through matching with an overt N established in the discourse.

Consider (30):

- (30) a. Stane ima staro rjavo hišo, Tone pa ima novo. (P&O)
 'Stane has an old brown house, and Tone has a new (brown) one.'
 b. Stane ima star rjav površnik, Tone pa ima **novega**. (based on P&O)
 'Stane has an old brown overcoat, and Tone has a new (brown) one.'

► In P&O's (30a), with no OA since the antecedent *hiša* is feminine hence *novo* has a distinct accusative form, pro_N can either have the sense of *hiša* 'house' or *rjava hiša* 'brown house', since both are discourse-sensible nominal antecedents. Similarly in the constructed OA version in (30b), pro_N can either have the sense *površnik* 'overcoat' or *rjav površnik* 'brown overcoat'.



(31a) provides the range of antecedents for pro_N , although only *površnik* and *rjav površnik* are sensible.

5.2.2 Additional examples II

If this account is correct, we should find complement–adjunct asymmetries. And we do! (exx P. Jurgec)

- (32) a. *Peter je naredil tečaj fizike, ampak Janez je naredil **nega** pro_N matematike.
 'Peter passed a physics course, but Janez passed a mathematics one.'
 b. *Peter je naredil težek tečaj fizike, ampak Janez je naredil **lahkega** pro_N matematike.
 'Peter passed a difficult physics course, but Janez passed an easy mathematics one.'

- (33) a. Peter je naredil težek tečaj, ampak Janez je naredil **lahkega** *pro_N*.
 ‘Peter passed a difficult course, but Janez passed an easy one.’
 b. Peter je naredil težek tečaj na univerzi, ampak Janez je naredil **lahkega** *pro_N* na srednji šoli.
 ‘Peter passed a difficult physics course at university, but Janez passed an easy one at school.’
- (34) a. ?*Razumem dober predlog da bo Janez prišel in tudi **sijajnega** *pro_N* da bo prinesel pivo.
 ‘I understand the good proposal that Janez come and also the great one that he bring beer.’
 b. Razumem dober predlog, ki ga je Janez imel in tudi **sijajnega** *pro_N* ki ga je Janez ponovil.
 ‘I understand the good proposal that Janez made and also the great one that Janez repeated.’
- (35) a. V sredo bomo zapili Petrov zagovor, in v petek pa **Janezovega** *pro_N*.
 ‘On Wednesday we will celebrate Peter’s defense and on Friday Janez’s one.’
 b. V sredo bomo zapili Petrov zagovor doktorata, v petek pa **Janezovega** *pro_N*.
 ‘On Wednesday we will celebrate Peter’s dissertation defense and on Friday Janez’s one.’
 c. V sredo bomo zapili Petrov zagovor (doktorata) u veliki dvorani, in v petek pa **Janezovega** *pro_N* u mali dvorani.
 ‘On Wednesday we will celebrate Peter’s dissertation defense in the great hall and on Friday Janez’s one in the small hall.’
 d. V sredo bomo zapili Petrov zagovor doktorata napisanega v francoščini, v petek pa **Janezovega** *pro_N* napisanega v ruščini.
 ‘On Wednesday we will celebrate Peter’s defense of his dissertation written in French and on Friday of Janez’s one written in Russian.’
- (36) ?*V sredo bomo zapili Petrov zagovor doktorata, v petek pa **Janezovega** *pro_N* magisterija.
 ‘On Wednesday we will celebrate Peter’s dissertation defense and on Friday Janez’s master’s one.’

In (32) *pro_N* has a complement, in (33) not; (34) illustrates the complement vs. relative clause contrast. (35) illustrates various viable positions for *pro_N*, while (36) shows that it cannot take a complement.

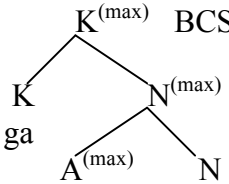
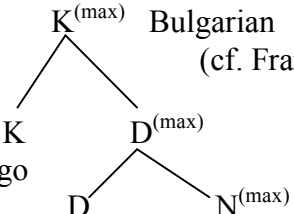
6. Extensions and speculations

6.1 DP versus NP languages (Bošković)

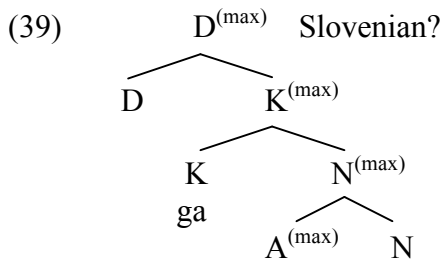
Nominals have features for case and specificity, *inter alia*, but how these features are expressed differs from language to language. The variation is a matter of whether features are borne by a separate functional head or not. There are canonical DP languages like French and NP languages like Russian.

- (37) a.  French
- b.  Russian

☞ Clitics such as *ga* in Slvn (and in Slavic in general, except Polish) are K^0 heads:

- (38) a.  BCS/Slvn?
- b.  Bulgarian
(cf. Franks & Rudin)

► We believe Slvn is developing from (38a) into a DP language, although differently than Bulgarian:



No time to go into the details, but, if s.o referential features will be on D and clitic can have the I/S possibility. Suggestive facts: Slvn (unlike BCS) disallows left-branch extraction, (like Bg) has clitic doubling (although dialectal and restricted to pronominal associates), (like English) distinguishes *en* as an indefinite article from independent *eden*, and has a special definite marker *ta*.

☞ Clitics—*le* in (37a), *ga* in (38a) or (39), *go* in (38b)—are overt when their complements are null. May have to do with relationship (cf. e.g. Lobeck) between Spec-head agreement and complement ellipsis:

- (40) a. Mary said John is leaving but I don't know when [_{IP} ~~he is leaving~~]
 b. *Mary said John is leaving but I don't think that [_{IP} ~~he is leaving~~]
 c. We are looking for John's [_{NP} ~~book~~]
 d. *We are looking for the [_{NP} ~~book~~]

6.2 Is there anything like the Slvn OA in other languages?

☞ Very hard to find!

Spanish has a neuter *pron*

- (41) a. **lo** grande [_{NP} *pron*] 'the big one'
 b. **el** grande [_{NP} libro] 'the big book'

In Koyra Chiini when an adjective is used without a noun, the adjective must take a prefix *i-*

- (42) *i-* jeeno [_{NP} *pron*] di
 ABSOL- old DEF
 'the old one'

(42) is adapted from Dryer, citing Heath (1999), who calls *i-* an "Absolute" prefix

Dryer also cites Herault (1978) that in Adioukrou, a Kwa language spoken in Côte d'Ivoire, an NP with an A but no N requires a definite article, but the definite article is optional if there is an N.

6.3 P&O point out that agreement with pronouns is robust

- (43) a. Že^{le}l sem jo pojesti **vso**_{acc.} 'I wanted to eat it (feminine) all up.'
 b. Že^{le}l sem ga pojesti vse^{ga}_{gen}/***ves**_{acc.} 'I wanted to eat it (masculine) all up.'

Also, compare (44b) with (15) above, repeated as (44a):

- (44) a. Včeraj smo našli stol **pomazan**_{acc} s krvjo.
 ‘Yesterday we found the chair stained with blood.’
 b. Včeraj smo ga našli **pomaznega**_{gen}/***pomazan**_{acc} s krvjo.
 ‘Yesterday we found it stained with blood.’

Similarly in BCS (examples inspired by W. Browne in discussion of Rappaport presentation):

- (45) a. stol što sam (ga) vrevrnuo
 b. stol **kojega**_{gen} OR **koji**_{acc} sam prevrnuo
 c. Ostavio sam ga (=stol) **prevrnutog**_{gen}/***prevrnutan**_{acc}.
 d. Ostavio sam stol ***prevrnutog**_{gen}/**prevrnutan**_{acc}

(45a) shows that the resumptive clitic *ga* is optional with *što*-relatives.

(45b) shows that the relative pronoun can either agree with (hypothetical) *ga* or not

(45c, d) shows that secondary predicate must agree with *ga* when it is present

Conclusion: agreement with pronouns necessarily treats them as animate.

☞ Finally, what is special about Slvn? Just that it has *pro*_N? Why?

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