Restrictive adjectival modification and nominal ellipsis
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1. Across languages, several phenomena in the nominal domain have been argued to be sensitive to (non-) restrictivity. These include word order restrictions in Romance (1), where postnominal placement is only possible for restrictive modifiers (1a), and Determiner Spreading (DS) in Greek (2), where only restrictive modifiers can occur with an extra determiner (2b, Kolliakou 2005). Such phenomena led to the formulation of the complementarity hypothesis in (A), (see Alexiadou & Wilder 1998, Alexiadou 2001, Cinque 2010, Demonte 2008, Sproat & Shih 1988 among others):

(A) Complementarity hypothesis
The syntax of restrictive modifiers differs from that of non-restrictive modifiers;
the syntax of (non-)restrictive modification is tied to that of (in)direct modification.

A modifier is restrictive if the set of objects denoted by a modified head is properly contained in the denotation of the head alone. According to e.g. Alexiadou & Wilder (1998), restrictive modifiers are a sub-class of indirect modifiers and have the syntax of a relative clause (3); direct ones have the one in (4), cf. Cinque (2010). This explains a) why indirect modifiers are always predicative, b) their semantic import, and c) the emergence of adjectival determiners in DS, as there are two D positions in (3). In this paper, I will have a look at another phenomenon that has been argued to be sensitive to restrictivity, namely nominal ellipsis (NE). I show that partitivity underlies both NE and the phenomena in (1-2); a relative clause syntax, however, is one possible syntactic realization thereof.

2. It has been argued that the adjectives that can participate in NE are restrictive modifiers. In e.g. Romance, NE is only possible with post-nominal adjectives (5), Eguren (2009); in Greek, NE is only possible with adjectives that can undergo DS, (6) (Ntelitheos 2004). Ntelitheos thus argued that NE is related to indirect modification. Evidence against this view comes from: a) in e.g. Serbian/Croatian, NE is acceptable only in the context of a long adjective, (7). Long adjectives, are however, direct modifiers (Cinque 2010), bearing partitive readings; b) typically non-restrictive modifiers can participate in ellipsis, if a contrast is established (8). Thus, what seems to underlie both NE and restrictive adjectival modification is that they are sensitive to partitivity/the set-subset relation. A syntax in terms of relative clauses is one way to express this relation.

3. Following Alexiadou & Gengel (2011), I propose that NE, but not restrictive modification in general, is sensitive to ‘classification’, realized syntactically as in (9), Borer (2005), cf. Sleeman (1996). Evidence for this comes from e.g. Chinese NE, see Cheng & Sybesma (2009). In Mandarin, NE is licensed in two different environments: immediately following a classifier and following de. Cheng & Sybesma convincingly argue that de is a classifier, not a relative clause marker, introducing a unit interpretation. If classifiers are what it takes to have NE, then long adjectival inflection in Serbian/Croatian can be re-analyzed as a classifier head, introducing a unit interpretation, similar to adjectival inflection in Dutch NE, see Corver & van Koppen (2011).

(word count, excluding title, 498 words).
Examples:
(1) a. Encontré las llaves viejas.
I found the keys old (i.e. The subset of keys which are old)
   b. Encontré las viejas llaves.
I found the old keys
   (i.e. (I found certain keys) and they are rusty / and their most remarkable
   property is to be old)
(2) a. O diefnthis dilose oti i ikani erevnites tha apolithun.
The director declared that the efficient researchers will be-fired
   'The director declared that the efficient researches will be fired.' ambiguous
   b. O diefnthis dilose oti i ikani i erevnites
The director declared that the efficient the researchers
   (or i erevnites i ikani) tha apolithun.
   (or the researchers the efficient) will be-fired restrictive
   'The director declared that only the efficient researches will be fired.'
(3) [DP D [CP [IP DP AP]]] Kayne (1994)
(4) [DP [FP AP [NP]]]
(5) a. Se viaja mejor en estos tres rapidos que en esos _ lentos
refl travels better in these trains fast than in those slow
It is better to travel in these fast trains that in those slow ones
b. *se viaja mejor en estos rapidos trenes que en esos lentos_
refl travels better in these fast trains than in those slow ones
(6) a. esi tha agorasid to prasino aftokinito ki ego to kokino aftokinito
   you fut buy.2sg the green care and I the red one
   You will buy the read care and I the red one
   b. *de mu aresi o dithen andagonismos
   Don't like the alleged
   c. *o dithen o andagonismos
the alleged the competition
(7) a. Marija je kupila 5 zelEni/zElenih kisobrana i 2 *siva/siva: [e]
   Maria bought 5 green (short)/long) umbrellas and 2 gray (short)/long
   'Maria bought five green umbrellas and two gray ones.
   b. sirok/sirokki tocek je stablniji nego *uzak/uski [e]
   large (short)/long) wheel is more stable than narrow (short)/long
   'A wide wheel is more stable than a narrow one'
(8) Tenéis que resolver el problema interesante y el _ aburrido.
   'You have to solve the interesting problem and the boring one.'
(9) [DP [#P = quantity [ClassifierP = division/classification/unit [NP]]]]

licensors of NP ellipsis: English vs. Romance. Proceedings of NELS 39, 15-28; Cheng, L. &
R. Sybesma. 2009. de as an underspecified classifier: first explorations. Lucong; Corver, N &
Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 29:2, 371-421.