Cinque (2010) proposes that adjectives come in two flavours and are merged in at two different positions in two different ways. Direct-modification adjectives are merged as APs into specifiers of dedicated functional heads in the extended projection of the Noun. Indirect-modification adjectives, on the other hand, are really reduced relative clauses merged into a functional projection hosting only reduced relative clauses. Indirect-modification adjectives are merged higher than direct-modification adjectives, (1). We will discuss a class of adjectives that appear to be direct-modification adjectives but are merged higher than indirect-modification adjectives.

Cinque (2010: p. 131, fn 1) notes the possibility that in English, the adjectives possible and wrong (on their indirect-modification reading) are actually located even higher than NumP. This is picked up in Marušič (2011), where it is shown that there seem to be more such adjectives, as in (2). We want to extend this claim and show that there is a bigger group of adjectives that is not formed from reduced relative clauses and is located in a position higher than the position of the reduced-relative-clause adjectives.

Adjectives that can appear to the left of cardinal numerals in English are adjectives that express some sort of location/position, such as left, right, upper, lower, northern, western, etc. This type of adjectives are found to the left of numerals also in Slovenian, (3). Although using ordinal numerals with these adjectives is not always good, at least in some cases, these adjectives appear to be located even higher than the ordinal numerals, (4).

When these adjectives are used to the right of the numeral or in predicative positions, they receive a different interpretation, which is not positional/locational. For example, when the Slovenian desni is used after the numeral, it is interpreted as 'right-wing', while leví can be interpreted as 'left-wing' but also as 'incompetent', (5).

Since these adjectives cannot be located in predicative positions, (6), they behave like direct-modification adjectives. At the same time, since they appear high inside the DP frame, apparently higher than both cardinal and ordinal numbers, presumably somewhere around the position of finite restrictive relative clauses (according to Cinque 2010, in prep.), they should pattern with indirect-modification adjectives, i.e. with reduced-relative-clause adjectives.

Indeed, they do appear to share at least some properties with indirect-modification adjectives. Cinque (2010) claims that indirect-modification adjectives get a restrictive reading, while direct-modification adjectives get a nonrestrictive reading. When severni 'northern' is used after the numeral, (7), it is read nonrestrictively and thus corresponds to direct-modification adjectives, (7a), while prenumerably, it gets a restrictive reading, just like other indirect-modification adjectives, (7b).

Another class of Slavic adjectives that behave according to some diagnostics as direct modifiers and are located higher than numerals are possessive adjectives, (8).

In order to bring together these opposing properties of the two classes of adjectives, we need to allow bare AP adjectives to be merged not only below indirect modifiers but also higher than the position where reduced RCs are merged.
(1) DP
  D
   NumP
     IP
       PRO
         (indirect modification) AP
           (direct modification) AP
             NP

(2) a. the left three columns
   b. the upper three rows

(3) a. levi trije stolpci Slovenian
   left three columns
   b. zgornje tri vrstice Slovenian
   upper three rows

(4) a. leve prve tri knjige Slovenian
   left first three books
   b. the upper first four rows (from www)

(5) a. trije desni politiki Slovenian
   'three right-wing politicians'
   b. trije levi politiki Slovenian
   three left politicians
   'three left-wing politicians'/'three incompetent politicians'

(6) a. *Te knjige so leve.
   Slovenian
   these books are left
   intended: 'These books are to the left.'
   b. *Tista tri drevesa so desna.
   Slovenian
   those three trees are right
   (intended: 'Those three trees are to the right. ')

(7) a. trije severni otočki (nonrestrictive) Slovenian
   three northern islands
   'three northern islands'
   b. severni trije otočki (restrictive) Slovenian
   northern three islands
   'the northern three islands'

(8) Martini trije otroci Slovenian
   Marta's three kids
   'Marta's three kids'