Whereas at first sight the position of adjectives seems to be opposed, pre-nominal in Germanic and post-nominal in Romance, Cinque (1994) proposes a unified account: adjectives are merged within the functional projections of the noun, the post-nominal position of Romance adjectives being the result of noun movement to the head of a dominating functional projection. Whereas in Cinque (1994) (reduced) relative clauses are right-adjointed to the noun phrase, in Cinque (2010) the analysis of (reduced) relative clauses is paralleled to that of adjectives: both in Germanic and Romance (reduced) relative clauses are merged within the functional projections of the noun, their pre-nominal or post-nominal position at spell-out being the result of NP-movement.

Cinque (2010) can be seen as the outline of a research program, because in Germanic and Romance differences in DP-structure cannot be characterized only in terms of pre-nominal and post-nominal adjectives and (reduced) relative clauses. A detailed analysis has to include more differences between DPs:

First, the position of the noun can vary with respect to the determiner (in most languages D-N, but in Scandinavian or Romanian also N-D). This makes that the position of adjectives does not only vary with respect to the noun: it can also vary with respect to the determiner. In most languages, the modifier follows the determiner (D-A-N, D-N-A, N-D-A). However, in, e.g., Icelandic or Romanian the adjective can also precede the determiner (A-N-D, A-D-N).

Second, the DP can contain more than one determiner. This happens in the Scandinavian double definiteness construction and also in the Romanian cel-construction. The position of the adjective with respect to one of these determiners can vary (D-A-N-D, N-D-D-A).

Third, the distinction of just two groups of modifiers, adjectives and (reduced) relative clauses, might be too simplistic. It has been proposed in the literature that besides or inside the direct modifiers (i.e. adjectives) and (reduced) relative clauses (i.e. indirect modifiers), different types should be distinguished.

Fourth, differences in DP-structure might be related to inflection on the modifiers: presence vs. absence of inflection or weak vs. strong inflection.

Finally, differences in DP-structure might also be related to the interpretation of the modifiers or determiners. Whereas Cinque (2010) associates direct modifiers, i.e. adjectives, with an individual level and non-restrictive interpretation, indirect modifiers, i.e. (reduced) relative clauses are associated with a stage-level, restrictive interpretation. In the literature, it has been argued that this distinction is too coarse. Furthermore, the interpretation of the determiner (definite, indefinite, referential) also plays a role in DP-structure. Inflection might also be related to interpretation.

In this paper we bring together data from various Germanic and Romance languages and recent analyses of these data (e.g., Julien 2005; Roehrs 2006, 2009; Longobardi & Guardiano 2009; Marchis & Alexiadou 2009; Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011; Lohrmann 2011; Sleeman 2011; Julien & Roehrs 2012; Niculescu 2012; Pfaff 2012; Pounder 2012). The goal is to come to a unified account, building on Cinque’s (2010) research program.