Suffixation under structural adjacency: The case of Icelandic *the*-support

Recent work provides a series of semantic evidence for two definite articles across languages and language families (Schwarz, 2009; Arkoh and Matthewson, 2013; Simonenko, 2013). A weak article D_{weak} expresses situational uniqueness and a strong article D_{strong} anaphoricity. This paper provides evidence from Icelandic in support of this line of work and provides a novel kind of argument by showing that the Icelandic weak article is distinguished by a morphological interaction which is structurally parallel to English *do*-support: D/n interveners trigger support morphology as T/v interveners do in English. Implications ensue for the theory of suffixation under structural adjacency.

German and Icelandic articles: In German, D_{weak}/D_{strong} are often homophonous but in certain P+D configurations D_{weak}, but not D_{strong}, contracts, e.g. *zu dem* to *zum* (1a). Anaphoric P+D does not contract (1b). In Icelandic, both D_{weak}/D_{strong} are normally suffixed on the noun, e.g. *hestur-inn* 'horse-the$_{weak/strong}$' but under the conditions (i) Uniqueness: definiteness is licensed by situational uniqueness and (ii) Intervention: there is a structural intervener between D/n, then D_{weak} is a free form with *hi*-initial morphology (2a). Structural interveners include at least evaluative adjectives and I will focus on those. Unlike restrictive adjectives, they express the commitment that the adjective is appropriate according to the standards of the speaker; therefore (2a) cannot be followed by "but nobody considers it amazing" whereas restrictive 'old' in (2b) is compatible with "but nobody considers her old". Restrictive adjectives are not interveners: They do not block suffixation of D onto n (2b).

(1) a. Armstrong flog als erster [PP **zum** Mond].
        Armstrong flew as first one to-the$_{weak}$ moon.
        'Armstrong was the first one to fly to the moon.'

   b. Hans hat einen Schriftsteller und einen Politiker interviewt. Er hat [PP **von dem**
      Hans has a writer and a politician interviwed. He has from the$_{strong}$
      Politiker] keine interessanten Antworten bekommen
      politician no interesting answers gotten
      'H. interviewed a writer and a politician. He got no interesting answ. from the politician.'

(2) a. Tim Berners Lee fann upp [DP **hinn** ótrúlega veraldarvef]
        Tim Berners Lee invented up the$_{weak}$ amazing$_{evaluative}$ world.wide.web
        'Tim Berners Lee invented the amazing World Wide Web'

   b. María spjallaði í dag við ungan stjórnmálamann og gamlan stjórnmálamann. Hún fékk
      Mary talked in day to young politician and old politician she got
      engin áhugaverð svör frá [DP gamla stjórnmálamanni-**num**].
      no interesting answers from old$_{restrictive}$ politician-the$_{strong}$
      'Mary talked to a young politician and an old politician today. She got no interesting answers from the old politician.'

Given Intervention, the paper will demonstrate that the free *hi*-initial article appears in exactly the uniqueness contexts studied by Schwarz in German, including proper names, dates, larger/smaller situation uniqueness, global uniqueness, superlatives and reference to kinds. The same holds for more nuanced cases like co-varying situational uniqueness, supporting the view that Icelandic has the same two articles as German, although the morphological correlates are different. These findings show that although the free form article is uncommon in everyday speech (Sigurðsson, 2006), it is a robust part of the grammar; the combination of Intervention and Uniqueness is just relatively rare.

Icelandic *the*-support: I refer to the distribution of D_{weak} in Icelandic as *the*-support due to its similarities with English *do*-support. The proposed analysis is demonstrated in (3). Evaluative adjectives are intrdocued in the specifier of αP (similar but not the same as α in Julien 2005) and

α is a structural D/n intervener and triggers the free form article like negation is a T/v intervener in English which triggers *do*-support. Restrictive adjectives like 'yellow' are adjoined to the noun phrase and are not interveners, just like v-adjoined adverbs in English are invisible for the purpose of T/v intervention. When α intervenes, the derivation must be saved by merging a special n with D_{weak}, realized as support morphology. Motivation for α comes from the fact that the same adjective can sometimes be used in an evaluative or restrictive manner, e.g. 'elegant' can be restrictive if used in contrast with a non-elegant set of individuals. Instead of resorting to lexical ambiguity, α encodes the difference (4) where Rel(G)(x)(s) expresses the relation under which G enters the semantics, e.g., an encoding of G being the opinion of the speaker about x in situation s.

(3) Syntax of Icelandic *the*-support:

(4) $[\![\alpha]\!] = \lambda P_{\langle e, \langle s,t \rangle \rangle} \cdot \lambda G_{\langle e, \langle s,t \rangle \rangle} \cdot \lambda x_e \cdot \lambda s \cdot P(x)(s) \ \& \ Rel(G)(x)(s)$

If INTERVENTION occurs in a context for D_{strong}, suffixation is unavailable and D_{strong} is also incompatible with *the*-support. In a response to (2a), in which the DP is repeated, now anaphoric due to the established discourse referent, the only option is to use the demonstrative (5). I hypothesize that support morphology is dis-preferred on economy grounds and the availability of a demonstrative which is nearly synonymous with D_{strong} blocks support morphology in D_{strong} contexts.

(5) **Þessi** / #**hinn** ótrúlegi veraldarvefur hefur breytt heiminum.
    this / #the$_{strong}$ amazing$_{evaluative}$ world.wide.web has changed world.the
    'This amazing world wide web has changed the world.'

Suffixation: Embick and Noyer (2001) note that invisibility of adjuncts in *do*-support can be derived (i) by suffixation under linear adjacency of suffix/host if we assume late-adjuction or (ii) by lowering a head to the head of its complement. These analyses are hard to distinguish in English but optional movement of nP to Spec,D in Icelandic (6a) suggests that adjunct invisibility should be stated as (i) because suffixation is the only option in (6a) vs (6b), an effect of linear adjacency:

(6) a. veraldarvefur-inn ótrúlegi
       world.wide.web-the amazing

   b. *hinn veraldarvefur ótrúlegi
       the world.wide.web amazing

My analysis does not depend on the mechanics of this displacement, but the word order is accounted for if nP can move to Spec,D when INTERVENTION holds. The movement makes D right-adjacent to n. This movement is ruled out by anti-locality (Abels, 2003) when D/n are immediately local.

Conclusion: The Icelandic facts support the view that D_{weak} and D_{strong} are distinct syntactic objects across languages. Furthermore, the linear nature of *the*-support suggests that late adjunction explains adjunct invisibility in support phenomena and that head-to-head lowering may need to be reconsidered.
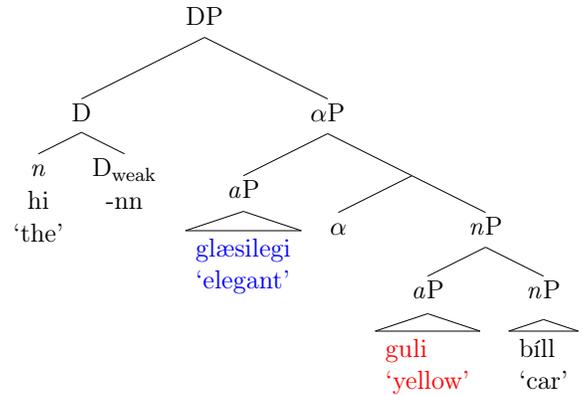
Abels, Klaus. 2003. Successive cyclicity, anti-locality, and adposition stranding. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Connecticut.

Arkoh, Ruby, and Lisa Matthewson. 2013. A familiar definite article in Akan. *Lingua* 123:1–30.

Embick, David, and Rolf Noyer. 2001. Movement operations after syntax. *Linguistic inquiry* 32:555–595.

Julien, Marit. 2005. *Nominal phrases from a Scandinavian perspective*. John Benjamins Publishing.

Schwarz, Florian. 2009. Two types of definites in natural language. Doctoral Dissertation, UMass, Amherst.

Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 2006. The Icelandic noun phrase: Central traits. *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 121:193–236.

Simonenko, Alexandra. 2013. Grammatical ingredients of definiteness. Doctoral Dissertation, McGill.