

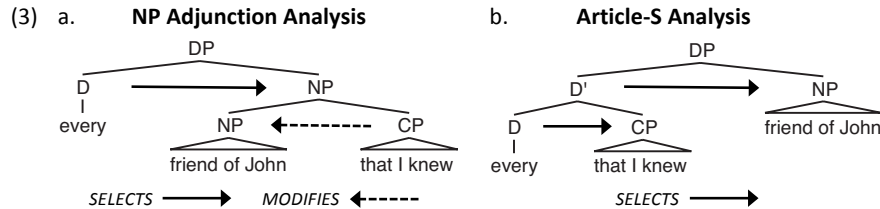
Revisiting Article-S

Richard Larson (SBU) (and Ivana LaTerza, S. Seattle College)

Smith (1964) proposes the "Article-S analysis" under which relative clauses (1) begin as complements of Art or D before extraposing rightward (2a,b):

- (1) a. Every friend of John **that I knew** was present.
 b. Every friend of John was present **that I knew**.
- (2) a. [_{NP} [every **that I knew**] friend of John **that I knew**] was present.
 b. [_{NP} [every **that I knew**] friend of John] was present **that I knew**.

Despite important virtues, Article-S has attracted little modern interest, possibly because of its unique view of selection in the nominal.



Here we:

- revisit syntactic evidence for Article-S, both classical and more recent.
- evaluate the semantic coherence of its view of selection in DP
- recast the account within a "dP/DP shells" framework (Larson 2014)
- consider implications of Article-S for "DP-less languages"

1.0 Syntactic Evidence for Article-S

1.1. Early Discussion

Kuroda (1969) notes indefinite *way* can co-occur with bare *that*, but not with bare *the* (4a-b). Restrictive modifiers (AP, RC) improve the result (5c-d). In effect, *the* + modifier "adds up" to *that*. Jackendoff (1977) makes a similar observation with proper nouns (7):

- (4) a. I earned it { that way
 b. { *the way
 c. { the **old-fashioned** way
 d. { the way **that one should**

- (5) a. He greeted me with { the/*a warmth I expected
 b. { *the/a warmth I hadn't expected

- (6) a. *the Paris
 b. the **old** Paris
 c. the Paris **that I love**
 d. the Paris **of the twenties**

(4)-(6) suggests discontinuous dependency between D & restrictive modifier; Article-S offers a natural account.

- (7) a. [**the** that one should] way
 b. [**that - LOC**] way

1.2 Southwestern Sulawesi Relatives

Finer (1998) discusses RCs from southwestern Sulawesi, Indonesia, (Selayarese, Makassarese, Konjo, Bugis). These languages are basically head initial with word order adjusted (sometimes significantly) by movement.

- (8) a. doe?-iñjo
 money-DEF
 'the money'
 b. [_{DP} doe?-iñjo [_{NP} doe?]]

- (9) a. doe?-na
 money-3POSS
 'his money'
 b. [_{DP} doe?-na [_{NP} doe?]]

Finer takes Selayarese transitive VOS clauses (10a)/(11a) to derive from SVO by fronting the absolutive object, raising V through its extended projection domain and attaching the absolutive clitic *i* (10b)/(11b).

- (10) a. La?alle i doe?-iñjo palopi-ñjo
 take ABS money-DEF sailor-DEF
 'the sailor took the money'
 b. La?alle i doe?-iñjo palopi-ñjo la?alle doe?-iñjo

- (11) a. Lakanre i juku?-na meong-na
 eat ABS fish-3POSS cat-3POSS
 'his cat ate his fish'
 b. Lakanre i juku?-na meong-na lakanre juku?-na

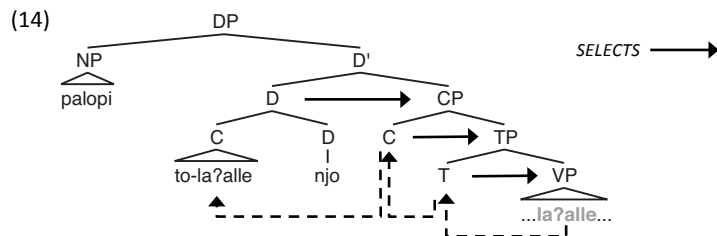
Consider (12) and (13), Selayarese RCs formed from (10) and (11) (resp).

- RC marker is prefixed to V (*to-* if RC head is [HUMAN], *nu-* otherwise)
- when the object is relativized (12b)/(13b), the absolutive clitic *i* is absent.
- D forms a unit with the entire relative clause verbal complex.

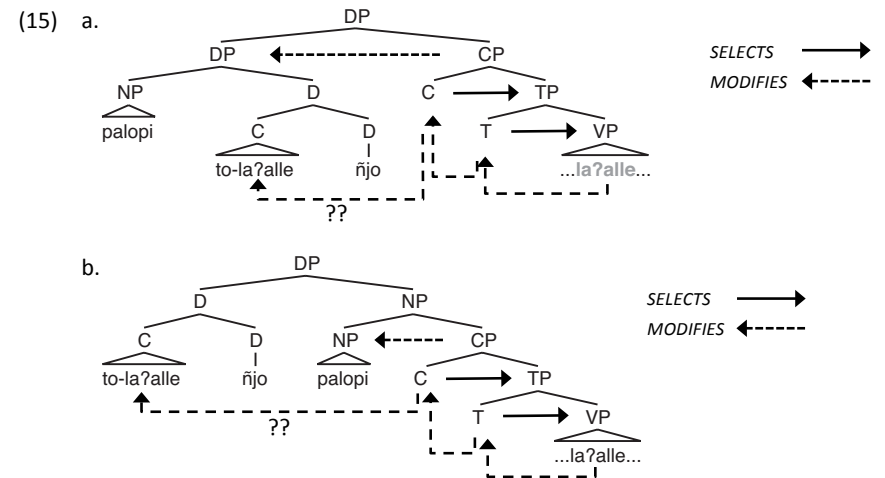
- (12) a. **palopi** to-la?alle-**n̄jo** i doe?-i \bar{n} jo
 sailor REL-take-DEF ABS money-DEF
 'the sailor that took the money'
 b. **doe?** nu-la?alle-**n̄jo** palopi-i \bar{n} jo
 money REL-take-DEF sailor-DEF
 'the money that the sailor took'

- (13) a. **meong** nu- η aganre-na
 cat REL-eat-3POSS
 'his cat that ate'
 b. **juku** nu-lri-kanre-na
 fish REL-PASS-eat-3POSS
 'his fish that was eaten'

Finer (1998) notes that under Article-S, (12) and (13) can be derived by raising V to T to C to D, picking up *to* on the way. This sequence is licit because the functional projections form a concentric set, the head of each standing in a selection relation to the one below (14):



If RCs are adjoined to DP (15a) or NP (15b) (with subsequent fronting of *palopi*), the chain of selection fails and V raising becomes problematic.



2.0 Semantic Coherence of Article-S

2.1 Quantifiers and Restrictions

Consider (16a), attributed to New York Yankees baseball catcher Yogi Berra and presenting an apparent contradiction.

- (16) a. Nobody goes there anymore. It's too crowded.
 b. 'Nobody who we know', 'nobody from our group', 'nobody important', ... etc.

(16b) suggests that S1 of (16a) should be represented not as in (17a), but as in (17b), with an implicit restriction variable *R* whose value is fixed contextually (17c):

- (17) a. $\forall x[\text{person}(x) \rightarrow \neg \text{go-there-anymore}(x)]$
 b. $\forall x[(\text{person}(x) \ \& \ \mathbf{R}(x)) \rightarrow \neg \text{go-there-anymore}(x)]$
 c. $R(x) \approx_{\text{context}} \text{know}(we,x), \text{from}(x,\text{our-group}), \text{important}(x), \dots, \text{etc.}$

Cooper (1975, 1979) and Bach and Cooper (1978) propose that *R* originates in the D meaning (18a-d) (see also von Stechow 1994):

- (18) a. *Every* $\Rightarrow \lambda Q\lambda P\forall x[(Q(x) \ \& \ \mathbf{R}(x)) \rightarrow P(x)]$
 b. *No* $\Rightarrow \lambda Q\lambda P\forall x[(Q(x) \ \& \ \mathbf{R}(x)) \rightarrow \neg P(x)]$
 c. *Some* $\Rightarrow \lambda Q\lambda P\exists x[(Q(x) \ \& \ \mathbf{R}(x)) \ \& \ P(x)]$
 d. *The* $\Rightarrow \lambda Q\lambda P\exists x\forall y[(Q(y) \ \& \ \mathbf{R}(y)) \rightarrow y = x] \ \& \ P(x)]$

- (19) *No-body* $\Rightarrow \lambda Q\lambda P\forall x[(Q(x) \ \& \ \mathbf{R}(x)) \rightarrow \neg P(x)](\lambda y[\text{person}(y)])$
 $\Rightarrow \lambda P\forall x[(\text{person}(x) \ \& \ \mathbf{R}(x)) \rightarrow \neg P(x)]$

This implies that NL Ds are not unrestricted in the logical sense. This appears true even of Ds like *many, few, all, some, both* and *neither*. These can occur without an overt NP (20a). Nonetheless they are understood as restricted (20b).

- (20) a. (We saw a group of men/a pair of men.)
Many/few/all/some/both/neither were/was wearing sandals.
 b. Many/few/all/some/both/neither **of the men we saw** were/was wearing sandals.

2.2 Relative Clauses and Other Restrictive Attributives

Cooper (1975, 1979) and Bach and Cooper (1978) propose that RCs (and other restrictives) may supply R explicitly, e.g., when "extraposed" (21a). The composition rule is (21b). (S' denotes main clause interpretation and RC' denotes RC interpretation).

- (21) a. Nobody goes there anymore **who we know**.
 b. $\lambda R[S'](RC')$
 c. $\lambda R[\forall x[(\text{person}(x) \ \& \ \mathbf{R}(x)) \rightarrow \neg\text{go-there-anymore}(x)]](\lambda y[\text{know}(\text{we},y))]] \Rightarrow$
 $\forall x[(\text{person}(x) \ \& \ \text{know}(\text{we},x)) \rightarrow \neg\text{go-there-anymore}(x)]$

This view makes RCs implicit arguments of D and comports naturally with Article-S.

- (22) a. *Every* $\Rightarrow \lambda Q\lambda P\forall x[(Q(x) \ \& \ \mathbf{R}(x)) \rightarrow P(x)]$
 b. *that I knew* $\Rightarrow \lambda y[\text{knew}(I,y)]$
 c. *Every that I knew* $\Rightarrow \lambda R[\lambda Q\lambda P\forall x[(Q(x) \ \& \ \mathbf{R}(x)) \rightarrow P(x)]](\lambda x[\text{knew}(I,y)])$
 $\Rightarrow \lambda Q\lambda P\forall x[(Q(x) \ \& \ \text{knew}(I,x)) \rightarrow P(x)]$
 d. *friend of John* $\Rightarrow \lambda z[\text{friend}(z,j)]$
 e. *Every that I knew friend of John*
 $\Rightarrow \lambda Q\lambda P\forall x[(Q(x) \ \& \ \text{knew}(I,y)) \rightarrow P(x)](\lambda z[\text{friend}(z,j)])$
 $\Rightarrow \lambda P\forall x[(\text{friend}(x,j) \ \& \ \text{knew}(I, x)) \rightarrow P(x)]$

This view also raises the question of whether RCs might be explicit arguments of D. Compare (23a) (= (18d)) with (23b):

- (23) a. *The* $\Rightarrow \lambda Q\lambda P\exists x\forall y[(Q(y) \ \& \ \mathbf{R}(y)) \rightarrow y = x] \ \& \ P(x)]$
 b. *The* $\Rightarrow \lambda R\lambda Q\lambda P\exists x\forall y[(Q(y) \ \& \ \mathbf{R}(y)) \rightarrow y = x] \ \& \ P(x)]$

On (23a), *the* is a **binary D** with an R whose value may be supplied by context or by an overt phrase. On (23b), *the* is a **ternary D** that selects a syntactic restrictor to yield a binary D. Which we accept - (23a) or (23b) - depends on whether *the* genuinely requires a restrictor argument.

Vendler (1967) notes examples like (24) and (25).

- (24) a. I see **a man**. **The man** is wearing a hat.
 b. I see **a man**. **The man I see** is wearing a hat.
 c. I see **a man**. **The man you know** is wearing a hat.
 (25) a. I see **a rose**. **The rose** is lovely.
 b. I see **a rose**. **The rose I see** is lovely.
 c. I see **a rose**. **The red rose** is lovely.

(24a) is naturally understood like (24b). Similarly for (25a)/(25b). The examples present "continuous discourse". (24c) and (25c) are not continuous.. Why?

Vendler: "the definite article in front of a noun is always and infallibly the sign of a restrictive adjunct, present or recoverable..."(p.46). I.e., definite D selects a restrictive phrase. (24a) contains an elliptical or "deleted" RC equivalent to (24b), allowing continuity. By contrast, the overt RC in (24c) "saturates" the R required by *the*, hence (24c) can't be understood equivalently to (24b), hence continuity fails.

Vendler's view of *the* as selecting an (overt or covert) restrictive phrase fits Article-S constituency. Compare (22) and (26).

- (26) a. *the* $\Rightarrow \lambda R\lambda Q\lambda P\exists x\forall y[(Q(y) \ \& \ \mathbf{R}(y)) \rightarrow y = x] \ \& \ P(x)]$
 b. *that I knew* $\Rightarrow \lambda y[\text{knew}(I,y)]$
 c. *friend of John* $\Rightarrow \lambda z[\text{friend}(z,j)]$
 d. *The that I knew* \Rightarrow
 $\lambda R\lambda Q\lambda P\exists x\forall y[(Q(y) \ \& \ \mathbf{R}(y)) \rightarrow y = x] \ \& \ P(x)](\lambda x[\text{knew}(I,y)]) \Rightarrow$
 $\lambda Q\lambda P\exists x\forall y[(Q(y) \ \& \ \text{knew}(I,y)) \rightarrow y = x] \ \& \ P(x)]$
 e. *The that I knew friend of John* \Rightarrow
 $\lambda Q\lambda P\exists x\forall y[(Q(y) \ \& \ \text{knew}(I,y)) \rightarrow y = x] \ \& \ P(x)](\lambda z[\text{friend}(z,j)]) \Rightarrow$
 $\lambda P\exists x\forall y[(\text{friend}(y,j) \ \& \ \text{knew}(I, y)) \rightarrow y = x] \ \& \ P(x)]$

3.0 Relative Clauses in dP/DP Shells

Smith (1964) derives English D-NP-CP order by rightward movement of RC from D complement position (27a). Compare Filmore (1965), which derives V-NP-PP order by rightward movement of PP from V complement position (27b).

- (27) a. $[_{DP} [[\text{every that I knew}] \text{ friend of John}] \text{ that I knew}]$
 b. $[_{VP} [[\text{give to John}] \text{ a birthday present}] \text{ to John}]$

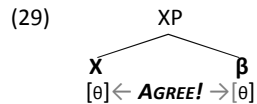
Modern analyses of ditransitives (Larson 1988, Chomsky 1995) invoke layered or "shelled" VPs that preserve inner complementation for PP, but derive V-NP-PP order by leftward raising of V (28a). Larson (1991,2014) proposes shelled DPs that preserve inner complementation for RCs, but derive D-NP-CP order by leftward raising of D (28b).

- (28) a. $[_{VP} \text{give } v \text{ } [_{VP} [\text{a birthday present}] [_{V'} \text{give to John}]]]$
 b. $[_{dP} \text{every } d \text{ } [_{DP} [\text{friend of John}] [_{D'} \text{every that I knew}]]]$

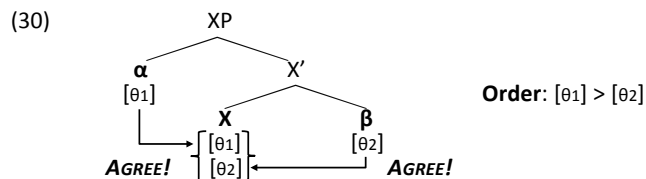
This parallelism arises from a particular account of syntactic projection.

3.1 Projection via Ordered θ -Features

Larson (2014, 2017) proposes that syntactic projection occurs by means of θ -features that undergo agreement upon Merge (29):



Sets of θ -features $\{[\theta_1], [\theta_2]\}$ reside on heads (X); features undergo agreement according to an ordering; lower ranked features agree before higher ones. Feature ordering determines hierarchical projection order (α above β in (30)):



Features come in three main "flavors" (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007):

- (31) a. $i\theta$ **interpretable** θ , associated with a "meaning"
 b. θval **valued** θ , associated with visible marking/pronunciation
 c. θ **uninterpretable-unvalued** θ , concordial

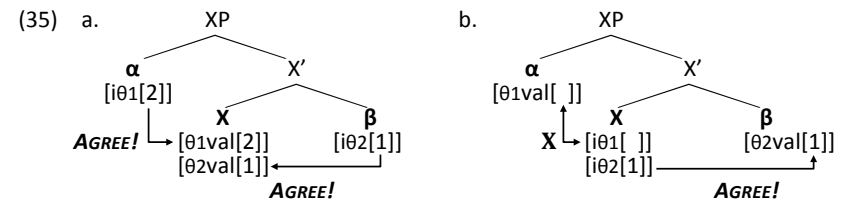
Agreement is directional: unvalued θ (i.e., $i\theta$ or θ) probes any θ it commands and agrees with it; θval does not probe. Agreement is notated by indexing and brackets:

- (32) a. $i\theta[n] \dots \theta val[n]$
 b. $i\theta[n] \dots \theta[n] \dots \theta val[n]$

θ -features are LF-legible only in "agreement chains" with at least one interpretable and one valued instance. (33a-c) are LF-legible. (34a-e) are not.

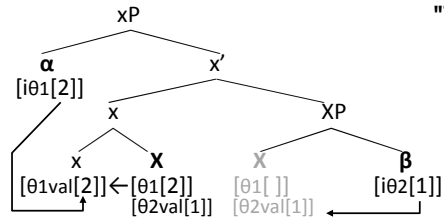
- (33) a. $i\theta[n] \dots \theta val[n]$ Legible!
 b. $i\theta[n] \dots \theta[n] \dots \theta val[n]$
 c. $i\theta[n] \dots \theta[n] \dots \theta[n] \dots \theta val[n]$
 (34) a. $i\theta[]$ d. $\theta[n] \dots \theta val[n]$ Illegible!
 b. $\theta val[]$ e. $i\theta[] \dots \theta val[]$
 c. $i\theta[n] \dots \theta[n]$

These assumptions entail that θ -features must typically be valued on heads and interpretable on args. Compare:



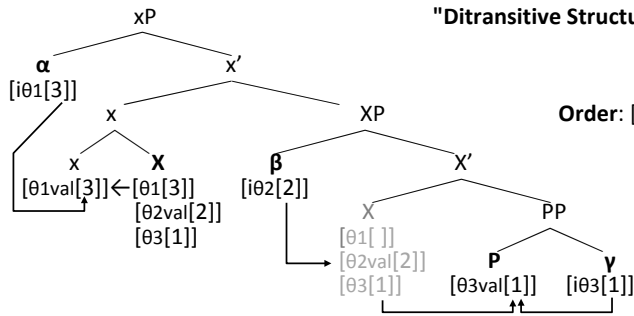
Finally, at most one θ -feature in a set born by X can be valued. So whenever X bears more than one θ -feature, valuation must recruit additional "valuers". Assume X, x ("light X") and P can value θ -features. (36) and (37) are example structures.

(36) **"Transitive Structure"**



Order: [θ1] > [θ2]

(37) **"Ditransitive Structure"**

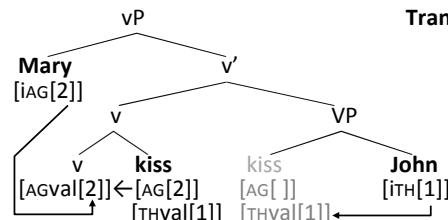


Order: [θ1] > [θ2] > [θ3]

3.2 vP/VP Structures

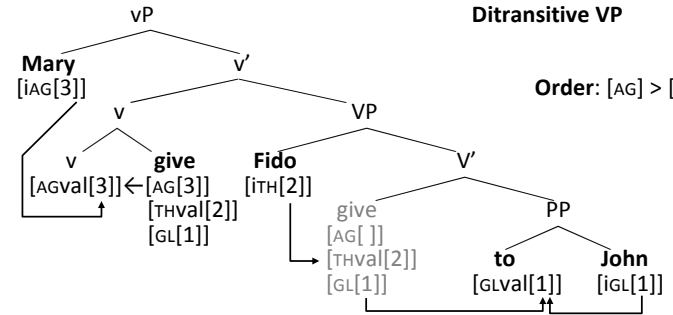
(38)/(39) give two English vP/VP structures built according to these principles:

(37) **Transitive VP**



Order: [AG] > [TH]

(41) **Ditransitive VP**

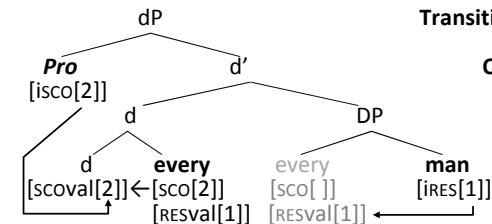


Order: [AG] > [TH] > [GL]

3.3 dP/DP Structures

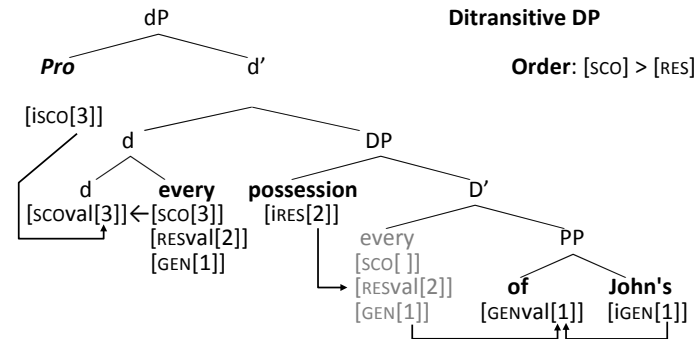
(42)/(43) give two English dP/DP structures built according to these principles:

(42) **Transitive DP**



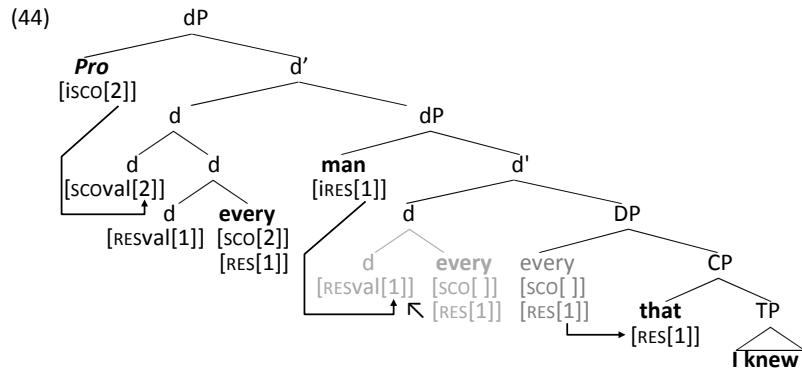
Order: [SCO] > [RES]

(43) **Ditransitive DP**



Order: [SCO] > [RES] > [GEN]

3.4 Relative Clauses



- (45) a. John spoke to Mary, **his daughter**.
 b. Mary left the keys on the table, **in the far corner**.

4.0 Relative Clauses in "D-less" languages?

Consider (64)-(65) from Serbian. (64a,b) can be accommodated under Article-S. What about (65a,b) with no determiner visible?

- (64) a. **Svaki** Jovanov prijatelj [**kojeg sam poznavala**] bio je prisutan.
 each Jovan.POSS friend who.ACC AUX knew was AUX present
 'Each friend of John who I knew was present.'
 b. **Mnogi** Jovanovi prijatelji [**koje sam poznavala**] bili su prisutni.
 many Jovan.POSS friends who.ACC AUX knew were AUX present
 Many friends of John who I knew were present.'
- (65) a. Jovanove slike [**koje je Marija naslikala**] bile su odlične.
 Jovan.POSS pictures which AUX Marija drew were AUX excellent
 'The pictures of John that Mary drew were excellent.'
 b. Zvaničnik [**koji je predstavljao vladu**] bio je prisutan.
 official who AUX represented government was AUX present
 'An official who represented the government was present.'

Null Ds are arguably present in English genitives (65a) and bare plurals (66b). LaTerza (2014): counterpart to English, Serbian has null articles D_{DEF}/D_{INDEF} (65'). Note that Serbian marks definiteness explicitly in AP; potential agreement with D_{DEF}/D_{INDEF} (67):

- (66) a. D_{DEF} John's book (was recently published).
 b. D_{INDEF} children (are present). (cf. *Some children are present*.)

- (65') a. D_{DEF} Jovanove slike [koje je Marija naslikala] bile su odlične.
 b. D_{INDEF} zvaničnik [koji je predstavljao vladu] bio je prisutan.

- (67) a. D_{DEF} **nòvī** grād
 new.NOM.SG.MASC.LONG city
 'the new city'
 b. D_{INDEF} **nòv** grād
 new.NOM.SG.MASC.SHORT city
 'a new city' Browne (2002, p.237)

Zlatic (1997), Stjepanović (1998), Trenkić (2004), Bošković (2005) and Despić (2011) argue that Serbian is "D-less" - that the subjects of (65a-b) are bare NPs. If correct, Article-S couldn't be correct for Serbian. If the analysis of RCs is uniform across languages, D-less languages would show Article-S is inadequate.

Phenomena in Serbian strikingly resemble those used to motivate Article-S in English. Serbian accented *onaj* is a deictic:

- (67) **onaj** grād (je predivan).
 DEM city AUX beautiful
 'that city (is beautiful)'

But *onaj* also has a de-accented/non-deictic use when it occurs with restrictive AP, PP or CP; it is interpreted essentially as a definite article.

- (68) (Koji grad vam najviše dopao?
 Which city you most like
 'Which city did you like most?')
 a. onaj prelepi grad
 DEM beautiful city
 'the beautiful city'
 b. onaj grad pored reke
 DEM city beside river
 'the city beside the river'
 c. onaj grad koji smo posetili prvog dana
 DEM city which AUX visited first day
 'the city we visited the first day (of our trip)'

Also when occurring with a proper name, *onaj* requires a restrictive AP, PP or RC in parallel to English *the*; compare (69a-c) to (7a-c).

- (69) a. Sećam se onog *(starog) Novog Sada.
remember REFL that old Novi Sad
'I remember the *(old) Novi Sad.'
- b. Sećam se onog Novog Sada *(iz 80-ih).
remember REFL that Novi Sad from 80s
'I remember the Novi Sad from the 80s.'
- c. Sećam se onog Novog Sada *(u kojem sam odrasla).
remember REFL that Novi Sad in which AUX grew.up
'I remember the Novi Sad I grew up in.'

Further Ivić (1964) notes Serbian temporal Ns that can appear in two contexts: (i) as accusative PP objects (70a) or (ii) as genitive nominals. In case (ii) they occur either with a deictic demonstrative (70b), or with non-deictic *onaj* 'that' and an obligatory restrictive attributive (70c-e):

- (70) a. Marija je otputovala na zimu.
Marija AUX left on winter.ACC
'Marija left **in winter**.'
- b. Marija je otputovala one/te zime
Marija AUX left that winter.GEN
Marija left **that winter**.'
- c. Marija je otputovala one *(hladne) zime
Marija AUX left that cold winter.GEN
Marija left **that cold winter**.'
- d. Marija je otputovala one zime *(posle Božića).
Marija AUX left that winter.GEN after Christmas
Marija left **the winter after Christmas**.'
- e. Marija je otputovala one zime *(koje je Todor maturirao).
Marija AUX left that winter.GEN which AUX Todor graduated
Marija left **the winter Todor graduated**.'

Serbian genitive-marked temporal nouns thus pattern like English "indefinite nouns"; and non-deictic *onaj* 'that' once again patterns like English *the*.

Macedonian has definite articles, but lacks case-marking or short-form/long-form in APs. Where Serbian uses a true demonstrative in the contexts above so does Macedonian, but where Serbian employs de-accented/non-deictic *onaj*, Macedonian

uses either the counterpart, de-accented/non-deictic demonstrative *onaj* or the definite article *to*, with synonymous meaning.

- (71) (Koj grad vi se dopadna najmnogu?)
Which city you REFL like most
'Which city did you like most?'
- a. **onaj** preubav grad/ **preubaviot** grad
DEM beautiful city/ beautiful-the city
'the beautiful city'
- b. **onaj** grad pokraj rekata / **gradot** pokraj rekata
DEM city beside river / city-the beside river
'the city beside the river'
- c. **onaj** grad što go posetivme prvot den / **gradot** što go posetivme prvot den.
DEM city which it visited first day / city-the which it visited first day
'the city we visited the first day (of our trip)'
- (72) a. Marija otpatuvava on zima.
Marija left on winter
'Marija left **in winter**.'
- b. Marija otpatuvava onaa / taa zima.
Marija left that winter
Marija left **that winter**.'
- c. Marija otpatuvava onaa *(ladna) zima.
Marija left that cold winter.GEN
Marija left **that cold winter**.'
- d. Marija otpatuvava zimata *(po Božik).
Marija left winter-the after Christmas
Marija left **the winter after Christmas**.'
- e. Marija otpatuvava zimata *(vo koja veeše strašen sneg).
Marija left winter-the on which fallen big snow
Marija left **the winter which had a lot of snow**.'

This suggests that although Serbian grammar lacks a dedicated morphological form comparable to *the*, it can recruit de-accented/non-deictic demonstrative *onaj* as a definite article in certain contexts.

Given the well-established syntactic connection between de-accentuation and ellipsis (Tancredi 1992), this lends further support to the view that Serbian possesses a null definite article - potentially, a fully-deaccented *onaj* (65a):

(65a') ONAJ Jovanove slike [koje je Marija naslikala] bile su odlične.
 DEF Jovan.POSS pictures which AUX Marija drew were AUX excellent
 'The pictures of John that Mary drew were excellent.'

Summary

- Article S captures apparent syntactic dependencies between D and RCs that alternative adjunction theories do not.
- The view of selection embodied in Article S has a coherent semantics
 - Domain restrictions are an essential component of D meaning, whether explicitly realized or left implicit.
 - RCs (and other restrictive attributives) appear to supply domain restrictions; they are D arguments in this sense.
 - With definite *the*, RC is potentially a true argument of D.
- Article-S can be updated within a more modern syntactic picture wherein (problematic) obligatory extraposition of RC is traded for obligatory leftward raising of D, in parallel with what happens in vP/VP.
- Claimed "DP less" languages (Serbian) pose an apparent challenge to the generality of Article-S. But the phenomenon of de-accented demonstratives suggests that showing lack of definite articles is less easy to establish than might appear.

References

- Bach, Emmon, and Robin Cooper. 1978. The NP-S analysis of relative clauses and compositional semantics. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 2: 145-150.
- Bošković, Željko. 2005. On the locality of left branch extraction and the structure of NP. *Studia Linguistica* 59: 1-45.
- Browne, Wayles. 2002. Serbo-Croat. In B. Comrie and G. G. Corbett, eds., *The Slavonic Languages*. pp. 306-387. London: Routledge.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The minimalist program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Cooper, Robin. 1975. *Montague's semantic theory and transformational syntax*, PhD thesis, University of Massachusetts.
- Cooper, Robin. 1979. "The interpretation of pronouns," *Proceedings of the third Groningen round table: syntax and semantics* 10, ed. by Heny and Schelle, New York: Academic Press.
- Despić, Miloje. 2011. *Syntax in the absence of determiner phrase*. PhD thesis, University of Connecticut.

- Fillmore, Charles J. 1965. *Indirect constructions in English and the ordering of transformations*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Finer, Daniel. 1998. Sulawesi relatives, V-raising, and the CP-complement hypothesis. *The Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 43, issue 3/4, 283-306.
- von Fintel, Kai. 1994. *Restrictions on quantifier domains*. PhD thesis. University of Massachusetts.
- Ivić, Milka. 1964. Non-omissible determiners in Slavic languages. In *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists*. pp. 476-479. The Hague.
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1977. *X-bar syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kayne, Richard. 1994. *The antisymmetry of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
- Kuroda, Sige-Yuki. 1969. English relativization and certain other related problems. *Language* 44: 244-266
- Larson, Richard. 1988. "On the double object construction," *Linguistic Inquiry* 19: 335-391.
- Larson, Richard. 1991. The Projection of DP (and DegP). In Larson (2014)
- Larson, Richard. 2014. *On shell structure*. London: Routledge.
- LaTerza, Ivana. 2014. *The DP category and Serbian nominal structure*. PhD thesis. Stony Brook University.
- Pesetsky, David and Esther Torrego. 2007. The syntax of valuation and the interpretability of features. In S. Karimi, V. Samiiian and W. Wilkins, (eds.) *Phrasal and clausal architecture*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Smith, Carlota S. 1964. Determiners and relative clauses in a generative grammar of English. *Language* 40: 37-52.
- Stjepanović, Sandra. 1998. Extraction of adjuncts out of NPs. Paper presented at the workshop *Comparative Slavic Morphosyntax: 'The State of the Art'*, Spencer, Indiana.
- Tancredi, Christopher. 1992. *Deletion, deaccenting, and presupposition*. PhD thesis. MIT.
- Trenkić, Danijela. 2004. Definiteness in Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian and some implications for the general structure of the nominal phrase. *Lingua* 114: 1401-1427.
- Vendler, Zeno. 1967. *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Zlatić, Larisa. 1997. *The structure of the Serbian noun phrase*. PhD thesis. University of Texas at Austin.