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Adnominal adjectives in Old English

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Even though adnominal adjectives in Old English are distributionally versatile in that they may precede, follow or flank the noun they modify, their positioning is not random but follows from systematic interpretive contrasts between pre- and postnominal adjectives, such as 'attribution vs predication', 'individual-level vs stage-level reading' and 'restrictive vs non-restrictive modification'. These contrasts are largely independent of adjectival inflection (pace Fischer 2000, 2001, 2006). The placement of adnominal adjectives in Old English is investigated in relation to recent comparative and theoretical studies on word order and word order variation (see Cinque 2007; Larson & Marušič 2004).

1 Introduction

Traditional wisdom has it that the positioning of adnominal adjectives in Old English (henceforth OE) is rather flexible in the sense that they may precede, follow or flank the noun they modify:

(1) Forhwon ne recst þu us þone **hwitan** hlaf
why not give you us the white loaf
'Why do you not give us the white loaf (of bread)?' (Bede 2, 5.112.9)

(2) Þa gemette he gebeoras **bliðe** æt þam huse
then met he companions merry at the house
'then he met his merry companions at the house' (ÆLS (Oswald), 225)

(3) Ða easternan tungelwitegan gesawon **niwne** steorran **beorhtne**
the eastern astrologers saw new star bright
'the oriental astrologers saw a new bright star' (ÆCHom I, 7 (234.71))

In most grammar books of OE, as well as in publications on the syntax of nominal expressions, adnominal adjectives (i.e. adjectives that are embedded in nominal expressions) are referred to as attributive adjectives which, in accordance with typological harmony, are predominantly found in prenominal position (see Quirk & Wrenn 1955: 88f.; Sørensen 1956: 262; Spamer 1979: 244ff.; Mitchell 1985: 76ff.; Lightfoot 1979: 168–86; Traugott 1992: 282f.; Fischer, van Kemenade, Koopman & van der Wurff 2000: 46ff.). Postnominal occurrences as in (2) and (3) are generally acknowledged and considered somehow marked, but not dealt with at any length or even swept under the linguistic rug. One notable exception is the work of Olga Fischer (2000, 2001, 2006), who focuses specifically on the distribution of adnominal adjectives in relation to their inflectional properties and interpretation. Since adjective placement patterns of types illustrated in (1)–(2) are attested both within individual languages and across languages, the objectives of Fischer's research on adjective positions in OE

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should be seen as closely related to those formulated in recent comparative and/or theoretical studies on word order and word order variation involving adjectives and the nouns they modify (see Cinque 1994, 2007; Larson 1998; Laenzlinger 2004, 2005; Alexiadou 2001; Giusti 2002; Dimitrova-Vulchanova 2003; Larson & Marušič 2004; Larson & Takahashi 2004; Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou 2007).[1]

The present article has two objectives. The first is to show that the positioning of adnominal adjectives is not random but follows exclusively from interpretive and functional differences between prenominal and postnominal adjectives. The second is to discuss the formal implementation of word order and word order variation involving adnominal adjectives in Old English and thereby create synergy between historical linguistics and recent syntactic theory.

2 Inflectional type, definiteness sensitivity and adjective position

Adnominal adjectives agree with the noun they modify in number, gender and case, with the adjective inflecting either weak or strong, as schematically indicated in table 1 (adapted from Fischer 2000: 159).

It is generally held that weak vs strong inflection compensates for the lack of a definite and indefinite article, with weak adjectival inflection indicating definiteness and strong adjectival inflection indefiniteness (see, among others, Quirk & Wrenn 1955: 68f.; Mitchell 1985: 51; Traugott 1992: 171ff.; Fischer 2000: 159ff.; 2001: 249ff.; 2006: 256ff.). Adnominal adjectives inflect weak if preceded by a possessive pronoun, e.g. *hiora* 'their' (4a), or a demonstrative, e.g. *þone* 'that' (4b), but they inflect strong in the absence of definiteness markers (5):[2]

(4) (a) Ac þa yflan for hiora **yflum**$_{<WK>}$ weorcum wæron gewitnode
but the evil for their evil deeds were punished
'but the evil ones were punished for their evil deeds' (Bo, 39.134.4)

(b) Forhwon ne recst þu us þone **hwitan**$_{<WK>}$ hlaf
why not give you us the white loaf
'Why do you not give us the white loaf (of bread)?' (Bede 2, 5.112.9)

[1] Cinque (2007) is a slightly revised, but significantly extended version of earlier work, notably Cinque (2003, 2005).

[2] Note that nominal expressions containing a vocative (i) or comparative (ii) are definite, whence the prenominal adjective inflects weak even though not accompanied by a demonstrative or possessive pronoun (see also Mitchell 1985: 56; Fischer 2001: 265):

(i) Eala þu **leofa**$_{<WK>}$ cyning, þin folc lið ofslagen
alas, you dear king, your people lies slain
'Alas, dear king, your people lie slain' (ÆLS (Edmund), 67)

(ii) we witon eac þæt he ure reccend is & us mid **ryhtlicran**$_{<WK>}$ lufan lufað þonne ænig mon
we know also that he our ruler is and us with more-right love loves than any man
'we also know that he is our ruler and that he loves us with more righteousness than any other man' (Or 2, 1.36.5)

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Table 1. *Weak and strong adjectival inflection in OE*

		weak			strong		
		masc	neut	fem	masc	neut	fem
nom.	sg.	-a	-e	-e	–	–	-/-u
acc.	sg.	-an	-e	-an	-ne	–	-e
gen.	sg.	-an	-an	-an	-es	-es	-re
dat.	sg.	-an	-an	-an	-um	-um	-re
nom.	pl.	-an	-an	-an	-e	- / -u	-a/-e
acc.	pl.	-an	-an	-an	-e	- / -u	-a/-e
gen.	pl.	-ra / -ena	-ra / -ena	-ra / -ena	-ra	-ra	-ra
dat.	pl.	-um	-um	-um	-um	-um	-um

(5) (a) and **geong**$_{<\text{STR}>}$ wuduwe mot eft ceorlian
and young widow may again marry
'and a young widow may marry again' (ÆLet 2, 156)

(b) He arærde ænne **deadne**$_{<\text{STR}>}$ mann þurh drihtnes mihte
he raised one dead man through God's might
'He raised a dead man through God's power' (ÆLS (Book of Kings) 300)

However, definiteness and indefiniteness are indicated only by prenominal adjectives. Postnominal adjectives, which always inflect strong, construe freely with definite nominal expressions as in (6a) and indefinite nominal expressions as in (6b):

(6) (a) & wende þæt hit hel wære be ðam tintregum
and I-imagined that it hell were by the tortures
unaræfnendlicum$_{<\text{STR}>}$ ic oft sæcgan herde
unendurable I often say heard
'I imagined that it was hell by the unendurable tortures I often heard about' (Bede 5, 13.424.32)

(b) And eac her syn on earde . . . leodhatan **grimme**$_{<\text{STR}>}$ ealles
And also here be on earth persecutors hostile entirely
to manege
too many
'and also there are all too many hostile persecutors here on earth' (WHom, 20.1)

Weak vs strong adjectival inflection not only indicates (in)definiteness but also relates to the distribution of adnominal adjectives relative to the noun. While weak adjectives are confined to the prenominal position (7), strong adjectives may occur both pre- and postnominally (8):[3]

[3] Despite appearances, the following strings do not invalidate the claim that weak adjectives are barred from occurring postnominally, since the adjectives under consideration are preceded by a demonstrative:

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(7) (a) þæt he þa **unclænan**$_{<WK>}$ gastas of mannum aflyman mihte
that he the unclean spirits from men expel could
'that he could expel the unclean spirits from men' (GD 1 (C), 10.71.3)

(b) * þæt he þa gastas **unclænan**$_{<WK>}$ of mannum aflyman mihte

(c) oðer dæl sceal beon geclæsnod [*sic*] & þa amered on ðæm
other part shall be cleansed and then purified on the
heofonlican$_{<WK>}$ fyre
heavenly fire
'the other part shall be cleansed and then be purified on the heavenly fire'
(Bo, 38.120.11)

(d) * & þa amered on ðæm fyre **heofonlican**$_{<WK>}$

(8) (a) & hine ... mid **grimmum**$_{<STR>}$ swingum swong
and him with fierce strokes beat
'and beat him with fierce strokes' (Bede 2, 6.114.15)

(b) And eac her syn on earde ... leodhatan **grimme**$_{<STR>}$ ealles
And also here be on earth persecutors hostile entirely
to manege
too many
'and also there are all too many hostile persecutors here on earth' (WHom, 20.1)

(c) and þar wearð **bliðe**$_{<STR>}$ gebeorscipe gegearwod betwux þam cynge
and there became joyful feast prepared between the king
and þam folce
and the people
'and there was a joyful feast prepared between the king and the people'
(ApT, 49.9)

(d) Þa gemette he gebeoras **bliðe**$_{<STR>}$ æt þam huse
then met he companions merry at the house
'then he met his merry companions at the house' (ÆLS (Oswald), 225)

The correlations of inflection, definiteness sensitivity and position can be summarized as in table 2: depending on whether the nominal expression containing them is indefinite or definite, prenominal adjectives inflect strong or weak, respectively. Postnominal adjectives always inflect strong irrespective of whether the nominal expression containing them is indefinite.

(i) hwilum cyle **þone grimmestan**
sometimes cold the grimmest
'sometimes the grimmest cold' (HomS 17 (BlHom 5) 136)

(ii) Se leofa cuma *&* **se lufiendleca**
the dear stranger and the lovely
'the dear and lovely stranger' (Bede 4 3.266.9)

Postnominal adjectives in the superlative (i) are always accompanied by a demonstrative, which is why they inflect weak. Weak adjectives contained in the so-called postnominal 'and adjective' construction (ii) are only apparent counterexamples to the claim that postnominal adjectives always inflect strong, since the postnominal adjective is accompanied by a demonstrative (see Haumann 2003).

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Table 2. *Inflectional type, definiteness sensitivity and adjective position*

Inflection	Strong	Weak	Strong
Definiteness Sensitivity	Yes indefinite nominal expression	Yes definite nominal expression	No
Position	Prenominal	Prenominal	Postnominal

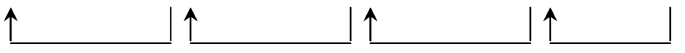
The observation that adjective placement is related to both overt adjectival agreement morphology and definiteness indicates that word order variation is not random but follows from the interplay of adjectival and nominal properties.

In the following section I will review Cinque's (1994) N(oun)-raising account of word order variation within nominal expressions, which builds on the interplay of adjectival and nominal properties in terms of agreement. Even though the N-raising analysis has proven impossible to maintain, I consider it instructive for our understanding of adjective placement to examine the problems this analysis encounters.

3 On N-raising (and why it fails)

Since the 1990s, the relative linear orders of attributive adjectives and the nouns they modify have come to be seen in the Minimalism of that time as a result of N-raising (or the lack of it) across one or more prenominal APs, which are located in the specifier positions of agreement-related functional projections (FP) sandwiched between NP and DP (see Cinque 1994):

(9) $[_{DP} \dots [_{FP} [_{AP}\ ] [_{F'} [_{F}\ \ \ ] [_{FP} [_{AP}\ ] [_{F'} [_{F}\ \ ] [_{FP} [_{AP}\ ] [_{F'} [_{F}\ \ ] \dots [_{NP} [_{N}\ \ ]]\dots]]]]]]\dots]$



According to Cinque (1994: 85, 105f.), N-raising is triggered by strong adjectival agreement morphology (i.e. overt number and gender features) which must be checked in overt syntax under specifier head agreement within a functional projection dominating NP. That is to say, the noun raises to the head of FP and checks its features against those of the adjective located in the specifier position of FP.

Given that in OE both nouns and adjectives inflect for number and gender,[4] and that adjectives agree with the nouns they modify, variation in the linear order of adnominal adjectives and the nouns they modify appears to be readily explainable in terms of N-raising. Thus the linear order AN in (10a) would obtain in the absence of N-raising

[4] The fact that attributive adjectives in OE also display overt case features is irrelevant with respect to N-raising. Note that, in (10), agreement extends to the demonstrative *þone*.

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(10b), the linear order NA in (11a) would result from N-raising across the adjective *bliðe* 'merry' (11b), and, finally, the ambilateral placement pattern, ANA, in (12a) would result under partial N-raising (12b), i.e. the noun raises only across *beorhtne* 'bright', the lower of the two adjectives:

(10) (a) Forhwon ne recst þu us
why not give you us
þone **hwitan**$_{<WK>}$ **hlaf**
the:**SG.MASC.**ACC white:**SG.MASC.**ACC loaf:**SG.MASC.**ACC
'Why do you not give us the white loaf (of bread)?' (Bede 2, 5.112.9)

(b) [$_{DP}$ [$_{D}$ þone] [$_{FP}$ [$_{F}$] [$_{FP}$ [$_{AP}$ hwitan] [$_{F'}$ [$_{F}$] [$_{NP}$ [$_{N}$ **hlaf**]]]]]]

(11) (a) Þa gemette he **gebeoras** **bliðe**$_{<STR>}$
then met he companion:**PL.MASC.**ACC merry:**PL.MASC.**ACC
æt þam huse
at the house
'then he met his merry companions at the house' (ÆLS (Oswald), 225)

(b) [$_{DP}$ . . . [$_{FP}$ [$_{F}$ **gebeoras$_i$**] [$_{FP}$ [$_{AP}$ bliðe] [$_{F'}$ [$_{F}$ **t$_i$**] [$_{NP}$ [$_{N}$ **t$_i$**]]]]]]

(12) (a) Ða easternan tungelwitegan gesawon
the eastern astrologers saw
niwne$_{<STR>}$ **steorran** **beorhtne**$_{<STR>}$
new:**SG.MASC.**ACC star:**SG.MASC.**ACC bright:**SG.MASC.**ACC
'the oriental astrologers saw a new bright star' (ÆCHom I, 7 (234.71))

(b) [$_{DP}$ . . . [$_{FP}$ [$_{F}$] [$_{FP}$ [$_{AP}$ niwne] [$_{F'}$ [$_{F}$ **steorran$_i$**] [$_{FP}$ [$_{AP}$ beorhtne] [$_{F'}$ [$_{F}$ **t$_i$**] [$_{NP}$ [$_{N}$ **t$_i$**]]]]]]]

Attractive though the analysis seems at first glance, there are a number of empirical facts it cannot handle. First, partial N-raising is subject to stipulation, i.e. there is no need for the noun to raise across *beorhtne* 'bright' and *untweogendum* 'staunch':

(13) (a) niwne **steorran$_i$** beorhtne **t$_i$**
new star bright
'a new bright star' (ÆCHom I, 7 (234.71))

(b) mid soðum **geleafan$_i$** untweogendum **t$_i$**
with true faith staunch
'with true staunch faith' (Conf 3.2 [Raith Y])

Second, since postnominal adjectives in OE are not recursive (see Fischer 2000: 171, 176; 2001: 258), N-raising must be restricted so as not to proceed across more than one adjective (cf. Cinque (2007: 10) on similar restrictions in Italian; see also Svenonius (1995: 442f.), Larson & Marušič (2004: 271, 282ff.) for discussion):

(14) (a) * **steorran$_i$** niwne **t$_i$** beorhtne **t$_i$**
star new bright

(b) * mid **geleafan$_i$** soðum **t$_i$** untweogendum **t$_i$**
with faith true staunch

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Third, the contrasts in acceptability between (15) and (16) are both unexpected and unexplained:[5]

(15) (a) * . . . þa **gastas$_i$** unclænan$_{<WK>}$ **t$_i$** (= (7b))
the spirits unclean

(b) * . . . on ðæm **fyre$_i$** heofonlican$_{<WK>}$ **t$_i$** (= (7d))
on the fire heavenly

(16) (a) **leodhatan$_i$** grimme$_{<STR>}$ **t$_i$** (= (8b))
persecutors hostile

(b) **gebeoras$_i$** bliðe$_{<STR>}$ **t$_i$** (= (8d))
companions merry

For the analysis to account for the contrasts under consideration, N-raising would have to be sensitive to weak vs strong inflection and thus with respect to the distinction definiteness vs indefiniteness (see (17) vs (18)). That is to say, N-raising would have to be restricted to proceeding across strong adjectives and thus to be available only within indefinite nominal expressions, DP$_{[-\text{DEF}]}$:

(17) * . . . [$_{DP}$[$_{+\text{DEF}}$] . . . [$_{FP}$ [$_{F}$ **N$_i$**] [$_{FP}$ [$_{AP}$ A$_{<WK>}$] [$_{F'}$ [$_{F}$ **t$_i$**] [$_{NP}$ [$_{N}$ **t$_i$**]]]]]]

(18) . . . [$_{DP}$[$_{-\text{DEF}}$] . . . [$_{FP}$ [$_{F}$ **N$_i$**] [$_{FP}$ [$_{AP}$ A$_{<STR>}$] [$_{F'}$ [$_{F}$ **t$_i$**] [$_{NP}$ [$_{N}$ **t$_i$**]]]]]]

However, an analysis along these lines is not tenable on empirical grounds. As seen in section 2, postnominal adjectives, which always inflect strong, are not sensitive to the distinction [±DEFINITE], but construe freely with definite and indefinite nominal expressions.

In this context, clearly, the interesting case is the one in which a postnominal adjective is construed with a definite nominal expression, as is the case with *iungne* 'young' and *ondwardum* 'present' in (19). Definiteness of the nominal expression is flagged by both the demonstrative *þone* 'that' and the weak prenominal adjective *ilcan* 'same' in (19a), and by the demonstrative *þissum* 'this' in (19b):

(19) (a) se geara mid **þone ilcan**$_{<WK>}$ Ceaddan **iungne**$_{<STR>}$ . . . syndrig
who long-ago with that same Chad young separate
munuclif hæfdon
cloisters had
'who long ago, when Chad was young, had separate cloisters' (LS 3 (Chad), 184)

(b) in **þissum** life **ondwardum**$_{<STR>}$ & eac swa in þæm towardan life
in this life present and also so in the future life
'in this present life and also in the future life' (Ch 1508 (HarmD 10), 53)

If the postnominal occurrence of the adjectives *iungne* 'young' in (19a) and *ondwardum* 'present' in (19b), in fact, results from the nouns *Ceaddan* 'Chad'

[5] Note that the adjectives in (15) may occur postnominally in the event that they inflect strong (compare *þa gastas* ***unclæne***$_{<STR>}$ and *on ðæm fyre* ***heofonlicum***$_{<STR>}$ with (15a, b)).

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(a proper name) and *life* 'life' having raised across them (20), the question arises why the strings in (19) do not constitute a 'definiteness clash', but the counterparts of the nominal expressions without N-raising in (21) do. In other words, it remains unclear why conflicting definiteness information induces ungrammaticality in non-raising cases (21), but not in raising cases (19):[6]

(20) (a) $[_{DP}$ þone $[_{FP}$ $[_{AP}$ ilcan$]$ $[_{F'}$ $[_{F}$ **Ceaddan**$]_i$ $[_{FP}$ $[_{AP}$ iungne$]$ $[_{F'}$ $[_{F}$ **t**$_i]$ $[_{NP}$ $[_{N}$ **t**$_i]]]]]]]$

(b) $[_{DP}$ þissum $[_{FP}$ $[_{F'}$ $[_{F}$ **life**$]_i$ $[_{FP}$ $[_{AP}$ ondwardum$]$ $[_{F'}$ $[_{F}$ **t**$_i]$ $[_{NP}$ $[_{N}$ **t**$_i]]]]]]]$

(21) (a) * mid **þone** **ilcan**$_{<WK>}$ **iungne**$_{<STR>}$ Ceaddan
with that same young Chad

(b) * in **þissum** **ondwardum**$_{<STR>}$ life
in this present life

Since nominal expressions cannot be definite and indefinite at the same time, with definiteness being encoded by both *þone* 'that' and *ilcan* 'same' ((19a) and (21a)) and by *þissum* 'this' ((19b) and (21b)), and with indefiniteness being signposted by *iungne* 'young' and *ondwardum* 'present' inflecting strong, the strings in (19) and (21) should be equally unacceptable. The fact that they do not exhibit the same grammaticality not only poses an insurmountable problem for N-raising analysis (unless we want to claim that N-raising obliterates 'definiteness clashes'), but also casts doubt on the assumption that adnominal adjectives all have the same status.[7]

Crucially, the N-raising analysis not only fails to account for the availability of partial N-raising (13), the non-recursiveness of postnominal adjectives (14), certain contrasts in acceptability (15) and (16), and the (non)induction of 'definiteness clashes' (20) and (21), but also for the fact that prenominal and postnominal adjectives display systematic interpretive differences, which is indicative of a systematic difference in status (see, among others, Bolinger 1967; Sadler & Arnold 1994; Stavrou 1996; Larson 1998; Fischer 2000, 2001, 2006; Cinque 2007; Larson & Marušič 2004; Larson & Takahashi 2004).

4 The status of adnominal adjectives

Given the correlations in table 2 above, two lines of investigation suggest themselves: either we take adjectival inflection as a point of departure or we take the positional parameter (and with it definiteness sensitivity) as a point of departure.

Fischer (2000, 2001) pursues the first option. In reply to the question of 'what the weak and strong forms of the adjectives in themselves stand for' (Fischer 2001: 253), she argues that 'weak' vs 'strong' adjectival inflection is iconically related to the distinctions

[6] The adjectives under consideration may assume the prenominal position if they inflect weak (compare *mid þone* ***ilcan***$_{<WK>}$ ***iungan***$_{<WK>}$ *Ceaddan* and *in þissum* ***ondwardan***$_{<WK>}$ *life* with (21a, b)).

[7] Note that, on a larger scale, the N-raising analysis faces additional problems such as unexpected mirror-image and scope effects (see Svenonius 1995: 448ff.; Laenzlinger 2004: 657ff.; Dimitrova-Vulchanova 2003: 92ff.; Cinque 2007: 11ff.).

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'definiteness' vs 'indefiniteness', 'attributive' vs 'predicative', 'given information' vs 'new information' and 'individual-level reading' vs 'stage-level reading'. In this article, the second option is pursued. I will show that there is a clear division of labor between prenominal and postnominal adjectives which is largely independent of adjectival inflection (pace Fischer 2000, 2001, 2006). For the sake of both clarity and maximal contrast, the discussion in section 4.1 is restricted to weak adjectives, which are confined to occurring prenominally, and to only postnominal occurrences of strong adjectives. Strong adjectives in prenominal position are at the heart of section 4.2.

4.1 Weak prenominal and strong postnominal adjectives

In the following, drawing on Fischer's work (2000, 2001), I show that there is a clear division of labor between weak adjectives, which are confined to occurring prenominally, and strong adjectives in postnominal position with respect to the distinctions 'attributive' vs 'predicative' (section 4.1.1), 'given information' vs 'new information' (section 4.1.2), 'individual-level reading' vs 'stage-level reading' (section 4.1.3) and 'non-restrictive reading' vs 'restrictive reading' (section 4.1.4). A further systematic difference between weak prenominal and strong postnominal adjectives relates to their (in)ability to support degree modifiers (section 4.1.5).[8]

4.1.1 Attributive vs predicative adjectives

While it is generally held that weak adjectives are attributive adjectives (22), the status of strong adjectives (23) is not always clear:

(22) (a) Ac þa yflan for hiora **yflum**$_{<WK>}$ weorcum wæron gewitnode
but the evil for their evil deeds were punished
'but the evil ones were punished for their evil deeds' (Bo, 39.134.4)

(b) Forhwon ne recst þu us þone **hwitan**$_{<WK>}$ hlaf
why not give you us the white loaf
'Why do you not give us the white loaf (of bread)?' (Bede 2, 5.112.9)

(23) (a) Þa gemette he gebeoras **bliðe**$_{<STR>}$ æt þam huse
then met he companions merry at the house
'then he met his merry companions at the house' (ÆLS (Oswald), 225)

(b) & wende þæt hit hel wære be ðam tintregum
and I-imagined that it hell were by the tortures

unaræfnendlicum$_{<STR>}$ ic oft sæcgan herde
unendurable I often say heard
'I imagined that it was hell by the unendurable tortures I often heard about'
(Bede 5, 13.424.32)

[8] Fischer (2001: 259ff.) provides a catalogue of properties on which strong postnominal and weak prenominal adjectives differ. Thus, for example, strong postnominal adjectives but not weak prenominal ones support prepositional modifiers and degree adverbs, allow for the incorporation of the negative element *un–* and combine with empty and anaphoric head nouns.

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Thus, Mitchell (1985: 75ff.) takes postnominal adjectives to be attributive, but concedes that 'it is not always clear whether we have to do with an attributive, predicative or appositional use' and that postnominal adjectives, since they inflect strong, 'may seem predicative to some readers' (Mitchell 1985: 77). Conversely, Fischer (2000) maintains that 'all strong adjectives in Old English are, or started off as, predicative adjectives' (Fischer 2000: 170) and '[s]trong adjectives are predicative rather than attributive' (Fischer 2000: 176; see also Fischer 2001: 257ff., 265ff.). The fact that postnominal adjectives (23) and 'regular' predicative adjectives (24) are formally identical (i.e. they both inflect strong) suggests that postnominal adjectives are predicative adjectives:

(24) (a) ða ða þæt folc þæt gehirde, hi wæron **bliðe**$_{<\text{STR}>}$ gewordene
then when the people that heard they were joyful become
'when the people heard that they became joyful' (Apt, 10.9)

(b) & syþþan of þære tide he wæs swiðe **unwælgrim**$_{<\text{STR}>}$
and afterwards from that time he was very-much gentle
'and since that time he had been very gentle' (GD 2 (C), 14.133.1)

Postnominal adjectives are not only formally identical to predicative adjectives, they also correspond interpretively to predicative adjectives in (reduced) restrictive relative clauses (section 4.1.4).

4.1.2 Given vs new information

Closely related to the distinction 'attribution' vs 'predication' is the distinction 'given information' vs 'new information'. According to Bolinger (1972), attributive adjectives play a vital role in the identification of the referent of the noun they modify, whereas predicative adjectives assign (additional) properties to the already identified referent of the noun (see also Stavrou 1996: 110; Fischer 2000: 170; 2006: 256ff.). Since weak adjectives are restricted to occurring within definite nominal expressions which are thematic, they convey 'given' information about the noun they modify (see Fischer 2001: 258). Thus, *feondlic* 'hateful' and *dead* 'dead', *halgan* 'holy' in (25), are true attributes in that they 'change the noun into a new "compound" noun, a new noun token' (Fischer 2001: 258):

(25) (a) Georius þa befran þone **feondlican**$_{<\text{WK}>}$ casere
George then questioned the fiendish emperor
'then George questioned that hateful emperor' (ÆLS (George), 37)

(b) sum wif bær hire **deadan**$_{<\text{WK}>}$ sunu ongean þone
some woman carried her dead son towards the
halgan$_{<\text{WK}>}$ Libertinum
holy Libertinum (GD 1 (H), 2.17.11)
'some woman carried her dead son towards the holy Libertinum'

Conversely, the strong adjectives *unaræfnendlicum* 'unendurable' in (26a) and *iungne* 'young' in (26b) convey new or additional information about the entities denoted by the nominal expressions *ðam tintregum* 'the tortures' and *þone ilcan Ceaddan* 'the

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same Chad':

(26) (a) & wende þæt hit hel wære be ðam tintregum
and I-imagined that it hell were by the tortures
unaræfnendlicum$_{<STR>}$ ic oft sæcgan herde
unendurable I often say heard
'I imagined that it was hell by the unendurable tortures I often heard about'
(Bede 5, 13.424.32)

(b) se geara mid **þone ilcan**$_{<WK>}$ Ceaddan **iungne**$_{<STR>}$ . . . syndrig
who long-ago with that same Chad young separate
munuclif hæfdon
cloisters had
'who long ago, when Chad was young, had separate cloisters' (LS 3 (Chad), 184)

4.1.3 Individual-level vs stage-level interpretation

Corroborating evidence for the attributive status of weak adjectives and the predicative status of strong adjectives derives from their interpretation as expressing individual-level vs stage-level properties, i.e. inherent or enduring properties as opposed to accidental or temporary properties (see Bolinger 1967: 15; Sadler & Arnold 1994: 192ff.; Cinque 1994: 94f.; 2007: 16ff., 37ff., passim; Stavrou 1996: 83f.; Larson 1998: 154ff.; Larson & Marušič 2004: 274f.; Larson & Takahashi 2004: 7ff.; Haumann 2003: 59ff.). Thus, for example, *mæra* 'great' and *hwitan* 'white' in (27) express inherent/enduring properties of the nouns they modify, whereas *cene* 'bold', *sigefæst* 'victorious' and *bliðe* 'merry' in (28) express accidental/temporary properties of the nominal expressions they are construed with (even more so since *cene* and *sigefæst* in (28a) are further specified with respect to the circumstances in which Hingwar is bold and victorious):

(27) (a) and þæt word sprang geond eal þæt land þæt Apollonius,
and that word jumped throughout all the land that Apollonius
se **mæra**$_{<WK>}$ cyngc, hæfde funden his wif
the great king had found his wife
'and word spread throughout the country that Apollonius, the great king, had found his wife' (ApT, 49.9)

(b) Forhwon ne recst þu us þone **hwitan**$_{<WK>}$ hlaf
why not give you us the white loaf
'Why do you not give us the white loaf (of bread)?' (Bede 2, 5.112.9)

(28) (a) Hinguar ure cyning, **cene**$_{<STR>}$ and **sigefæst**$_{<STR>}$ on sæ and on
Hingwar our king bold and victorious on sea and on
lande hæfð fela þeoda gewyld
land has many peoples' control
'Hingwar our king, bold and victorious on sea and land, has control over many nations' (ÆLS (Edmund), 48)

(b) Þa gemette he gebeoras **bliðe**$_{<STR>}$ æt þam huse
then met he companions merry at the house
'then he met his merry companions at the house' (ÆLS (Oswald), 225)

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4.1.4 Non-restrictive vs restrictive interpretation[9]

A further parameter in which weak prenominal and strong postnominal adjectives differ is 'non-restrictive' vs 'restrictive' modification. The weak adjectives *feondlic* 'hateful' and *bliðe* 'pleasant' in (29) do not identify a particular referent from among a set of entities that contrast with respect to the property denoted by the modifier. Thus, *þone feondlican casere* 'the hateful emperor' does not contrast with e.g. *þone arleasan casere* 'the dishonorable emperor' (ÆLS (George), 145). As can be read off the respective paraphrases in (30), the adjectives under consideration characterize the referents themselves:

(29) (a) Georius þa befran þone **feondlican**$_{<WK>}$ casere
George then questioned the fiendish emperor
'then George questioned that hateful emperor' (ÆLS (George), 37)

(b) Mid ðy wit ða eft hwerfende becoman to ðan **bliðan**$_{<WK>}$
with that we-two then again turning came to the pleasant
wunenessum ðara hwittra gasta & fægra
abodes of-the white spirits and fair
'when returning, we came to the pleasant abodes of the white and fair spirits'
(Bede 5, 13.430.27)

(30) (a) Georius þa befran þone **feondlican** casere
= George questioned the emperor$_i$, he$_i$ was fiendish
≠ George questioned the emperor$_i$ who$_i$ was fiendish

(b) to ðan **bliðan** wunenessum ðara hwittra gasta & fægra
= to the abodes$_i$ of the white and fair spirits, they$_i$ were pleasant
≠ to the abodes$_i$ of the white and fair spirits which$_i$ were pleasant

Conversely, the strong adjectives *unaræfnendlic* 'unbearable' and *grimme* 'hostile' in (31) do not characterize the referents of the nominal expressions they occur in, but identify a particular referent from among a set of entities that contrast with respect to the property they denote, i.e. *ðam tintregum unaræfnendlicum* 'the unendurable tortures' contrasts e.g. with *ðam tintregum aræfnendlicum* 'the endurable tortures'. Consider the respective paraphrases in (32):

(31) (a) & wende þæt hit hel wære be ðam tintregum
and I-imagined that it hell were by the tortures
unaræfnendlicum$_{<STR>}$ ic oft sæcgan herde
unendurable I often say heard (Bede 5, 13.424.32)
'I imagined that it was hell by the unendurable tortures I often heard about'

(b) And eac her syn on earde ... leodhatan **grimme**$_{<STR>}$ ealles
And also here be on earth persecutors hostile entirely
to manege
too many (WHom, 20.1)
'and also there are all too many hostile persecutors here on earth'

[9] See, among others, Bolinger (1967: 14ff., 20ff.), Fischer (2001, 2006), Cinque (2007: 18ff., 37ff., passim), Larson & Marušič (2004: 275f.), Larson & Takahashi (2004: 9ff.).

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(32) (a) . . . be ðam tintregum **unaræfnendlicum** ic oft sæcgan herde
= I often heard about the tortures$_i$ which$_i$ were unendurable
≠ I often heard about the tortures$_i$, they$_i$ were unendurable

(b) And eac her syn on earde . . . leodhatan **grimme** ealles to manege
= there are too many persecutors$_i$ here on earth who$_i$ are hostile
≠ there are too many persecutors$_i$ here on earth they$_i$ all are hostile

Supportive evidence for the status of strong adjectives as restrictive modifiers derives from the fact that they may co-occur with indefinite pronouns, such as *hwæthwugu* 'something' and *nanwuht* 'nothing' in (33).[10] Weak adjectives are systematically barred from co-occurring with indefinite pronouns (see (34); recall that weak adjectives are restricted to occurring in definite nominal expressions where they precede the noun they modify):

(33) (a) ic wolde nu þæt ðu me sædest **hwæthwugu uncuðes**$_{<\text{STR}>}$
I wished now that you me said something unknown
'I wish you would tell me something new' (Bo, 34. 87.31)

(b) Ac hu þincð þe ðonne be ðæm þe **nanwuht goodes**$_{<\text{STR}>}$
but how appears you then by that-one that nothing good
næfð gif he hæfð sumne eacan yfeles?
not-have if he has some addition of-evil
'But what do you think concerning one who has nothing good if he has something evil in addition?' (Bo, 38.119.5)

(34) (a) * ic wolde nu þæt ðu me sædest **uncuðan**$_{<\text{WK}>}$ **hwæthwugu**

(b) * Ac hu þincð þe ðonne be ðæm þe **goodan**$_{<\text{WK}>}$ **nanwuht** næfð

4.1.5 (Non)support of degree modifiers

As has been pointed out by Fischer (2000: 168f.; 2001: 261f.), only strong adjectives support degree modifiers, e.g. *swiðe* 'very (much)' and *swa* 'thus/so' in (35). Constructions as in (36), where *swiðe* 'very (much)' and *swa* 'thus/so' are construed with weak adjectives, are not found:[11]

(35) (a) Her com Port on Brytene and his twegen sunu Bieda and Mægla
here came Port on Britain and his two sons Bieda and Mægla
mid twam scipum on þære stowe þe is nemned Portesmuþa and
with two ships on the place that is named Portsmouth and

þær ofslogon anne brittiscne man **swiþe æþelne**$_{<\text{STR}>}$
there killed one British man very noble
'In this year Port came to Britain with his two sons, Bieda and Mægela, and two ships to the place that is called Portsmouth and there they killed a very noble Briton' (ChronC [Rositzke] 501.1)

(b) & flotmen **swa strange**$_{<\text{STR}>}$ þurh Godes þafunge þæt oft on
and sailors so strong through God's permission that often on

[10] See also Fischer (2001: 268f.) for discussion.

[11] Fischer (2000: 169; 2001: 262) attributes the nonavailability vs availability of degree modifiers to the more nominal nature of weak adjectives and the more verbal nature of strong adjectives.

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Table 3. *Properties of weak prenominal vs strong postnominal adjectives*

weak inflection prenominal position	vs	strong inflection postnominal position
attributive		predicative
given information		new information
individual-level reading		stage-level reading
non-restrictive reading		restrictive reading
no degree modifiers		degree modifiers

gefeohte an feseð tyne & hwilum læs hwilum ma
fight one drives-away ten and sometimes less sometimes more
eal for urum synnum (WHom 20.3, 109)
entirely for our sins
'and sailors are so strong through God's permission that often in fight one drives away ten and sometimes fewer, sometimes more, entirely on account of our sins'

(36) (a) * [hi] ofslogan þone **swiþe æþelan**$_{<WK>}$ man
(b) * þa **swa strangan**$_{<WK>}$ flotmen

4.1.6 Weak prenominal adjectives vs strong postnominal adjectives

From the contrasts between weak prenominal adjectives and strong postnominal adjectives discussed in sections 4.1.1–4.1.5 the picture in table 3 emerges.

The correlations in table 3 amount to a strict division of labor between weak prenominal adjectives and strong postnominal adjectives with respect to their function and interpretation. In light of these correlations, the answer to the question of 'what the weak and strong forms of the adjectives in themselves stand for' (Fischer 2001: 253) is this (but see below): weak inflection stands for prenominal positioning, attributive function, given information, inherent/enduring properties and non-restrictive modification, whereas strong inflection stands for postnominal positioning, predicative function, new information, accidental/temporary properties and restrictive modification. Moreover, weak and strong adjectives differ with respect to whether they support degree modifiers. However, the picture drawn in table 3 is idealized for a number of reasons which, as we shall see in the following, ultimately follow from strong adjectives not being confined to the postverbal position.

4.2 Strong prenominal adjectives

As we have already seen in section 2, strong adjectives are not confined to the postverbal position but may also occur prenominally, provided the nominal expression is indefinite,

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as in (37):

(37) (a) fela þinga ... ne beoð na gode forþam hi ne beoþ of
many things not are not good because they not are of
godum$_{<\text{STR}>}$ mode cumene
good heart come
'many things ... are not good because they do not come from a good heart'
(GD 1 (H), 10.76.2)

(b) He arærde ænne **deadne**$_{<\text{STR}>}$ mann þurh drihtnes mihte
he raised one dead man through God's might
'he raised a dead man through God's power' (ÆLS (Book of Kings) 300)

Fischer hypothesizes that 'all strong adjectives in Old English are, or started off as, predicative adjectives' and '[s]trong adjectives are predicative rather than attributive' (2000: 170, 176).[12] Given that the properties of strong adjectives in postnominal position discussed in the previous section are inherent properties of strong adjectives, we would expect strong adjectives in prenominal position to display the same properties as their postnominal counterparts: strong prenominal adjectives should be predicative, convey new information, receive the stage-level interpretation and function as restrictive modifiers (see Fischer 2006: 256ff. for arguments to this effect). In other words, strong prenominal adjectives should contrast with weak adjectives on all parameters discussed (excepting the positional parameter). As we shall see, these expectations are not borne out. On the contrary, strong prenominal adjectives contrast with strong postnominal adjectives, not with weak adjectives. The only property strong adjectives display across positions is their ability to support degree modifiers, e.g. *swiðe* 'very (much)' and *ful* 'very' in (38) for prenominal occurrences of strong adjectives (see (35) for strong postnominal adjectives; recall from (36) above that weak adjectives resist degree modification (cf. Fischer 2000: 168f.; 2001: 261f.)):

(38) (a) Healdað forðy ic bidde þonne haligan Cristes lichaman mid
hold therefore I ask then holy Christ's body with
maran wisdome to seocum mannum fram sunnandæge to sunnan-
greater wisdom to sick men from Sunday to Sun-

dæge on **swiþe** **clænum**$_{<\text{STR}>}$ boxcse
day on very-much clean box
'Therefore I beseech you to keep the holy Christ's body with greater wisdom for sick men from Sunday to Sunday in a very clean box' (AELET3, 178.91)

(b) Sume men beoð ælces cræftes full cræftige **&** **full**
some men are of-each virtue very virtuous and very

[12] With the proviso in mind that without surviving native speakers of OE it is difficult 'to prove the meaningfulness of the variable position conclusively' (Fischer 2001: 257), Fischer conjectures that the prenominal placement of strong adjectives is related to 'phonological iconicity [taking] precedence over linear (syntactic) iconicity' (Fischer 2001: 257). That is to say that, depending on whether they are stressed or not, strong prenominal adjectives convey 'new' or 'given' information. Abstracting away from Fischer's premise that strong adjectives are predicative in nature, the conjecture that strong prenominal adjectives, if unstressed, convey 'given' information is reconcilable with the analysis I present in this section.

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halige$_{<\text{STR}>}$ weras & rihtwise
holy men and just
'some men are very virtuous in all virtue, and very holy and just men'
(Bo, 39.133.7)

As can be seen from the contrast between (39) and (40), strong prenominal adjectives differ from their postnominal counterparts in that they (a) do not convey new information, (b) receive an individual-level reading and (c) are interpreted as non-restrictive modifiers. These properties they share with weak adjectives (which are confined to the prenominal position), as shown in (41):

(39) (a) Her cuom Port on Bretene & his ii suna Bieda & Mægla mid
here came Port on Britain and his two sons Bieda and Mægla with
ii scipum. on þære stowe þe is gecueden Portesmuþa & ofslogon
two ships on the place that is called Portsmouth and killed
anne **giongne**$_{<\text{STR}>}$ Brettisc monnan, swiþe æþelne monnan
one young British man very-much noble man
'In this year Port and his two sons, Bieda and Mægela, came to Britain with two ships to a place that is called Portsmouth and they killed a very noble young Briton' (ChronA, 501.1)

(b) and þar wearð **bliðe**$_{<\text{STR}>}$ gebeorscipe gegearwod betwux þam cynge
and there became joyful feast prepared between the king
and þam folce
and the people
'and there was a joyful feast prepared between the king and the people'
(ApT, 49.9)

(40) (a) se geara mid **þone ilcan**$_{<\text{WK}>}$ Ceaddan **iungne**$_{<\text{STR}>}$ ... syndrig
who long-ago with that same Chad young separate
munuclif hæfdon
cloisters had
'who long ago, when Chad was young, had separate cloisters' (LS 3 (Chad), 184)

(b) Þa gemette he gebeoras **bliðe**$_{<\text{STR}>}$ æt þam huse
then met he companions merry at the house
'then he met his merry companions at the house' (ÆLS (Oswald), 225)

(41) (a) Leofe dohtor þes **iunga**$_{<\text{WK}>}$ man is forliden
dear daughter this young man is shipwrecked
'dear daughter, this young person is shipwrecked' (ApT, 15.7)

(b) Mid ðy wit ða eft hwerfende becoman to ðan **bliðan**$_{<\text{WK}>}$
with that we-two then again turning came to the pleasant
wunenessum ðara hwittra gasta & fægra (Bede 5, 13.430.27)
abodes of-the white spirits and fair
'when returning, we came to the pleasant abodes of the white and fair spirits'

The strong prenominal adjective *giongne* in (39a), as opposed to its postnominal counterpart *iungne* in (40a), does not provide additional or noteworthy information about the referent of the indefinite nominal expression it occurs in; rather *giongne*,

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like the weak adjective *iunga* in (41a), combines with the noun to form 'a new noun token' (Fischer 2001: 258). *Giongne* in (39a), again unlike *iungne* in (40a) but like *iunga* in (41a), receives an individual-level interpretation: both *giongne* in (39a) and *iunga* in (41a) express inherent or characterizing properties of the nouns they modify, i.e. being of young age is a property that characterizes *Brettisc monnan* in (39a) and *man* in (41a). Conversely, *iungne* in (40a) does not characterize *Ceaddan*, but induces a stage-level, i.e. a temporal or episodic reading: being young is not an inherent property of Chad, but a transient one which relates to Chad's past (see also Fischer 2001: 267). Since the strong prenominal adjective *giongne* in (39a) does not single out from a set of entities a particular referent, i.e. *anne giongne Brettisc monnan* 'a young Briton' does not contrast with *anne ealdne Brettisc monnan* 'an old Briton', it functions as a non-restrictive modifier. This property is shared by *iunga* in (41a). Conversely, *iungne* in (40a) induces a contrast, i.e. *þone ilcan Ceaddan iungne* 'the same Chad (when he was) young' contrasts with e.g. *þone ilcan Ceaddan ealdne* 'the same Chad (when he was) old'. The respective paraphrases in (42)–(44) illustrate the contrasts under consideration:

(42) [hi] ofslogon anne **giongne**$_{<\text{STR}>}$ Brettisc monnan
= they killed a Briton$_i$, he$_i$ was young
≠ they killed a Briton$_i$ who$_i$ was young

(43) þes **iunga**$_{<\text{WK}>}$ man is forliden
= this man$_i$ is shipwrecked, he$_i$ is young
≠ this man$_i$ who$_i$ is young is shipwrecked

(44) se geara mid þone ilcan Ceaddan **iungne**$_{<\text{STR}>}$ . . . syndrig munuclif hæfdon
≠ who long ago had separate cloisters with Chad$_i$, he$_i$ was young
= who long ago had separate cloisters with Chad$_i$ who$_i$ was young (then)

The same contrasts can be observed with respect to the strong prenominal adjective *bliðe* in (39b) and the weak adjective *bliðan* in (41b) vs the strong postnominal adjective *bliðe* in (40b). First, both *bliðe* in (39b) and *bliðan* in (41b), as opposed to *bliðe* in (40b), do not convey new information but given information. Second, both *bliðe* in (39b) and *bliðan* in (41b) receive an individual-level interpretation, i.e. the property denoted by these two prenominal adjectives is not a transient one, but one that characterizes the nominal expressions they combine with. Conversely, *bliðe* in (40b) denotes a temporal, not an inherent, property of *gebeoras* 'companions'. Third, neither *bliðe* in (39b) nor *bliðan* in (41b) pick out from a set of entities a particular entity, i.e. *bliðe gebeorscipe* does not contrast with *unbliðe gebeorscipe*, while *bliðe gebeoras* in (40b) contrasts with e.g. *unrote gebeoras* 'sad companions'.

4.2.1 Weak and strong prenominal adjectives vs strong postnominal adjectives

In light of the data discussed in this section, Fischer's (2000, 2001) claim that 'weak' vs 'strong' adjectival inflection iconically relates to the distinctions 'definiteness' vs 'indefiniteness', 'attributive' vs 'predicative', 'given information' vs 'new information' and 'individual-level reading' vs 'stage-level reading' cannot be maintained. Rather, the resulting picture, as shown in table 4, is a symmetric one with the prenominal position

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Table 4. *Properties of prenominal vs postnominal adjectives*

prenominal adjectives		vs	postnominal adjectives
strong inflection	weak inflection		strong inflection
attributive			predicative
given information			new information
individual-level reading			stage-level reading
non-restrictive reading			restrictive reading
degree modifiers	no degree modifiers		degree modifiers

expressing attributive function, given information, individual-level properties and non-restrictive modification and the postnominal position flagging predicative function, new information, stage-level properties and restrictive modification. These findings strongly suggest that the prenominal and the postnominal position in OE represent two quite distinct structural domains, each with its own specific interpretive properties (see section 5). By and large, these properties are dissociated from adjectival inflection (pace Fischer 2000, 2001).[13]

In concluding this section, I return to Fischer's (2000: 170) hypothesis that 'all strong adjectives in Old English are, or started off as, predicative adjectives'. As it stands, Fischer's hypothesis entails that indefinite nominal expressions cannot but contain adjectives that convey new information, have a stage-level reading and function as restrictive modifiers. As we have seen in this section, this hypothesis is irreconcilable with the empirical fact that strong adjectives occur prenominally in indefinite nominal expressions where they convey given information (39a), where they have an individual-level reading (39b) and where they function as non-restrictive modifiers (39c). The only property strong prenominal adjectives share with their postnominal counterparts is their ability to support degree modifiers (38), which, arguably, is due to analogy. By the same line of reasoning, the empirical findings discussed in this section cast doubt on Fischer's (2000: 174ff.) conjecture that the prenominal placement of strong adjectives, as discussed here, is an inconsistency which ultimately results from the loss of adjectival inflection in conjunction with the rise of the article system, simply because strong prenominal adjectives display markedly different properties from their postnominal counterparts.

5 Two distinct domains for adnominal adjectives

Recent comparative and theoretical studies (Larson 1998; Cinque 2007; Larson & Marušič 2004; Larson & Takahashi 2004) show that adnominal adjectives are

[13] This is not to say that adjectival inflection is irrelevant. As we have seen at various points, adjectival inflection expresses (in)definiteness and thereby compensates for the lack of a determiner system.

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crosslinguistically distributed across two structural domains, each with its own specific interpretive properties (table 4).

Before turning to the issue of structural implementation proper (section 5.2), it is worthwhile to take a brief look at the distribution and interpretation of adnominal adjectives in Present-day English (henceforth PDE).

5.1 A brief look at adnominal adjectives in PDE

It has often been remarked that postnominal occurrences of adjectives in the context of ordinary nouns are, by and large, restricted to adjectives followed by a complement or adjunct (45) and participial adjectives or modal adjectives in *-able/-ible* (46) (see, among others, Bolinger 1967; Sadler & Arnold 1994; Cinque 2007; Larson & Marušič 2004):[14]

(45) (a) So in [some schools [**keen** [on the creative arts]]], children never opened their mouths in drama lessons! (BNC AM6)

(b) I watch their faces rise to meet me from the green depths of [a culture [**older** [than I can fathom]]]. (BNC FU5)

(46) (a) Mrs Bloomer has offered a one thousand pounds reward for the return of [the items [**stolen**]]. (BNC K1X)

(b) [The remedies [**available**]] are injunctions, damages, and an account of profits. (BNC ECD)

While the former are confined to the postnominal position, the latter typically occur in both post- and prenominal position:

(47) (a) Descriptions of [the [[**stolen**] items]] are now being circulated to every museum in Britain. (BNC K1H)

(b) Once again, it appears that the nature of [the [[**available**] remedies]] is having some effect on the character of the diagnosis. (BNC CN5)

Adjectives that may occur both post- and prenominally have often been observed to display interpretive asymmetries with respect to the parameters 'restrictive vs non-restrictive' and 'stage-level vs individual-level' (see also Bolinger 1976: 4; Larson 1998: 155f.; Cinque 2007: 16ff.; Larson & Marušič 2004: 275).[15] Postnominal

[14] Adjectives modifying indefinite pronouns are strictly postnominal (see, among others, Abney 1987: 287ff.; Sadler & Arnold 1994: 216; Svenonius 1995: 442f.; Fischer 2001: 268f.; Larson & Marušič 2004; Cinque 2007: 139ff.; see also section 4.1.4 on indefinite pronoun constructions in OE):

(i) {Somebody **famous**/***Famous** somebody}had said that. (Adapted from BNC H7F)
(ii) There's {nothing **personal** /***personal** nothing}between us. (Adapted from BNC H9L)

[15] In addition to the contrasts 'restrictive vs non-restrictive reading' and 'stage-level vs individual-level interpretation', the following parameters of contrast are discussed in the relevant literature: modal reading vs implicit relative reading (Larson 2002; Cinque 2007), intersective vs non-intersective (Larson 1998; Larson & Takahashi 2004; Cinque 2007), deictic vs generic time modifiers (Larson & Takahashi 2004), relative (to

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adjectives are invariably conceived of as reduced restrictive relative clauses (see Sadler & Arnold 1994: 194ff.; Cinque 2007: 36ff., 129ff., passim; Larson & Marušič 2004: 280ff.; Larson & Takahashi 2004: 14ff.), whereas their prenominal counterparts are ambiguous between the restrictive and non-restrictive reading. As can be read off the paraphrases in (48) and (49), postnominal *unsuitable* is unanimously interpreted as a restrictive modifier, whereas its prenominal counterpart is ambiguous between the restrictive and non-restrictive modifier reading ((48)–(51) adapted from Cinque (2003: 2) and Larson & Takahashi (2004: 10)):

(48) Every word **unsuitable** was deleted. (*unambiguous*)
= [Every word]$_i$ that$_i$ was unsuitable was deleted (*restrictive*)
≠ [Every word]$_i$ was deleted; they$_i$ were unsuitable (*non-restrictive*)

(49) Every **unsuitable** word was deleted. (*ambiguous*)
= [Every word]$_i$ that$_i$ was unsuitable was deleted. (*restrictive*)
= [Every word]$_i$ was deleted; they$_i$ were unsuitable. (*non-restrictive*)

Interpretive asymmetries can also be observed in (50) and (51). In postnominal position, the adjective cannot but receive a stage-level interpretation, whereas in prenominal position it is systematically ambiguous between the stage-level and individual-level reading:

(50) The stars **visible** include Capella. (*unambiguous*)
= The stars that happen to be visible now include Capella. (*stage-level*)
≠ The stars that are inherently visible include Capella. (*individual-level*)

(51) The **visible** stars include Capella. (*ambiguous*)
= The stars that happen to be visible now include Capella. (*stage-level*)
= The stars that are inherently visible include Capella. (*individual-level*)

The fact that there may be two occurrences of the adjective *visible* supports the interpretation of prenominal *visible* in (51) as ambiguous between the individual-level and stage-level reading ((52) from Larson 1998: 155):

(52) (a) The **visible** stars **visible** include Capella.
(b) The **visible visible** stars include Capella.

Both (52a) and (52b) are interpreted as '[t]he inherently visible stars which happen to be visible at the moment include Capella' (Larson 1998: 155). In (52a), the individual-level reading is expressed by the first, i.e. the prenominal adjective, and the stage-level reading by the second, i.e. the postnominal adjective. In (52b) both adjectives are prenominal, with the one closer to the noun expressing individual-level visibility and the other expressing stage-level visibility. As is argued by Larson (1998), Cinque (2007), Larson & Marušič (2004), Larson & Takahashi (2004), the interpretive contrasts

comparison class) vs absolute reading, comparative vs absolute readings of superlatives, specific vs non-specific and evaluative vs propositional (Cinque 2007). See also Cinque (2003, 2005).

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Table 5. *Properties of adnominal adjectives in PDE*

prenominal adjectives		vs	postnominal adjectives
…	…		…
stage-level reading	individual-level reading		stage-level reading
restrictive reading	non-restrictive reading		restrictive reading
…	…		…
↑	equidistant from N		↑

illustrated in (48)–(51) do not follow from linear order, i.e. from the pre- vs postnominal positioning of adnominal adjectives, but rather from the adjectives' 'relative closeness to N' (Larson 1998: 155), as is also witnessed by the contrast in coherence in (53).[16] While (53a) is coherent in that it asserts the visibility of the inherently visible stars, (53b) is incoherent because it asserts the visibility of the inherently **in**visible stars ((53) from Larson 1998: 156):

(53) (a) The **invisible visible** stars include Capella.
(b) # The **visible invisible** stars include Capella.

The foregoing discussion shows that the interpretive contrasts between adnominal adjectives in Present-day English (PDE) follow exclusively from their 'relative closeness to N' (Larson 1998: 155). As a corollary of this, outer prenominal adjectives and postnominal adjectives are equidistant from N, with the prenominal position being the canonical position, as shown in table 5.

PDE and OE should therefore share the same basic structure, with adjectives that express individual-level properties and/or function as non-restrictive modifiers being closer to the noun they modify than adjectives that express stage-level properties and/or function as restrictive modifiers (see section 5.2). In terms of linear order, the major difference between PDE and OE lies in the positioning of adjectives that express stage-level properties and/or function as restrictive modifiers. In the context of ordinary nouns, the canonical position assumed by this type of adjective in PDE is the prenominal position. In OE, adjectives displaying the properties under consideration are strictly postnominal. A prenominal adjective position which would be equidistant to the noun is not (yet) available because prenominal adjectives, via strong vs weak inflection, interact with the (in)definiteness properties of the nominal expression they occur in (section 2).

The following section sketches two proposals concerning the structural implementation of the interpretive differences of adnominal adjectives.

[16] Relative closeness to the noun, as reflected by interpretive differences in (48)–(53), is often referred to as direct modification vs indirect modification (Cinque 2007: 47ff.), inner vs outer modification (Larson & Takahashi 2004: 10ff.) or as NP- vs DP-modification (Larson & Marušič 2004: 280ff.; Larson & Takahashi 2004: 13ff.).

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Table 6. *Properties of adnominal adjectives in PDE and OE*

α	β	N	α
	strong As weak As		strong As
predicative	*attributive*		*predicative*
new information	*given information*		*new information*
stage-level reading	*individual-level reading*		*stage-level reading*
restrictive reading	*non-restrictive reading*		*restrictive reading*
↑	equidistant from N		↑

5.2 Structural implementation

As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, the findings reported for OE in section 4 are replicated across languages in the sense that adnominal adjectives are distributed across two structural domains, each with its own specific interpretive properties. Since different languages make different choices with respect to linearization and inflection,[17] I adopt Larson & Marušič's (2004: 280, 284ff.) labeling convention whereby adjectives that are closer to the noun are referred to as β and adjectives that are less close to the noun as α, as illustrated in table 6 for PDE and OE, with the properties given in the gray cells representing the OE situation and the properties given in italics representing the PDE situation.

According to Larson & Marušič (2004) and Larson & Takahashi (2004), adjectives of type β are within the NP domain, where they are confined to the prenominal position (54a), whereas adjectives of type α originate in postnominal position within the DP domain, but may be subject to raising (54b) ((54) adapted from Larson & Marušič 2004: 280, 284ff.):[18,19]

(54) (a) $[_{DP}$ D … … $[_{NP}$ β N] α]

(b) $[_{DP}$ D … α … $[_{NP}$ β N] __]

(54a) represents the situation in OE, with type β adjectives being strictly prenominal and type α adjectives strictly postnominal, as is illustrated in (56) for the data in (55).

[17] In other words, labels such as 'prenominal' or 'postnominal' and 'strong' or 'weak' are of little value when it comes to characterizing the status of adnominal adjectives from a comparative or diachronic change perspective.

[18] See also Larson (1998: 156f., 161ff.) for discussion.

[19] Alternatively, DP-modifiers, i.e. adjectives of type α, could be seen as originating in pre- and postnominal position. However, as Larson & Marušič (2004: 286) point out, an analysis along these lines would give rise to the question why adjectives of type α fail to precede indefinite pronouns (see note 14).

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Note that the demonstrative *þone* 'that' is located in a functional projection on top of DP:[20]

(55) (a) Forhwon ne recst þu us [þone **hwitan** hlaf]
'Why do you not give us the white loaf (of bread)?'

(b) þa gemette he [gebeoras **bliðe**] at þam huse
'then he met merry companions at the house'

(c) Ða easternan tungelwitegan gesawon [**niwne** steorran **beorhtne**]
'the oriental astrologers saw a new bright star'

(d) se geara mid [þone **ilcan** Ceaddan **iungne**] . . . syndrig munuclif hæfdon
'who long ago, when Chad was young, had separate cloisters'

(56) (a) $[_{FP}$ þone $[_{DP}$ $[_{NP}$ **[β hwitan]** $[_{N}$ hlaf]]]]
(b) $[_{DP}$ $[_{NP}$ $[_{N}$ gebeoras]] **[α bliðe]**]
(c) $[_{DP}$ $[_{NP}$ **[β niwne]** $[_{N}$ steorran]] **[α beorhtne]**]
(d) $[_{FP}$ þone $[_{DP}$ $[_{NP}$ **[β ilcan]** $[_{N}$ Ceaddan]] **[α iungne]**]]

Prenominal occurrences of type α adjectives, as is typical in the context of ordinary nouns in PDE, are derivative in the sense that type α adjectives raise from the postnominal position across $[_{NP}$ (β) N] ((57) adapted from Larson 1998: 155):

(57) (a) $[_{DP}$ the $[_{NP}$ **[β visible]** $[_{N}$ stars]] **[α (in)visible]**]

(b) $[_{DP}$ the … **[α (in)visible]** … $[_{NP}$ **[β visible]** $[_{N}$ stars]] _____]



Cinque's (2007) proposal differs from Larson & Marušič's (2004) and Larson & Takahashi's (2004) in that both types of adnominal adjective originate in prenominal position, with adjectives of type β universally being closer to the noun than adjectives of type α (see (58a), adapted from Cinque 2007: 61). Adnominal adjectives are realized as specifiers of functional projections (FP) that are sandwiched within two distinct structural domains within a split DP layer, where DP is the domain of referential binding and dP 'the first constituent that has some referential import' (Cinque 2007: 61):[21]

[20] The assumption that demonstrative pronouns occupy a higher position than the head position of DP is, among others, shared by Cinque (2007) and Julien (2005). For the current argument, it is not relevant whether demonstratives originate in a lower functional projection from which they raise across DP (see Cinque 2007: 164ff.) or whether they originate in a functional projection on top of DP, e.g. DemP (see Julien 2005: 118ff.).

[21] Similarly, Laenzlinger (2004: 664f.) maintains that DP is split into a higher and a lower projection relating to determination, with the higher projection being associated with pragmatic properties such as referentiality and deixis, and the lower with noun-related properties such as (in)definiteness and partitivity. See also Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1998), Laenzlinger (2005), Julien (2005), (2001), Giusti (2006), Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou (2007) for split DP analyses.

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(58) (a) [DP [FP [α] [F' [F] [dP [d] [FP [β] [F' [F] [NP]]]]]]]

(b) [DP [dP [d] [FP [β] [F' [F] [NP]]]] [FP [α] [F' [F] _____]]]

(58a) accounts straightforwardly for the fact that prenominal adjectives in PDE are ambiguous between the type α and the type β reading ((59) is based on (50)–(52)):

(59) (a) [DP the [φP [FP [α] [F' [F] [dP [d] [FP [β **visible**] [F' [F] [NP stars]]]]]]]
(b) [DP the [φP [FP [α **visible**] [F' [F] [dP [d] [FP [β] [F' [F] [NP stars]]]]]]]
(c) [DP the [φP [FP [α **visible**] [F' [F] [dP [d] [FP [β **visible**] [F' [F] [NP stars]]]]]]]

Linear orders that diverge from the basic order yielded by (58a) are derivative. Thus, in OE, where the two types of adjectives invariably flank the noun they modify (with type α adjectives unanimously occupying the postnominal position), the chunk of structure containing adjectives of type β and the noun, notably dP, raises across the position taken by adjectives of type α, as schematically indicated in (58b). The following examples illustrate dP raising in OE ((60) is based on the data in (55)):

(60) (a) [FP þone [DP [dP [β **hwitan**] hlaf]$_i$ [FP [α] [F' [F] t_i]]]]

(b) [DP [dP [β] gebeoras]$_i$ [FP [α **bliðe**] [F' [F] t_i]]]

(c) [DP [dP [β **niwne**] steorran]$_i$ [FP [α **beorhtne**] [F' [F] t_i]]]

(d) [FP þone [DP [dP [β **ilcan**] Ceaddan]$_i$ [FP [α **iungne**] [F' [F] t_i]]]]

Both types of analysis involve syntactic movement of a phrasal category to the left periphery of the nominal expression, i.e. DP. Under Larson & Marušič's (2004) and Larson & Takahashi's (2004) proposal the canonical order of adnominal adjectives and nouns in PDE involves type α AP raising across the chunk of structure containing the noun and adjectives of type β (= NP), whereas under Cinque's proposal the canonical order of adnominal adjectives and nouns in OE is derivative in the sense that the chunk of structure containing the noun and adjectives of type β (= dP) raises across type α AP.

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In reply to the question of what triggers syntactic movement, Larson & Marušič (2004: 285f.) conjecture that AP raising from the postnominal position is triggered by the requirement that adjectives have their Case features checked. In the context of ordinary nouns, adjectives cannot check their Case features in situ but must raise to an appropriate checking site within the DP domain (see Larson & Yamakido 2008: 59ff.). To account for the fact that (57a) is well-formed even though [$_{\alpha}$ (in)visible] does not raise, Larson & Marušič (2004: 285f.) and Larson & Yamakido (2008: 59ff.) would have to argue that postnominal [$_{\alpha}$ invisible] is embedded in a reduced relative clause, i.e. [$_{CP}$ … [$_{\alpha}$ (in)visible] …], which, not being a nominal category, is not subject to Case checking.[22] While conceding that the motivation for phrasal movement 'is not really understood' (Cinque 2007: 63), Cinque presents a number of empirical facts and theoretical considerations that are strongly suggestive of phrasal movement operations. As a detailed discussion of Cinque's (2007) arguments in favor of phrasal movement falls outside the scope of this article, I will confine myself to two brief points. First, phrasal movement accounts for the empirical fact that, across languages, there is only one prenominal order of adjectives (e.g. $\alpha > \beta > N$), but two postnominal orders, notably the same order or the mirror order ($N > \beta > \alpha$) (see Cinque 2007: 61ff.).[23] Second, the prenominal generation of adnominal adjectives in conjunction with phrasal movement is in line with antisymmetry (cf. Kayne 1994), because the linear order of adjectives to the left of N is basic while postnominal linear orders are necessarily derivative.

In the remainder of this section I concentrate on the nature of dP and probe its interaction with phrasal movement in OE (or the lack of it in PDE).

5.2.1 Some speculations on dP and phrasal movement in OE

As we have seen, dP 'has some referential import' in the sense that adjectives of type β modify 'something that is still predicative in nature, while [adjectives of type α] modify something that already has some referential status' (Cinque 2007:61). In other

[22] An analysis along these lines leads to a situation where adjectives which occur pre- and postnominally are ambiguous as far as the category of their projection is concerned. With respect to the OE system, then, the question arises of whether postnominal adjectives check their Case in situ or whether they are embedded in a relative clause (the latter would probably be preferred by Fischer (2000, 2001, 2006)).

[23] Cinque (2007) focuses on the mirror-image orders of adjectives in PDE (representative of Germanic) and Italian (representative of Romance). Both types of adjective are prenominal in PDE with type α adjectives preceding type β adjectives (i), whereas in Italian, both types of adjectives are postnominal with β adjectives preceding type α adjectives (ii), as illustrated in (iii) and (iv) (examples adapted from Cinque (2007: 40f.)):

(i) D > **α** > **β** > N (canonical order)
(ii) D > N > **β** > **α** (canonical order)

(iii) Una posizione **[$_{\beta}$ invidiabile]** **[$_{\alpha}$ (oggi ancor più) invidiabile]**
a position enviable (today even more) enviable
'a (today even more) enviable enviable position'

(iv) I greci **[$_{\beta}$ industriosi]** **[$_{\alpha}$ più industriosi]**
the Greeks industrious most industrious
'the most industrious industrious Greeks'

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words, the domain below dP displays different referential properties than the domain above dP. This qualification not only ties in with Bolinger's (1967, 1972) observation that attributive adjectives are reference modifiers, whereas predicative adjectives are referent modifiers, but also with definiteness (in)sensitivity. Recall that only prenominal adjectives in OE are definiteness-sensitive, with weak adjectival inflection signposting definiteness and strong adjectival inflection indefiniteness, thus compensating for the lack of the (in)definite article (section 2). Recall further that prenominal adjectives in OE, irrespective of their inflectional properties, are adjectives of type β (section 4.2.1). Given that (a) the two types of adjectives are distributed across two distinct domains, (b) type β adjectives are closer to the noun than type α adjectives and (c) type β adjectives in OE are definiteness-sensitive, while type α adjectives are not, dP suggests itself as the natural demarcation line between definiteness sensitivity and definiteness insensitivity within nominal expressions. While dP is associated with definiteness ([±DEF]), DP is associated with referentiality.[24] Thus, under the interrelated assumptions that dP, depending on the inflection of type β adjectives, is specified as [+DEF] (weak inflection) or as [−DEF] (strong inflection), and that [±DEF], as typically expressed by the (in)definite article, feeds the pragmatic interpretation of a nominal expression (e.g. referential vs anaphoric properties), it seems plausible to conclude that dP raises to the specifier of DP, so that definiteness information is available where the referential status of the nominal expression is fixed (see (58)–(60)). Under this analysis, the loss of the canonical postnominal position of type α adjectives is a consequence of the loss of dP raising. With the loss of adjectival inflection and the advent and subsequent establishment of the Middle English (ME) article system, dP raising to specDP, as illustrated in (60), is obviated, since definiteness information is now provided by the (in)definite article whose natural habitat is the head position within DP.

In conclusion, I would like to come back to Fischer's (2000: 174ff.) conjecture that the prenominal placement of strong adjectives is an inconsistency that ultimately results from inflectional loss in tandem with the rise of the ME article system. In section 4, I argued that strong prenominal adjectives, while sharing all interpretive properties with their weak prenominal mates, display markedly different properties from their postnominal counterparts, i.e. strong adjectives are distributed across two types, α and β, and thus across two distinct structural domains. During the transition from the OE to the ME (and ultimately PDE) system, there may have been a phase of inconsistency along the lines argued by Fischer (2000). This inconsistency, however, would have only affected type α adjectives which, due to the gradual loss of dP raising, start to occur prenominally. In other words, type α adjectives may have had access to both the canonical OE position and the canonical PDE position, which, as we have seen, are equidistant from N (table 6).

[24] See also Laenzlinger (2004: 664f.) and Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou (2007: 142ff., 150) for the suggestion that, in split DP structures, the lower dP is associated with (in)definiteness.

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6 Concluding remarks

I argued that adnominal adjectives in OE are of two types which differ significantly with respect to their position and interpretation, and that the positioning of adnominal adjectives is, by and large, disassociated from their inflectional properties (pace Fischer 2000, 2001, 2006). In accordance with recent proposals by Larson & Marušič (2004), Larson & Takahashi (2004) and Cinque (2007), I suggested that the two types of adjectives be seen as located in two distinct syntactic domains within nominal structures, each with its own specific interpretive properties. I followed Cinque (2007) in assuming that word order and word order variation in nominal expressions is contingent on phrasal movement and argued that phrasal movement in OE should be seen as triggered by the requirement that definiteness information be available where the referential status of the nominal expression is fixed.

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Appendix

Specification of text sources in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOE)

code	text
ÆCHom I	Ælfric's Catholic Homilies
ÆLet 2	Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics
ÆLS	Ælfric's Lives of Saints
Apt	The Old English 'Apollonius of Tyre'
Bede	The Old English Version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*
Bo	King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*
Ch 1508	Anglo-Saxon Charters
ChronA	Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel
ChronC	The C-Text of the Old English Chronicles
Conf 3.2	Die altenglische Version des Halitgar'schen Bussbuches
GD 1	Bischof Waerferths von Worcester Uebersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen
HomS 17	The Blickling Homilies
LS 3	The Life of St Chad
Or 2	The Old English Orosius
WHom	The Homilies of Wulfstan

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