

Ekaterina A. Lyutikova. *Struktura imennoj gruppy v bezartiklevom jazyke* [Structure of the Noun Phrase in an articleless language]. Moscow: Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury, 2018. 438 pp.

Reviewed by Nerea Madariaga¹

This book represents a milestone in an academic life largely dedicated to the formal and comparative-typological study of the noun phrase in diverse natural languages. As Professor Lyutikova acknowledges in the introduction, this book is a compilation of many of the data and results of her productive and fruitful career, paying special attention to those phenomena related to the nominal domain, recently gathered together in her post-doctoral (habilitation) thesis.²

In this work, the author argues in favor of a unified micro-parametric account for the differences between NPs in languages with articles and articleless languages. More specifically, she provides arguments in favor of a lexical parametrization of the D category (cf. the Borer-Chomsky Conjecture), in the sense that articleless languages **do** have a real, albeit silent, D head, whereas in languages with articles D is lexically realized. Her hypothesis is grounded in certain ideas that are well-established in the field, such as the categorial status and semantic interpretation of NPs and the universality of the syntax-semantic interface (the syntactic representation of the semantic types).

The book is organized according to the following structure. There is a brief introduction. Then, the main chapters of the book (chapters 1 to 4) follow, each dedicated to one “big” topic concerning the nominal domain in formal syntax. These chapters acquaint the reader with the author’s arguments in favor of a unified account of D in all natural languages, despite the absence of overt articles in some of them. In addition to the partial conclusions given at

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² Throughout the text of this review, I adopt the spelling of the name the author herself employs when she publishes in English, even though it deviates from the transliteration of Russian according to *JSL* style.

the end of each chapter, there is a final short conclusion at the end, followed by a list of abbreviations, references, and languages mentioned in the book.

In the Introduction (9–21), the author defines two ways of examining linguistic variation, the typological and the generative frameworks, highlighting the differences between the two approaches and arguing in favor of the notion of parameter as a way to account for the linguistic diversity, restricting it at the same time. The global cross-linguistic situation and distribution of articleless languages vs. languages with articles is described, together with the most relevant hypotheses on the topic: (A) Szabolcsi's (1987) DP-hypothesis that every NP has an extended functional projection realized as D and (B) Bošković's (2008) proposal that articleless languages lack the D category and have only NP. Throughout the subsequent chapters, Lyutikova pursues the former hypothesis, showing that even articleless languages do project a DP-level the same as languages with articles.

Chapter 1 (23–125) deals with the structure of DP. The author shows that certain properties of the DP-layer in languages with articles are also met in articleless languages. First she explains the arguments supporting hypothesis (B) above, based on Left Branch Extraction, semantic types, and the "adjectival" nature of potential D-elements in articleless languages and immediately rejects them in favor of her own hypothesis (A). Further, she offers extensive arguments in favor of hypothesis (A), based on the landing position of elements undergoing inversion, the interpretation of possessives according to their position, the distribution of whole DPs vs. smaller phrases (NP/QP) in articleless languages, and the "barrier" properties of DPs, as compared to "penetrability" effects of smaller NPs, in accordance with Pereltsvaig's (2006) hypothesis on Small Nominals. These effects are illustrated with data that range from island and extraction properties in Russian idioms to properties of argumental completive clauses in Ossetian, another articleless language. For example, rarer combinations of light verbs plus deverbal nouns in Russian (e.g., *zaslužít' prava* 'deserve rights') behave as DPs in languages with articles, evidencing a rich functional structure in Russian nominal phrases, whereas other more frequent or natural combinations show the properties of smaller NPs (e.g., *imet' prava* 'have rights').

In chapter 2 (127–92), Lyutikova offers a detailed analysis of the properties and landing positions of possessors in the structure of NP, showing that possessors behave similarly in articleless languages and languages with articles. For example, the positions of at least some possessors must be located within a functional layer over NP (DP and nP). The specific distribution of possessors is then shown to depend on the type of possessor and the specific language, rather than on the presence or absence of articles in it.

Convincing arguments are further provided with the help of a detailed analysis of two phenomena in articleless languages: Russian genitive constructions and Tatar *izafet* constructions. First, Lyutikova analyses a Tatar pos-

sessive pattern (the so-called third *izafet* construction), which displays case marking and agreement properties that equate them to DPs rather than to bare NPs, evidencing a DP-layer in this articleless language too. Then, she focuses on the types, cooccurrence, and available positions of genitive phrases in Russian NPs. She concludes that their behavior varies from type to type. First, genitive external arguments and possessors in languages like English behave similarly to their Russian analogues, as well as Russian possessive pronouns and adjectives (forms like *mamin*, *Petino*), and are arguably located at some projection of D. Second, genitive complements (internal arguments) are shown to correspond to diverse structures. Third, low possessors probably correspond to some intermediate lexical head (rather than D) that the author calls “small n”, which accounts for their linearization and case marking properties.

Chapter 3 (193–298) accounts for the featural make-up and linear order of NP, on the assumption of a hierarchically ordered structure within it. The author does this by proposing a rich structure accounting for every position available in Russian NPs. First, she gives evidence in favor of several intermediate functional heads, such as Num(ber) and Measure/Classifier, arguing for the more likely positions of numerals and number morphology in this structure. Then, she considers the role of phi-features, case, and agreement, as well as the categories of number and gender, and their (dis)agreement patterns, and concludes that an (un)specified Num head, which is higher than Q, determines the presence or absence of agreement on the verbal form. As for gender agreement, it is defined even higher, in the DP projection.

Further, Lyutikova connects the linear order of elements and their syntactic position in the structure, adopting Svenonius’s (2008) approach of a “moderate” cartographic structure for DPs. The author reviews first the Russian literary-language construction, which consists of the inversion of elements within the NP (*pravila èti* ‘these rules’, lit. ‘rules these’, *varen’je klubničnoe* ‘strawberry jam’, lit. ‘jam strawberry’), including Approximative Inversion (*let vosem’* ‘approximately eight years’, lit. ‘years eight’). By analyzing the available types of inversion in Russian, the author shows a contrast between inversion in NPs lacking a higher functional layer and in those displaying a DP-layer. Some types of inversion (Approximative Inversion and inversion with respect to “high” elements, such as demonstratives, possessive adjectives, and possessive pronouns) evidence the existence of more than one position above N, pointing to a rich functional structure of NP in Russian. Then, the author considers the position and scope of adjectival operators, such as superlatives, ordinal adjectives, and *edinstvennyj* ‘unique, only one’, as well as Q-raising, examining data from Russian and Chinese. Along these lines, she finds evidence from articleless languages suggesting an ordered hierarchical series of layers within nominal phrases, each of which is responsible (from innermost to outermost layer) for the lexical, quantificational, and referential properties

of the NP. In these languages the different elements included in a NP are related to one or another layer in a similar way as in languages with articles. To cite an example, left-peripheral elements in articleless languages prevent Q-raising, just as articles in languages with articles do, confirming the fact that DPs can behave as islands for movement (definiteness islands) in articleless languages too.

In chapter 4 (299–382) Lyutikova deals with the relationship between semantics and the position of relative clauses in Russian. She shows that their interpretation must be attributed to a functional layer that is responsible for referential phenomena and corresponds to the DP-layer in languages with articles. The scope effects obtained in relative clauses also evidence a contrast between elements located at the NP-(NumP)-layers, which can be interpreted in the main or relative clause, and elements in the left-periphery of the phrase (DP-layer), which are interpreted only in the main clause. Based on arguments from binding, intensional vs. restrictive readings, the availability of determiners, and idioms, Lyutikova argues for a raising analysis of the N head in restrictive relative clauses. She establishes that their properties are quite similar in English and Russian, as well as in other languages, in the sense that the presence of a DP-layer is necessary to account for the interpretation of determiners and strong Qs related to the N head, or the availability of restrictive relative clauses themselves (cf. also Kayne 1994). As for appositional relative clauses, Lyutikova demonstrates that, as was proposed for languages with articles, these are generated in articleless languages after every other modifier or quantifier has merged (i.e., they are adjoined to DP), which explains, for example, why, unlike restrictive relative clauses (adjoined lower), appositive relative clauses do not display binding effects.

Evaluation

Lyutikova's book represents an ambitious (and successful) enterprise to settle the discussion on the existence or absence of a D category in articleless languages, a debate initiated in Slavistics by Progovac 1998. Some years ago this was a very controversial issue, articulated in lively debates between opponents and defenders of the availability of DP in articleless languages. The topic became especially hot in the realm of Slavic languages in the early 2000s; one of the most famous debates, witnessed by me, took place during the FDSL conference in Potsdam in 2005 between the leading representatives of both views: Željko Bošković, against the existence of DP in articleless languages (Bošković 2005), and Asya Pereltsvaig, in favor of it (Pereltsvaig 2006).

Afterwards, it seems that scholars have been unraveling the conundrum little by little in favor of Progovac's view, judging by the number and variety of recent publications in Slavic linguistics in favor of the DP-hypothesis in articleless languages (Caruso 2011, 2012 and Stanković 2017 on Serbo-Croatian;

Ljutikova 2015 and Pereltsvaig 2007, 2013 mostly on Russian; Veselovská 2014 on Czech; Linde-Usiekiewicz and Rutkowski 2007 on Polish, etc.), as compared to the non-DP hypothesis (Bošković 2008, 2009; Bošković and Gajewski 2011; Despić 2013; Petrović 2011 mostly on Serbo-Croatian). Further, studies on articleless languages other than Slavic almost unanimously support the existence of a DP-layer in these languages; cf. Tatar (Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig 2015, 2016), Ossetian (Erschler 2019), Turkic languages (Türker 2019),³ East Asian (Park 2008), West Greenlandic (Manlove 2015), Latin (Giusti and Iovino 2016), Bengali (Syed and Simpson 2017), Estonian (Norris 2018), etc. Thus it looks like aside from Serbo-Croatian, most authors are leaning toward some version of a universal DP hypothesis. In any case, we can say that Lyutikova's present work puts the cherry on the cake of this discussion, not only as far as Russian is concerned but also with regard to other articleless languages such as Tatar and Ossetian.

As a formalist, but also professor of a department famous for its longtime and productive typological research (the OTiPL / Theoretical and Applied Linguistics Department at MGU), the author adopts a "mixed" generative-comparative approach in her book. Here Lyutikova goes through aspects that had been neglected in her previous monograph on noun phrases (Ljutikova 2017), which focused mainly on case phenomena. Hence, the present book complements the previous one, providing us with a fully articulated formal-comparative analysis of the NP domain in natural languages (especially Russian). Along with the arguments in favor of a DP-layer in articleless languages, the author accounts for many other collateral cross-linguistic differences that surface in the nominal domain by means of a microparametric analysis of variation, in compliance with the goals of recent comparative studies on microvariation within the generative minimalist framework (most notably, since Kayne 2005). Along these lines, the author pursues a unified formal-typological approach, casting doubt on the traditional idea that typological studies must necessarily be associated to functionalist accounts rather than to formal / generative views on languages.

In the previous summary of the book, we already drew the reader's attention to the profusion and variety of aspects analyzed within the nominal domain: not only the elements to which everyone pays attention in the literature, such as adjective and genitive phrases, but also other elements very necessary for understanding the structure of NP, like demonstratives, non-genitive possessors, relative clauses, word order inversions, etc. As for the linguistic levels included in the monograph, besides morphosyntactic data, Lyutikova also takes into account semantic and informational aspects of NP phenomena.

The book has a very clear internal logic and is structured according to it. Lyutikova first posits problems, then states available hypotheses, and finally

³ With the exception of Bošković and Şener 2014 on Turkish.

gives arguments in favor of the most suitable explanation for every phenomenon described. In this way, collecting one-by-one simple arguments as well as very ingenious findings from every aspect of the structure and properties of NPs, the author creates a huge tower of building blocks out of the overwhelming evidence she provides in favor of a hierarchically-ordered rich structure above NP in articleless languages.

Unfortunately for a great part of its potential audience, the book is written in Russian. Nevertheless, it is welcome in the field of generative linguistics, as it can reach a wide public in Russian-speaking countries, in which some people can still be reluctant to read in English. There are just a few previous Russian books in this field (most notably, Testelec 2001; Graščenkov 2015, 2018; Ljutikova and Cimmerling 2016; Ljutikova 2017), so we can say that this work contributes to filling a gap in the generative literature written in Russian. The increasing publication of formal works in Russian will soon become necessary, as scholars educated in formal approaches to linguistics become more and more numerous in Moscow universities. Supporters of generative approaches, most notably linguists teaching at the Russian State University for Humanities, Moscow Pedagogical Institute, and Moscow State University, regularly organize conferences and specialized seminars and have the possibility to train students in formal frameworks. More recently, several linguists at the Higher Schools of Economics (the “Vyshka”), mostly trained, at least partially, outside Russia, are familiar with this approach.

The scarcity of generative monographs written in Russian can be the main reason for the—let us call it—double nature of Lyutikova’s book. On the one hand, it is a highly specialized volume, as we have already explained. On the other hand, it leads the Russian-speaking reader on a complete trip through the history of the main generative traditions, discussing how the basic (and not so basic) concepts have been defined, revised, and refined over the years. Notions such as tree formation, merge, movement, raising, c-command, binding, linear word order / linearization, headedness and head-direction, adjunction vs. complementation, levels of representation, islands, cross-over, quantifier raising, null categories, pied piping, etc., are introduced and discussed entirely in Russian.

This is perhaps why the book ended up being a little too long for a generative work, 438 pages, a length more commonly found in the Russian-speaking literature. The wish to give a complete and very detailed account of every phenomenon can make the reader lose the point of the facts that are being discussed at certain moments. It is true, however, that some pages later the author always picks up the main discussion again and relates the phenomenon discussed to the need of having a functional layer in some NPs. This happened to me a couple of times. For example, the long description of Mel’čuk’s (1995) “Smysl ↔ tekst” (‘sense—text’) theory in Section 1.2, in order to introduce later the very interesting data about common and uncommon combi-

nations of light verbs and deverbal nouns, seemed superfluous to me. The long discussion about the case-marking possibilities of nominal elements in infinitive clauses in Section 2.2.2 is happily resolved later by summarizing the relevant findings in Table 1.5 immediately followed by the return to the main argument: how the contrasts found in these structures imply the presence or absence of DP, when a noun takes as its complement an infinitive clause including a NP coreferent with some argument in the main clause. Finally, too long and detailed explanations of basic and to a great extent tangential issues, such as the mechanisms of *wh*-movement and null operators in English (section 4.2.1), are often discarded in favor of more recent explanatory hypotheses, more convenient for showing the presence of DP in articleless languages. This sort of excursus is, however, useful for reaching those Russian-speaking scholars not trained in generative linguistics.

Besides the laborious work of explaining and evaluating other scholars' accounts, the author offers her own hypotheses and solutions to the problems that arise in the book. Lyutikova's own observations and insights underlie the thread of the argumentation; however, at least once she seems to rely too much on some other scholars' account. In Section 1 and later in 2.3, Lyutikova presents Pereltsvaig's (2006) proposal about number verbal agreement and the level of projection of quantified NPs in Russia. This proposal relates in a very restrictive way plural verbal agreement (180: *Prišli (èti) pjat' pisem*) to referential DP subjects, while default agreement on the verb (180: *Prišlo (*èti) pjat' pisem*) is exclusively tied to nonreferential bare QP subjects. However, it could perfectly well be the case that both quantified subjects display some functional / DP-layer, both null but of different natures, as we see in languages with different types of articles on top of bare NPs. This possibility would automatically solve the inconvenient fact noticed by the author on page 181 that Russian NP predicates, being non-referential (*ergo*, bare NPs), can take one of those external genitive complements which are usually assumed to be located at the DP-level (181: *Èto rabota nastojaščego mastera* 'This is the work of a real master'; *Ja ne sčitaju takoj postupok pomošč' ju druga* 'I do not consider his action as help from a friend'). In some languages with articles, NP predicates do have articles, sometimes obligatorily, which suggests that it is not a crazy idea that they can project a DP (perhaps embedded within a higher PredP projection). This DP-layer would not imply regular referentiality but some other property located at DP, for example, the ability to license discourse anaphora; cf. Spanish: *Considera sus prejuicios *(las) ideas de un genio. Incluso las va pregonando por ahí.* 'He considers his own prejudices as the ideas of a genius (lit. the ideas of a genius). He even proclaims them.FEM.PL (= the ideas) everywhere.' *Lo que ha hecho me parece *(la) hazaña de un héroe. La tendré en cuenta para el futuro.* 'What he did seems to me like the deed of a hero (lit. seems the deed). I will keep it.FEM (= the deed) in mind for the future'.

As a shortcoming of the monograph we can mention some errors or confusions in the interpretation of linguistic data at certain minor points of the argumentation. The English example on page 200, *twenty-one books*, is erroneously given as ungrammatical, while *twenty-one book* is erroneously given as grammatical; so the choice of singular or plural in English is indeed semantic, contrary to the author's words. In a similar way, probably due to a mistake in copying the examples, the readings given for the Russian examples on page 209 are switched, so that the singular agreement version *prišlo pjat' mal'čikov* 'there came.sg five boys' is rendered as distributive, while the plural agreement variant *prišli pjat' mal'čikov* 'there came.pl five boys' is given as conveying the collective reading. According to Pereltsvaig 2006, cited in the previous lines, and other native speakers of Russian, the readings are just the reverse. Finally, an English speaker I consulted considers that the examples of predicate inversion in English on page 257 such as *If only we had this funny of people back in December*, unlike the well-attested French ones *une drôle de façon* 'lit. a funny of a way' are deviant, and should be dispensed with at this part of the argumentation.

Otherwise, the rich sample of data and languages offered in the book helps the reader discover many interesting typological facts. Even within Slavic, some not so well-known facts about Russian can be easily related to those in other Slavic languages. For example, the possibility of introducing a demonstrative before a noun specified by a relative clause in Russian, which otherwise would sound very weird (348: *Ta segodnjašnjaja Moskva, kotoruju stroit Lužkov, mne sovsem ne nravitsja* 'I do not like *this/the* Moscow, which Luzhkov is building now' vs. ^{??}*Ta segodnjašnjaja Moskva mne sovsem ne nravitsja* 'I do not like *this* present-day Moscow at all') reminded me of the same process, which is already completed in Colloquial Czech. Here, the presence of a restrictive relative clause demands the use of a semantically-bleached demonstrative, which is interpreted as a determiner (*To je *(ta) paní, o které jsi psala* 'This is *the* (<this) woman about whom you wrote').

To sum up, the book by Lyutikova is a lucky find for both generative scholars interested in highly specialized aspects of Russian syntax and Russian linguists of other orientations who want to be introduced to formal linguistics through the means of linguistic data that are familiar to them. Of course, this book represents a must for scholars interested in the controversy about article vs. articleless languages in general; unfortunately, they will need a good command of Russian to read this book.

I would like to finish this review by referring to the final pages of Lyutikova's book, in which she considers once again the contrast between generative and typological approaches to linguistics. To do so, she quotes Baker's (2009) joke about the risks of restricting oneself to one or another view, and endorses his advocacy of a Middle Way between the two. Taking Baker's wise warning to heart, we can safely conclude that Lyutikova's book succeeds in meeting

this Middle Way. Indeed, she analyzes a very specific, at first sight, microparameter (the article parameter) within a very specialized formal framework and at the same time she manages to guide the reader on a whole trip through the various ways of thinking, reasoning, and arguing in generative linguistics, with the help of a rich pool of data from a sample of typologically different (article and articleless) languages.

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