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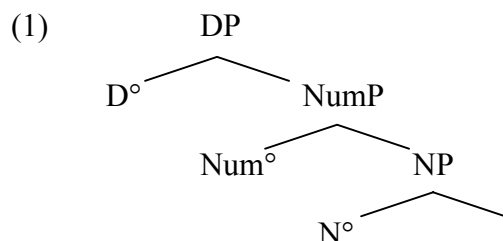
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Coordination: Some Evidence for DP and NumP in Czech

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to show that facts about coordination provide an independent piece of evidence for assuming that nominal phrases in Czech (a language without definite articles) contain at least three syntactic projections, as shown in (1). The structure in (1) contains a lexical projection NP, an intermediate functional projection NumP (Ritter 1991) which reflects the syntactic feature of number, and a functional projection DP which is argumental.

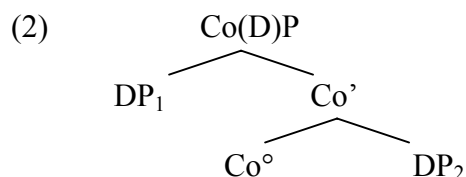


The existence of both NumP and DP levels is semantically supported by the fact that Czech bare noun phrases are always interpreted as either singular or plural (vs. so-called general number), and as argumental or predicative (DPs with null head vs. NPs). But, I would like to concentrate here on coordinate nominals: under the hypothesis that nominal phrases contain three levels, nominal coordination can be considered as three syntactically different coordinations: NP coordination, NumP coordination, and DP coordination.

I will show that distinguishing between these coordinations allows to account for different (semantic) properties of coordinate expressions with the additive conjunctions *a* ('and'), *i* ('and') and *s* ('with') on the one hand, and for agreement patterns with preverbal coordinate subjects on the other hand.

My analysis is based on two assumptions:

First, I assume that coordinate nominals are Conjunctions Phrases. In particular, I follow Johannessen (1998)'s proposal according to which the first conjunct is the specifier and the second conjunct the complement of the conjunction head, as in (2).



Second, I follow Winter (2000) and Déchaine & Wiltscho (2002) who argue that the intermediate functional projection (D' for Winter, ΦP for D&W) is semantically flexible. That is, I assume that the DP level is rigidly argumental (quantificational), the NP level rigidly predicative, and the NumP level flexible between predicative and argumental reading.

2. Three kinds of nominal coordination in Czech

Czech has three different additive conjunctions: *a* ('and'), *i* ('and'), *s* (preposition 'with' occurring in comitative coordinate-like constructions¹). These three conjunctions are neither

¹ See Skrabalova (2003a) for arguments in favor of comitative coordination.

syntactically nor semantically equivalent. Concentrating on binary coordinations in subject position, we can see they have different possible readings depending on which conjunction we use. The conjunction *a* allows both collective and distributive reading, as shown in (3):

(3) *A-coordination*

- a. Petr *a* Marie odjeli na prázdniny.
Peter and Mary have-gone on holiday (together / separately)
- b. Petr *a* Marie mají modré oči.
Peter and Mary have blue eyes
- c. Petr *a* Marie se setkali v osm hodin. / *Petr se setkal.
Peter and Mary met in 8 o'clock / *Peter met

On the contrary, the conjunction *i* only allows distributive reading, as shown in (4):

(4) *I-coordination* (distributive coordination)

- a. Petr *i* Marie odjeli na prázdniny.
Peter *and* Mary have-gone on holiday (separately)
- b. Petr *i* Marie mají modré oči.
Peter *and* Mary have blue eyes
- c. *Petr *i* Marie se setkali v osm hodin.
Peter *and* Mary met in 8 o'clock

The conjunction-preposition *s* usually only allows collective reading, as shown in (5) (distributive reading in (5b) is acceptable if context makes relevant the group forming of the subject):

(5) *S-coordination* (comitative coordination)

- a. Petr *s* Marií odjeli na prázdniny.
Peter and Mary have-gone on holiday (together)
- b. ??Petr *s* Marií mají modré oči.
Peter and Mary have blue eyes
- c. Petr *s* Marií se setkali v osm hodin.
Peter and Mary met in 8 o'clock

Furthermore, only the conjunction *a* allows the coordination in (6) to refer to either one person or two different people. The conjunction *i* in (6b) and the conjunction *s* in (6c), only allow the reading involving two people.

- (6) a. Poslanec *a* předseda parlamentu mluví² několika cizími jazyky.
deputy and chairman (of) parliament speak(s) several foreign languages
(1 or 2 people)
- b. Poslanec *i* předseda parlamentu mluví několika cizími jazyky.
deputy *and* chairman (of) parliament speak several foreign languages
(2 people)
- c. ?? Poslanec *s* předsedou parlamentu mluví několika cizími jazyky.³
deputy with chairman (of) parliament speak several foreign languages
(2 people)

² The form “mluví” is ambiguous between singular and plural.

³ The sentence is more acceptable if they speak to each other.

To summarize, the examples (3) through (5) show that the conjunction **a** is semantically neutral, the conjunction **i** is distributive, and the conjunction **s** rather collective. The example (6) shows that only the conjunction **a** conjoins both predicates and arguments.

3. Collective vs. distributive coordination

The readings of the coordinations in (3) through (6) could be possibly derived from lexical specifications on each conjunction. However, I'd rather propose the difference between collective and distributive coordination on the one hand, and between argumental and predicative coordination on the other hand, come from the type of conjoined nominal projections. Note in particular that the distributive reading of Czech coordinate nominals is forced by the conjunction **i** itself, and not by another conjunction-like or quantifier-like marker before a coordination, as in some other Slavic languages, or in Germanic and Romance languages. The conjunction **i** can occur before coordinate expressions (contrary to **a**), see (7a), though it is not a distributive marker here. Rather, it is a focus marker, comparable to 'also' and, as such, it can also introduce non coordinate expressions, as in (7c).

- (7) a. * Na prázdniny odjeli **a** Petr **a** Marie.
on holiday have-gone and Peter and Mary
b. Na prázdniny odjeli **i** Petr **a** Marie.
on holiday have-gone *i* (i.e. also) Peter and Mary
c. Na prázdniny odjel **i** Petr.
on holiday has-gone *i* (i.e. also) Peter

Some evidence for my claim that collective (A-)coordination and distributive (I-)coordination are not syntactically equivalent (though both being Conjunction Phrases) comes from coordinate nominals modified by a restrictive relative clause (called *hydras* by Link 1984⁴), as in (8a). In (8a), the coordinate expression *chlapec a dívka* must be interpreted collectively with respect to the predicate of the restrictive relative clause - *to meet in the park*, and distributively with respect to the predicate of the matrix clause - *to have blue eyes*.

- (8) a. chlapec **a** dívka kteří se setkali v parku mají modré oči
(the) boy and (the) girl who met in (the) park have blue eyes
b. [CoDP [CoDP chlapec **a** dívka] [CP kteří se setkali v parku]] mají modré oči

There are two facts about these constructions:

First, since the expression *chlapec a dívka* in (8a) functions as an argument, both the conjuncts and the coordination in (8a) seem to be argumental projections, that is DPs. If this is a case, modification by a restrictive relative clause, that is a predicate, should not be possible, since modification is intersective. For modification to be successful, the coordinate expression *chlapec a dívka* should be a predicate, not an argument. However, the sentence (8a) is quite interpretable.

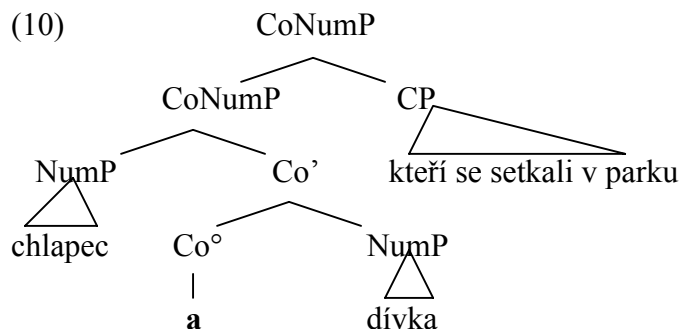
Second, these constructions are not good with **i**, which is not surprising if **i** is distributive.

- (9) a. * chlapec **i** dívka kteří se setkali v parku mají modré oči
(the) boy and (the) girl who REFL met in (the) park have blue eyes
b. [CoDP [CoDP chlapec **i** dívka] [CP kteří se setkali v parku]] mají modré oči

⁴ Link's (1984) *hydra*: (i) the boy and the girl who met => (ii) $\lambda z [z=b \wedge g \wedge \text{met}'(z)]$

It follows from these observations that coordination in (8a) cannot be a DP coordination, and that coordinations in (8a) and (9a) cannot be syntactically equivalent.

Assuming that nominal phrases contain a NumP level, I propose the coordination in (8a) be not a DP, but a NumP coordination, flexible between predicative and argumental interpretation. Which of these two interpretations will be activated depends on the syntactic context. Since Czech does not have definite articles, I propose NumP coordination be a predicate. This will allow its further modification by a restrictive relative clause attached to the NumP node (cf. Stroik 1994), as shown in (10). In languages with definite articles⁵, CoNumP would be interpreted as an expression of type <e> and then shifted into predicate by the operation IDENT (Partee 1987).



Next, the modified NumP coordination is shifted into argument, that is a referential expression of type <e>, by the operation IOTA (Partee 1987). This referential expression can combine with another collective predicate, for instance *políbit se* ('to kiss each other'), as in (11).

- (11) a. [CoNumP <e,t> [CoNumP <e,t> chlapec a dívka] [CP <e,t> kteří se setkali v parku]]
=> b. [CoNumP <e> [CoNumP chlapec a dívka] [CP kteří se setkali v parku]] se políbili
(the) boy and (the) girl who met in (the) park kissed each other

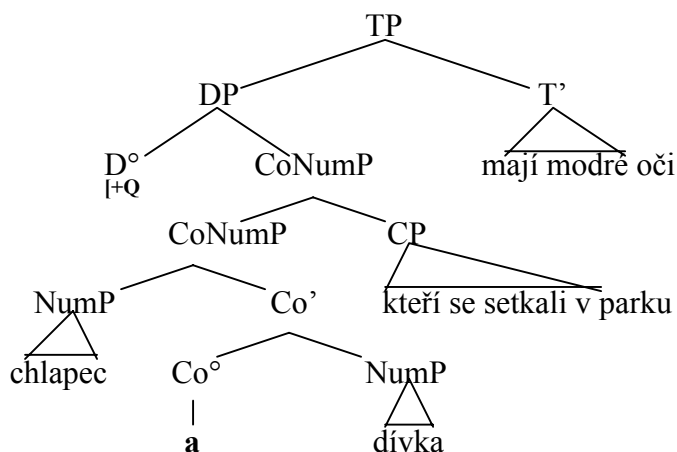
But, if this referential expression combines with a distributive predicate, as in (8), how do we get its distributive reading? I propose the distributive reading obtain if the whole CoNumP is a complement of a null head D, whose quantificational character (represented by the feature Q in (12)) allows **independent** quantificational (i.e. distributive) reading of the coordination (in fact the DP) when combining with the distributive predicate of the matrix clause.

⁵ In languages like French, both conjunct in sentences like (8) must be introduced by a definite article: 'le garçon et la fille qui se sont rencontrés ont les yeux bleus'.

Déchaine & Wiltscho (2002) argue that articles are not in Ds, but rather in Spec-NumPs, since nominal expressions with definite articles are not always referential / definite, but also generic. In their proposal, the difference between definite and generic readings is due to the presence or absence of a null head D:

(i) Jean aime le vin. => Jean aime [NumP le [NP vin]] / [DP ø [NumP le [NP vin]]]
'John likes wine / this wine'

(12)



(13) a. $[\text{CoNumP} \langle e, t \rangle [\text{CoNumP} \langle e, t \rangle \text{chlapeček } a \text{ dívka}] [\text{CP} \langle e, t \rangle \text{kteří se setkali v parku}]]$

=> b. $[\text{DP} \langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle [\text{CoNumP} [\text{CoNumP} \text{chlapeček } a \text{ dívka}] [\text{CP} \text{kteří se setkali v parku}]] \text{mají modré oči}]$
 (the) boy and (the) girl who met in (the) park have blue eyes

Given that the conjunction *i* is not good in the sentences (11) and (13), I predict that:

— NumP coordination is always collective. Consequently, I assume that argumental NumPs are only of type $\langle e \rangle$, and not of type $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$ (= GQ). This corresponds to Link's (1984) proposal that subjects of collective predicates are so-called *individual sums* (i.e. impure atoms).

— distributive reading is linked to the DP level. This is not surprising if DPs are always quantificational (cf. Longobardi 1994). Consequently, I predict distributive coordination is syntactically either NumP coordination (complement of a head D), or DP coordination. (While the first variant could account for distributive coordination in languages with overt distributive markers, I claim the second variant accounts for Czech where the conjunction *i* will select only quantificational, that is DP conjuncts.)

(14) a. Collective coordination: $[\text{CoNumP} \langle e \rangle]$ (cf. *individual sum*: Link 1984)

b. Distributive coordination: (i) $[\text{DP} \langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle [\text{CoNumP} \langle e \rangle / \langle e, t \rangle]]$
 (ii) $[\text{CoDP} \langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle]$

The hypothesis that restrictive relative clauses are adjoined to the NumP level and that NumP is an expression of type $\langle e \rangle$ also predicts that similar constructions with *a* distributive predicate in the relative clause and a collective predicate in the matrix clause are as bad with *a* as with *i*. However, (15a) is not really bad. I think it nonetheless rather difficult to interpret the relative clause in (15a) as really restrictive. Furthermore, the coordination in (15a) does not interpret strictly “distributively” since the conjunction *a* allows to consider *chlapeček a dívka* as a group whose relevant property is to have blue eyes (and not green).

- (15) a. ?chlapeček *a* dívka kteří mají modré oči se setkali v parku
 (the) boy and (the) girl who have blue eyes met in (the) park
 b. *chlapeček *i* dívka kteří mají modré oči se setkali v parku
 (the) boy and (the) girl who have blue eyes met in (the) park

4. A-coordination vs. I-coordination vs. S-coordination

I have proposed in the previous section that collective and distributive readings of a coordination be derived from the semantics of its conjuncts. In this section, I generalize this

proposition and suggest that, given the possible readings of coordinations with *a*, *i* and *s*, these conjunctions do (may) not conjoin the same nominal projections.

4.1 *A* conjoins NPs, NumPs and DPs

The conjunction *a* is semantically neutre. All readings of *A-coordination* will thus be predicted if *a* conjoins the three nominal projections: predicative NPs as in (16), flexible (referential / predicative) NumPs as in (17) and quantificational DPs as in (18).

(16) *NP-coordination* (CoNP = <e,t>, NumP = <e>)

[_{NumP} [_{CoNP} poslanec **a** předseda parlamentu]] mluví několika cizími jazyky
(the) deputy and chairman (of) parliament speaks several foreign languages

(17) *NumP-coordination* (CoNumP1 = <e>, CoNumP2 = <e,t>, DP = <<e,t>,t>)

- a. [_{CoNumP1} poslanec **a** předseda parlamentu] se shodli na společném postupu
(the) deputy and (the) chairman of parliament agreed on (a) joint action
- b. [_{CoNumP1} [_{CoNumP2} chlapec **a** dívka] [_{CP} kteří se setkali v parku]] se políbili
(the) boy and (the) girl who met in (the) park kissed (each other)
- c. [_{DP} [_{CoNumP2} [_{CoNumP2} chlapec **a** dívka] [_{CP} kteří se setkali v parku] mají modré oči
(the) boy and (the) girl who met in (the) park have blue eyes

(18) *DP-coordination* (CoDP = <<e,t>,t>)

- a. [_{CoDP} poslanec **a** předseda parlamentu] mluví několika cizími jazyky
(the) deputy and (the) parliament chairman speak several foreign languages
- b. [_{CoDP} [_{DP} každý chlapec]] **a** [_{DP} každá dívka]] v této třídě mají modré oči
every boy and every girl in this classroom have blue eyes
- c. * [_{CoDP} [_{DP} každý chlapec] **a** [_{DP} každá dívka]] se setkali v parku
every boy and every girl met in (the) park

As for coordination of proper nouns, I follow Winter (2000) who argues that Proper Nouns are NumPs, see (19): the empty definite article in Spec-NP imposes uniqueness so that the *choice function* in NumP chooses the unique element from the noun's denotation. That means that coordinate Proper Nouns are only argumental NumPs and cannot be modified by a restrictive relative clause, as shown in (20b) where CoNumP = <e>.

(19) [_{NumP} \emptyset_{cf} [_{\emptyset_{the}} N]].

- (20) a. [_{CoNumP} Petr **a** Marie] se setkali v parku
Peter and Mary met in (the) park
- b. * [_{CoNumP} [_{CoNumP} Petr **a** Marie] [_{CP} kteří se setkali v parku]]
Peter and Mary who met in (the) park

4.2 *I* conjoins DPs

The conjunction *i* is distributive. Assuming that distributive reading is linked to the quantificational DP level, distributive (and argumental) reading of *I-coordination* will be predicted if *i* only conjoins DPs⁶:

⁶ The conjunction *i* also conjoins PPs and APs. I suppose that the semantics of PPs is determined by the semantics of their nominal complements, and that AP coordination is a nominal coordination with a noun ellipsis in the first conjunct.

(21) *NP-coordination* (CoNP = <e,t>, NumP = <e>)

- * [NumP [CoNP poslanec **i** předseda parlamentu]] mluví několika cizími jazyky
(the) deputy *and* chairman (of) parliament speaks several foreign languages

(22) *NumP-coordination* (CoNumP1 = <e>, CoNumP2 = <e,t>, DP = <<e,t>,t>)

- a. * [CoNumP1 poslanec **i** předseda parlamentu] se shodli na společném postupu
(the) deputy *and* (the) chairman (of) parliament agreed on (a) joint action
b. * [CoNumP1 [CoNumP2 chlapec **i** dívka] [CP kteří se setkali v parku]] se políbili
(the) boy *and* (the) girl who met in (the) park kissed (each other)
c. * [DP [CoNumP2 [CoNumP2 chlapec **i** dívka] [CP kteří se setkali v parku] mají modré oči
(the) boy *and* (the) girl who met in (the) park have blue eyes

(23) *DP-coordination* (CoDP = <<e,t>,t>)

- a. [CoDP poslanec **i** předseda parlamentu] mluví několika cizími jazyky
(the) deputy *and* (the) parliament chairman speak several foreign languages
b. [CoDP [DP každý chlapec] **i** [DP každá dívka]] v této třídě mají modré oči
every boy *and* every girl in this classroom have blue eyes
c. * [CoDP [DP každý chlapec] **i** [DP každá dívka]] se setkali v parku
every boy *and* every girl met in (the) park

4.3 *S* conjoins NumPs

Finally, the conjunction *s* is (normally) collective. The collective reading of *S-coordination* will be thus predicted if *s* only conjoins NumPs.

(24) *NP-coordination* (CoNP = <e,t>, NumP = <e>)

- * [NumP [CoNP poslanec **s** předsedou parlamentu]] mluví několika cizími jazyky
(the) deputy with chairman (of) parliament speaks several foreign languages

(25) *NumP-coordination* (CoNumP1 = <e>, CoNumP2 = <e,t>, DP = <<e,t>,t>)

- a. [CoNumP1 poslanec **s** předsedou parlamentu] se shodli na společném postupu
(the) deputy with (the) chairman (of) parliament agreed on (a) joint action
b. [CoNumP1 [CoNumP2 chlapec **s** dívkou] [CP kteří se setkali v parku]] se políbili
(the) boy with (the) girl who met in (the) park kissed (each other)
c. ?? [DP [CoNumP2 [CoNumP2 chlapec **s** dívkou] [CP kteří se setkali v parku] mají modré oči
(the) boy with (the) girl who met in the park have blue eyes

(26) *DP-coordination* (Co DP = <<e,t>,t>)

- a. ?? [CoDP poslanec **s** předsedou parlamentu] mluví několika cizími jazyky
(the) deputy with (the) parliament chairman speak several foreign languages
b. * [CoDP [DP každý chlapec] **s** [DP každou dívkou]] v této třídě mají modré oči
every boy with every girl in this classroom have blue eyes
c. * [CoDP [DP každý chlapec] **s** [DP každou dívkou]] se setkali v parku
every boy with every girl met in (the) park

5. Agreement with preverbal coordinate subjects

As I said in the introduction, existence of three syntactic projections within nominal phrases also allows to explain agreement patterns with preverbal coordinate subjects. Relevant data here are coordinations of two singular nominal expressions (NEs). Most preverbal coordinate NEs only trigger plural agreement on the verb, some NEs only trigger singular agreement, and some trigger either singular or plural agreement⁷.

In the previous sections, I have claimed that nominal coordinations are predicative, argumental or flexible between these two interpretations. Assuming that predicates cannot be semantically plural while arguments can, I propose predicates not trigger (semantically) plural agreement, while arguments do trigger (semantically) plural agreement. Consequently, coordination of two nominal predicates in (28) will agree with the verb in singular, while coordination of two arguments in (29) will agree in plural:

- (27) a. *Predicative coordination* : CoNP / CoNumP => [-PL]
b. *Argumental coordination* : CoNumP / CoDP => [+PL]
- (28) a. Můj přítel a kolega má / *mají modré oči.
my friend and colleague has / have blue eyes
b. [_{FP} můj [_{NumP} [-PL] [_{CoNP} [-PL] přítel a kolega]]] má [-PL] modré oči
- (29) a. Petr a Marie mají / *má modré oči
Peter and Mary have / has blue eyes
b. [_{CoDP} [+PL] Petr a Marie] mají [+PL] modré oči⁸

As for NumP coordination, both singular or plural agreement should be possible, since NumPs are flexible between predicates and arguments. However, not every NumP coordination allows variation in agreement. On the one hand, Proper Nouns, which are always argumental NumPs, must agree in plural, see (30). In general, coordinate NumPs which must be interpreted as arguments, only trigger plural agreement, see (31).

- (30) a. Petr a Marie se políbili / *se políbil.
Peter and Mary kissed (each other)-PL / kissed (each other)-SG
b. [_{CoNumP} [+PL] Petr a Marie] se políbili [+PL]
- (31) a. Chlapec a dívka se políbili / *se políbil.
(the) boy and (the) girl kissed (each other)-PL / kissed (each other)-SG
b. [_{CoNumP} [+PL] chlapec a dívka] se políbili [+PL]

On the other hand, some NumPs are interpretable both argumentally and predicatively in the same syntactic position. As a consequence of their variation in interpretation, they will also allow variation in number, as shown in (32) and (33)⁹:

⁷ It has to be noted that coordination of two singular conjuncts in postverbal position can (almost) always trigger singular agreement. However, singular agreement with postverbal coordinate subjects is rather agreement with the first conjunct than agreement with the whole Conjunction Phrase. On the contrary, I assume that agreement with preverbal coordinate subjects is agreement with the whole CoP.

⁸ We can think about a functional projection above CoDP where the plural number of the CoDP would be computed.

- (32) a. Přesnost a srozumitelnost jsou příznačné / je příznačná pro jeho výklady.
 preciseness and comprehensibility are characteristic of his explanations
- b. [CoNumP [+PL] přesnost a srozumitelnost] jsou příznačné [+PL] ...
 = 'the preciseness and the comprehensibility are characteristic of...'
- c. [DP [-PL] [CoNumP [-PL] přesnost a srozumitelnost]] je příznačná [-PL] ...
 = 'the property of being precise and coprehensible is characteristic of...'
- (33) a. Uvědomovali si, že stát a společnost se nachází / se nacházejí ve vážné krizi.
 they were realizing that state and society are in serious crisis
- b. [CoNumP [+PL] stát a společnost] se nacházejí [+PL] v krizi
 = 'the state and the society are in crisis'
- c. [DP [-PL] [CoNumP [-PL] stát a společnost]] se nachází [-PL] v krizi
 = 'the entity which is state and society is in crisis'

A question remains how to account about the fact that singular agreement seems preferred with the quantifier *každý* (every) in every conjunct, as shown in (34a). However, agreement preferences also depend on gender features of the conjuncts, cf. (34b) vs. (34c). To explain agreement patterns in (34), I need to determine number computation in coordinate and quantified nominals, and also gender resolution. This has been left for further research.

- (34) a. Každý chlapec **a** / **i** každá dívka má / ??mají modré oči.
 every boy and every girl has / have blue eyes
- b. Každý student **a** / **i** každá studentka složili / ???složil / *složila zkoušky.
 every student-M and every student-F passed-PL.M / -SG.M / -SG.F exams
- c. Každý dobrý student **a** / **i** každý špatný student ??složili / složil zkoušky.
 every good student-M and every bad student-M passed-PL.M / -SG.M exams

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I tried to show that facts about nominal coordination provide evidence for the hypothesis of three syntactic projections (NP, NumP, DP) within Czech nominal phrases. Assuming a flexible character of the NumP projection, existence of these projections allows to explain semantic differences between coordinations with the conjunctions **a**, **i** and **s**: these conjunctions do not conjoin the same projections. Furthermore, semantic character of each projection also explains agreement patterns with preverbal coordinate subjects: while argumental coordinations trigger plural agreement, predicate coordinations trigger singular agreement. Flexible NumPs allow both plural and singular agreement.

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⁹ The example (31) is from Grepl, M. & P. Karlík (1986), *Skladba češtiny*, Praha: Votobia; and the example (32) from Hroch, M. & V. Kubišová (1998), *Velká francouzská revoluce a Evropa 1789/1790*, Praha: Svoboda.

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