

Left-right asymmetries in Romance NPs: word order and agreement.
M. Rita Manzini

I. LEFT-RIGHT ASYMMETRIES IN ROMANCE NPs

1. Theoretical issue

Two major models of constituent order:

- (i) linear order is defined in syntax, presupposing a locally total order of constituents based on asymmetric c-command (Kayne 1994).

Consequences:

- the base order is invariable, hence superficial crosslinguistic variations are determined by movement operations applying in the syntax. This requires head movement, roll-up movement, remnant movement, etc.
- the structure must be fine-grained enough to provide in particular a locally total order of modifiers – in practice, a cartographic structure.

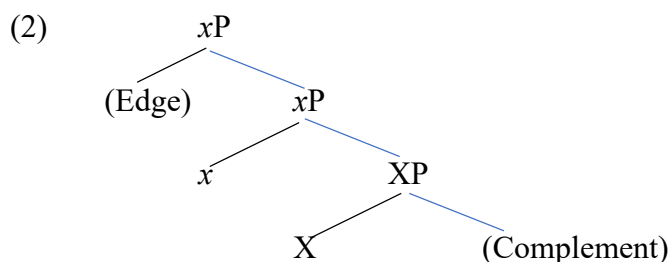
- (ii) linear order and the parameters concerning it are a matter not of core syntax but of Externalization (Chomsky 2004, 2005ff.).

Consequences:

- Locally total dominance/c-command order is not necessary, n-ary branching modification structures are possible (Neeleman et al. 2023, Chomsky 2024 FormSet). Phrase structure may be as simple as the minimal phase (plus adjuncts).

- (1) $\{_{XP} \text{ Edge}, \{x, \{_{XP} X, \text{Complement}\}\}\}$

- Linear order parameters are fixed at EXT – in particular the classical Head-Complement parameter (whether the head precedes or follows its complements). Edges are leftward (like movement, cf. Abels and Neelemaann 2012, 2025)



Are there empirical reasons motivating the stronger theory?

- A classical test case are left-right asymmetries in DPs (Cinque 2005ff.)

2. Pre-N vs. post-N adjectives in Italian

All adjectives in Italian can be post-N. There are no significant order effects among post-N adjectives (Scontras, Mazzaggio & Manzini 2026, cf. Cinque 2010).

- (3) a. un cane nero grosso
 a dog black big
 b. un cane grosso nero
 a dog big black

Only a subset of adjectives can be pre-N. Adjectives in the ANA configuration are furthermore ordered: there is a correspondence between the order of English adjectives from left to right and the left-of-N/right-of-N positioning of Italian adjectives (Cinque 1994ff., Scontras, Mazzaggio & Manzini 2026)

- (4) a. un grosso cane nero
 a big dog black
 b. *un nero cane grosso
 a black dog big
 (5) a. a big black dog
 b. #a black big dog

Within the set of adjectives that can be pre-N no significant order effects are observed.

- (6) a. un grosso vecchio cane
 a big old dog
 b. un vecchio grosso cane
 an old big dog

3. Pre-N vs. post-N plural agreement

Across Romance languages plural may be selectively externalized on pre-N elements to the exclusion of N and post-modifiers – or vice versa

- (7) Brazilian Portuguese (Costa and Figueiredo Silva 2002)

- a. o-s livr-o muito bonit-o
 M-PL book-M very nice-M
 ‘the very nice books’
 b. o-s me-u-s livr-o
 M-PL my-M-PL book-M
 ‘my books’

- (8) Fassa (Ladin, Rasom 2008)

- a. la piccola cèses de Fascia
 the-f little-f house-fpl of Fassa
 ‘the little houses of Fassa’
 b. la cèses pìcoles de Fascia
 the-f house-fpl little-fpl of Fassa
 ‘the little houses of Fassa’

cf. Stark and Pomino (2009), Bonet et al. (2015), Cyrino and Espinal (2019), Savoia et al. (2018, 2019), Manzini et al. (2020, 2021) for differing views.

4. Pre-N vs. post-N adjective agreement

Some adjectives/quantifiers have different inflectional/agreement properties pre-N and post-N.

In Italian (also Spanish, Bonet et al. 2015), *grande* ‘big, great’ has an invariable form *gran* restricted to pre-N position, alternating with the regular declension.

- (9)
- | | | | |
|----|-----|-------------|-----------|
| a. | una | gran/grande | chiesa |
| | a | big | church |
| b. | un | gran/grande | portone |
| | a | big | doorway |
| c. | due | gran/grandi | poltrone |
| | two | big | armchairs |
| d. | due | gran/grandi | armadi |
| | two | big | wardrobes |

The same is true in the masculine singular of *buon* ‘good’ (cf. *buono*) as well as of quantifiers that can appear pre-N or post-N, e.g. *alcun/alcuno*.

Vice versa, the Italian post-N adjective *bello* ‘good looking’ has a pre-N *be-* allomorph whose inflection includes definiteness features as well as phi-features: (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2015, Giusti 2015: 202ff.),

- | | | | | | |
|------|------|-----------|-----|-------|-------|
| (10) | msg: | be-l/-llo | cf. | il/lo | ‘the’ |
| | fsg: | be-lla | | la | |
| | mpl: | be-i/-gli | | i/gli | |
| | fpl: | be-lle | | le | |

5. Pre-N vs. post-N possessive agreement

- (i) Post-N possessives

- (11) Borbona (Latium): possessives do not agree with N

msg:	lu kane	me/te/se
fsg:	li kani	me/te/se
mpl:	la kamiʃa	me/te/se
fpl:	le kamiʃe	me/te/se

‘my/your/his dog(s)/shirt(s)’

- (12) Giurdignano (Apulia): possessives agree with N

msg:	u kanɛ	mɛ- u /tɔ- u /sɔ- u
fsg:	i kani	mɛ- i /tɔ- i /sɔ- i
mpl:	a kamisa	mi- a /tu- a /su- a
fpl:	ɛ kamise	mɛ- i /tɔ- i /sɔ- i

‘my/your/his dog(s)/shirt(s)’

- (ii) pre-N and post-N/pronominal possessives, no agreement asymmetries

(13) Italian: possessives agree with N

- a. il su-**o** libro
the.msg 3Gen-msg book.msg
'his/her office'
- b. nemmeno un libro su-**o**
not even a.msg book.msg 3Gen-msg
'not even a book of his/her'

(14) Alfonsine (Romagna): possessives do not agree with N

- a. msg: e **mi/tu/su** ga:t
fsg: la **mi/tu/su** skarænæ
mpl: i **mi/tu/su** ga:t
fpl: al **mi/tu/su** skaræ:n
'my/your/his cat(s)/chair(s)'
- b. msg: l e e **mi/tu/su**
fsg: l e la **mi/tu/su**
mpl: i e i **mi/tu/su**
fpl: aɫ e al **mi/tu/su**
'it is mine/yours/his/hers/ours/theirs'

(iii) Pre-N and post-N/pronominal possessives; agreement asymmetries.

(15) Firenze: pre-N possessives do not agree with N
post-N/pronominal possessives agree with N
(also Spanish: *mi libro* vs. *el libro mio*)

- a. msg: il **mi/tu/su** tsio
fsg: la **mi/tu/su** tsia
mpl: i **mi/tu/su** tsi:
fpl: le **mi/tu/su** tsie
'my/your/his uncle(s)/aunt(s)'
- b. le son mi-**e**
they are my-fpl
'They are mine/my ones'

(16) Celle S. Vito (Franco-Provencal, Apulia): Different pre-N and post-N/pronominal forms;
agree with N (Baldi & Savoia 2021)
(cf. French: *m-on chien* vs. *c'est le mi-en*)

- a. l-u tʃinnə mi-**nnə**
the.msg dog my-msg
- b. l-ə tʃinnə mi-**nnə**
the.mpl dogs my-mpl
- c. l-a tʃəmmisa mi-**a**
the.fsg shirt my-fsg
- d. l-ə tʃəmmisə mi-**jə**
the.fpl shirts my-fpl
- a'. m-**un** frarə
my-msg brother
- b'. m-**ə** frarə
my-mpl brothers

(or rather many) notional classes.

7. Semantic correlates for pre-N and post-N positioning?

Cinque (2010ff.) argues Italian post-N adjectives have the mirror order wrt pre-N adjectives in English (via roll-up movement).

- all of the logically possible orders are acceptable post-N in Italian (Scontras et al. 2026).
- this potential undergeneration issue is avoided if post-N orders different from the predicted one, are the result of merging the rightmost adjective higher up as a reduced relative clause (RC).

Cinque (2010ff.) then argues that interpretation distinguishes true APs ('direct modification' non-predicative: non-intersective, non-restrictive, individual level, etc.) from reduced RCs (predicative: intersective, restrictive, stage level, etc.). Since reduced RCs are only post-N, he excludes predicative interpretations pre-N.

Undergeneration.

(19) *pre-N, intersective*

- a. Ho visto uno stupendo ballerino, biondo, alto, muscoloso
I.have seen a beautiful dancer: blond, tall, muscular
- b. Ho visto uno stupendo ballerino, tecnicamente perfetto
I.have seen a beautiful dancer: technically perfect

(20) *pre-N, stage level*

- a. la sorridente signora alla tua destra
'the smiling woman on your right'
- b. lo smarrito testimone della difesa
the confused witness of the defence

(21) *pre-N, restrictive*

- a. Ho smarrito un piccolo/grande cane nero
I-have lost a small/big dog black
- b. I grandi patrimoni vanno tassati, quelli piccoli no
the big holdings must be taxed, those small not

Assuming Cinque's corroborating evidence to be correct, it will have to be imputed to further restrictions – more likely to contextual restrictions (including those introduced by the 'out-of-the-blue' context, which is anything but a neutral context). No matter how much corroborating evidence is presented, one bona fide set of counterexamples is sufficient to undermine the analysis.

8. Proposal I: Gradable – Non-gradable hierarchy

Theoretical issue: notional classes like 'color', 'shape', 'size, etc. are the wrong primitives to embed in syntax, where there is no independent motivation for them (no [color] Agree, or [color] EPP, or [color] Minimality etc.).

Truswell (2009) and Svenonius (2008) suggest a basic [subjective [intersective NP]] hierarchy, or in fact [Sort [n NP]] for Svenonius. → Again, from a purely theoretical point of view, subjective and intersective seem to be the wrong categories to invoke in syntax, since at least in the classical definition by Kamp and Partee (1995) these are inferential notions.

Empirically, the sequence *intersective > subsecutive > N* seems to be perfectly possible. Note that the latter is the order predicted by Cinque (2010), since reduced RCs are higher than direct modification APs.

(22) It is not true that there are no beautiful good linguists

I propose that a first bipartition of adjectives should be based on gradability, i.e. [DegP [AP NP]] (Manzini 2025a, 2025b). From a theoretical point of view, there is no question that gradability is syntactically represented because of overt Degree modifiers, as well as comparative and superlative structures. The Deg quantification is set at the *pos* Degree (Kennedy 1999) as the default.

(23)

```

graph TD
    DegP --> Deg
    DegP --> AP
    Deg --- pos[pos]
  
```

10. Proposal II: Mapping to phase structure in English

I assume that modifiers are adjoined: they merge with the XP they modify, forming again an XP. Adjunction is an instance of Merge which does not define a theta- (i.e. argument-of/complement) configuration. If labelling is defined at Transfer, then projection and selection can in principle enter in the Labeling Algorithm: i.e. NP is labelled by the head N – or the selecting head *n*P restricts its complement to NP. Semantically, the adjoined modification structure is interpreted as a conjunction of properties, e.g. NP & AP & AP etc. (cf. *dog & black & big (for a dog)*).

(24)

```

graph TD
    nP --> n
    nP --> NP
    NP --> AP
    NP --> N
  
```

By previous hypothesis, the order observed in *big black dog* vs. *#black big dog* is due to the fact that the gradable adjective is higher than the non-gradable one. Rather than postulating an ad hoc functional structure to accommodate this fact I propose using phasal architecture to derive it (Manzini 2025a, 2025b). I assume that the default position of APs is the lower adjoined one. DegPs are positioned at the edge of nP, possibly because Deg is an edge feature.

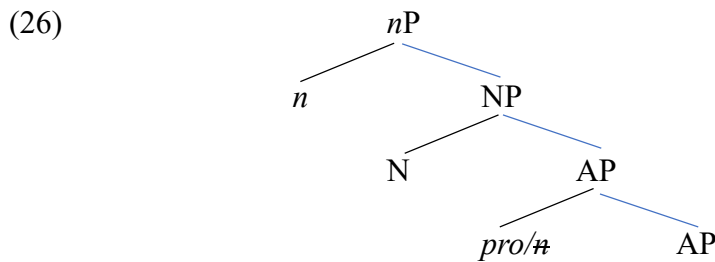
(25) [_{nP} DegP [_{nP} *n* [_{NP} AP N]]]

11. Proposal III: Predicative (i.e. control) adjectives in Italian

Following the insight of Sproat and Shih (1991) in Chinese, cf. Cinque (2010) on Italian, free order of adjectives (and here specifically the free intermixing of gradable and non-gradable adjectives), is the thumbprint of a more complex internal structure of the adjective.

The simplest way to enrich the structure of adjectival modifiers without postulating extra functional structure that is never externalized (such as an empty sentential shell for reduced RC) seems postulating an empty subject of predication, controlled by *n* (in the technical sense of control – in particular Copy and delete, Chomsky 2021, 2024). The interpretation is that NP, AP etc. are saturated

by the same referent, i.e. again they are conjoined.



For gradable APs this has the important consequence that the comparison class required by Deg is embedded within AP as an argument controlled by the matrix NP – which I notate (a^*P). This means that gradable adjectives need not be at the edge of n and can freely reorder with non-gradable ones.

(27) ... [_{nP} n [_{NP} DegP/AP N]]]

All English modifiers are linearized to the left (up to the Head Final Filter HFF of Williams 1982), while the default linearization of modifiers is to the right in Italian. The explanation proposed by Cinque (1994), namely that N is externalized in a higher position in Italian wrt English (i.e. undergoes head movement to a higher position), works here as well. I will not seek alternatives. The fact that gradable adjectives can appear in pre-N position clearly means that they can (though they need not) be at the edge of n .

(28) [_{nP} DegP [_{nP} N- n [_{NP} DegP/AP N]]]

12. Proposal IV: n-ary branching/FormSet

Multiple occurrences of both gradable and non-gradable adjectives are possible – in which case they appear to be unordered (and arbitrarily linearized at EXT. These multiple occurrences can be modelled by Chomsky's (2024) FormSet – or in any event correspond to n-ary branching (rather than binary branching) trees (Neeleman et al. 2023).

(29) [_{nP} {DegP, ...} [_{nP} n [_{NP} {AP, ...} N]]]

Linearization is predicted to reflect non-syntactic constraints: for instance prosodic preferences, frequency of use considerations, etc. (Dyer, Torres, Scontras & Futrell 2023).

12. Predictions

(i) *relational adjectives, nationality, color, shape adjectives* → non-gradable, low post-N position

- (30) a. *una chimica/atomica reazione
a chemical/atomic reaction
b. *una reazione più/meno chimica/atomica di questa
a reaction more/less chemical/atomic than this one
- (31) a. *un quadrato/ottagonale tavolo
a square/octagonal table
b. *un tavolo più quadrato/ottagonale di quello
a table more square/octagonal than that one

However as pointed out by Svenonius (2008: 38) it is of course possible to say *a very French attitude*, where the nationality adjective means “(very) typical of France” rather than “(*very) originating from France”. In essence it is coerced into a gradable meaning by the presence of a Deg modifier, cf. Italian.

- (32) a. *un italiano vizio
an Italian vice
b. un italianissimo vizio
a very Italian vice

Similarly, it is possible for a color adjective to appear in prenominal position or with Deg modifiers. The ‘green hills’ are ‘verdant hills’ – which is of course not true of a ‘green coat’.

- (33) a. Ho comprato un cappotto verde/*un verde/verdissimo cappotto
I have bought a coat green/a green/very green coat
b. Le verdi/verdissime colline della Toscana sono una perenne attrazione turistica
The green/very green hills of Tuscany are a perennial tourist attraction

In general, there is a Deg syntax and a non-Deg syntax. Adjectives fall under one or the other by default, but may be coerced into the alternative syntax under appropriate circumstances. The same general situation is known in the mass-count domain.

(ii) ‘closed scale’ adjectives (Kennedy and McNally 2005), i.e. those describing properties that have a minimal and a maximal value (cf. *half closed/open* but not **half big/small*) → non-gradable, low post-N position

- (34) a. *una chiusa/aperta porta/finestra
a closed/open door/window
b. *una piena/vuota bottiglia/tazza
a full/empty bottle/cup

As before, the same properties can be coerced into an ‘open scale’ reading (presumably a matter of removing ma and min value), in which case they can be prenominal.

- (35) a. una piena comprensione della materia
a full understanding of the matter
b. una chiusa mentalità provinciale
a closed mentality provincial
‘a provincial close-mindedness’

(iii) *participles* → non-gradable, low post-N position

- (36) a. un orologio smarrito/rubato
a watch lost/stolen
b. *uno smarrito/rubato orologio
a lost/stolen watch

If the telic component is removed (which is of course not always possible), then pre-N position and

(37) lo smarrito testimone della difesa
the lost/confused witness for the defence

13. Previous analyses

- (i) for Costa and Figueredo Silva (2002), in Brazilian Portuguese plural is a singleton morpheme in D (in the sense of DM); *-s* in European Portuguese that requires a further morphological operation of spreading.
- (ii) for Rasom (2008), in Ladin, N can percolate its plural feature downwards hence to modifiers to its right, but not upwards.
- (iii) for Bonet, Lloret & Mascarò (2015), cf. Bonet (2018), post-N agreement is the result to syntactic head-Spec agreement triggered by movement of N (projections) into the Spec of its various modifiers; pre-N agreement is a PF phenomenon subject to OT constraint grading.

- (iv) Stark and Pomino (2009) propose a Num/*n* syntactic parameter: plural is associated with *n* and checked on all nominal categories (including in Ladin) or plural is checked by a higher Num category only on superordinate categories (yielding Brazilian Portugueses). A “Morphological Constraint” is also needed for Ladin: adjectives “demand a plural exponent only in phrase final position”.
- (v) Cyrino and Espinal (2019) also propose a syntactic parameter, whereby plural is associated with D or with *n* (this latter value accounting for Ladin). In Brazilian Portuguese, based on plural in D, an externalization parameter is needed, under which plural marking in a structure [X [Y [Z to be externalized only on X, or on X and Y and not Z etc.

The literature generally adopts a cartographic structure of DP. E.g. Cyrino & Espinal (2019: 32) explicitly state they adopt Cinque (2010). → But from Cinque (2010) it does *not* follow that N c-commands post-N modifiers. In the schema of derivation below, NP may be embedded under pre-N direct modification APs and therefore not be in a position to c-command post-N reduced RC adjectives.



The literature assumes that there is a parameter concerning the locus of plural in the structure, whereby plural can only be found below it (or above it depending on the models). → But the same pre-N post-N divide can be seen in languages that realize plural throughout (Savoia et al 2018ff), namely by two different plural morphologies.

(39) Montereale (Friulian)

- a. l-i bjel-i fēmin-is
the-PL nice-PL woman-PL
'the nice women'
- b. l-i fēmin-is vɛtʃ-is
the-PL woman-PL old-PL
'the old women'
- c. ke-i bje-i ɔŋ-s/ɔm-is vɛtʃ-us
that-PL fine-PL man-PL old-MPL
'those fine old men'

Incidentally, -s morphology is irrelevant to the phenomenon of lazy concord, which also occurs with -i (infixed) feminine plurals in Lunigianese – and well as with -n feminine plurals in North Lombard.

(40) Colonnata, Lunigiana (cf. also Cavarani 2018)

- a. kiʎa bon-j-a/bɛl-j-a ɔɔna ʎa < l-j-a
that-PL good-PL /nice-PL woman
- b. ʎa nɔʃtr-j-a ka
the-PL our-PL house
- c. kiʎa ɔɔna granda
that-PL woman big

16. Phase-based Externalization

In terms of the analysis of NPs advocated here (cf. Manzini et al 2020, 2021), post-N modifiers adjoin to N(P), so that they are in the complement of the phase head *n*. Vice versa, material appearing to the left of N, is at the edge of the *n* phase head. This yields the lazy concord distribution (independent of variations in morphological Spell-Out).

(41)	D/Q	A		<i>n</i>	A	
(a)	-s	(-s)		—	—	Br. Port.
(b)	-i	-i(-s)		-i-s	-i-s	Friulian
(c)	-	-		-e-s	-e-s	Ladin

According to Chomsky (2007ff) the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC, Chomsky 2001) is determined by the fact that at phase H_i , the complement of phase H_{i-1} is transferred to the interfaces, becoming opaque to further operations of grammar. → We expect phasal organization to be relevant not only for core syntax, notably forcing successive-cyclic movement, but also at Externalization (cf. D'Alessandro and Roberts 2008 on Romance perfect participle agreement, D'Alessandro and Scheer 2015 on phonosyntactic *raddoppiamento*).

The parameter responsible for lazy concord is defined not in syntax but as part of Externalization, based on Transfer of the phasal chunk to the PHON interface (cf. Manzini et al 2020, 2021) .

17. The PIC

The standard formulation of the PIC is Chomsky's (2001).

- (42) *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (Chomsky 2001: 14)
The domain of a head X of a phase XP is not accessible to operations at ZP (Z the next phase head up); only X and its edge are accessible to such operations.

The standard PIC implies that only the complement of a given phase head is transferred leaving the head of phase itself and its edge for Transfer at the next phase up. This does not quite yield the divide needed for lazy concord.

I adopt the revision of the PIC independently suggested by Chomsky (2021: 36) under which “v need no longer be at the edge of the vP phase, but can be within the domains of PIC and Transfer”.

- (43) *PIC (Revised)*
The head X of a phase XP and its domain are not accessible to operations at ZP (Z the next phase head up); only the edge of X is accessible to such operations.

18. The Lazy Concord parameter

Two values of the parameter:

- (i) One possibility is that uniform lexicalization of a given feature is enforced within each Spell-Out domain, but not necessarily across Spell-Out domains
- (ii) Another possibility is that at EXT, a feature is uniformly lexicalized across phasal Spell-Out domains. This describes the uniform externalization of plural morphology in NPs, characteristic, e.g., of Italian.
- (44) *(Lazy Concord) Parameter*
Feature F is externalized
- (i) uniformly within each phasal Spell-Out domain
- (ii) uniformly across Spell-Out domains

Uniformity across phase boundaries may represent the default option. However breaking uniformity at the PIC boundary makes the phasal structure maximally transparent at PHON, as has been assumed for external sandhi rules ever since Selkirk's (1974) discussion of French *liaison*.

While the structural schema remains constant the actual Spell-Out rules is a language particular choice, e.g. whether plural -s externalized in a given phasal chunk or not.

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|--|--|--|----------|
| (45) | a. | [_{DP} li [_{nP} bjeli | | [_{nP} feminis [_{NP} N]]] | Friulian |
| | b. | [_{DP} li | | [_{nP} feminis [_{NP} N vetʃis]]] | |
| (46) | a. | [_{DP} os [_{nP} primeiros | | [_{nP} livro [_{NP} N]]] | BP |
| | b. | [_{DP} os | | [_{nP} livro [_{NP} N bonito]]] | |

PART IV. CLOSING REMARKS

19. Other agreement asymmetries

Agreement under movement:

According to Shlonsky (2004: 1493), writing on Semitic, successive-cyclic movement of NP(-projection) takes place to the Spec position of its modifiers (i.e. of Agr heads embedding each of them) triggering obligatory agreement. No head-Spec configuration holds with pre-N modifiers which can but need not agree.

Bonet, Lloret & Mascarò (2015) propose a variant of the same explanation for Romance: post-N modifiers agree in the syntax, via Spec-head agreement; on the contrary “prenominal agreement is established at PF and is controlled by constraint evaluation” (i.e. an OT interface).

Agreement in a phase-based environment:

Complement of n

- In a phase-based theoretical environment, the basic form of agreement is at-distance Agree triggered by the FFs of a phase head (the probe) and targeting goals within its search space (as defined by c-command and the PIC). I propose avoiding the vexed question of downward vs. upward Agree by taking Agree to be a match/identity operation/relation.

Periphery of n

- Spec-head agreement reflects a different set of operations having to do with the satisfaction of edge conditions. These are subject to (externalization) parameters – capturing the Shlonsky/Bonet et al’s insight in a different form.

20. Conclusion

The underlying question addressed here is whether left-right asymmetries in NPs best account for

- (i) by a syntactic account of linear order based on articulated functional structures (cartography), operated on by movement parameters.
- (ii) by an Externalization account of linear order compatible with reduce functional structures (minimally a phase head) and a limited repertory of syntactic movement.

The facts are that

- (i) in a highly articulated structure operated on by complex movement derivations one might expect complex variation arising wrt to the positioning of adjectives, or the distribution of plural -s or other differential agreement patterns (adjectives again, possessives).
- (ii) but where non-homogenous behaviors of a given nominal category are observed (adjective placement, plural -s distribution, agreement of modifiers), they always split along the same fault-line – modelled here in terms of complement vs. head of phase,

The evidence reviewed here (however limited wrt to the range of languages and phenomena) does not provide any support for the more complex theory. In fact, the simpler phase-based organization of constituent structure is superior to the extent that it cuts out unattested possibilities in principle open under the richer account.

References

- Abels, Klaus & Neeleman, Ad. 2012. Linear asymmetries and the LCA. *Syntax* 15.25–74.
- Adger, David. 2013. *A syntax of substance*. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press.
- Alexiadou, Artemis. 2014. *Multiple Determiners and the Structure of DPs*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Alexiadou, Artemis & Wilder, Chris. 1998. Adjectival Modification and Multiple Determiners. In Artemis Alexiadou & Chris Wilder (eds.), *Possessors, predicates and movement in the determiner phrase*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Baldi, Benedetta & Savoia, Leonardo. 2021. Possessives, from Franco-Provençal and Occitan Systems to Contact Dialects in Apulia and Calabria. *Languages* 6: 63: 1-28.
- Bernstein, Judy. 1993. *Topics in the syntax of nominal structure across Romance*. Doctoral thesis. City University of New York.
- Bernstein, Judy. 2005. On the morpho-syntax of possessive constructions », *Recherches linguistiques de Vincennes* 34. DOI : 10.4000/rlv.1364
- Bonet, Eulalia. 2018. Missing inflectional features and missing exponents in DP-internal agreement asymmetries. *Glossa* 3.79. <https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.579>.
- Bonet, Eulalia & Lloret, Maria-Rosa & Mascarò, Joan. 2015. The prenominal allomorphy syndrome. In Eulalia Bonet, Maria-Rosa Lloret & Joan Mascarò (eds.), *Understanding Allomorphy: Perspectives from Optimality Theory*. University of Toronto Press
- Campos, Hector. 2009. Some notes on adjectival articles in Albanian. *Lingua* 119, 1009–1034
- Campos, Hector and Melita Stavrou. 2005. Polydefinite constructions in Modern Greek and in Aromanian. In Olga M. Tomić (ed.), *Balkan syntax and semantics*, 137–173. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Cardinaletti, Anna. 1998. On The Deficient/Strong Opposition in Possessive Systems. In Artemis Alexiadou & Chris Wilder (eds.), *Possessors, predicates and movement in the determiner phrase*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana. 2015. Cartography and optional feature realization in the nominal expression. In: Shlonsky, Ur (ed.). *Beyond functional sequences*. Oxford University Press. 151–172.
- Cardinaletti, Anna & Starke, Michal. 1999. The typology of structural deficiency: A case study of the three classes of pronouns. In Henk van Riemsdijk (ed.), *Clitics in the languages of Europe*, 145-234. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter Mouton.
- Cavirani, Edoardo. 2018
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001
- Chomsky, Noam. 2004. Beyond explanatory adequacy. In: Belletti, Adriana (editor). *Structures and beyond*. Oxford University Press. 104–125.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2005. Three Factors in Language Design. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36: 1–22.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2007
- Chomsky, Noam. 2021. Minimalism: where are we now, and where can we hope to go. *Gengo Kenkyu* 160.1–41. https://doi.org/10.11435/gengo.160.0_1.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2024. The miracle creed and SMT. In M. Greco & D. Mocchi (eds.), *A cartesian dream. a geometrical account of syntax in honor of A. Moro*, 17–40. LingBuzz Press
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1994. On the evidence for partial N-movement in the Romance DP. In: Cinque, Guglielmo & Koster, Jan & Pollock, Jean-Yves & Rizzi, Luigi & Zanuttini, Raffaella (editors). *Paths towards universal grammar: studies in honor of Richard S. Kayne*. Georgetown University Press. 85–110.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2005. Deriving Greenberg's Universal 20 and its exceptions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36.3.315–332.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2010. *The syntax of adjectives*. The MIT Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2025. The superiority of a movement approach to Greenberg's Universal 20 (a reply to Dryer 2018). *Syntactic Theory and Research* 1.1.7. <https://doi.org/10.16995/star.17346>
- Costa, João & Figueiredo Silva, M. Cristina. 2002. Notes on nominal and verbal agreement in Portuguese. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 27.17–29.36
- Culicover, Peter & Jackendoff, Ray. 2005. *Simpler syntax*. Oxford University Press.

- Cyrino, Sonia & Espinal, M. Teresa. 2019. On the syntax of Number in Romance. *Studia Linguistica* 74.1.165–203.
- D'Alessandro, Roberta & Roberts, Ian.
- D'Alessandro, Roberta & Scheer, Tobias.
- den Dikken, Marcel. 2006. *Relators and linkers*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- den Dikken, Marcel & Singhapreecha, Pornsiri. 2004. Complex noun phrases and linkers. *Syntax* 7.1.1–54. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1368-0005.2004.00064.x>.
- Dyer, William & Torres, Charles & Scontras, Gregory & Futrell, Richard. 2023. Evaluating a century of progress on the cognitive science of adjective ordering. *Transactions of the Association for Computational Linguistics* 11.1185–1200.
- Franco, Ludovico & Manzini, M. Rita & Savoia, Leonardo. 2015. Linkers and agreement. *Linguistic Review* 32.2.277–332.
- Ghomeshi, J., 1997. Non-projecting nouns and the Ezafe construction in Persian. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 15, 729--788.
- Giusti, Giuliana. 2015. *Nominal syntax at the interfaces*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Jones, Michael. 1993. *Sardinian syntax*. Routledge.
- Kahnemuyipour, Arsalan. 2014. Revisiting the Persian Ezafe construction: A roll-up movement analysis. *Lingua* 150 1-24
- Kamp, Hans & Partee, Barbara. 1995. Prototype theory and compositionality. *Cognition* 57.129–191.
- Kayne, Richard. 1994. *The antisymmetry of syntax*. MIT Press.
- Kennedy, Christopher. 1999. *Projecting the adjective: The syntax and semantics of gradability and comparison*. New York: Garland.
- Kennedy, Christopher & McNally, Louise. 2005. Scale structure, degree modification, and the semantics of gradable predicates. *Language*, 81 2: 345-381.
- Larson, Richard. 2021. Rethinking cartography. *Language* 97.2.245–268.
- Larson, Richard & Hiroko Yamakido. 2008. Ezafe and the deep position of nominal modifiers. In: Louise McNally and Chris Kennedy (eds.), *Adjectives and adverbs. Syntax, Semantics, and Discourse*, 43-70. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Larson, Richard & Samiian Vida. 2021. Ezafe, PP and the nature of nominalization. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 39(1), 157-213.
- Manzini, M. Rita. 2014. Grammatical categories: Strong and weak pronouns in Romance. *Lingua*, 150. 171-201
- Manzini, M. Rita. 2025a. Left–right asymmetries in Italian adjectives: partial order and phases. *Syntactic Theory and Research* 1(1). 5. <https://doi.org/10.16995/star.18652.2025b>
- Manzini, M. Rita. 2025b. Italian adjectives: why fully ordering them in the syntax does not quite work. *RGG. Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 1-29.
- Manzini, M. Rita & Franco, Ludovico. 2016. Goal and DOM datives. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 34, 197-240
- Manzini, M. Rita & Savoia, Leonardo. 2005. *I dialetti italiani e romanci* [The Italian and Romansh dialects]. Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Manzini M. Rita & Savoia, Leonardo. 2018. *The Morphosyntax of Albanian and Aromanian Varieties*. Berlin/ Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Manzini, M. Rita & Savoia, Leonardo & Baldi, Benedetta. 2020. Microvariation and macrocategories: Differential Plural Marking and Phase theory. *L'Italia Dialettale* 82: 189–212.
- Manzini, M. Rita & Savoia, Leonardo & Baldi, Benedetta. 2021. -*η* plurals in North Lombard varieties: differential plural marking and phases. In: Baauw, Sergio & Drijkoningen, Frank & Meroni, Luisa. *Romance languages and linguistic theory 2018: selected papers from "Going Romance"* 32, Utrecht. John Benjamins Publishing Company. 151–170.38
- Neeleman, Ad & Philip, Joy & Tanaka, Misako & van de Koot, Hans. 2023. Subordination and binary branching. *Syntax* 26.41–84.

- Philip, Naomi Joy. 2012. *Subordinating and coordinating linkers*. Doctoral thesis. University College London.
- Picallo, Carme & Rigau, Gemma. 1999. El posesivo y las relaciones posesivas. In Bosque, Ignacio & Demonte, Violeta (eds). *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. 1. 973-1023. Espasa Calpe.
- Plank, Frans. 1995. (Re-)Introducing Suffixaufnahme. In: F. Plank (ed.), *Double Case. Agreement by Suffixaufnahme*, 3-112. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Rasom, Sabrina. 2008. *Lazy concord in the Central Ladin feminine plural DP*. Doctoral thesis. University of Padua.
- Richards, Norvin. 2010. *Uttering trees*. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press
- Roberts, Ian 2010. *Agreement and head movement: Clitics, incorporation, and defective goals*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Savoia, Leonardo & Baldi, Benedetta & Manzini, M. Rita 2018. Sigmatic plurals in Romance varieties spoken in Italy and their interaction with *-i* plurals. LINGBAW 4: 141–60. <https://doi.org/10.31743/lingbaw.5671>
- Scontras, Gregory & Mazzaggio, Greta & Manzini, M. Rita. 2026. Italian adjective order is not predicted by syntactic hierarchies and movement. *Linguistic Inquiry*
- Selkirk, Elisabeth. 1974.
- Shlonsky, Ur. 2004. The form of Semitic noun phrases. *Lingua* 114.12.1465–1526.
- Sproat, Richard & Shih, Chilin. 1991. The cross-linguistic distribution of adjective ordering restrictions. In: Georgopoulos, Carol & Ishihara, Roberta (editors). *Interdisciplinary approaches to language: essays in honor of S.-Y. Kuroda*. Kluwer Academic Publishers. 565–593.
- Stark, Elisabeth & Pomino, Natascha. 2009. Adnominal adjectives in Romance. In: Espinal, M. Teresa & Leonetti, Manuel & McNally, Louise (editors). *Proceedings of the IV Nereus international workshop: definiteness and DP structure in Romance languages*. Arbeitspapier Nr. 124. Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Konstanz. 113–136.
- Svenonius, Peter. 2008. The position of adjectives and other phrasal modifiers in the decomposition of DP. In: McNally, Louise & Kennedy, Christopher (editors). *Adjectives and adverbs: syntax, semantics, and discourse*. Oxford University Press. 16–42. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780199211616.003.0002>.
- Toosarvandani, Maziar & van Urk, Coppe. 2014. Agreement in Zazaki and the nature of nominal concord. Ms. UC Santa Cruz and MIT
- Truswell, Robert. 2009. Attributive adjectives and nominal templates. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40.3.525–533. <https://doi.org/10.1162/ling.2009.40.3.525>.
- Williams, Edwin. 1982. Another argument that passive is transformational. *Linguistic Inquiry* 13.160–163.