

Hungry Experiencers

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Introduction. Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2003) propose that languages have three ways of expressing notions like ‘being hungry’/‘being happy’, as in (1). In their system (building on Kayne 1993, Szabolcsi 1982), the patterns in (1) are all derived from the same underlying thematic structure in (2), with the lower PP being the thematic configuration for Experiencers/Possessors. Possibility (1iii) is derived when the dative Case assigning element P/K_{dat}^0 incorporates into *BE* and yields *HAVE*; when NP consists of only an N, it may adjoin to P/K_{dat} (“picking up” the intervening lower head P on the way) and be realized as an adjective (1ii); possibility (1i) is obtained by assuming that the Experiencer/Possessor moves out of the lower PP and gets dative case in Spec P/K_{dat} .

The problem. An investigation of the Romanian ‘to be hungry’ construction shows that the language seems to exemplify possibility (1i), which involves a copular *be* configuration featuring the bare NP *foame* (‘hunger’) and a dative Experiencer/Possessor (3). However, the bare NP *foame* in (3) can occur in Romanian with degree phrases of the type *destul de* (‘enough’), *extrem de* (‘extremely’) (4), which otherwise only occur with adjectives in Romanian. If this is taken as evidence that *foame* in (4) is an adjective which only *happens* to have the same phonological form as the corresponding noun in Romanian, then it explains the presence of the degree phrase in (4). However, the data will then prove problematic for Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2003), who predict that no adjective can be present in a copular *be* configuration when the Experiencer/Possessor has dative case.

The analysis. First, I argue that *foame* in (4) is actually a noun in Romanian, which can be seen from the fact that it can take indefinite articles, it can be modified by adjectives, and it has inherent gender (5). As such, the Romanian ‘to be hungry’ construction does provide empirical support for the analysis of Experiencer/Possessive structures put forth in Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2003).

Second, I suggest that the key to understanding the presence of the degree phrases in (4) lies in the fact that an unpronounced adjectival quantifier *MULT* (MUCH) is also present in the underlying representation of (4).

I argue that (4), in which the degree phrase precedes the noun, is actually derived from (6), which is also attested in Romanian, and which involves the presence of a postnominal degree phrase with an overt *mult*. The underlying structure of (4) will thus be minimally different from (2) in that the complement of the lower P is a Degree Phrase (DegP).

I assume, following Corver 2005, that degree phrases of the type *extrem de/destul de A(djective)* in Romanian have a structure similar to the French *N de N* construction (*cet imbécile de Jean*), discussed by den Dikken (1995, 2006) (7). I furthermore assume, following Kayne (1994), a reduced relative clause analysis of adjectives and I argue that the NP *foame* and the FP in (7) are generated in the specifier and complement positions of a SC, respectively. The SC then merges with an empty C head (8). Next, *mult* preposes to SpecCP, followed by the merging of an empty Deg head (9). Last, the FP undergoes remnant movement to SpecDegP, yielding (10). Since *foame* is a bare noun, no D will be merged.

The non-pronunciation of *mult* in (10) could be accounted for by arguing, following Kayne (2005), that elements that end up in the Specifier position of a phase (CP) are unpronounced. The final derivation of (4) is provided in (11): the possessor leaves the lower PP, picks up the Kase morpheme along the way and raises to SpecTP.

Extension. The suggestion that an unpronounced MUCH is present in (4) can carry over to the French case in (12), featuring the verb *avoir* (‘have’), bare *faim* (‘hunger’) preceded by the degree phrase *extrêmement* (‘extremely’) and a nominative subject. I argue that the two constructions in (4) and (12) are structurally similar, but the difference between Romanian and French lies in that: (i) the predicative head Pr does not have an overt manifestation in French and (ii) given the fact that, unlike in Romanian, dative case is not morphologically present on DPs in French, but it is assigned by means of a preposition (*à*),

French exemplifies the option of having the preposition *à* incorporate into *BE* and yielding *HAVE* (*AVOIR*), followed by movement of the Experiencer DP to SpecTP to get nominative case (13).

- (1) (i) to-DP be NP 'To me is hunger/cold'. (Malayalam, Icelandic, Russian)
 (ii) DP(Nom.) be AdjP 'I am happy/hungry.' (Kannada)
 (iii) DP(Nom.) have NP 'I have hunger'. (French)

(2) BE [_{P/KP} Spec P/K_{dat} [_{PP} DP_{poss} [P QP/NP]]]

- (3) *Îmi este foame.*
 me.dat is hunger
I am hungry.
- (4) *Îmi este extrem de foame.*
 me.dat is extreme of hunger
I am extremely hungry.

(5) *Mi - e o foame teribilă.*
 me.dat is a. f.sg hunger.f.sg terrible.f.sg
I am terribly hungry.

(6) *?Mi - e foame destul/extrem de mult.*
 Me.dat is hunger.f enough/extreme of much
I am hungry enough/I am extremely hungry.

(7) [_{FP} *extrem/destul*_j [_{F'} F (=de) + Pr_i [_{PrP} *mult* t_i t_j]]]]

(8) C [_{SC} *foame* [_{FP} *extrem/destul*_j [_{F'} F(=de) + Pr_i [_{PrP} *mult* t_i t_j]]]]]]

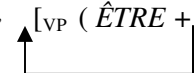
(9) Deg [_{CP} *MULT*_k C [_{SC} *foame* [_{FP} *extrem/destul*_j [_{F'} F(=de) + Pr_i [_{PrP} t_k t_i t_j]]]]]]]]

(10) [_{DegP} [_{FP} *extrem/destul*_j [_{F'} F(=de) + Pr_i [_{PrP} t_k t_i t_j]]]]]]_p Deg [_{CP} *MULT*_k C [_{SC} *foame* t_p]]]

(11) [_{TP} *Îmi*_{poss} [_{T'} *este* [_{VP} t_v [_{P/KP} t_{poss} K/P_{dat} [_{PP} t_{poss} [P DegP]]]]]]]]]]

(12) *J' ai extrêmement faim.*
 I have extremely hunger
I am extremely hungry.

(13) [_{TP} *Je*_{poss} [_{T'} [_{VP} (*ÊTRE* + *à* = *AVOIR*) [_{P/KP} t_{poss} K/P_{dat} [_{PP} t_{poss} [P DegP]]]]]]]]]]



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