

Definite DPs without lexical nouns in French: clausal modifiers and Relativization

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1. Introduction

As acknowledged in a number of works (Corblin 1995, Marandin 1997, Sleeman *passim*, Corblin, Marandin & Sleeman 2004), the grammar of Standard French overtly distinguishes two types of definite DPs without lexical nouns (hereunder: DDWNs)¹, respectively exemplified in (1) and (2):

LE-DDWNS

- (1) a. [Tu prends quel vélo ?] Je prends **le vert**.²
"Which bike will you be taking?" I take _{DFMSG} green_{MSG}
"I'll take the green one."
b. **Les timides** ont souvent le trac.
{DFPL} shy{PL} have often stage fright
"The shy [= shy people] often experience stage fright."

CELUI-DDWNS

- (2) a. [Tu prends quel vélo ?] Je prends **celui que mon père m'a donné**.
I take _{CELUIMSG} that my dad gave me
"I'll take the one my dad gave me."
b. **Ceux qui sont timides** ont souvent le trac.
{CELUIIMPL} who are shy{PL} have often stage fright
"Those who are shy often experience stage fright."

Both types of DDWNs can either partake in an anaphoric relation in their discourse, as in (1a) and (2a), where the lexical features of the missing Noun are provided by the discourse context; or they can have a hyperonymic reading, as in (1b) and (2b), where the referent is construed as a human generic. LE- and CELUI-DDWNS are standardly assumed to be licensed by two complementary classes of modifiers, listed below in Table (3):

¹ This term is adapted from Corblin, Marandin & Sleeman (2004), whose acronym reads: DWN ('Determiners Without Nouns').

² Abbreviations used in French glosses: DF = definite article; F = feminine gender; M = masculine gender; PART = partitive article; PL = plural; SG = singular. For examples acknowledged by Standard Grammar (sections 1 and 2), the glossed features are those revealed by official spelling; for examples characteristic of Informal Grammar (sections 3 and 4), the glossed features are those revealed by pronunciation.

(3) DDWNs in French in Standard French: current descriptive assumptions

Modifier /		DDWN	<i>le</i>	<i>celui</i>	examples
simplex adjective			+	-	[<i>Quel vélo?</i> "which bike?"] { <i>le/*celui</i> } vert "the green (one)"
genitive <i>de</i> DP			-	+	{ <i>*le/celui</i> } de Jean lit. "the-one of John" ("John's")
deictic enclitic <i>ci/là</i>			-	+	{ <i>*le/celui</i> }- ci/là "this/that one"
CP (saturated or reduced)	full relative		-	+	{ <i>*le/celui</i> } que tu connais "the-one you know"
	reduced relative	Adj+XP	-	+	[<i>Quelle bouteille?</i> "Which bottle?"] { <i>*la/celle</i> } pleine de vin "the-one full of wine"
		past participle (+XP)	-	+	[<i>Quelles circonstances?</i> "which circumstances?"] { <i>*les/celles</i> } créées par l'hérédité "the-ones created by heredity"
		à+VPinf	-	+	[<i>Quels événements?</i> "what events?"] { <i>*les/ceux</i> } à venir "the-ones to come"
		de+VPinf	-	+	[<i>Quel espoir as-tu?</i> "What hope do you have?"] { <i>*le/celui</i> } de mourir avant lui lit. "that of dying before him"
		PP	-	+	[<i>Quels suffixes?</i> "which suffixes?"] { <i>*les/ceux</i> } à sens collectif "those with a collective meaning"
	present participle		-	+	[<i>Quels préjugés?</i> "what prejudices?"] { <i>*les/ceux</i> } existant aujourd'hui "the-ones existing today"

Under this description, LE-DDWNs are only licensed by simplex lexical modifiers.

This paper is motivated by the fact that various phrasal modifiers which are standardly regarded as selected by *CELUI* actually occur quite productively in LE-DDWNs, in at least some varieties of Modern French. The goal of this work is to update the current description of French DDWNs and to propose a syntactic analysis of the data left so far unacknowledged.

In what follows, I summarize and discuss (section 2) available proposals accounting for the properties of CELUI- and LE-DDWNs, concluding that they instantiate two syntactic structures, only one of which (the CELUI type) involves 'Relativization', viz. the raising of the NP component to a clause-peripheral position. I next present (section 3) a sample of attested data from Informal French which seem to violate the conclusions of section 2, and propose (section 4) an analysis which smooths out their apparently paradoxical properties: the leading idea hinges on the distinction between positions and categories, which allows us to assume that strings internally structured as phrases may actually occur in the structural slots which standardly host lexical modifiers.

2. Two structures for DDWNs

2.1. CELUI-DDWNs

Many scholars have discussed the bothering categorial status of French CELUI (Damourette et Pichon 1911-50, Sandfeld 1928, Yvon *passim*, Gross 1977, Pierrard *passim*, Hirschbühler & Labelle 1990, Corblin 1990, 1995, Kleiber 1991, Grosu 1992, Kayne 1994, Miller 1992, Véland 1996, Sleeman 2003, a.o.): it cannot be identified as a DP, since it cannot fill a DP position on its own (4a); nor as a Determiner since it cannot be followed by a noun (4b); CELUI is always followed by some type of restrictive modifier, typically a genitive or a relative clause, as in (3) above or (4c) below:

- (4) a. **Je prends celui.*
I take CELUI
Lit. "I'll take the one."
b. **Je prends celui vélo.*
I take CELUI bike
c. *Je prends celui {de Marie/que tu aimes}.*
I take CELUI of Mary/that you like
"I'll take Mary's/the one you like."

Various of the quoted authors assume that CELUI is made up of a Determiner (CE) followed by a functional noun (LUI). Hirschbühler & Labelle (1990) correctly point out that the modifier constraint observed in CELUI-DDWNs is also found in other types of definite DPs such as those in (5), where the NP component must bear a clausal or genitive restrictive modifier:

- (5) a. *Jean mène la vie *(qu'il veut).*
"John is leading the life (he wants)."
b. *Jean est entré au moment *(où nous arrivions).*
"John entered the minute (we arrived)."
c. *Jean n'est plus le danseur #(qu'il était).*
"John is no longer the dancer (he used to be)."
d. *Tous ces scandales ont amoindri la crédibilité ?*(du Parti/qu'il avait).*
"The many scandals weakened the credibility (of the Party/that he had)."
[adapted from Hirschbühler & Labelle 1990]
e. *J'ai retrouvé la chaussette à toi *(que tu avais perdue).*
"I found the sock of yours (that you had mislaid)."
[inspired by Kayne 1994]

As emphasized by Kayne (1994), what is crucial in such examples is that Definite + NP does not form a syntactic constituent. Rather, the definite determiner takes as its complement a phrase formed of the Noun + a restrictive modifier :

- (6) a. [la [vie + qu'il veut]] (cf. (5a))
 b. [la [crédibilité + du Parti/qu'il avait]] (cf. (5d))
 c. [la [chaussette à toi + que tu avais perdue]] (cf. (5e))

This idea has been phrased by various scholars (Smith 1969, Vergnaud 1974, Ronat 1977), and is nicely formalized by Kayne (1994) in his antisymmetry framework along the lines sketched in (7):

- (7)
- | | | | | |
|-----------|------------------------|------------|----|------------------------------|
| D° | DP | CP | C' | IP |
| | spec | | C° | |
| <i>la</i> | <i>vie_z</i> | <i>qu'</i> | | <i>il veut t_z</i> |

In the structure represented in (7), D takes CP as its complement, and Relativization involves raising to Spec,CP of an argument originating in the IP domain. Kayne proposes to adopt a similar analysis for genitive modifiers, viz. to analyse them as nonverbal relative clauses:

- (8)
- | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|-----------|------|-------------------------------|
| D° | DP | CP | C' | FP |
| | spec | | C/P° | |
| <i>la</i> | <i>crédibilité_z</i> | <i>de</i> | | <i>le Parti t_z</i> |

Although Kayne seems to admit that CELUI is made up of CE+LUI, he assumes that CELUI is merged in Spec,CP in such structures as (7) and (8). This analysis is consistent with the Minimalist claim (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 2002) that morphemes forming a lexical word should occupy a single position in syntax. We may however alternatively assume that LUI in CELUI-DDWNs is but the raised inflected NP reduced to its phi-features, while CE is a context-sensitive allomorph of the definite D head, as in (9) below:³

- (9) a. [DP *ce* [CP *lui_z* [[C° *que*] [IP *il veut* [NumP *t_z*]]]]

³ From a diachronic angle, we may correlate the development of CELUI-DDWNs in French to the phonological weakening of the *le/la/les* paradigm (definite article or 3rd-person object pronoun). This assumption seems supported by the fact that QUELLO has similarly developed in relativised DDWNs in Italian (whose definite article and 3rd-person pronouns are also clitics showing external sandhi), while no equivalent of CELUI or QUELLO has developed in relativised DDWNs in Spanish (where the *el/la(s)/lo(s)* paradigm is not similarly weak). In Spanish (as in Old French, cf. Buridant 2000), the same functional expression (*el/la(s)/lo(s)*) occurs in the analogues of both (1) and (2) above, as pointed out by Cabredo Hofherr (2005). Under the analysis proposed here and in line with Cabredo Hofherr's, we may assume that due to its non-weak character, Spanish *el/la(s)/lo(s)* may spell out either the determiner (as in French and Italian), or the relativised functional NP which surfaces in spec,CP in the structure represented in (10).

- b. [DP *ce* [CP *lui*_z [[C/P° *de*] [IP *Jean* [[I°][NumP *t*_z]]]]

Under this variant of Kayne's analysis, CELUI is not a lexical word in Modern French — an assumption consistent with its etymology⁴ — and CELUI-DPs should be globally characterized as DPs containing a definite determiner and a relativized functional NP spelt out by a pronoun (LUI). Demonstrative DPs of the form CE N-CI/CE N-LA and CE-LUI-CI/CE-LUI-LA are easily accommodated if we assume that the deictic morphemes CI and LA are merged in the C head, viz. in the same position as *que* (9a) and *de* (9b):

- (10) a. [DP *ce* [DxP *livre*_z [C/Dx° *ci/là*] [NumP *t*_z]]] (lit. 'the book here/there' ≈ 'this/that book')
- b. [DP *ce* [DxP *lui*_z [C/Dx° *ci/là*] [NumP *t*_z]]] (lit. 'the-one here/there' ≈ 'this/that one')

A property shared by all CELUI-DPs is the fact that D and its CP complement (the restrictive modifier) serve as co-determiners for the raised NP which, prior to Relativization, is left unspecified for 'definiteness'.

This Kayne-inspired description is also essentially consistent with Sleeman's (1996) analysis of CELUI-DDWNs, and with the way Cinque (2010) proposes to formalize the distinction between *direct* and *indirect* modifiers, respectively defined as nonclausal, and clausal. Under Cinque's view, indirect (viz. clausal) modifiers are merged at the top of DP structure and trigger Relativization, resulting from the NP being attracted by C. Direct modifiers are assumed to be merged further down in the structure, and since they are nonclausal, hence contain no C head, they cannot trigger Relativization: the N-Modifier linear order characteristic of, e.g., Romance (French *le livre bleu*, lit. "the book blue") must therefore result from an instance of XP movement distinct from Relativization, which raises the NP past its modifier — but below CP.

Cinque proposes to characterize French CELUI-DDWNs as containing an indirect restrictive modifier: their derivation must therefore involve Relativization. It further involves, according to Cinque, raising of the indirect modifier to a Focus position (above CP), with 'Remnant Movement' following for the N-Modifier linear sequence to arise.

Although Kayne (1994) and Cinque (2010), as well as Sleeman (1996), do not assume — as in (9) and (10) — that CELUI is made up of two components which fail to form a syntactic constituent, these authors all converge wrt. the central assumption that CELUI-DDWNs are relativized definite DPs containing a functional N head.

2.2. LE-DDWNs

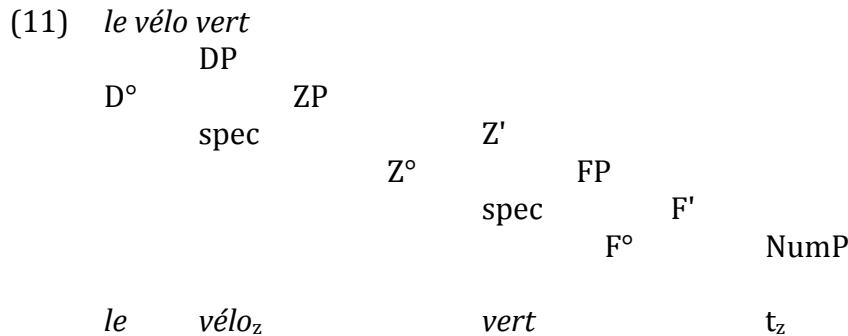
Two main syntactic analyses compete in the syntactic literature with respect to French LE-DDWNs: one theory assumes that they contain an elliptical noun (Sleeman *passim*); the other that they do not contain an elliptical noun (Marandin 1997).

2.2.1. The elliptical analysis

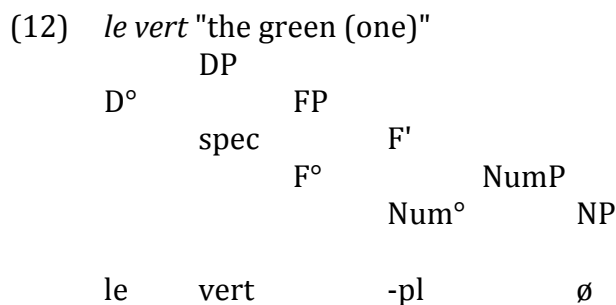
Under Sleeman's view, LE-DDWNs are but canonical (viz. nonrelativized) definite DPs within which an adjectival modifier licenses an elliptical noun.

⁴ According to Rey *et al.* (1992), CELUI is historically derived from Popular Latin *ecce illi* — *ecce* (deixis marker)+ *illi* (the 3rd-degree demonstrative, also the forebear of modern 3rd-person pronouns). The fact that CELUI is transcribed as a lexical word in conventional spelling may thus be regarded as the result of an external decision which fails to be syntactically motivated.

Following Cinque (1994, 2010), as well as Knittel (2005), Sleeman assumes direct adjectival modifiers to be merged in the specifiers of specialized functional phrases above NP, labeled 'FP' in the structures below.⁵ All adnominal modifiers are thus merged above NP — this descriptive assumption captures the Modifier-Modified relation — and in order for the NP-Modifier sequence to arise (as it dominantly does in French), NP must move up beyond its modifier, to a projection labeled ZP below:⁶



Under Sleeman's analysis, LE-DDWNs are internally structured exactly as their nonelliptical counterparts, from which they only differ wrt. the phonological content of their N head — LE-DDWNs contain a null N, which Sleeman labels *pro*:



According to Sleeman (1996) the elliptical NP in DDWNs must be licensed by a semantically 'partitive' modifier, which may be a quantity marker (13a), a superlative (13b), an ordinal (13c), or a lexical adjective as in (13d).

[Talking about bikes (*vélos*, masculine)]:

(13) a. *Je prends les deux.*

⁵ The hierarchical position of the Number Phrase in the structure is not consensual: Cinque places NumP above direct modifiers, while Sleeman and Knittel, whom I follow here, place it below. This issue is not directly relevant for the present discussion. The label chosen for the projections hosting direct modifiers also varies among authors: 'AgrP' is used by Sleeman and Knittel, but the vaguer 'FP' used here (and in Cinque, forthcoming) conveniently makes space for noninflected modifiers.

⁶ The reason for NP movement to ZP in (11) does not seem to be a settled issue. It cannot be Relativization, as emphasised by Cinque (forthcoming — see above); it cannot be that NP is attracted by Number (since this type of movement occurs in strictly noninflectional languages, such as Khmer); it cannot be that NP is attracted by 'Definiteness', since it occurs regardless of this property. A possible assumption would be that this movement is triggered by a 'visibility' principle pertaining to the PF/LF interface — an overt effect of this movement is that it gets the lexical head-noun closer to the phrase-initial position. This analysis would predict that raising to spec,ZP cannot affect a phonologically empty (hence always invisible) head — a result consistent with the analysis of LE-DDWNs adopted in section 4 (essentially in line with Sleeman's assumptions).

- I take DF_{PL} two
Lit. "I'll take the two."
- b. *Je prends le plus grand.*⁷
I take DF_{MSG} more large_{MSG}
Lit. "I'll take the largest (one)."
- c. *Je prends le deuxième.*
I take DF_{MSG} second
Lit. "I'll take the second (one)."
- d. *Je prends le vert (pas le noir).*
I take DF_{MSG} green_{MSG} (not the black)
"I'll take the green (one) (not the black (one))."

When triggered by a lexical adjective the 'partitive' effect boils down to a presupposed subclassification: in order to interpret (13d), we must presuppose that there exist at least two bike (*vélo*) entities, a green one and at least one non-green one; and *le vert* picks out one of the preclassified bikes. It turns out (cf. Sleeman *passim*, Marandin 1997, Bouchard 2002, Eguren 2009) that lexical modifiers are more or less inherently inclined to trigger this 'partitive' effect. For many of them, the 'partitive' effect needs to lean on an overtly classifying pragmatic context. Thus, Sleeman (1996) first discards *l'intéressante* as ill-formed in (14a), but further admits that it may be acceptable if contextualized as in (14b):

- (14) a. [UN conference: A reports to B that the morning lectures⁸ included an interesting one and some less interesting ones; B replies]
**Malheureusement je n'ai pas entendu l' intéressante.*
unfortunately I didn't hear DF_{SG} interesting_{FSG}
"Unfortunately I didn't hear the interesting (one)."
[Sleeman 1996: 14]
- b. [A comments that the morning lectures may be subclassified into 3 groups]
(...) *les intéressantes, les atroces et les incolores.*
DF_{PL} interesting_{FPL}, DF_{PL} horrendous_{PL} and DF_{PL} colourless_{PL}
"(...) the interesting (ones), the horrendous (ones), and the colourless (ones)" [adapted from Sleeman 1996: 16, fn.3]

⁷ Since the LE-DDWNs discussed in this section are acknowledged by Standard French, the glosses capture the inflectional features spelt out in the written language: thus *grand* is glossed as inflected for both gender (masculine) and number (singular), although the number specification is only visible in writing. A different glossing system will be used in section 3, whose data pertain to informal (hence Spoken) French.

⁸ The noun meaning "lecture" in French translates as *conférence*, feminine gender.

2.2.2. A nonelliptical analysis

Marandin (1997) explores an alternative analysis of LE-DDWNs involving no empty category — a problematic concept in his framework. He proposes to subclassify adjectival modifiers wrt. their inherent semantic content: only a subset of modifiers, those denoting colour and size, are inherently classifying. Other modifiers must be pragmatically coerced into a classifying reading. Marandin argues that inherently classifying modifiers, such as those in (15), are available for a lexical conversion rule which turns them into Nouns in DDWNs, as represented in (16); whereas other modifiers, such as *intéressantes* in (14b), do not convert into nouns, hence form 'heterocategorical' DDWNs, as shown in (17):

Inherently classifying modifiers: *rouge* "red", *grand* "large":

- (15) *Il y a des chapeaux dans la vitrine. Les {rouges/grands} sont fripés.*
 there are hats in the shop-window. DF_{PL} red_{PL}/large_{PL} are crumpled
 "The {red/large} ones are crumpled."

- (16)
- | | |
|------------|---------------|
| DP | |
| D° | NP |
| <i>les</i> | <i>rouges</i> |

Noninherently-classifying modifiers: *intéressantes*:

- (17)
- | | |
|------------|----------------------|
| DP | |
| D° | AP |
| <i>les</i> | <i>intéressantes</i> |

However, Marandin's analysis faces (at least) three empirical problems.

A first problem, pointed out by Corblin (1995), is the fact that colour and dimensional modifiers in LE-DDWNs may take degree markers, as in (18a), which straightforwardly identifies them as adjectives, not as nouns, as witnessed by the contrast between (18a) and (18b):

- (18) a. [*Le Louvre a réorganisé les tableaux de cette section.*]
 "The Louvre has rearranged the pictures in this section.
Les très grands sont désormais dans la galerie Nord.
 DF_{PL} Very large_{MPL} are from now on in the Northern wing
 The very large (ones) are now in the Northern wing."
 b. **Les très portraits* sont désormais dans la galerie Nord.
 Lit. "The very portraits are now in the Northern wing."

A second problem is that the definite article does not exhibit the same sandhi properties in LE-DDWNs containing an inflected colour or dimensional modifier, as it does when it is followed by the lexical head noun. External sandhi (*liaison* or truncation of D) is obligatory in D-N strings, even in informal French, as shown in (19):

- (19) a. [*Laboratoire de chimie*] **Les acides /coraux** sont en haut,
 [chemistry lab] DF_{FPL} acid_(PL)⁹ coral_{PL} are at the top
[lezasid/#leasid]; [lekoro]
 "Acids/corals are at the top
 et les dissolvants en bas.
 and solvents at the bottom."
- b. **Les urgences** sont au premier étage.
 DF_{FPL} emergency_(PL) are on-the first floor
[lezyr3âs/*leyr3âs]
 "Emergencies are on the first floor."
- Quel est votre fruit préféré? "What is your favourite fruit?"
- c. **Les oranges.** **[lezorã3]/#[leorã3]**
 DF_{FPL} orange_(PL)
 "Oranges."
- d. **L(#a)orange.** **[lorã3]/#[laorã3]/**
 DF_{FSG} orange_(SG)
 "The orange."

In LE-DDWNs, however, external sandhi on D is not obligatory if D is followed by an inflected modifier:¹⁰

- (20) *Quelles couvertures il faut prendre?* "What blankets should we take?"
- a. **Les épaisses.** **[lezepɛs]/ [leepɛs]**
 DF_{FPL} thick_(FPL)
 "The thick (ones)."
- b. **Les écrués.** **[lezekry]/ [leekry]**
 DF_{FPL} raw_(FPL)
 Lit. "The raw (ones)."

⁹ As **discussed** by Barra Jover (to appear), the plural feature is in most cases only audible on the determiner in Spoken French: the bracketed feature in this gloss is spelt out in Written French, not in Spoken French; *corail* "coral" (plural: *coraux*) belongs to the small class of nouns whose plural is phonologically audible.

¹⁰ This optionality of sandhi obtains in Standard French (not only in Informal French), as witnessed by the written example reproduced in (i), found by Rothenberg (1985):

- (i) a. ...deux foyers de douleurs subjectives et objectives : dans la zone du
 two sources of pains subjective_{FPLI} and objective_{FPL} in the zone of-the
carrefour sous-hépatique et dans la iliaque.
 link sub-hepatic and in DF_{FSG} iliac
 "...two sources of subjective and objective pains: in the sub-hepatic
 zone and in the iliac (one/zone)."
 [adapted from Rothenberg 1985: 168, from her corpus]
- b. ?... dans la zone du carrefour sous-hépatique et dans l'*iliaque.*
 "...in the sub-hepatic zone and in the iliac."

The nontruncated article in (ia) straightforwardly signals *iliaque* as a modifier, while the truncated article in (ib) would allow (even favour) its analysis as the head noun.

- (21) *Quelle {crème/laine} il faut prendre?* "What {cream/wool} should we use?"
- a. *L(a) épaisse.* [lepɛs]/ [laepɛs]
 DF_{FSG} thick_(FSG)
 "The thick (one)."
- b. *L(a) écrue.* [lekry]/ [laekry]
 DF_{FSG} raw_(FSG)
 "The raw (one)."

These facts are evidence that colour and dimensional adjectives are not converted into nouns in LE-DDWNs.

A third problem for Marandin's analysis is raised by the productive occurrence of bare roots as colour modifiers. This option is quite freely available for lexemes otherwise used as nouns identifying all kinds of visible entities, e.g. flowers: *une cravate lilas* "a lilac(-coloured) tie"; fruit: *une cravate abricot* "an apricot(-coloured) tie"; animals: *une cravate taupe* "a mole(-coloured) tie"; substances: *une cravate acier* "a steel(-coloured) tie". When used as direct modifiers in the DP, these lexemes share the inherently-classifying behaviour typical of colour and dimensional modifiers. As regards morphology, these modifiers contrast with both adjectives and head nouns in that they are uninflected (even in writing) and disallow external sandhi on D:

- (22) *Quelle(s) couverture(s) il faut prendre?* "What blanket(s) should we take?"
- a. *Les orange/corail/#coraux.* #[lezorã3]/[leorã3]
 DF_{PL} orange/coral/coral_{PL} #[lekoro]/[lekoraj]
 "The orange/coral (ones)."
- b. *L#(a) orange.* #[lorã3]/ [laorã3]/
 DF_{FSG} orange
 "The orange (one)."

The contrast between the examples in (22) and (19) supports the assumption that the crucially relevant factor for inflection and sandhi is not the inherent categorial status of the lexeme, but the structural position it occupies in the DP — whether it is merged in the lexical head, as in (19), or in modifier position, as in (21).

2.2.3. LE-DDWNs: recapitulation

Empirical evidence thus leads me to discard Marandin's analysis of French DDWNs and to adopt the more classical view that they contain an empty noun. The structural representations below freely adapt Sleeman's proposals:¹¹

¹¹ In (23)-(24) I adopt Kayne's (2009) assumption that categorial features are not inherent to lexical roots and Kihm's (2003) assumption that morphological gender instantiates 'nouniness'.

(23) *les oranges*: D+lexical N

	DP				
D°		NumP			
	Num°		nP		
			n°	L	
<i>les</i>	<i>oranges_z</i>		<i>t_z</i>	<i>t_z</i>	

(24) *les {amères/orange}*: D+Modifier+ empty N

	DP					
D°		FP				
	spec		F'	NumP		
		F°		Num°	nP	
				n°	L	
<i>les</i>	<i>amères</i>	<i>[]</i>	<i>+pl</i>	<i>±fem</i>	<i>∅</i>	
	<i>orange</i>					

2.3. The two types of DDWNs: partial recapitulation

The above results support the two descriptive generalizations in (25), which incorporate assumptions put forward by Kayne (1994), Sleeman (*passim*) and Cinque (2010):

- (25) The two types of French DDWNs exemplified in (1) and (2) instantiate two different structures from a typological viewpoint:
- a. - CELUI-DDWNs are definite DPs containing a relativized NP reduced to its phi-features (gender-number).
 - b. - LE-DDWNs are definite DPs containing a nonrelativized functional head noun (realized in French as elliptical).

These two syntactic structures shed light on the different distributional and semantic properties of the two types of DDWNs exemplified above in (1) and (2). Both types of DDWNs contain an obligatory modifier, but for different reasons. In CELUI-DDWNs the modifier is required as is a relative clause in a definite relativized DP: the CP modifier (relative clause) functions as a co-determiner — it forms a 'definite shell' with the definite determiner, a correlative structure. For this reason, 'definiteness' is an inbuilt property of CELUI-DDWNs. In LE-DDWNs the crucially nonclausal ('direct') modifier is required by information structure — it provides the only informative constituent in the DP — as well as by morphophonology — as a clitic, the French definite article needs some righthand context to lean on. The definite article, however, is but an accidental property of LE-DDWNs — other determiners may license elliptical nouns, as witnessed by (26):

- (26) a. *Il y aura plusieurs conférences, des courtes et des longues.*
 there will be several lectures PART_{PL} short_{FPL} and PART_{PL} long_{FPL}

- "Several lectures will be given, short ones and long ones."
- b. *Il y aura deux conférences, une courte et une longue.*
 there will be two lectures one_F short_{FSG} and one_F long_{FSG}
 "Two lectures will be given, one short (one) and one long (one)."
- c. *Il a pris toutes mes couvertures, mes rouges et mes bleues.*
 he took all my blankets my_{PL} red_{PL} and my_{PL} blue_{FPL}
 "He took all my blankets, my red (ones) and my blue (ones)."

The modifier in CELUI-DDWNs is 'predicative' (as observed by Ronat 1977, Dobrovie-Sorin 2002) if we assume that a relative clause is linked to the relativized phrase by Predication; and it is under focus (as noted by Cinque 2010), in my view an effect of NP Relativization, rather than of Focus Movement. The modifier in LE-DDWNs is also under focus since it alone conveys new information within its DP; however it is not linked to the elliptical noun it modifies by Predication, since Relativization has not applied; it rather triggers a restrictive effect (in the sense of Erteschik-Shir 1997): the property denoted by the modifier identifies a subset within the presupposed class denoted by the empty (anaphoric) noun.

Examples such as those in (27) (both attested) show that some modifiers may occur in the two structures distinguished in (25), and confirm that each structure triggers its own semantic effects:

- (27) a. *Nous avons toutes les tailles à notre disposition, les grandes, les petites et les intermédiaires.*
 we have all _{DFPL} sizes at our disposal _{DFPL} large_{FPL} _{DFPL} small_{FPL} and
 "We can provide all sizes, the large (ones), the small (ones) and
les intermédiaires.
{DFPL} in-between{PL}
 the medium (ones)."
- b. *Les générations qui l'ont suivi ont été beaucoup plus dures (je ne dis pas la mienne, mais {celles intermédiaires/#les intermédiaires})*
 "The generations following him were much tougher
(je ne dis pas la mienne,
 I NEG say _{DFSG} mine_{FSG}
 I don't mean my own,
mais {celles intermédiaires/#les intermédiaires})
 but _{CELUIFPL} in-between_{PL} / _{DFPL} in-between_{PL}
 but the-ones in between / the in-between (ones)."

The LE-DDWN in (27a) triggers a pre-classifying effect which is absent from the CELUI-DDWN in (27b): garment sizes are conventionally subclassified into Large (extra-large, large), Medium (medium-large, medium-small) and Small (small, extra-small), and the modifier (*intermédiaires*) in (27a) picks out one of these presupposed subsets. In (27b), on the other hand, the same lexical modifier is construed as conveying a discourse-new property: under the assumption phrased in (25a), it is merged in this case in the predicate of a reduced relative, linked by Predication to the relativised functional NP: "the ones/those (which are) in between."

3. LE-DDWNs with phrasal modifiers

I will now introduce into the description a class of French data so far left unacknowledged in the linguistic literature, which pertain to informal (Parisian) French. In this dialectal variety, an array of *phrasal* modifiers which, according to the standard

description (Table 3), should only occur in CELUI-DDWNs, are productively attested in LE-DDWNs, as witnessed by the examples in (28) through (31):

[Modifier = transitive adjective]

- (28) a. *La vingtaine passe par tous les chemins, les grands, les petits,*
 20-year-olds go through all DF_{PL}paths, DF_{PL} big_M DF_{PL} small_M
 "Twenty-year-olds try all kinds of paths, the big (ones), the small (ones),
les pleins de trous, les tortueux, les panoramiques,
 DF_{PL} full_M of holes, DF_{PL} devious_M DF_{PL} panoramic
 the full-of-holes (ones), the devious (ones), the panoramic (ones),
les poussiéreux.
 DF_{PL} dusty_M
 the dusty (ones)."
- b. [Advert for 'Oscillation', a mascara produced by Lancôme]
Pour qui ? Les prêtes à tout.
 for whom? DF_{PL} ready_F for anything.
 "For whom? The ready-for-anything (ones).
Celles qui ont tenté toutes les méthodes (...)
 Those who have tried every method (...)"

[Modifier = (adv)+past participle+XP]

- (29) a. *Il faut que les codes couleurs soient identiques dans une même armée.*
 "Colour codes should be homopgeneous within one army.
Par exemple (...) pour les armes lourdes_F (...)
 thus for heavy weapons (...)
les peintes en vert ne devront pas (...)*représenter*
 DF_{PL} painted_F in green should not (...) represent
 the painted-in-green (ones) should not represent
un coup un Canon Laser, un autre coup un Bolter Lourd...
 laser guns in some cases, heavy bolters in others..."
- b. *Elles étaient toutes là, les commères de mon quartier (...)*
 "All the neighbourhood gossips were present (...)
les jeunes, les vieilles, (...) les bien habillées "en dimanche",
 DF_{PL} young DF_{PL} old_F DF_{PL} dressed-up in their Sunday best
 the young (ones), the old (ones), the dressed-up (ones),
les mal fagotées (...), toutes couraient en ayant l'air de savoir où (...)
 the badly dressed (ones), all of them running and obviously knowing
 where (...)"

[Modifier = PP]

- (30) a. *J'aime les chevaux, les petits malins,*
 I love horses, DF_{PL} small_M shrewd_M
 "I love horses, the small shrewd (ones),
les grands qui vous regardent de haut,
 DF_{PL} tall_M that look down on you
 the tall (ones) that look down on you,
les gros au lourd galop,

DF_{PL} massive_M with a heavy run
 the massive (ones) with a heavy run,
les à pois, *les tout blancs,*
 DF_{PL} with polka-dots DF_{PL,L} all white_M
 the with-polka-dots (ones), the spotless white (ones),
les noirs et les alezans.
 DF_{PL} black_M and DF_{PL} chestnut
 the black (ones) and the chestnut (ones)."

- b. [From the blog of a female French-speaker based in Hong Kong]
Tout le monde en parle, et il s'agit des 'Crocs'...
 "Everyone is talking about them, I mean the 'Crocs' ...
Les d'ici, *forcément, ils connaissent...*
 DF_{PL} from here of course they know them
 The from-here (ones), they of course know them...
Les Crocs, ce sont des chaussures en résine (...)
 'Crocs' are shoes made of synthetic resin..."
- c. *M. Chirac, on est désolé, sincèrement. SVP REVENEZ (...)*
 "Mr Chirac, we are truly sorry. PLEASE COME BACK.
Parce que les de pacotille, *vraiment, on en a soupé.*
 because DF_{PL} of cheap rubbish really, we've had enough
 because the of-cheap-rubbish (ones), really, we've seen enough of them."

[Modifier = full relative clause]

- (31) a. *Les unes après les autres, elles sont parties, elles partent, elles vont partir.*
 "One after the other, they left, they are leaving, they are about to leave.
Les proches, les amoureuses, les amies, les familières,
 DF_{PL} close, DF_{PL} loving_F DF_{PL} friendly DF_{PL} familiar_F
 the close (ones), the loving (ones), the friendly (ones), the familiar (ones),
les qu'on aime bien. Les qu'on aime.
 DF_{PL} that we like DF_{PL} that we love
 the whom-we-like (ones). The whom-we-love (ones)."
- b. *Les gens, c'est vous, c'est nous, c'est les autres, les gentils, les méchants,*
 DF_{PL} people it's you, it's us, it's DF_{PL} other DF_{PL} nice_M DF_{PL} mean_M
 " 'People' are you, us, the other (ones), the nice (ones), the mean (ones),
les absents, les qui sont là tout le temps,
 DF_{PL} absent_M DF_{PL} who are always around,
 the absent (ones), the who-are-always-around (ones),
les qu'on connaît ou pas, les qui parlent bien,
 DF_{PL} that we know or don't know DF_{PL} who speak well
 the whom-we-know-or don't-know (ones), the who-speak-well (ones),
les qui bafouillent, les timides,
 DF_{PL} who stutter DF_{PL} shy
 the who-stutter (ones), the shy (ones),
les rigolos, les tristes...
 DF_{PL} funny_M DF_{PL} sad
 the funny (ones), the sad (ones)..."

bref c'est un peu tout le monde !
 in short it's just about everyone
 In short, 'people' are just about everyone."

These examples seem to violate the well-formedness conditions on DDWNs presented in Table (3). Grevisse (1986) is the only grammar I found which reluctantly and marginally acknowledges that some LE-DDWNs such as those in (28) through (31) are actually attested in Modern French — but pertain, he adds, to *la langue populaire ou enfantine* ("popular or child language").¹²

LE-DDWNs containing phrasal modifiers are far from marginal, however. They are creatively produced by adult French speakers in informal situations, even among the educated class. A corpus research conducted on French blogs suggests that all the modifiers listed in Table (3) as selecting CELUI-DDWNs may actually also occur in LE-DDWNs, with the three exceptions listed in (32):

- (32) Modifiers never found in LE-DDWNs:
- | | | |
|----|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>ci/là</i> | (* <i>les ci/là</i>) |
| b. | present participles | (* <i>les existant aujourd'hui</i>) |
| c. | <i>de</i> genitives | (* <i>les de Sarkozy</i>) |

The nonoccurrence of *ci/là* in LE-DDWNs (32a) may be accounted for under the assumption that the deictic morphemes *ci* and *là* fill a C head lexically selected by D spelt out as *ce*: they therefore only partake in a relativised *ce*-definite DP (cf. (10) above).

The nonoccurrence of present-participle modifiers in LE-DDWNs (cf. (32b)) may be explained by a stylistic conflict: the present participle, and phrasal modifiers in LE-DDWNs, are generated by two distinct grammars — respectively Standard and Informal French. Thus the present-participle string *existant aujourd'hui* "existing today" is only found in texts whose style strictly abides by Standard Grammar, as in (33):

- (33) a. *Quel est le plus grand requin existant aujourd'hui?*
 "What is the largest shark existing today?"
 b. *La platine netgear est le produit le plus puissant existant aujourd'hui.*
 "The Netgear entertainer is the most powerful product existing today"

The nonoccurrence of genitive modifiers in LE-DDWNs, recorded above in (32c), is further exemplified in (34) below:

- (34) a. *Les photos qui rapportent le plus d'argent aux photographes actuellement*
 "The most lucrative pictures for photographers nowadays
sont celles de Sarkozy et celles de Carla.
 are the-ones of Sarkozy and the-ones of Carla
 are those of Sarkozy and those of Carla."
 b. **Les magazines cherchent à publier des photos du couple Sarkozy : mais*

¹² Some authors, in particular Ronat (1977) and Rothenberg (1985), note the occurrence of seemingly deviant CELUI-DDWNs involving a simplex adjective (as in (27b)), and suggest that this adjective is but the visible part of a reduced relative, therefore regularly fits into Table (3). But to the best of my knowledge, the seemingly deviant cases of LE-DDWNs discussed in this section have not yet been described.

Lit. "Magazines want to publish pictures of the Sarkozy couple: but *les de-Nicolas se vendent moins bien que les de-Carla*.
the of-Nicolas (ones) sell less than the of-Carla (ones)."

The constraint at work in (34b) could be linked to the often-noted unmarked 'definiteness' of genitivized DPs (cf. Milner 1982, Woisetschlaeger 1983, Dobrovie-Sorin 2002, a.o). As argued above, only CELUI-DDWNS involve a structural dependency between a definite determiner and the modifier; in LE-DDWNS, definiteness is but an incidental feature of the DP. Note in passing that PP modifiers headed by *de* are not altogether banned from LE-DDWNS, provided they are not genitive phrases — as witnessed above by (30c) (*les d'ici* "the from-here") and (30d) (*les de pacotille* "the of-cheap-rubbish").

4. Towards a unitary analysis of LE-DDWNS

I propose to assume that the LE-DDWNS of Informal French exemplified in (28) through (31) are syntactically structured exactly as the Standard cases acknowledged by Standard French (cf. (24)): they involve modifiers which should be characterized not by their internal content, but by the fact that they fail to trigger Relativization. In other words, in the variety of Informal French described above, the modifier positions filled by lexical modifiers (e.g. *amères* or *orange* in (24)), may also be filled by phrasal categories, including clauses. The crucial relevant property, under the present analysis, is not whether the modifier is 'clausal' or 'nonclausal', but whether Relativization occurs or not: if it does, the modifier is necessarily clausal, but if it does not, the modifier is not necessarily nonclausal, as regards its internal structure. This analysis allows us to account for all the LE-DDWNS in (28) through (31), in particular those in (31), containing full-fledged relative clauses: although the DP *les qu'on aime bien* in (31a) contains a relative clause in modifier position, I assume that its derivation involves no *Relativization* of the (empty) NP; the LE-DDWN *les qu'on aime bien* crucially contrasts in this respect with its CELUI counterpart (*celles qu'on aime bien*), where CELUI overtly signals that the (functional) NP has been raised to Spec,CP. In order to smooth out this apparent paradox, I assume that CELUI- and LE-DDWNS are respectively structured as in (35a) and (35b) and that the modifier merged in Spec,FP in (35b) is construed as a property-denoting *phrasal word*, semantically equivalent to an adjective:

(35) a.	a.	<i>celles</i>	{	<i>prêtes à tout/à pois/qu'on aime bien</i>	}
			DP		
		D		CP	
			spec	C'	
				C°	IP
		<i>c</i>		<i>elles_z</i>	<i>ø</i>
				<i>que</i>	<i>t_z {prêtes à tout/à pois}</i>
					<i>on aime bien t_z</i>

b.	<i>les</i> { <i>prêtes à tout/à pois/qu'on aime bien</i> }				
	DP				
	D		FP		
		spec		F'	
				F°	NumP
					Num°
					nP
					n°
					L
	<i>les</i>	<i>prêtes à tout</i>		+pl	±F
		<i>à pois</i>			∅
		<i>qu'on aime bien</i>			

The above analysis is supported by at least three pieces of empirical evidence.

First, the bloggers who produce such LE-DDWNs as those in (28) through (31) show a strong tendency to use special diacritics in their transcription: quotes, as in (36)); hyphens, as in (37); or quotes and hyphens combined, as in (38):

(36) a. *(...)il y a les roulements classiques non étanches (ce que j'avais) et*
 "There are classical non-waterproof ball bearings (the kind I had) and
les "à cartouches" étanches
 DF_{FPL} with cartridges waterproof
 and the waterproof "with-cartridges" (ones)."

b. *Il y a parfois les urgences, qui s'évacuent très vite...*
 "Sometimes there are emergencies, which are dealt with quickly...
les graves, les moins graves, les relatives,
 DF_{FPL} serious DF_{FPL} less serious DF_{FPL} relative_F
 the serious (ones), the less serious (ones), the relative (ones),
les "qu'on veut garder en l'état",
 DF_{FPL} which you want to keep as they are
 the "which one wants to keep as they are" (ones),
celles qui sont urgentes mais avec processus lent...
 the-ones that are urgent but with a slow process...
 those which are urgent but with a slow process..."

(37) *Avant de parler des vins que nous avons partagés, je tiens à remercier*
 "Before discussing the wines we have shared, I want to thank
tous les membres du Gunthard Club,
 all_M DF_{FPL} members of the Gunthard Club
 all members of the Gunthard Club,
les réguliers, les invités,
 DF_{FPL} regular_M, DF_{FPL} invited
 the regular (ones), the invited (ones),
les qui-reviendront et les qui-sont-partis,
 DF_{FPL} who will return and DF_{FPL} who have left
 the who-will-return (ones) and the who-have-left (ones),
les qui-s'ignorent,
 DF_{FPL} who should have been

the who-are-unaware-of-belonging (ones)
moins les qui-s'y-croient,
 minus DF_PL who think they are
 minus the who-think-they-belong (ones)
tous ces passionnés que LPV nous permet de rencontrer (...)
 all those enthusiasts whom LPV allows us to meet (...)"

- (38) *Côté céréale,*¹³
 "As for cereals,
il y a les sucrées, les anti-caloriques, les colorées,
 there is DF_PL sweet DF_PL low-cal DF_PL colourful
 there's the sweet (ones), the low-cal (ones), the colourful (ones),
celles qui pourrissent dans le garde-manger, les copies de marques
 CELUI_F that rot in the larder DF_PL copies of trademarks
 the-ones that go rotting in the larder, the copies of high-class trademarks
faites en carton, les sucrées-sucrées et les "pour-enfants".
 made in cardboard, DF_PL sweet-sweet and DF_PL "for-kids"
 made of cardboard, the sweet-sweet (ones) and the "for-kids" (ones)."

This widespread use of diacritics is consistent with the assumption that the marked modifiers are felt as coerced into filling a slot meant for a lexical entry — a word identifying a classifying property already registered in the encyclopaedia. Such diacritics are not found in any sort of regular pattern in CELUI-DDWNs, nor on simplex adjectival modifiers in DDWNs.

A second piece of relevant evidence is that LE-DDWNs containing phrasal modifiers exhibit the contrastive-topic ('partitive', 'classifying') semantics acknowledged as characteristic of Standard LE-DDWNs (cf. section 2 above). Thus the LE-option seems infelicitous in (39a),¹⁴ where the definition context requires the relative clause to convey new information, but felicitous in (39b), where the relative clause overtly paraphrases a previous adjectival modifier and may thus be construed as equally 'classifying':

- (39) a. *On peut définir le mauvais déficit comme {celui/#le} qui finance*
 "We may define a bad deficit as that which finances
les mauvaises dépenses.
 DF_PL bad expenditures."
 b. *On peut distinguer deux types de déficits:*
 "We may distinguish two types of deficits:
le bon (le qui-finance-les-bonnes-dépenses)
 the good (type) (the which-finances-good-expenditures (one))
et le mauvais (le qui-finance-les-mauvaises-dépenses).
 and the bad (type) (the which-finances-bad-expenditures (one))."

The fact that LE-DDWNs containing phrasal modifiers trigger the contrastive-topic effect characteristic of Standard LE-DDWNs is confirmed by the types of pragmatic conditions

¹³ French *céréales* 'cereal' is feminine and inherently plural in this use.

¹⁴ The minimal pair in (39) is built from the (Standard-French) attested example in (39a).

under which they typically occur. The enumerative or contrastive environments which favour LE-DDWNs with phrasal modifiers in (28) through (31), or (36) through (38), are the same as those which favour LE-DDWNs with simplex modifiers in, e.g., (14b) or (17)). Furthermore, the enumerative contexts which license LE-DDWNs with phrasal modifiers typically contrast lexical and phrasal modifiers, thus favouring their parallel analysis.

A third piece of evidence supporting a unitary syntactic analysis of modifiers in LE-DDWNs is that they are compatible with determiners other than the definite article — for example with the partitive plural *des* — regardless of their internal (phrasal or nonphrasal) content. Thus the DPs in (40), with phrasal modifiers, are structurally parallel to those in (26), with nonphrasal modifiers:

- (40) a. *La plage à Rio est un poème en soi (...) Il y en a pour tous les corps (...)*
 "The beach in Rio is just incredible (...) There are bodies of every sort (...)
...des grillés, des qui pendent, des ridés, des enrobés,
 PART_{PL} burned PART_{PL} which droop PART_{PL} wrinkled PART_{PL} plump
 burnt ones, drooping ones, wrinkled ones, plump ones,
des bronzés,
 PART_{PL} sun-tanned
 sun-tanned ones,
des qui dansent, des qui dansent pas,
 PART_{PL} that dance PART_{PL} that don't dance
 dancing ones, nondancing ones,
des qui vendent des trucs,
 PART_{PL} that sell stuff
 that-sell stuff ones (some that sell stuff)
des qui en achètent.
 PART_{PL} that buy stuff
 that-buy-stuff ones... (some that buy stuff...)"
- b. [*Tu as acheté des bottes?* "Did you buy boots?"]
 Oui : **des à pois.**
 Yes: PART_{PL} with-polka dots
 "Yes: polka-dotted ones."

The fact that D does not exhibit external sandhi in elliptical DPs containing phrasal modifiers, as witnessed by (41), is consistent with the proposed unitary analysis, since the same restriction obtains with uninflected lexical modifiers, as in (22) above:

- (41) a. *les à pois* "the polka-dotted (ones)" ***[lezapwa]/[leapwa]**
 b. *les en métal* "the metal (ones)" ***[lezāmetal]/[leāmetal]**
 c. *les avec-qui-on-dort* "the with-whom-one-sleeps" ***[lezavekki]/[leavεkki]**

Before closing this section, we may wonder what factor may have led Informal French to open the lexical-modifier positions to phrasal categories in elliptical DPs. My assumption is that the productive occurrence of classifying modifiers surfacing as PPs must have played a central part in this development. Bare roots and derived adjectives often fail to be available in French as lexical modifiers, while PP modifiers are quite freely productive in this function. A sample of evidence is given below in Table (43),

which shows that direct modifiers surfacing in English as bare roots or adjectives, tend to call for a prepositional, hence phrasal, spell-out in French:

(42) PPs in lexical-modifier positions in French

L	English modifiers		French modifiers		
	bare L	adjective	bare L	adjective	PP
E. <i>metal</i> F. <i>métal</i>	<i>a metal box</i>		* <i>une boîte métal</i>	<i>une boîte métallique</i>	<i>une boîte en métal</i>
E. <i>wood</i> F. <i>bois</i>		<i>a wooden box</i>	* <i>une boîte bois</i>	-----	<i>une boîte en bois</i>
E. <i>plastic</i> F. <i>plastique</i>	<i>a plastic box</i>		<i>une boîte plastique</i>	-----	<i>une boîte en plastique</i>
E. <i>silk</i> F. <i>soie</i>	<i>a silk shirt</i>		? <i>une chemise soie</i>	-----	<i>une chemise en soie</i>
E. <i>cotton</i> F. <i>coton</i>	<i>a cotton shirt</i>		? <i>une chemise coton</i>	-----	<i>une chemise en coton</i>
E. <i>paper</i> F. <i>papier</i>	<i>a paper napkin</i>		? <i>une serviette papier</i>	-----	<i>une serviette en papier</i>
E. <i>stripes</i> F. <i>raies/rayures</i>		<i>a striped shirt</i>	* <i>une chemise raies/rayures</i>	<i>une chemise rayée</i>	<i>une chemise à raies/rayures</i>
E. <i>polka dots</i> F. <i>pois</i>		<i>a polka-dotted dress</i>	* <i>une robe pois</i>	-----	<i>une robe à pois</i>
E. <i>checks</i> F. <i>carreaux</i>		<i>a checked shirt</i>	* <i>une chemise carreaux</i>	-----	<i>une chemise à carreaux</i>
E. <i>peak</i> F. <i>visière</i>		<i>a peaked cap</i>	* <i>une casquette visière</i>	-----	<i>une casquette à visière</i>
E. <i>high heels</i> F. <i>hauts talons</i>		<i>high-heeled shoes</i>	* <i>des chaussures hauts talons</i>	-----	<i>des chaussures à hauts talons</i>
E. <i>turtle neck</i> F. <i>col roulé</i>	<i>a turtle-neck jumper</i>		* <i>un pull col roulé</i>	-----	<i>un pull à col roulé</i>
E. <i>dog</i> F. <i>chien</i>	<i>dog food</i>		* <i>de la nourriture chien</i>	-----	<i>de la nourriture pour chiens</i>
E. <i>sleeve</i> F. <i>manche</i>		<i>a sleeveless dress</i>		-----	<i>une robe sans manches</i>

I thus assume that lexical-modifier positions were first open to PPs out of morphological necessity (cf. (42)), and that the option could then be extended to other phrasal categories, including clauses as in (36), (37), (40).

5. Final recapitulation

The goal of this paper was to present and analyse a class of Modern French data so far left unacknowledged in the linguistic literature: DPs containing an elliptical head noun licensed by a phrasal modifier, which may be a PP (e.g. *les sans couvercle* "the

without-lid (ones)"), a transitive adjective (e.g. *les pleines de trous* "the-full-of-wholes (ones)"), a reduced or full-fledged relative clause (e.g. *les peintes en vert* "the painted-green (ones)", *les qui m'aiment* "the who-love-me (ones)").

To shed light on these new data, I first revisited the description of Definite DPs Without lexical Nouns (DDWNs), which may take two forms in French: CELUI-DDWNs, and LE-DDWNs. Combining ideas put forward by Kayne (1994), Sleeman (*passim*), and Cinque (2010), I assumed that CELUI-DDWNs and LE-DDWNs instantiate two syntactic structures from a typological viewpoint: CELUI-DDWNs are definite DPs whose functional head noun has been Relativized (French *ceux qui sont verts*, English *the ones/those that are green*), while LE-DDWNs are definite DPs in which a lexical modifier licenses a functional head noun — elliptical in French (*les verts* \emptyset), overt in some languages (English *the green ones*). Following Kayne and Sleeman, I assumed that in CELUI-DDWNs — and other relativized definite DPs — D and C both contribute to 'definiteness'. Definiteness is, on the other hand, but an incidental property in LE-DDWNs, where noun ellipsis is licensed by the modifier rather than by the determiner. Under these fairly consensual assumptions, clausal modifiers (viz. restrictive relative clauses, either full-fledged or reduced) are not expected to occur in LE-DDWNs.

I argued that the apparently problematic cases attested in Informal French are syntactically, morphologically, and semantically regular: their phrasal modifiers are merged in the same positions as lexical modifiers, hence fail to trigger Relativization; their morphological behaviour (no external sandhi on D) is shared by uninflected lexical modifiers in elliptical DPs; and their 'classifying' semantics is shared by all lexical modifiers in elliptical DPs.

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