



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

THE BULGARIAN NOUN PHRASE

a thesis

by

Olga Arnaudova

Submitted to
the School of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the M.A. degree
in Linguistics

Research advisor: Prof. Maria-Luisa Rivero

Université d'Ottawa / University of Ottawa



Olga Arnaudova, Ottawa, Canada, 1995



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your title *Votre référence*

Our title *Notre référence*

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-612-07835-3

Canada



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I wish to express my deepest and sincere gratitude to my research advisor, Prof. Maria-Luisa Rivero, who guided me through the labyrinth of "government and binding" and encouraged me in every possible way throughout my work. Research for this thesis was supported by SSHRCC research project grant # 410-91-0178 to prof. Rivero and by a Summer Graduate Scholarship from the School of Graduate Studies and Research.

I wish to thank my former teachers and in particular prof. Aurelio Roncaglia and Prof. Gueorgi Dimov that believed in me and made my studies in Canada possible.

My gratitude also goes to the Department of Linguistics at the University of Ottawa and to Galia Alexandrova, Arhonto Terzi, Danijela Stojanovic, Margarete Ling and Svitlana Budzhak for their friendship and always helpful advice.

Special thanks to M. Ling for taking the time to proofread the thesis.

Last, I wish to thank my family for their support and love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Some recent accounts of Noun Phrases.....	3
1. DPs vs. NPs.....	3
2. Functional projections in the DP.....	6
3. The position of Adjectives and Adjective classes.....	10
3.1. Adjectives as Heads.....	12
3.1.1. Abney,1987.....	12
3.1.2. Radford,1993.....	16
3.1.3. Bernstein,1993.....	18
3.1.4. Delsing,1993.....	21
3.2. Adjectives as Adjuncts.....	23
3.3. Adjectives as specifiers.....	23
3.4. Giorgi & Longobardi,1991.....	25
3.5. Sánchez,1994.....	26
Conclusions.....	28
Chapter 2: The Bulgarian Noun Phrase.....	29
1. Structure of the Noun Phrase and feature checking.....	29
2. Unmodified Noun Phrases.....	30
3. Modified Noun phrases.....	33
4. The definite article - suffix or clitic?	39
Conclusions.....	42
Chapter 3: Bulgarian DPs and Noun (Adjective) Movement to D....	43
1. Noun classes, types of adjectives and Noun (Adjective)	

Movement to D.....	44
2. The Raising to D and the concept of "Enlightened Self-Interest".....	51
3. Pre-head arguments.....	52
4. Long Head Movement in the DP.....	54
Conclusions.....	56
Chapter 4: Argument Structure.....	57
1. Argument Expression.....	57
2. Giorgi & Longobardi's proposal.....	58
3. Valois'proposal.....	64
Conclusions.....	66
Summary and conclusions.....	68
Notes.....	70
Bibliography.....	76

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the structure of the noun phrase in Bulgarian on the basis of the innovative research analysis of NP (DP) and IP during the last few years that has been applied to English and Romance. The general framework I will adopt is that of Government and Binding and the Minimalist Program developed in Chomsky, 1993.

On the one hand, the Bulgarian Noun Phrase shares some of the properties of the English Noun Phrase, with the adjectives appearing before the noun, and on the other hand it resembles the Romance Noun Phrase with its strong agreement features. (i) and (ii) provide typical examples of Noun Phrases in Bulgarian. The adjective appears prenominally and agrees with the noun in Number and Gender (i), the genitive complement "na Ivan" appears on the right of the noun (i) and the definite article occupies a position immediately following the modifying adjective (i) or the noun (ii).

- | | | | |
|-----|--|------|--------------------------------|
| (i) | novata kola na Ivan
new-the car of Ivan
"Ivan's new car" | (ii) | kolata
car-the
"the car" |
|-----|--|------|--------------------------------|

Chapter 1 presents some relevant approaches to the structure of the Noun Phrase and in particular the innovative DP-perspective advocated by Abney, 1987 and the feature checking theory. The chapter also discusses different proposals for the

structural position of adjectives, an issue associated with the moving paradigm proposed for Nouns.

In Chapter 2 a description of the Noun Phrase in Bulgarian in comparison with other Balkan languages (Rumanian and Albanian) and Scandinavian is given. After discussing the general structure of the phrase in unmodified and modified nominals I propose a "multi-head" approach and argue that the definite article is a clitic-like element generated in the highest projection (DP).

Chapter 3 deals with Noun (Adjective) Movement to D in more detail. It is argued that postnominal adjectives (of small clause type) are practically excluded from this movement. Only pre-head adjectives participate in it. A weakened version of the principle of Greed (adopted from Lasnik, 1995) captures the "altruistic" character of the movement. Finally, some other properties of the Bulgarian Noun Phrases are investigated, namely pre-head adjective arguments and the constructions with Long Head Movement.

In chapter 4, the argument structure, presented in Giorgi & Longobardi, 1991 is examined with some data from Bulgarian. It is shown that the asymmetric C-command introduced by Giorgi & Longobardi is also a valid principle in Bulgarian nominal argument structure. The Head-Subject parameter, on the other hand, proposed by the same authors can be dispensed with if we follow Valois' proposal that arguments occupy higher functional projections (Valois, 1991). External arguments in Bulgarian DPs are argued to be outside the NP (but still within the DP).

CHAPTER I

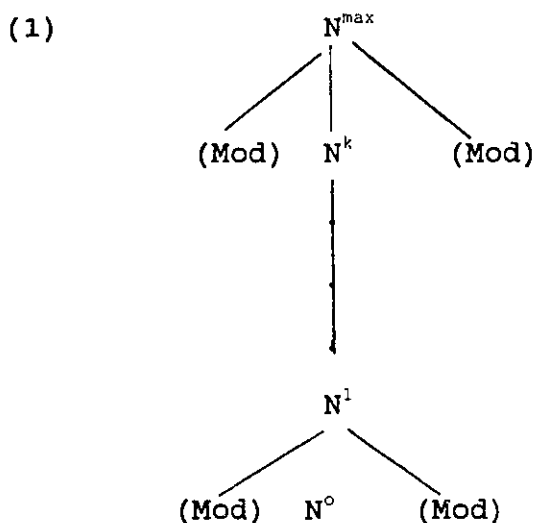
SOME RECENT ACCOUNTS OF NOUN PHRASES

In this chapter, I will outline some of the most relevant issues in the current analysis of the Noun Phrase¹. The first section will deal with the structure of the Noun Phrase from the DP-perspective and the different functional projections in the DP. In the second section of the chapter I will discuss the position of adjectival modifiers and different adjectival classes. Our claim will be that the model of Abney, 1987, also contained in Bernstein, 1993 and in other proposals, is the one to be adopted for Noun Phrases in Bulgarian. In this model a Determiner Phrase selects a NP complement and adjectives are intervening maximal projections.

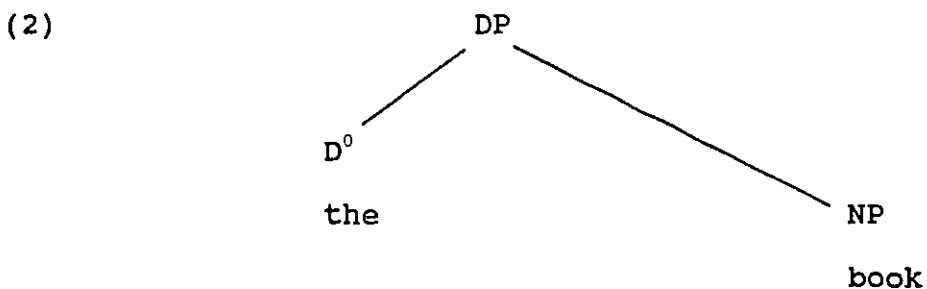
1. DPs vs. NPs

The traditional generative account (Jackendoff, 1977) is that Noun Phrases have a single head which is the noun. Under this hypothesis , other constituents such as articles, demonstratives, quantifiers, adjectives and numerals are all modifiers of the head noun. This conception sometimes labelled "single - head hypothesis" is represented in Payne, 1993 as in

(1). N is the head noun, N^{\max} is the maximal node representing the whole noun phrase and N^{1-k} are intermediate nodes. Modifiers occur either to the left or right at different levels of the phrase:



Abney, 1987 reshapes this structure introducing a functional category Determiner Phrase (DP). It licenses a NP complement:



Elements that belong to the determiner class are articles, demonstratives and quantifiers. Abney attributes to this

functional projection properties similar to those of Inflection in clauses. Further research (starting with Szabolcsi, 1989) investigates on the other hand the possibility of the Determiner Phrase corresponding to CP in clauses. Szabolcsi represents Hungarian Noun Phrases as CPs and the nominal equivalent of IP is IN". In fact determiners do not have a lexical content on their own and form a closed class of elements similar to complementizers. They are semantically understood as operators binding a variable (Longobardi, 1994) whose range is expressed by the head noun. According to many researchers (among them Longobardi, 1994 and Holmberg, 1993) a nominal expression is an argument (e.g. subject, direct object, prepositional object) only if it is introduced by a category D (empty or not), while NPs (bare nouns) can only be licensed through typical non-argument functions such as predicative, vocative and exclamatory expressions as shown in the following examples taken from Longobardi, 1994:

- (3) *(Un/Il) grande amico di Maria mi ha telefonato.
 (a/the) great friend of Maria Cl Aux called up.
 "A/the big friend of Maria called me up"
- (4) Ho incontrato *(un/il) grande amico di Maria ieri.
 I met (a/the)great friend of Maria yesterday.
 "I met a/the big friend of Maria yesterday"
- (5) Bevo sempre vino.
 (I)drink always wine
 "I always drink wine"
- (6) Caro amico, vieni a trovarmi.
 dear friend, come to visit Cl
 "Dear friend, come to visit me"

- (7) Gianni é tenente.
Gianni is lieutenant
"Gianni is lieutenant"
- (8) Maledetto tenente!
damn' lieutenant
"Damn' lieutenant!"

In all the cases above where the noun appears as an argument (examples 3 and 4) the D position has to be filled. Example 5 that looks at first sight as a counterexample shows that there are some cases when a bare noun can appear in an argument position. An empty existential operator in D licenses in this case the noun which receives an indefinite interpretation (Longobardi, 1994). In (5) we have a singular mass noun, but it can also be a plural count noun as in (9):

- (9) Mangio patate Italian
(I) eat potatoes
"I eat/I am eating potatoes"

In all the other cases we deal with NPs that are maximal projections and open expressions that can be A-bound from outside.

2. Functional projections in the DP

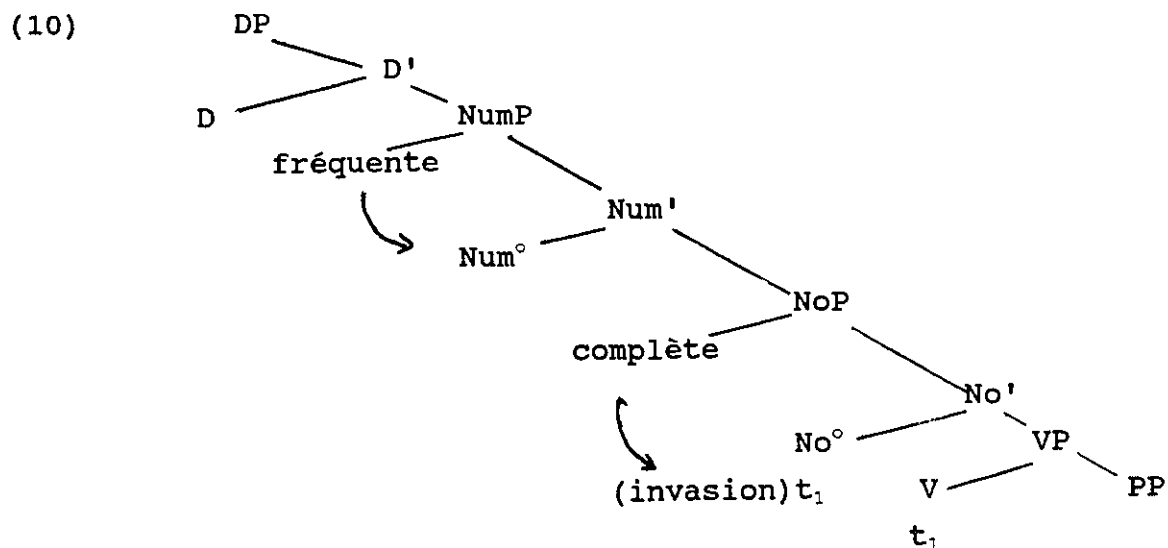
Undoubtedly one of the main goals of current research is to investigate the syntactic aspects of the morphological properties

of the verb or the noun. It has been claimed in recent work on clausal structure (Pollock, 1989 , Belletti, 1990, Chomsky,1991) that the Inflection node should be split in at least two maximal projections - Tense Phrase (TP) and Agreement Phrase (AgrP). Different verb movement patterns to those functional projections have been observed for English and Romance and this has been related to theta role assignment (Pollock, 1989) and to strong morphology in Romance vs weak morphology in English (Chomsky, 1991, Pollock, 1993).

In the same way, in her work on Hebrew DPs Ritter, 1990 argues for a functional projection in the noun phrase corresponding to Number. Cinque, 1993, Picallo, 1991, Bernstein, 1993, Valois, 1991, Giusti, 1992, Cornilescu, 1994 and others have introduced a number of functional categories in the Noun Phrase - Agreement Phrase, Number Phrase , Determiner Phrase (DetP), Case Phrase (KP), Word Marker Phrase(WMP)(Bernstein, 1993) or Gender Phrase (GeP)(Picallo, 1991), Noun Phrase (NoPh) (Valois, 1991).

These functional projections correspond to morphological properties of the noun - Number, Gender and Case, while NoPh is a projection of the overt nominalizing affix in event nominals (Valois, 1991).

So the event nominal "la fréquente complète invasion de Jupiter" is presented in Valois, 1991 in the following way:



In (10) the Verb head raises first to No in order to receive the noun attributes and then incorporates to the functional head corresponding to the inflectional morphology of the Noun. The adjectives incorporate in their turn to the raising head deriving the correct order. The Noun Movement in the DP occurs similar to Verb movement in the clause.

Lamarche, 1991 provides arguments against Noun movement and argues that postnominal adjectives are generated on the right of the noun in French. In constructions with Noun + Complement + Adjective as in (11) the expected order is Noun + Adjective + Complement if the Noun raises. The English example gives the "correct" relative order before the presumed raising of the noun (12):

(11) un groupe de femmes important
 N PP AP
 a group of women considerable
 "a considerable group of women"

(12) a large group of women
 adj N compl

Cinque, 1993 and Bernstein, 1993 agree that in this case the adjective is derived from a postnominal predicative source and that it actually modifies the [Noun + Complement] and not the noun itself. We will come back to this issue later when we discuss the placement of adjectives. The solution proposed by Cinque, 1993 however shows that Noun movement patterns can be preserved also in constructions where the postnominal adjective is from another source.

Valois, 1991, Bernstein, 1993, Cinque, 1994 show that in Romance there is an overt head movement of the noun up to NumP . The trigger for that movement has been related to the strong features of Gender and Number in Romance. According to Valois, the number features for example attach to the noun via head movement in French but through Affix Hopping in syntax in English, where the raising movement occurs at LF. The landing sites for the raised noun are provided by the functional heads in the nominal phrase (AgrP, NumP, GeP).

The checking theory of Chomsky, 1993 suggests another approach to noun movement. Nouns like verbs are inserted with inflectional morphology already in the lexicon and the raising is motivated by morphological checking requirements of the stem. The

noun passes through the relevant functional heads in order to check its features. Gender and Number in Romance have strong features, which need to be checked in the syntax, while in English the checking occurs after Spell-out.

Different word patterns in the noun phrase have been related to the presence or absence of raising movement of the Noun in overt syntax. Thus the postnominal status of adjectives in Romance has been claimed to be a result of an overt movement of the Noun over the adjective (for example Cinque, 1993).

The relation between adjectives and nouns is one of the most discussed and controversial problems in present-day research on NP-structure. Therefore, in the next section of this chapter I will present some of the major points of discussion.

3. THE POSITION OF ADJECTIVES AND ADJECTIVE CLASSES

The main structural representations of adjectives can be summarized as follows:

1. Adjectives are heads taking NP as a complement (Abney, 1987, Radford, 1993, Kester, 1993, Bernstein, 1993²).

2. Adjectives are adjuncts (Valois, 1991 and Bernstein, 1993 among others).

3. Adjectives are specifiers (Cinque, 1993, Longobardi, 1994)

4. Nouns are right hand specifiers of the adjective which is assumed to be a head (Delsing, 1993).

5. Adjectival modifiers in Italian and other Romance languages are base generated in postnominal position, while in English they are generated prenominal. (Giorgi & Longobardi, 1991).

6. Attributive adjectives are generated as complements of AgrP and raise subsequently as maximal projections to a second specifier position of AgrP in order to agree with the Noun being in SpecAgr (Sánchez, 1994).

Many of those representations deal with attributive (also labelled modifying or extensional) adjectives as in (13):

(13) the big red house

In addition some of these researchers attempt a more articulated analysis which takes into account the semantic properties of different classes of adjectives. Adjectives are classified in classes similar to those proposed for adverbs³.

In Romance the semantic content of the adjective classes has been related to their order in the noun phrase. Adjectives can appear as always prenominal or always postnominal but they can also be ambiguous between the prenominal and postnominal order. Depending on the class to which adjectives belong, they are shown to be generated in different positions in the Noun Phrase.

The literature identifies referential (also called thematic adjectives) and modal (intentional) adjectives. These two classes are shown in (14) and (15):

- | | | |
|------|---|---------|
| (14) | l'invasione italiana dell'Albania (<i>thematic</i>)
Def-invasion italian of Albania
"the italian invasion of Albania" | Italian |
| (15) | il pover'uomo (<i>modal</i>)
the poor man
"the poor (pitiable) man" | Italian |

Bernstein identifies also restrictive and non-restrictive adjectives (expressing an inherent quality) in Italian and provides multiple adjunction sites for those adjectives (see later discussion):

- | | |
|------|--|
| (11) | une large vallée (<i>nonrestrictive</i>)
a big valley
"a big valley" |
| (12) | une vallée large (<i>restrictive</i>)
a valley big
"a big valley" |

Valois defends the hierarchical order of a probably-class, frequently-class and completely-class⁴. The positional distribution of adverbs and adjectives is argued to be predictable on the basis of their meaning. In (10) we have shown how adjectives belonging to a certain class attach to specifier positions of functional projections of the noun (Valois, 1991).

Cinque, 1993 presents different classes of APs that are determined on criteria for evaluating worth, size and colour.

They are universally arranged on a hierarchy of relative closeness to the head Noun.

I will show later that thematic and modal adjectives have properties that distinguish them cross-linguistically. The adjective classes outlined by Cinque, 1993 and Valois, 1991 are also valid for many languages including Bulgarian. For our discussion of Bulgarian DPs however the distinction between attributive, thematic and modal adjectives is the most important.

The main approaches listed above are now examined in more detail.

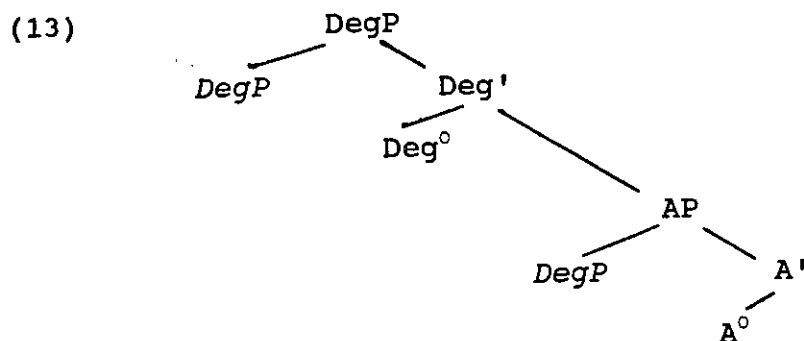
3.1. ADJECTIVES AS HEADS

I will present the analyses of Abney, 1987, Radford, 1993, Bernstein, 1993 and Delsing, 1993 - the main proponents for a structure where both the noun and the adjective are heads.

3.1.1. Abney, 1987

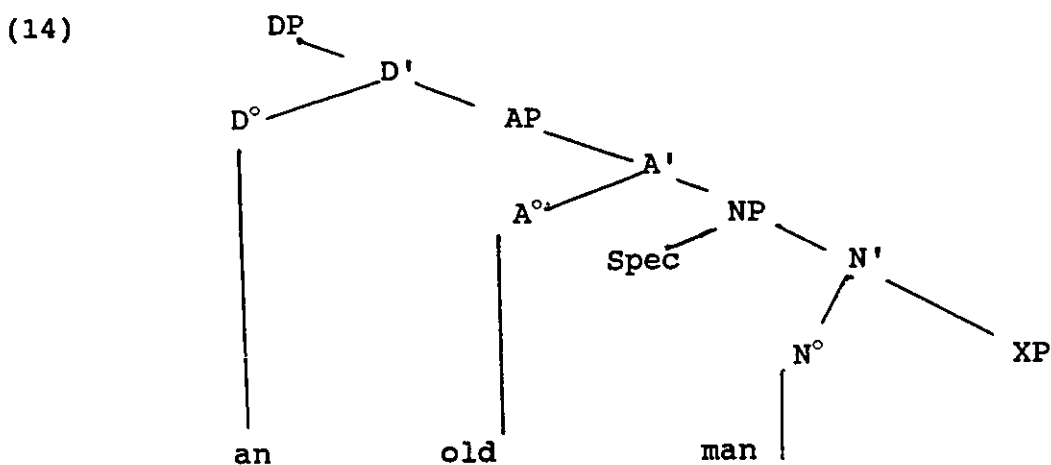
Abney's proposal consists of two assumptions: one is for the internal structure of adjectives and the other one - for the configuration of the noun phrase. Abney claims that adjective phrase, quantifier phrase, and adverb phrase are identical in their internal structure and that they are subvarieties of the same syntactic category: [+N, + Adj]. He introduces another

functional category, DegP (Degree Phrase) that selects AP, QP or AdvP in the same way Det (D) selects NP and assumes that there is an empty Deg in all adjective phrases consisting just of an adjective (13).



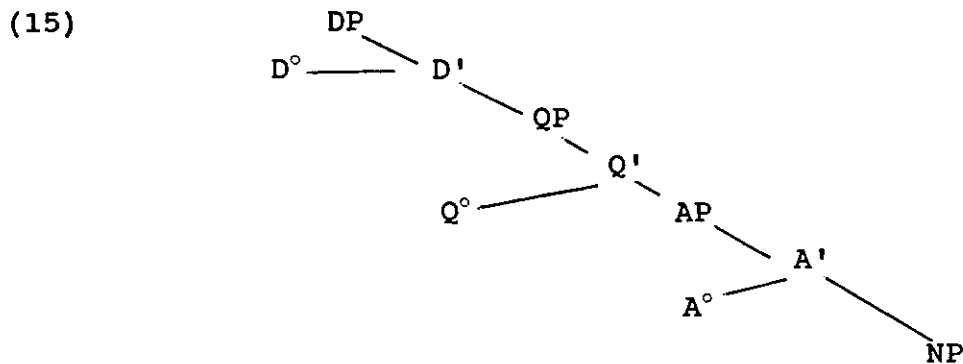
This analysis provides specifier positions both under DegP and under AP which according to Abney can be occupied by adverbs or quantifiers (e.g. other DegP).

The novelty in the configuration of the noun phrase in Abney's proposal is that prenominal adjectives are heads, selected by D, that in their turn take an NP as a complement:



Quantifiers like adjectives, can appear on the path that leads from N to DP:

(403 in Abney, 1987)



One of Abney's arguments in favour of this construction is the fact that it is possible for an adjective to project a phrase which can be interpreted like a noun phrase as shown in the following example (Abney's 378):

(16) I live in [too big (of) a house].

He also observes that prenominal adjectives may not have complements (as seen by the ungrammatical (17) below. (18) shows that by eliminating the complement the structure becomes grammatical, whereas postnominal adjectives obligatorily have complements as in (19). In English they are disallowed without a complement (as shown in (20)) unless we have conjoined adjectives

(21)⁵:

(17) ^ˈthe [proud of his son] man

(18) the proud man

(19) the man proud of his son

(20) ^ˈthe man proud

(21) the man proud and happy

Abney also argues that attributive adjectives (which he also labels "auxiliary nouns" by analogy to "auxiliary verbs") do not take prenominal objects as seen in the ungrammatical (17), because their complement position is occupied by the NP or, in DPs with multiple adjectives, - by the DEGP immediately dominating another AP.

This argument however is valid only for languages like English because in other languages adjectives may have their own pre-head complements. In Scandinavian, Greek and Bulgarian adjectives in fact project pre-head complements (see later discussion).

On the other hand, there are languages like French and Italian where postnominal adjectives are fully acceptable without a complement as in the Italian example below:

(22)	l'uomo orgoglioso the man proud "the proud man"	Italian
------	---	---------

This shows that taking of complements is a property of

adjectives that varies cross-linguistically. We will show that other properties of (prenominal) adjectives determine in a more plausible way their position in the Noun Phrase as heads.

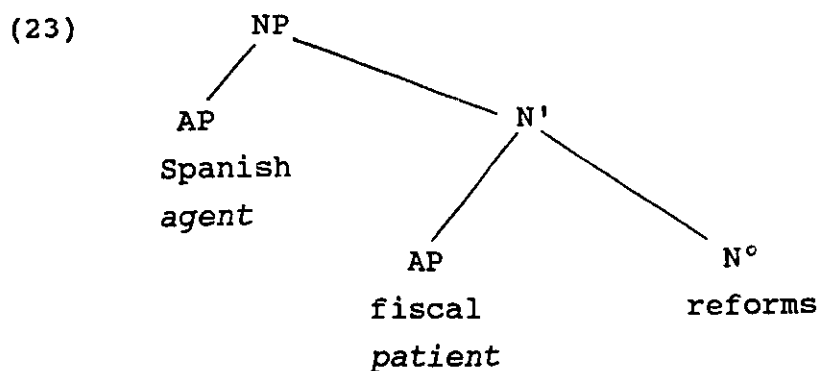
3.1.2. RADFORD'S "HEAD HUNTING" ANALYSIS

The descriptive claim made by Abney, 1987 is supported by Radford, 1993 who claims that the nominal phrase incorporates multiple phrasal projections with each modifier heading a separate projection. He distinguishes two types of adjectival expressions:

1. Adjectives that are internal to NP and occupy an argument position.

2. Adjectives that occupy modifier positions external to NP and are simple modifiers.

In the first case adjectivals are directly θ -marked by N° or N' . In (23) the adjective "Spanish" is the agent and the adjective "fiscal" - the patient in the Noun Phrase "Spanish fiscal reforms":



All non-argument adnominal adjectival expressions such as "considerable", "good" are external to NP and can be distinguished by the fact that they obligatorily follow post-nominal arguments (24). (25) shows that when the order is reversed, the example is ungrammatical.

(24) students of linguistics good at phonology

Nom.head Argument Modifier

(25)* students good at phonology of linguistics

Radford also points out that adjectival phrases can either precede or follow the expressions they modify and sometimes this involves a significant change in meaning:

(26a) present students

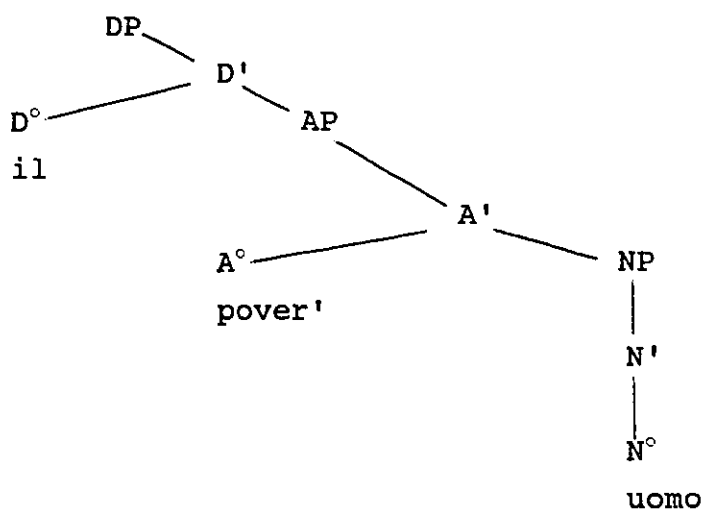
(26b) students present

His proposal is to treat pre-nominal modifying adjectives that are not arguments as *heads* and post-nominal adjectives as *adjuncts* of predicative type, e.g. as occupying different structural positions. The nominal constituents containing modifiers (adjectives or quantifiers) are treated as co-headed with a noun as their *ultimate* head and an adjective or quantifier as their *immediate* head. (ANPs, QNPs).

So "small cars" is an ANP (an Adjective-modified Noun

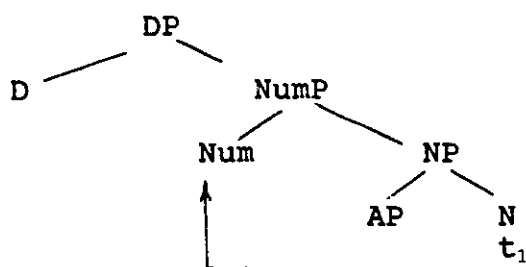
Bernstein defines the adjectives of the type of Italian "mero"⁶ as a closed class of elements. They select a NP as their complement as in the structure shown below (for simplicity the NumP inside the NP is not shown):

(28)



The other case of "pover" as "impoverished" is an instance of an adjective that is totally different in meaning and is adjoined to the NP . The postnominal position of the adjective is derived when the noun raises to NumP for Number (29):

(29)



In English (and also Bulgarian) the adjectives appear in a prenominal position in both readings. Bernstein explains this with the fact that in English the Noun does not raise to Num overtly deriving in this way the prenominal surface position of the adjective in English also in the second case. Although English does not exhibit the word order variation observed in Romance Bernstein argues that the two types of adjectives outlined above should be preserved and along with them the two different structural positions. However for Bulgarian this explanation is not available because of the strong inflectional morphology of the noun. Also in the second case the adjective has to be generated high enough so that the raising noun head cannot cross it.

Later Bernstein presents some important facts from Rumanian where the definite article appears attached to the noun. She claims that raising over an adjoined adjective is unproblematic (as in (29)). If there is an intervening head (an A^0 -adjective), however, the Noun cannot raise to D because it would violate the Head Movement Constraint of Travis, 1985 and therefore it is the adjective that raises instead of the Noun (31). According to Bernstein the raising of the adjective occurs only with A^0 -adjectives while in the construction with the adjoined adjective in (30) no raising of the adjective is observed.

(30) omul frumos
 man-the beautiful
 "the beautiful man"

Rumanian

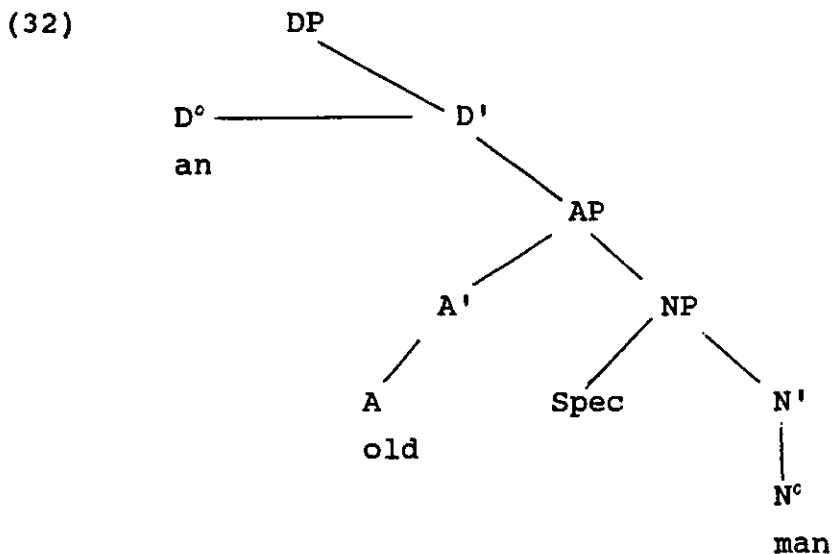
(31) simplul fapt
 mere-the fact
 "the mere fact"

Rumanian

We will see that the pattern shown in (31) can be adopted as a general pattern for Bulgarian prenominal adjectives.

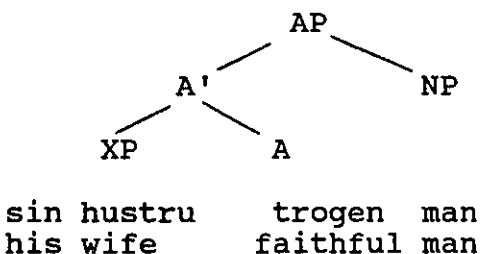
3.1.4. Delsing, 1993

Here I will describe the analysis adopted for Scandinavian by Delsing, 1993. In this proposal the NP is assumed to be the right hand specifier of the adjective as in the following structure:

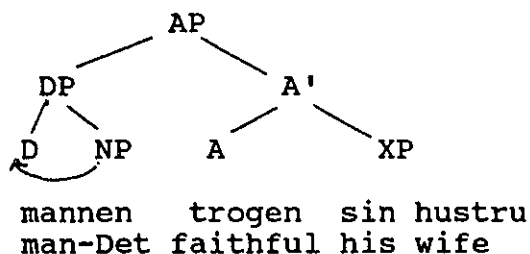


Delsing, 1993 claims that by adopting this structure one

assures that attributive and predicative adjectives have parallel structures. More specifically attributive and predicative APs are assumed to have mirror images as shown below in (33) and (34) for Swedish:

(33) Attributive

"a man faithful to his wife"

(34) Predicative

"the man faithful to his wife"

This analysis allows adjectives to take objects and adjuncts. On the other hand the "subject" of the adjective is always generated in SpecA with both predicative and attributive adjectives (in the example above this is the noun man/mannen). Agreement in both cases is Spec-head agreement - the A head agrees with its N specifier. According to Delsing this is the best and most straightforward solution to adjectival agreement.

As is evident from (33) and (34), the SpecA proposal is not compatible with recent proposals regarding phrase structure (Kayne, 1995). According to Kayne rightward adjunction is disallowed and adjunction is limited to one XP.

3.2. ADJECTIVES AS ADJUNCTS

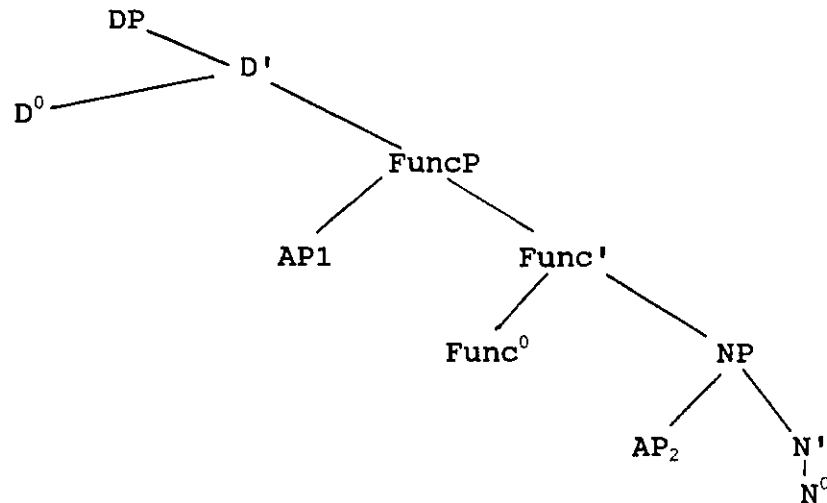
After presenting analyses that view adjectives as heads we will outline the proposal whereby adjectives are adjuncts. Some of the points of this proposal were already presented in section 3.1.3. when we discussed the adjectival classes in Bernstein, 1993 and in section 2 when we presented the functional projections in DP (example 10).

In Valois, 1991 it is proposed that all adjectives are adjuncts. He departs from the view that adjectives have a general pattern of distribution that resembles that of adverbs and proposes that adjectives are adjoined to NP or to functional projections such as NumP and NoP depending on the class to which they belong (along the hierarchy probable-class>frequent-class>complete-class). When the adjective is adjoined to NP the Noun crossing over the adjective to Num⁰ derives the postnominal position of the adjective. He also assumes that adjectives can optionally incorporate into the head noun as in (10).

3.3. ADJECTIVES AS SPECIFIERS

Cinque, 1993 proposes that adjectives are specifiers of NP and of various functional projections selected by D, as illustrated in (34).

(34)



He claims that attributive adjectives (AP₁) are generated in SpecXP positions between N and D. A subclass of thematic (referential) adjectives that in Romance is found only following the noun appears in SpecNP (AP₂). He leaves the categorial nature of the XPs undetermined but assumes that every XP corresponds to a functional head and not to a lexical entry.

The base position of adjective phrases is the same in Romance and in Germanic. In the Romance DP there is an overt movement of the noun over the adjective while in English no overt movement of the noun occurs.

According to Cinque adjunction provides no way to limit the potential number of adjectives while the Spec-analysis automatically limits the number of adjectives to the number of functional heads. Since Specs are to the left of the head in Romance and Germanic Cinque generates all adjectives to the left.

He claims also that the adjuncts analysis does not guarantee the directionality of adjectives to the left of the noun⁷.

In addition, Cinque explains with his assumption of the adjectives as Specs the fact that XP's occurring in left branches do not take complements. In Scandinavian, Greek and Bulgarian, however, adjectives can take complements (see section 3.1.1 in this chapter and section 3 in chapter 3). It is also true that the Spec-analysis restricts the possibility of movement of adjectives only to Spec positions.

Cinque's analysis relates the difference in the distribution of adjectives in English (prenominal) and in Romance (postnominal) to the inflectional properties of nouns. He assumes that the corresponding functional heads of Gender and Number have strong features in Romance which need to be checked already in syntax. This derives the postnominal distribution of adjectives. Unfortunately, this analysis is inapplicable to Bulgarian where the noun has strong gender and number features, but adjectives appear preminally as in English.

3.4. GIORGI & LONGOBARDI, 1991

Giorgi & Longobardi distinguish between predicative and referential adjectives. By the term "predicative adjective" they refer to those adjectival modifiers which predicate a quality of the head Noun without denoting an object in the world such as

"elegante" in contrast to "tedesco" (german) that is equivalent to "dei tedeschi" (by Germans, Germans').

In Italian, which according to them obeys the Head-Subject parameter oriented to the right (see chapter 4), APs are base-generated in postnominal position as in (35). In English, on the other hand, they are generated prenominally as in (36).

(35)	una ragazza simpatica a girl nice "a nice girl"	Italian
------	---	---------

(36) a nice girl

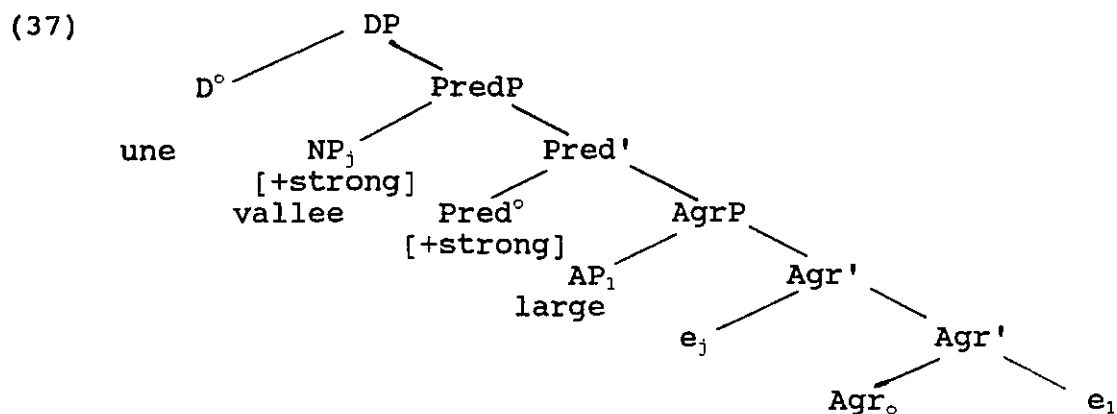
In Romance adjectives can optionally move to a prenominal position and this changes the information they convey. In prenominal position adjectives have only appositive interpretation, whereas in postnominal position they have a restrictive interpretation. In English both interpretations are available but nevertheless adjectives can only precede the noun.

In English the postnominal position of an adjective is a case of rightward movement but is only admitted when it is followed by a complement or it is conjoined.

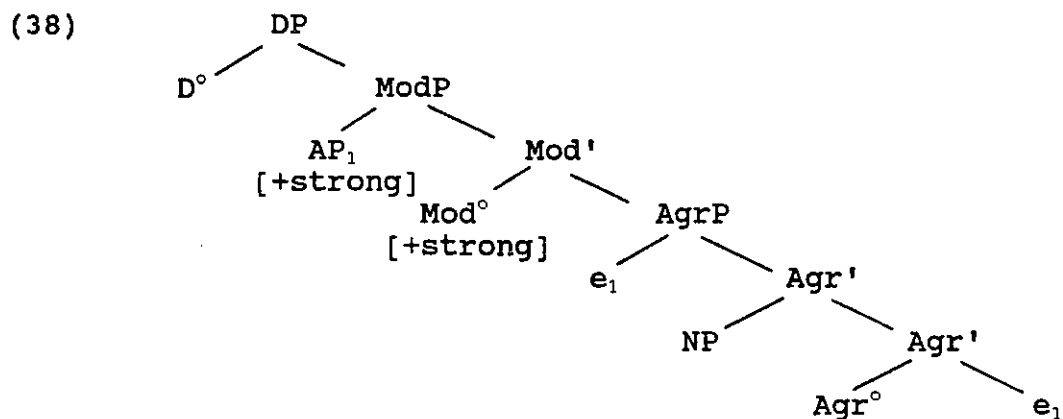
3.5. SÁNCHEZ, 1994

In Sánchez, 1994 the attributive adjectives are generated as complements of AgrP and raise to the Specifier of Agr in order to

agree with Agr° . The Noun, that has strong features in Spanish, raises from its SpecAgr_2 - position to SpecPredP deriving the nonmarked order (37).



The intentional adjectives have also been given a separate account in Sánchez, 1994. She claims that they have strong features that have to be discharged against the modal head and therefore adjoin to a special ModP which is a complement of D : (38)



Conclusions

In this chapter we have presented various proposals regarding the configuration of the Noun phrase and the placement of adjectives. Abney's DP-perspective is compatible with the CP(IP) analysis for clauses and opens the way to a new, different approach to nominal constructions. One of the basic discussion points in the literature is the placement of different adjective classes and their status in the DP. Abney's original proposal states that prenominal adjectives are heads and is shared by Radford, 1993 and Bernstein, 1993 (for a class of adjectives). In other proposals adjectives are viewed as specifiers (Cinque, 1993), adjuncts (Valois, 1991, Bernstein, 1993), as heads taking a rightward Noun specifier (Delsing, 1993), as maximal projections adjoined as Specs to an Agreement or Modal node (Sanchez, 1994) or as generated postnominally in Italian and prenominally in English (Giorgi & Longobardi, 1991).

In many accounts adjectives are assumed to occupy different structural positions depending on their semantics (for example Radford, 1993). The position of the adjectives has been also related to the Noun head movement in the phrase (Cinque, 1993, Valois, 1991).

Our claim for Bulgarian will be that adjectives are either heads generated before the NP (as proposed by Abney, 1987) or come from a predicative source (as proposed by many authors, among them Radford, 1993). In both cases the raising of the Noun in NP will not change the relative order between the noun and the adjective.

Chapter II

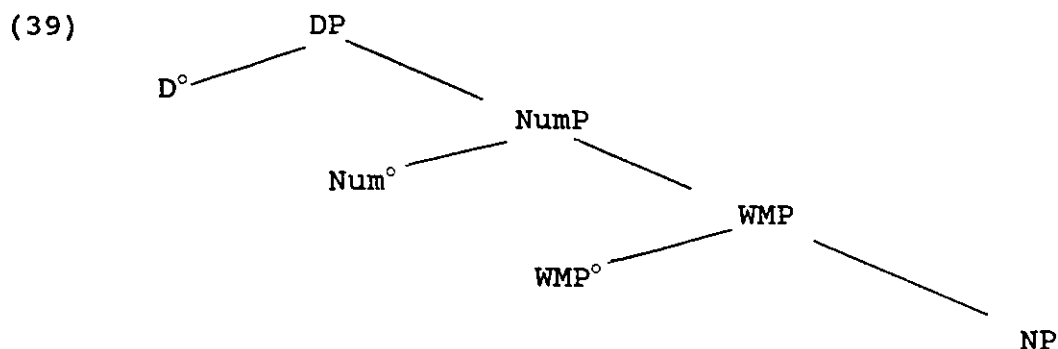
THE BULGARIAN NOUN PHRASE

In this chapter I will examine the properties of the Bulgarian Noun Phrase in comparison with other Balkan languages and Scandinavian. More precisely I will discuss the position of the article and the general structure of the noun phrase.

1. STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN PHRASE AND FEATURE CHECKING

In his recent work the "Minimalist Program" Chomsky, 1993 claims that words emerge fully inflected in syntax where they must be "checked" against the functional categories within their "checking domain". So the lexical content of each morphological feature of the head is "checked" against the functional projection corresponding to that feature. We can adopt this view and claim that in Bulgarian the noun already inflected in the lexicon passes through the relevant functional heads to check its features (for Number and Gender) prior to spell-out as in French and other languages which have a rich inflectional morphology. However the checking in Bulgarian is to the highest functional projection in the phrase (DP) and not only to NumP as in French. I will argue that the noun movement to D is not triggered by a

special referential feature on N as it might seem at first sight⁸. The general structure of the phrase is given in (39):



It will be argued that the Noun-movement to the highest projection in the phrase is "altruistic" in its nature and occurs in order to support an element (see chapter 2, section 3).

2. UNMODIFIED NOUN PHRASES

In Bulgarian the definite article is attached to the noun so that the noun is "carrying" it as in (40a) The definite article can never precede the noun as can be seen from the ungrammatical (40b). In Bulgarian the indefinite article appears always prenominally as in English and other languages: (41a). (41b) is ungrammatical.

(40a) studentât⁹
 student-the
 "the student"

(40b) `ât student
the student

(41a) edin student
a(one) student
"a student"

(41b) `student edin¹⁰
"student a"

Similar behaviour of the definite article can be found in every Balkan Language except Greek and in all the Scandinavian languages¹¹. Bulgarian being a Balkan language seems, therefore, to display a property that is typically "Balkan" and that distinguishes it from Slavic in general. In the same way Rumanian is different from the other Romance languages. In Rumanian (42) and Albanian (43) the definite article appears as well as a bound element attached to a noun:

(42)	om-ul man-the "the man"	Rumanian
------	-------------------------------	----------

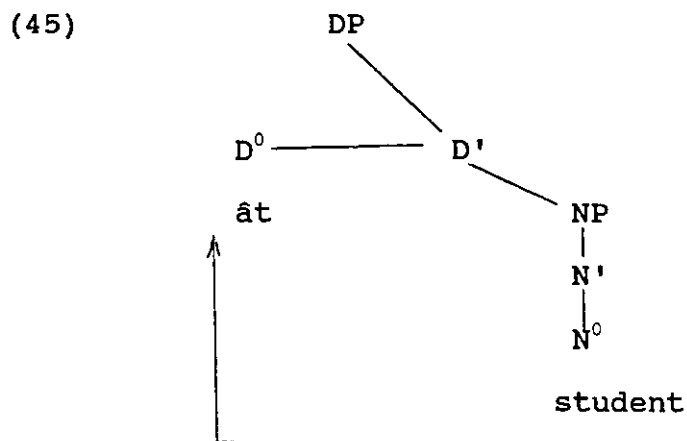
(43)	burr-i man-the "the man"	Albanian
------	--------------------------------	----------

A similar pattern of article postposing is also found in the Scandinavian languages:

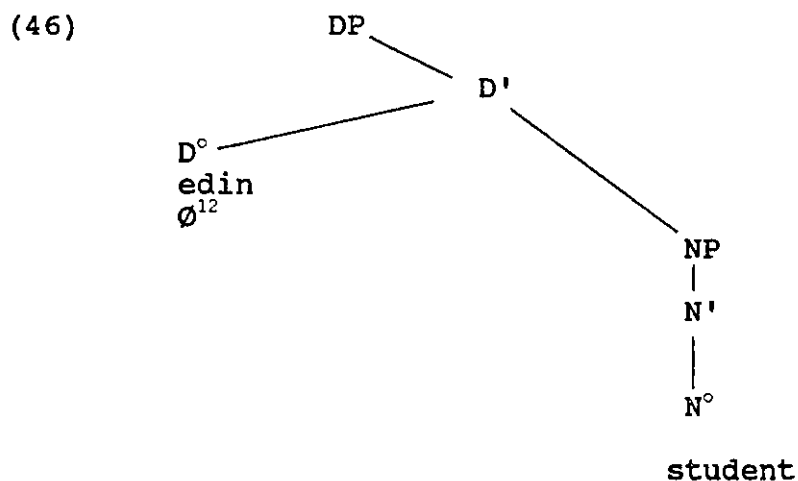
(44)	gris-en pig-the "the pig"	Swedish
------	---------------------------------	---------

It is assumed in the literature (Dobrovie-Sorin, 1987 for

Rumanian) that there is a N^0 -to D^0 raising. In the structure we propose for Bulgarian in (45) the noun also raises up to D:



This structure parallels the structure of the indefinite DP where, however, no raising of the noun to D occurs.



The noun phrase contains in this case one head - the noun head. Bulgarian definite noun phrases show a raising like

Rumanian and Scandinavian while English, German other languages do not have this property of the category N.

3. MODIFIED NOUN PHRASES

In Rumanian and in Bulgarian the article can be attached to a noun (see (40a) for Bulgarian and (42) for Rumanian) or to an adjective ((47), (48)):

(47)	sarac-ul baiat "poor-the boy" "the poor boy"	Rumanian
------	--	----------

(48)	bedno-to momče poor-the boy" "the poor boy"	Bulgarian
------	---	-----------

In Albanian , on the other hand, a second definite proclitic article appears before the modifier that can be only postnominal (49). In Rumanian a determiner is found before the modifier when the modifying adjective follows the noun (50). These constructions are normally not found in Bulgarian¹³

(49)	burr-i i mire man-the the good "the good man"	Albanian
------	---	----------

(50)	omul cel bun man Det good "the good man"	Rumanian
------	--	----------

In Scandinavian the adjectives (that are prenominal) are obligatorily preceded by a determiner and the determiner is never

- (56) čovekat, čij-to časovnik ne raboti
 man-the whose-the watch Neg work-3Sg
 "the man whose watch does not work"

However the definite article does not attach to adverbials modifying the adjective or to prepositions as shown in the following examples:

- (57) ne samo izključitelno umnoto kuče
 not only extremely smart-the dog
 "not only the extremely smart dog"

- (58) na čoveka deteto
 of man-the child-the
 "the child of the man"

The article agrees with the noun in Number and Gender:

- (59) Kučeto e umno životno/Kučetata sa umni životni.
 Dog_{N,sg}-the_{N,sg} is clever animal/Dogs_{N,pl}-the_{N,pl} are smart animals
 "Dogs are clever animals"

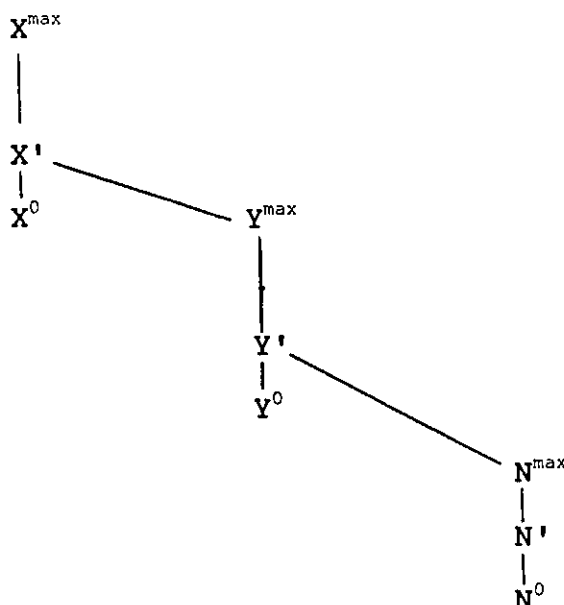
This is not the case only in relativized wh-phrases where the Definite article "to" is marked [+ Neutral]:

- (60) ženata, kojato čete
 women_F-the, that_N-the reads
 "the woman that reads"

The structure we will adopt for Noun Phrases with modifiers

is a "multi-head" one (the term is borrowed from John Payne, 1993). Each head has its own phrasal projection and takes another Noun-Phrase constituent as its complement. Schematically this can be represented as in (61). The node X^{\max} represents the Determiner Phrase. Y^{\max} is an adjective or quantifier phrase which is found DP internally ¹⁶:

(61)

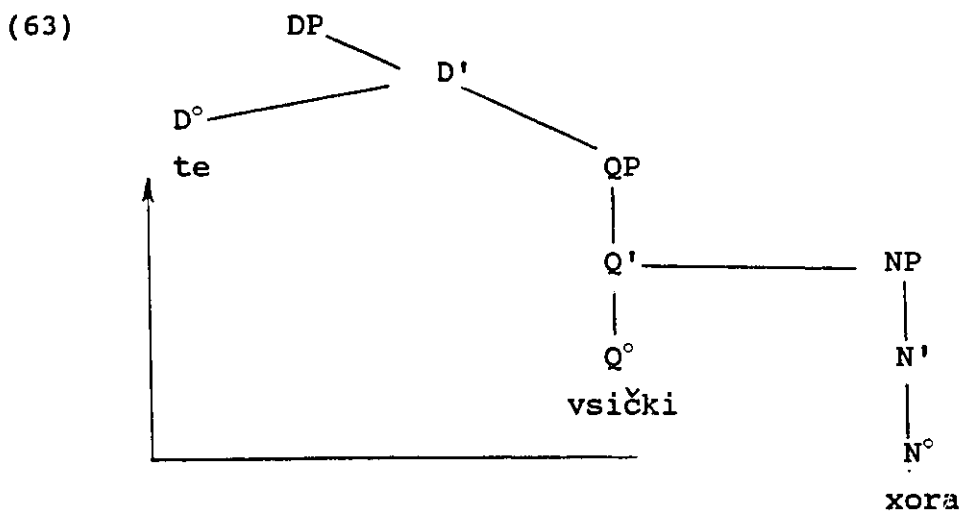
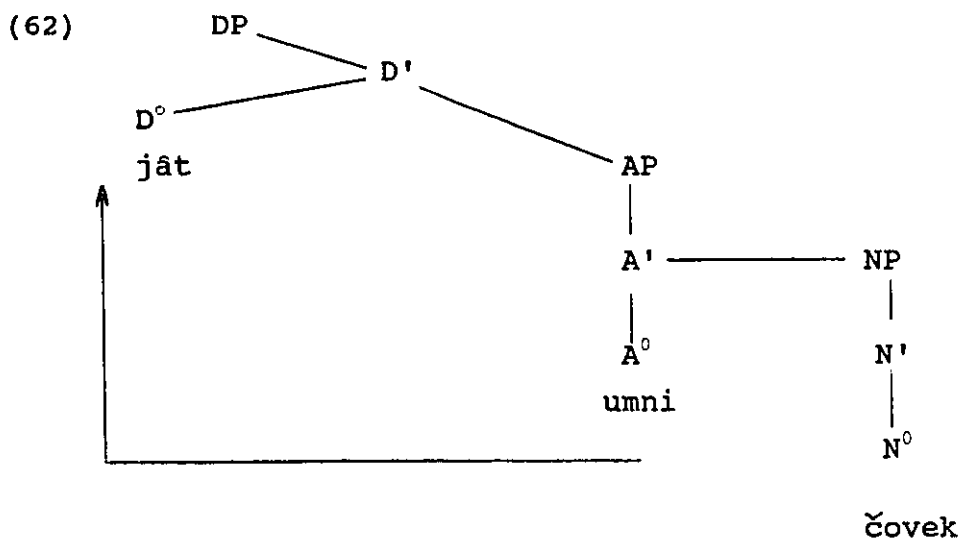


This is the structure presented in Abney, 1989 and in Radford, 1993 as well as in Kester, 1993 for Scandinavian.

When the noun is modified by an adjective a Head-to-Head movement of the adjectival element to the determiner position occurs. (62) and (63) exemplify accordingly how our previous examples (53) and (54) are obtained.

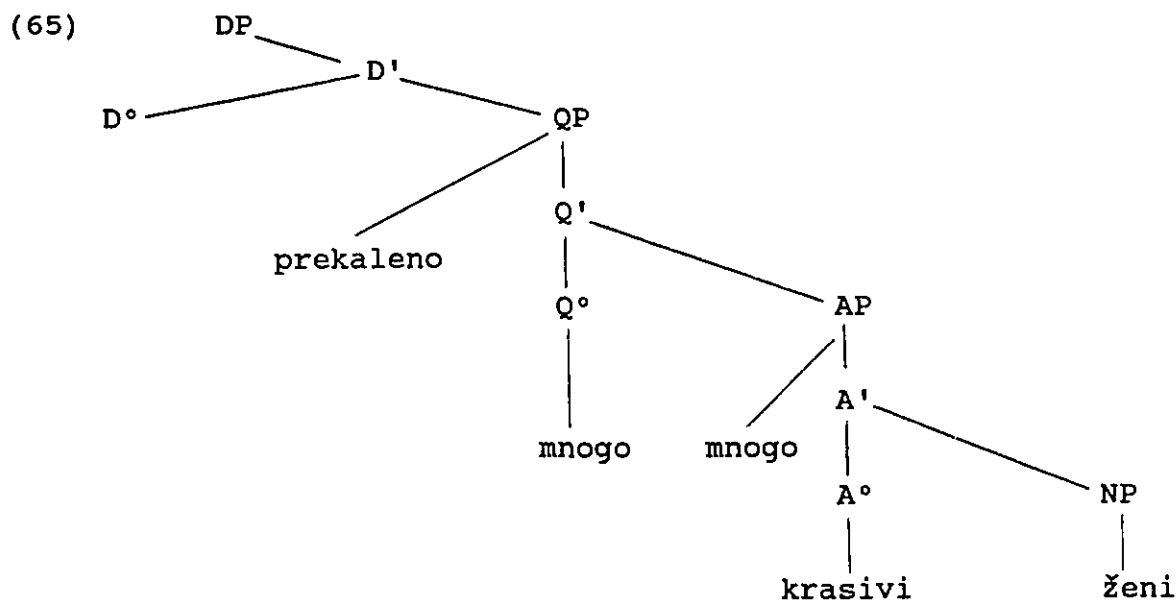
In (62) there is a raising of the adjective to the determiner position and in (63) it is the quantifier that

undergoes this movement to D° . In both cases the noun does not move to D° .



The Noun Phrase in (64) (adapted from Abney, 1987) will receive accordingly the following analysis in Bulgarian (65):

- (64) prekaleno mnogo mnogo krasivi ženi
 exceedingly many-the very beautiful women
 "the exceedingly many very beautiful women"



The closest head to the DP node undergoes the movement to D. In this case Q moves to D. If any other head moved to D this would violate the Head Movement Constraint of Travis, 1985. In fact (66) is ungrammatical because the adjective cannot bypass a lexical head, the Quantifier head (for clarity the example is simplified). The correct alternation is shown in (67) where the quantifier "mnogo" raises to D.

- (66) *krasivite mnogo ženi
 beautiful-the many women
 "the many beautiful women"

- (67) mnogoto krasivi ženi
 many-the beautiful women
 "the many beautiful women"

In addition of the head movement of Q to D, in (65) the specifier of QP "prekaleno" undergoes a raising movement and as a result of this it appears before the raised quantifier head. Most likely the position it attaches to is SpecDP.

4. THE DEFINITE ARTICLE - SUFFIX OR CLITIC?

In the literature there is no unitary account of the article. Depending on the framework adopted by the author the article is treated as a suffix of a special type (labelled in fact "definite article") or as a clitic. Clitics and articles are identical in many languages (Romance clitics for example). Historically this is due to the fact that articles and pronominal clitics have developed from demonstrative pronouns¹⁷.

According to Börjars, 1993 the definite article in Bulgarian shows a low degree of selectivity as to the host word and it should be defined therefore as a clitic, not an affix, e.g. noun-article combinations are governed by syntactic rules.

The Balkan languages and Bulgarian in particular are often assumed to have a clitic in second position, a Wackernagel position within the phrase or the clause. We will however assume as Schutze, 1994 that syntactic movement is not sensitive to

phonological requirements. We will claim that in Bulgarian the placement of the article is derived by movement in the syntactic component of the grammar.

Some of the arguments for the treatment of the article as a clitic presented in Börjars, 1993 are:

1. A clitic is expected to show a low degree of selectivity with respect to the category of the host word. This is exactly what is found in Bulgarian where the article can attach not only to a noun but also to an adjective, a quantifier or other modifying elements as shown in the examples above.

2. The co-occurrence of the definite article and demonstratives (as found in Scandinavian) shows according to Börjars that the status of the determiner is of an affix; contrarily, the complementary distribution of the article and the syntactic determiners shows that the article has the status of a clitic. In Bulgarian the article and the demonstratives are in complementary distribution (67), whereas in Scandinavian they are found in near total co-occurrence (68):

- | | | |
|------|--|-----------|
| (67) | *tazi zenata ¹⁸
this women-the
"this the woman" | Bulgarian |
| (68) | den mus-en/*mus
that mouse-the/*mouse
"that mouse" | Swedish |

Nevertheless the validity of this argument has been challenged for Scandinavian where a second Determiner position is proposed (for example Kester, 1993). Similar phenomena are observed also in Greek where we have multiple occurrences of the same definite determiner within a definite noun phrase (Androutsopoulou, 1994).

3. Another test for clitics is co-ordination. In English definite co-ordinated nominal have the following form:

(69) the [fish and chips]

and not:

(70) the fish and the chips

The same behaviour is expected by Börjars from the definite article if it is assumed to function as a clitic - it should in fact attach only to one member of the coordinated nominal. But in Bulgarian a single article cannot determine the same co-ordinated nominal (71). The correct alternation is given in (72).

(71) * Ženite i deza
 women-the and children
 "the women and children"

(72) Ženite i dezata
 women-the and children-the
 "the women and children"

(71) can become grammatical only with the meaning "the women and some children" (the whole set of the set of women and a

subset of the set of children) but then we are not dealing with a co-ordinated definite nominal. The same rule of "determiner doubling" in coordinated phrases is found with pronominal clitics that have to attach to each of the co-ordinated verbs¹⁹ (73). (74) is perceived as ungrammatical unless we have a non-coordinated phrase as in (75).

- (73) Petâr go vidja i go popita.
 Petar Cl saw and Cl asked
 "Peter saw him and asked him"
- (74) *Petâr [go vidja i popita].
 Petar Cl saw and asked
 "Petar saw him and asked"
- (75) Petâr go vidja i [pro popita].
 Petar Cl saw and asked
 "Petar saw him and asked"

From this we can conclude that in coordinated phrases in Bulgarian the clitic obligatorily appears on both members of the conjunct. Therefore, (72) should not prevent us from treating the definite article as a clitic because pronominal clitics display the same properties in conjuncts.

Conclusions

In this chapter we have argued for a multi-head model of Bulgarian DPs. The article is viewed as a clitic that triggers movement of the Noun head in unmodified constructions and of the

closest modifier's head in constructions with modifying elements (adjectives and quantifiers). If the Spec position of the modifying phrase is filled there is a Spec-to-Spec raising movement of the specifier to the Spec position of DP.

In co-ordinated nominals the article appears attached on both members of the conjunct as this is the case with pronominal clitics. The definite article can attach to different categories in the Noun Phrase but never to adverbials or prepositions. This demonstrates again that the placement of the article is governed by syntactic rules of movement as shown above.

The properties of the syntactic raising movement in the Noun Phrase in Bulgarian will be further examined in Chapter 3. We will also discuss there the placement of adjectives.

Chapter 3

BULGARIAN DPs AND NOUN (ADJECTIVE) MOVEMENT TO D

As we have seen in the previous chapter the definite article obligatorily appears attached to the noun or, in modified constructions, to the adjective and other modifiers. This property of the definite constructions distinguishes this language from the other Slavic languages. Often this phenomenon has been described in the literature as a "Balkanism" shared by the languages of the Balkan region or as a remnant of an earlier stage of the language when enclitic demonstratives followed the Wackernagel law of the European enclitics.

In the previous chapter we have argued for a syntactic account of these facts and we have introduced a Noun / Adjective head movement pattern to the determiner position. This proposal will be examined here in more detail, bearing in mind the Minimalist Program of Chomsky. As far as the trigger of this movement is concerned we have to admit that the movement benefits more the clitic-like article than the moving host head itself (noun or adjective). This is against the Principle of Greed of Chomsky, 1993. A weakened version of that principle developed in Lasnik, 1995 will account for this case of "altruistic" movement.

In chapter 1 we have seen that the relation between adjectives and the noun within the nominal phrase is one issue in current literature on Noun Phrases that is extremely

controversial. We will argue that in Bulgarian adjectives have two positions in the clause: prenominal and postnominal, adopting Abney's model for the prenominal position of the adjectives and a small-clause type structure for the postnominal.

Bulgarian Noun Phrases have also a number of other properties that will be investigated here in the light of the adopted analysis. In particular, these are the constructions with pre-head adjective arguments (already addressed in section 3.1.1.) and the constructions where the raised noun passes over the possessive clitic in a Long Head Movement (LHM) to the determiner position.

1. NOUN CLASSES, TYPES OF ADJECTIVES AND NOUN (ADJECTIVE) MOVEMENT TO D⁰

Recall that in Bulgarian the definite article can never be found preceding the noun regardless of the noun class (common nouns, mass count nouns, generics). It appears as a bound element attached to the noun as in (76):

(76) Kučeto e umno životno. / Kučetata sa umni životni.
 dog_{N, Sg}-the_{N, Sg} is clever animal / Dogs_{N, Pl}-the_{N, Pl} are smart animals
 "Dogs are smart animals"

In (76) we have a generic noun in argument position that "carries" the definite article. The noun agrees with the article in Number and Gender as in other languages, "to" being the form

for Neutral, Singular and "ta" for Neutral, Plural. The same construction would surface if we had in mind a particular dog and not a generic noun. The definite article, expletive operator (as in (76)) or actual article, always attaches to the noun.

Such a preposing of the noun never occurs with the indefinite article that always has to precede the noun as in (77). (78) is ungrammatical if "edin" plays the role of the indefinite article²⁰

(77) Edin student /edna studentka dojde.
 a student / a student came
 "A student came"

(78) *Student edin/studentka edna dojde.
 student_M a / student_F a came
 "A student came"

As already shown in chapter 2 we can find the definite article also attached to an adjective (79), a quantifier (80) or a possessive pronoun (81):

(79) dobrijat student/ dobrata studentka dojde
 good_{M,Sg}-the_{M,Sg} student/ good_{F,Sg}-the_{F,Sg} student came
 "The good student came"

(80) Vsičkite knigi sa na masata.
 all-the books are on table-the
 "all-the books are on the table"

(81) Mojata kniga e na masata.
 my-the book is on table-the
 "my book is on the table"

The universal quantifier "vsički" can however also appear without the article attached to it as shown in (82):

- (82) Vsički moi knigi sa na masata.
 all my books are on table-the
 "all my books are on the table"

Similarly to what we find in unmodified nominals the indefinite article does not attach to adjectivals (83):

- (83) edin dobâr student /edna dobra studentka dojde
 a_{M,Sg} good_{M,Sg} student / a_{F,Sg} good_{F,Sg} student came
 "a good student came"

In Bulgarian a co-occurrence of two definite phrases (as found in Scandinavian) is only possible when the second definite element is the adjective as in (84). This case is not found in the literary register of the language and therefore is not indicated in grammar books of Modern Bulgarian.

- (84) ?kučeto dobroto
 dog-the good-the
 "the good dog"

Finally, a special articleless case is possible in Bulgarian with count nouns in Object position as exemplified in (85).

- (85) Vidjax (dobâr) student.
 (I) saw (good) student
 "I saw a (good) student" ("I saw somebody that could be defined as a (good) student" (*unspecific, indefinite*))

This is not found in other languages as shown in (86).

- (86) * Ho incontrato studente. Italian
 (I) met student
 "I met a student"

In Italian and English the omission of the indefinite article in argument position is allowed only with singular mass nouns as "wine" (87) and with plurals (see chapter 1, page 5). The same is valid for Bulgarian as we can see in (88).

(87) Bevo vino. Italian
 (I) drink wine
 "I drink wine"

(88) Pija vino. Bulgarian
 (I) drink wine
 "I drink wine"

In (85) the noun is marked for the feature "unspecific" and is interpreted as a general member of a given class. This contrasts with (89) and (90) where a particular student is envisioned and therefore a definite article is used. In (91) and (92) the noun "student" is indefinite but marked for the feature "specific":

(89) Vidjax studenta/ studentkata.
 (I) saw student-the/student-the
 "I saw the student" (*specific, definite*)

(90) Vidjax dobrija student/ dobrata studentka.
 (I) saw good-the student/good-the student
 "I saw the good student" (*specific, definite*)

(91) Vidjax edin student/ edna studentka.
 (I) saw a student/a student
 "I saw a student" (*specific, indefinite*)

(92) Vidjax edin dobâr student/ edna dobra studentka.
 (I) saw a good student_M / a good student_F.
 "I saw a good student" (*specific, indefinite*)

From this we can conclude that in Bulgarian the empty determiner is extended also to Noun phrases with indefinite interpretation so that the nouns can be also marked for the feature non-specific (Stankov, 1984 arrives to similar conclusions). We cannot expect any raising of the noun to occur in Noun phrases where the determiner position is occupied by empty determiners. Therefore we can tentatively propose that in (63) there is also an empty determiner in D° that ensures that the noun "knigi" is marked for the feature "unspecific" and prevents raising of the quantifier.

In the literature, different types of adjectives have been distinguished - attributive, modal, thematic (see chapter 1, section 3). Some of them have been shown to display a different behaviour in the syntax (for example modal adjectives in Bernstein, 1993). It is well known, for example, that one of the important properties of thematic and modal adjectives is the fact that they are disallowed in predicative constructions (Bernstein, 1993).

When the noun is preceded by the adjective as is normally the case in the literary language the article attaches to the adjective regardless of the class to which the adjective belongs:

- (93) Njufaundlandskoto (*thematic*) kuće e umno Životno.
 from Newfoundland_{Adj,N,Sg}-the dog is smart animal.
 "Newfoundlander dogs are smart animals"
- (94) dobroto (*attributive*) kuće dojde
 good-the dog came
 "the good dog came"

- (95) gorkoto (*modal*) kuče dojde
 pitiable-the dog came
 "the pitiable dog came"

With the attributive adjectives there is a possibility to follow the noun and in this case it is the noun that is marked for definiteness:

- (96) kučeto dobro²¹
 dog-the good
 "the good dog"

This possibility is not available with the other two classes of adjectives (modal and thematic):

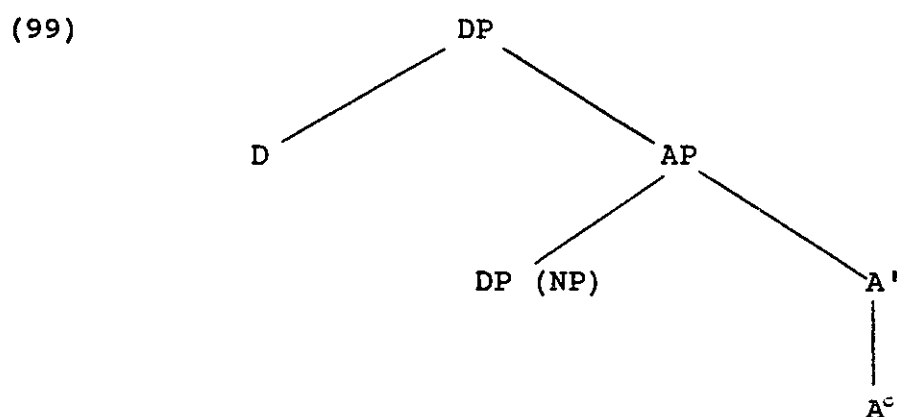
- (97) *kučeto gorko
 dog-the pitiable
 "the pitiable dog"

- (98) ??kučeto njufundlandsko
 dog-the from Newfoundland
 "the Newfoundlander dog"

If we suppose that in (96), (97) and (98) the adjectives are from a predicative source, then this explains why (97) and (98) are ungrammatical. It becomes clear that when the adjective is generated *before* the noun it displays the observed pattern of behavior of incorporating with the article. On the other hand, when the adjective is generated *after* the noun (as in (96)) the incorporation with the article is achieved by the noun. (97) and (98) are ungrammatical because thematic and modal adjectives do not appear in predicative contexts.

One way to analyze the postnominally generated adjectives is

to consider them to be right-adjoined to NP. This analysis becomes problematic if we assume like Kayne, 1993 that adjunction is uniformly to the left. Another way is to consider a small clause structure as proposed in Bernstein, 1993. The structure for (96) can be presented as in (99):



A° as a head is allowed to take complements as it occurs with postnominal adjectives.

To summarize, either the noun or the adjectival (adjectives, quantifiers, possessives) incorporates with the definite article. This occurs with singular and plural generic nouns and definite nouns. All the adjective classes (thematic, modal, attributive) undergo the same process of incorporation with the article and in this case it is only the adjective that carries the definite clitic. No raising occurs in indefinite constructions and in

constructions with empty operators occupying the determiner position.

2. THE RAISING TO D AND THE CONCEPT OF "ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST"

In his "Minimalist Program" Chomsky claims that words emerge fully inflected in syntax where they must be "checked" against the functional categories within their "checking domain". So the lexical content of each morphological feature of the head is "checked" against the functional projection corresponding to that feature. Stating this, Chomsky practically argues that all movement in syntax is conditioned by one and only one driving force - the requirement of the inflected stem to check its own features. This principle is labelled "Greedy" and it implies that there are no grounds for a movement if the requirements of the stem are already satisfied without raising.

Lasnik, 1995 shows that the LF-movement of an associate to the position of the expletive cannot be motivated by morphological requirements of the expletive. The movement in consideration is "altruistic" and benefits the associate. Lasnik refers to it as "enlightened self-interest".

Along this line we can also claim that the overt Noun movement to the determiner position in Bulgarian as well as in the other languages where such a movement occurs is provoked by

morphological requirements of the determiner²².

It is evident that the noun or the adjectival element that raise to D do not gain any individual benefit from that raising movement. In fact, they have satisfied their own needs checking their features in functional projections such as WMP and NumP. Rather, the movement benefits the target of the movement - the determiner itself. In the proposal of Lasnik a weakened version of Greed labelled "enlightend self-interest" is considered. If we adopt it we can claim that the determiner must have an overt syntactic constituent in its checking domain in order to be licensed. The raising of the Noun or the Adjective to D responds to this requirement.

3. PRE-HEAD ARGUMENTS

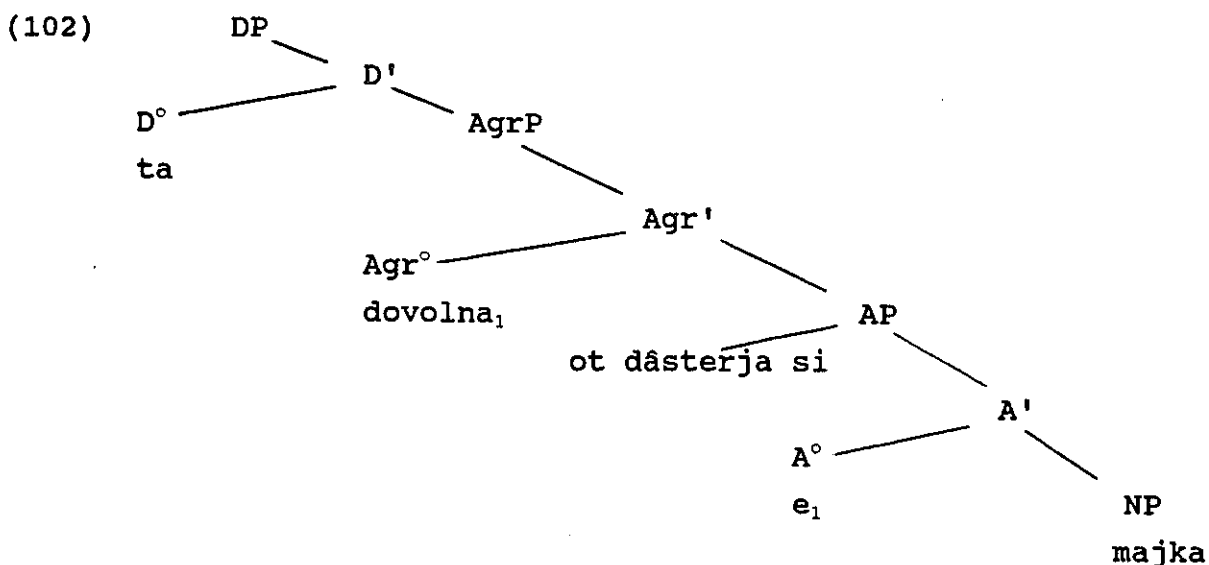
Let us now consider the following structure:

(100)	dovolna(ta)	[ot dâšterja si]	majka	Bulgarian
	pleased-(the)	with daugher Cl	mother	
	"(The) mother pleased with her daughter"			

This structure which is disallowed in French and English but is also found in Greek (101) and Scandinavian, poses some problems (see Delsing, 1993 for Scandinavian²³) and (Androtsopoulou, 1994 for Greek).

- (101) o iperifanos jia tin kori tou pateras Greek
 the proud for the daughter his father
 "the father proud of his daughter"

The adjective in (100) and (101) takes two complements - the noun and its own complement "with her daughter". In order to account for this possibility we propose a construction inspired by the V-shell proposal of Larson, 1988. The adjectival complement is generated in SpecAP and the adjective raises to a higher functional projection in order to check its features (102). In addition, the adjective raises to the Determiner, and this results in the word order observed in the constructions above.



In the next section we will explore another property of Bulgarian Noun Phrases that resembles the Long Head Movement in Southern and Western Slavic clauses (Rivero, 1991).

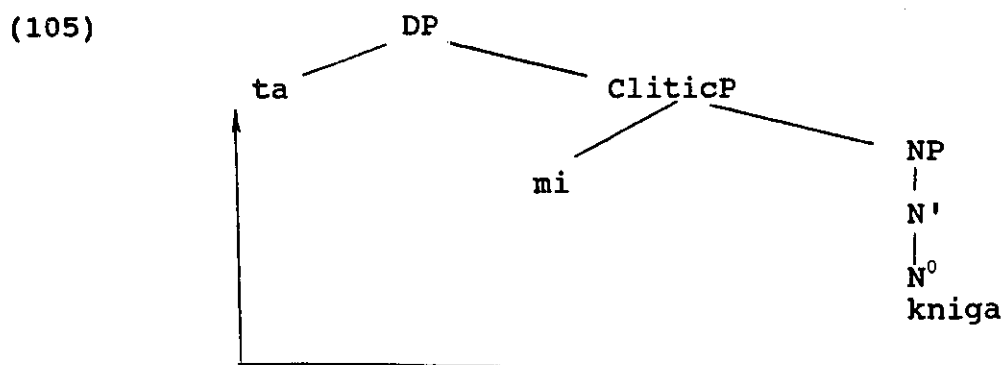
4. LONG HEAD MOVEMENT IN THE DP

In Bulgarian the possessive pronouns are expressed in two ways - by a long form of the possessive that has forms for Gender, Person and Number (103) and by the short clitic forms "mi"(my) "ti"(your-2,Sg), "mu"(his),"i"(her), "ni"(our), "vi"(your-2,Pl), "im"(their) as in (104). These two forms are in complementary distribution:

(103) Mojata kniga e na masata
my-the book is on table-the
"My book is on the table"

(104) Knigara mi e na masata
book-the Cl is on table-the
"My book is on the table"

(103) poses no problems: the possessive functions as an adjectival and adjoins to D. In (104) I propose that the noun bypasses the clitic-like possessive and checks the strong feature on D as shown below in (105):



A similar pattern is found in Bulgarian clauses (Rivero, 1991) where the nonfinite verb moves to Comp by Long Head Movement (LHM), crossing over an intervening Aux⁰ as in (106).

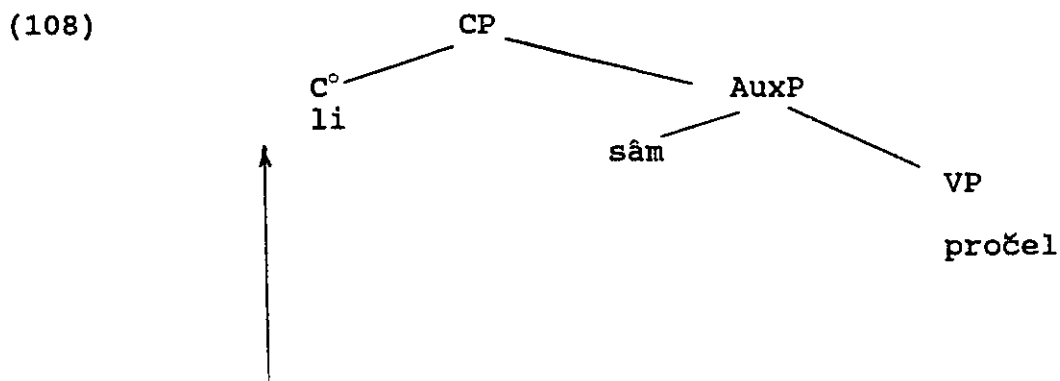
- (106) Pročel sâm knigata.
 read have -1pSg book-the
 "I have read the book (completely)."

Long Head Movement is found in Southern and Western Slavic - Bulgarian, Czech, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, Slovenian as well as in Albanian, Rumanian and Old Romance (Rivero, 1991). Traditional grammars explain this order by appealing to the non-tonic nature of the finite auxiliary, which prevents it from standing in initial position. Rivero, 1991 argues however that the cliticness of LHM auxiliaries is derivative and has a syntactic source.

Consider now (107):

- (107) Pročel li sâm knigata?
 read QW Aux book-the
 "Have I read the book?"

In (107) the Question word (interrogative clitic) "li" which is in C⁰ is supported by the fronting element (non-finite verb):



This is exactly the case in (105) where the article adjoins to the raising Noun head. In both cases the functional heads AuxP and PossP do not block the movement to a higher head.

Conclusions

The Noun (Adjective) Movement in the Noun Phrase in Bulgarian has a number of properties that can be summarized as follows:

- Only the prenominal adjectives move to D independently of their semantics.

- Postnominal adjectives are from a predicative source and do not move to D.

- The D position has to be filled if the Noun Phrase is an argument. Specific to Bulgarian is an empty operator in D in indefinite unspecific constructions.

- The weakened version of the principle of Greed adopted by Lasnik accounts for the Noun(Adjective) movement to D.

- Pre-head arguments can be explained by adopting a structure whereby the complement of the adjective is generated in a Larsonian shell.

- There is a Long Head Movement in Bulgarian Noun Phrases with possessives (similar to what has been discovered for clauses).

CHAPTER 4

ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

In this chapter I will consider two major works on the argument structure of nominals - the analysis of Giorgi & Longobardi, 1991 and Valois'account (Valois, 1991). They both contain important observations on the projection of arguments in the noun phrase based on the achievements of the previous research.

1. ARGUMENT EXPRESSION

In Bulgarian as in other languages arguments can be realized as possessives or as lexical NPs preceded by a preposition. These two cases are exemplified in (109) and (110):

(109) knigata na Ivan (*Subject*)
 book-the of Ivan
 "Ivan's book"

(110) Ivanovata/negovata (*Subject*) kniga
 Ivan(poss)-the /his book
 "Ivan's /his book"

The subject of the noun phrases in (109) and (110) can be either a possessor (the persons to whom the book belongs) or an

agent (the person that wrote the book). In (109) the subject is introduced by the preposition "na" ("of") and in (110) it is prenominal and has the properties of an adjectival. We note that in many languages, such as French and Italian, prenominal subjects are possible only when they are expressed by a possessive pronoun as in the Italian example in (111)

(111)	il suo libro	Italian
	the his book	
	"his book"	

In English however prenominal subjects are tolerated with almost any type of noun as shown in (112):

(112) the city's destruction

In Bulgarian²⁴ prenominal subjects normally occur only with proper names as in (109) whereas "na" ("of") is applicable to any DP. The proper name "Ivan" receives a suffix "ov" and acts as a possessive adjective in prenominal position²⁵. Its semantics is quite parallel to the semantics of the argument introduced by a preposition.

2. GIORGI & LONGOBARDI'S PROPOSAL

Giorgi & Longobardi demonstrate that the genitive preposition does not count as a barrier to binding and more

importantly, the pronouns and anaphors in the object argument are in complementary distribution. This is also valid for Bulgarian as we can see in the following examples:

(113a) ljubovta na xorata₁ kâm sebe si₁ (tjax samite)
 love of people towards themselves
 "People's love for themselves"

(113b) *ljubovta na xorata₁ kâm tjax₁
 love-the of people-the towards them
 "people's love for them"

(113c) ljubovta na xorata kâm tjax
 love-the of people-the towards them
 "people's love for them"

(114a) razkaza na Vlado₁ za nego sami₁ja²⁶
 story-the of Vlado about himself
 "Vlado's story about himself"

(114b) *razkaza na Vlado₁ za nego₁
 story-the of Vlado about him
 "Vlado's story about him"

(114c) razkaza na Vlado za nego
 story-the of Vlado about him
 " Vlado's story about him"

In fact, the coreferentiality in the (b) examples renders the example ungrammatical because the pronoun is bound within its minimal domain (violation of Principle B), while the examples in (a) are grammatical because in this case instead of the pronoun there is an anaphor. In the (c) example a pronoun is used but it is not coreferential with the head noun.

The directionality of c-command, however, is only from the subject argument to the object argument. In (115) "za nego" and in (116) "di lui" are not allowed to c-command the R-expressions "Ivan" and "Gianni".

- (115) mnenieto na majkata na Ivan₁(*subject*) za nego₁ (*object*) Blg
 opinion-the of mother-the of Ivan of him
 "Ivan's mother 's opinion about him"
- (116) l'opinione di lui della madre di Gianni It
 the opinion of him of mother of Gianni
 "Gianni's mother's opinion about him"

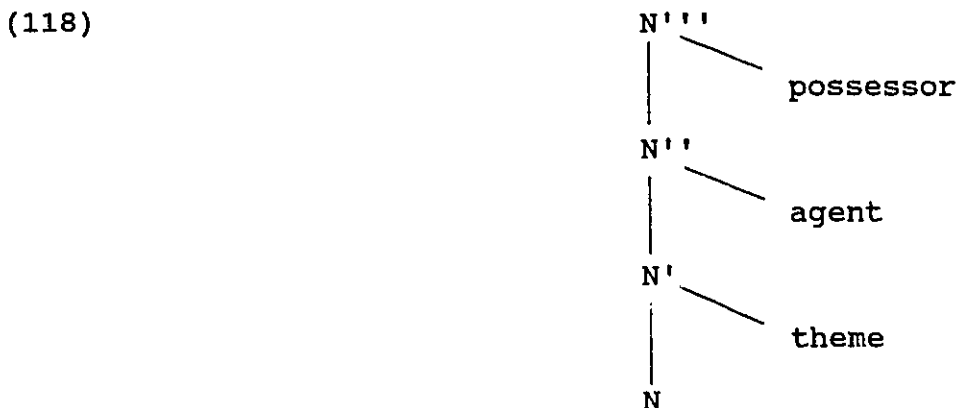
This fact leads Giorgi & Longobardi to the following claim:

1. C-command is stricter than the definition given in Aoun & Sportiche and its non-maximality in terms of X-bar theory is confirmed. The notion of c-command Giorgi & Longobardi adopt on the grounds of the binding facts is the following:

- (117) α c-commands β iff
 the first branching node dominating α also dominates β

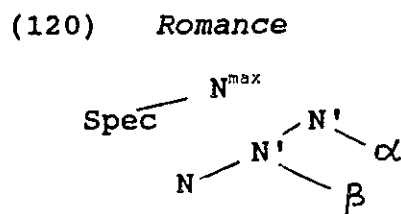
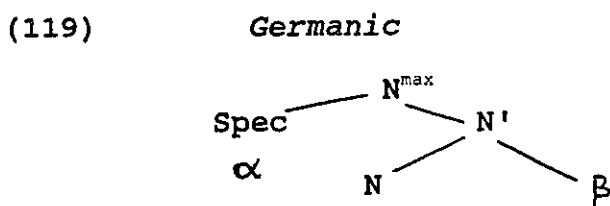
If the external argument originates in a higher projection, however, (as Valois, 1991 proposes) this notion of c-command becomes obsolete because the internal argument will never c-command the external one located outside the maximal projection of the noun.

2. There is an asymmetric c-command between the arguments in Noun Phrases. Giorgi & Longobardi propose the following model:



N' is the domain of strictly subcategorized arguments (internal), whereas possessors and elements predicated of the head are attached to the noun in a "looser" way.

Giorgi & Longobardi assign two parameters: one for the internal subcategorized argument (Head Complement parameter) and one for the external arguments (Head Subject parameter). Their claim is that at s-structure internal arguments (β) are to the right of the head both in Romance and in Germanic, while the external arguments (α) are on the right in Romance (120) and on the left in Germanic (119):



From these parameters it follows that a prenominal argument is always derived via movement from a postnominal position in Romance while in Germanic the postnominal external arguments are derived via movement from the thematic Spec-position (rightward movement as in heavy NP-shift). The last case is possible in English with modified arguments as in (121) or with nouns that express inanimacy (122):

(121) the book [of the man I met yesterday]

(122) the legs [of the table]

The internal arguments in (123) and (124), not being "heavy", cannot be understood as external arguments:

(123) the destruction of Rome

(124) the fear of Mary

In Italian (124) can be ambiguous as shown in (125)²⁷. Maria can be either the agent or the theme of the fear:

(125) la paura di Maria
 the fear of Mary
 "the fear of Mary"/"Mary's fear"

In Bulgarian the preposition "na" (of) is reserved for external arguments (possessors and agents) while internal arguments are introduced by the prepositions "za" (for), "do" (to), "cam" (towards), "pri" (at). In (126a)²⁸ "za majkata na Ivan" is the internal argument and in (126b) it is the external argument (subject):

(126a) Negovoto mnenie za majkata na Ivan
 his opinion of mother-the of Ivan
 "his opinion of Ivan's mother"

(126b) Mnenieto za nego na majkata na Ivan
 Opinion-the of him of mother-the of Ivan
 "Ivan's mother opinion about him"

From the parameter described above it follows also that if adjectives (or at least attributive adjectives) are base-generated in postnominal position in Romance²⁹, in English they are generated preminally because the Head-subject parameter is oriented to the left.

Giorgi & Longobardi, 1991 and Valois, 1991 point also to an interesting restriction on possessivization of the arguments: only the external argument (possessor or agent) is allowed to be expressed by a possessive pronoun ("na Ivan" but not "do Marija" in (127) below). This correspondence between the subject-object asymmetry and the process of possessivization is shown to be true also for Bulgarian as shown in the examples below:

(127) Pismoto na Ivan do Marija
 external argument internal argument
 letter-the of Ivan to Marija
 "the letter of Ivan to Marija"

(128) Negovoto pismo do Marija
 his-the letter to Mary
 "his letter to Mary"

(129)*Nejnoto pismo na Ivan
 her-the letter of Ivan
 "her letter of Ivan"

In (128) the external argument is outside the maximal projection of the head while the internal argument in (129) is not allowed to be outside the maximal projection of the head (129).

Now consider (130):

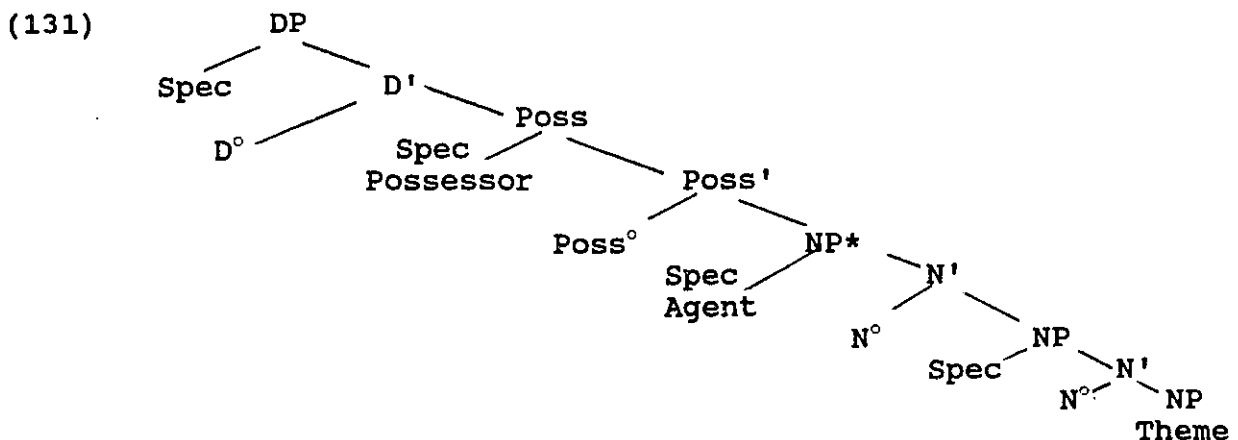
(130) srâbskite voenni dejstvija v Bosna
 serbian-the military actions in Bosnia
 "Serbs' military actions in Bosnia"

In (130) we observe that the external argument expressed by the adjective "srâbski"³⁰ (Serbian) heads its own projection that is higher than the modifying adjective "voenni" (military) and is outside the maximal projection of the head like "negovoto" (his-Def) in (128).

3. VALOIS' PROPOSAL

Modifying Larson's proposal, Sportiche, 1990 proposes for the structure of VP an independent shell where the external argument is located. Valois, 1991 applies this to the argument structure of NPs and claims that French also allows a possessor to be projected outside of the NP-shell in Spec Poss. According to him in French the head noun moves past the agent to a higher functional category (NumP) and this derives the postnominal order of both arguments. In English the agent is higher than the noun because the noun is not moving up (at least overtly) to get its inflectional morphology (affix hopping). Each argument is contained in a phrasal projection of the \bar{X} -marking head³¹.

The structure of a Noun containing both an internal and an external argument is then as in (131):



This model contrasts with the Head-Subject Parameter of Giorgi & Longobardi but preserves the c-command asymmetry between

the arguments³². Argument adjectives appear only postnominally in French while other adjectives may appear on either side of the noun and optionally incorporate into the noun head. This is explained by the noun moving past the agent to a functional category between D and N. In English the noun stays in its base-position and this derives the different word order.

It seems that the structure presented in (131) gains more popularity in recent works (see for example Cornilescu, 1993).

Conclusions

In this chapter we have reviewed the recent proposals on argument structure in Giorgi & Longobardi, 1992 and in Valois, 1991. Giorgi & Longobardi propose a Head Subject Parameter and a hierarchical structure of the arguments based on binding phenomena they observe in Italian and in English. Valois adopts Sportiche's, 1991 proposal for θ -role assignment (inspired by an earlier proposal by Larson, 1988) but preserves the validity of the hierarchical structure and of the c-command asymmetries in nominal constructions containing arguments discovered by Giorgi & Longobardi.

Valois, 1991 explains the differences between French and English with respect to the position of arguments by appealing to a difference between the two languages at the clausal level:

head-movement to inflectional morphology in French versus affix hopping in English.

From the discussion above it becomes clear that external arguments enjoy more freedom than internal ones and we can hypothesize that in Bulgarian they are outside of the NP (but within the DP). In Bulgarian prenominal arguments can be generated in their own projection as demonstrated above³³. They can still be claimed to be within the projection of the noun head³⁴. This hypothesis is in agreement with the proposal for the structural position of prenominal adjectives made in the previous chapters.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this work I have outlined some of the most relevant features of Bulgarian Noun Phrases. Undoubtedly, the most intriguing one is the postnominal position of the article, a situation also observed in Scandinavian and in Balkan languages like Rumanian. There are grounds to believe that this article is not a simple suffix, as argued in traditional grammars of Bulgarian, but a clitic-like head, similar to the articles in other Indo-European languages.

The postnominal position of the article can be derived from Movement of the Noun to D already described for Rumanian and Scandinavian (Dobrovie-Sorin, 1988 among the first). Another property of definiteness in Bulgarian is the fact that the article can attach also to adjectives and other modifiers. This poses the problem of why the noun is unable in this case to attach to the article. A solution is proposed, arguing that Bulgarian DPs are multi-head constructions (as originally proposed by Abney for the structure of English DPs). The closest head in the DP undergoes movement to D. Postnominal adjectives however are not able to be inflected for definiteness due to their predicative position in the phrase.

The Adjective Phrase inside the DP has its own functional projections and argument structure. Thus the pre-head arguments like "ot dâ terja si " in "dovolnata ot dâ terja si majka" (lit. the proud of her daughter mother) are shown to be in a higher

functional position in the AP (similar to Larson's V-shell proposal). This gives the correct word order and the possibility for the Adjective head to take another NP complement and to join the D-position.

The Noun (Adjective) Movement to D is a movement of "altruistic" nature from a strict Minimalist point of view as far as it does not satisfy the principle of Greed formulated in Chomsky, 1993. Lasnik, 1995, however, provides a weakened version of this principle that accounts for this case.

Finally, if we adopt an argument structure as in Valois, 1991, preserving the C-command asymmetries discovered by Giorgi & Longobardi, 1991, we cannot account for the external adjectival arguments in the Noun Phrase. Therefore, we propose that the argument structure should be extended to higher positions in the DP.

NOTES

1 I will use the term Noun Phrase as a general term for nominal constructions and the term NP to indicate a bare noun phrase.

2 Bernstein argues that modal adjectives such as Italian "mere" or French "pauvre" are heads as opposed to attributive adjectives which are adjuncts.

3 Belletti claims that there are different classes of adverbs that receive distinct semantic interpretations. Some adverbs are adjoined to a lower position in the clause (VP), whereas sentential adverbs are adjoined to AgrP. So in the Italian examples below "completamente"(completely) is adjoined to AgrP (of TP) in (i) and to VP in (ii):

(i) Gianni ha completamente sbagliato (in quelle circostanze).
Gianni has completely mistaken (in this circumstances).
"Gianni acted completely wrong (in this circumstances).

(ii) Gianni ha chiuso completamente con quel lavoro.
Gianni has closed completely with that job.
"Gianni is completely done with that job".

4 The distinction of these classes is based on previous research by Jackendoff, 1972, Pollock, 1989 and Belletti, 1988.

5 This is also the case in all the languages where normally adjectives are prenominal.

6 When Italian "povero" corresponding to the French "pauvre"

appears prenominally it is interpreted as "pitiabile", whereas postnominally its meaning is "impoverished". We can claim that we have practically two distinct adjectives. In many languages for example that do not distinguish between postnominal and prenominal orders as in Romance those adjectives are represented by two distinct lexical entries.

7 If we assume the recent proposals by Kayne, 1995, however, those potential problems become nonexistent since rightward adjunction is disallowed and adjunction is limited to one XP.

8 Proof for this is provided by the constructions with adjectivals that not only prevent the noun from raising but raise themselves to the determiner position instead of the noun. These constructions will be presented in chapter 3.

9 "At"/"jat" and "a"/"ja" are conventionally labelled full and short forms of the Masculine article. The full form appears when the definite Noun is the subject of the sentence. This distinction is not observable in actual speech where the only form encountered is [ə]/[jə].

10 This example becomes grammatical however if "edin" stands for "certain" or "particular", e.g., when it receives adjectival features. In Bulgarian single adjectives are allowed postnominally in some registers of the language (see also footnote 20).

11 There is a a suffixed definite article in Mordvin (a Finno-Ugric language spoken in central Russia), Basque and Amharic (an Afro-Asiatic language spoken in Ethiopia).

(i) kudo-s'
house-the

Mordvin

- | | |
|---|---------|
| (ii) mendi-a
mountain-the | Basque |
| (iii) bet-u
house-the
"the house" | Amharic |

12 ∅ stands for empty operators.

13 A noun inflected for definiteness followed by an adjective that carries a definite article is found in the spoken language for focus purposes. Note that in this case both articles are postposed:

- (i) čovek-a dobrij-a
 man-the good-the
 "the good man"

14 Northern Swedish has raising of A to D, but of a different type - the noun and the adjective are compounded and the article is suffixed to the noun (Delsing, 1994):

- (i) stor-hus-e
 big-house-the
 "the big house"

15 The double definiteness is examined in Delsing, 1994 and Androusopoulou, 1994. They propose additional DP-projections that are deprived of semantic content.

16 As for the relative wh-constructions we assume that there is a DP projection above the wh-constituent in situ.

17 In Bulgarian the enclitic demonstrative pronouns have evolved towards determiners as early as around the 13th century (Assenova, 1989).

18 This example is however grammatical if " enata" is an adjunct. In this case a comma or pause between the demonstrative

and the definite noun is required.

19 This rule applies also to the question word "li" that must attach to all the coordinated members as seen in (i).

- (i) Vidja li i kupi li něstata, za koito govorixme?
 See-Past QW and buy-Past QW things-the, Prep wh-word speak-Past
 "Have you seen and bought the things we talked about?"

(ii) is ungrammatical because the Question word "li" is attached only to one of the verbs :

- (ii)*Vidja li i kupi neštata, za koito govorixme?
 *Vidja i kupi li neštata, za koito govorixme?

20 However if "edin" carries the meaning of "certain" (5) becomes grammatical. In this case "edin" can be treated as an adjoined quantifier. Consider also the following example, where the plural form "edni" is tolerated only if "edin" is a quantifier:

- (i) Student edin(=njakakav) se navârta tuk.
 student certain hang around-Refl,Sg,3P here
 "A certain student is hanging around here."
- (ii) Studenti edni(=njakakvi) se navârtat tuk.
 students certain hang around-Refl,Pl,3P here
 "certain(some)students are hanging around here."

21 This is a different case from (65) and it is currently used mostly in poetry.

22 Halefom, 1994 argues in his work on Amharic that the prosodic elements that the weak head (the definite article)

has cannot be pronounced unless the weak element is able to get timing units from adjacent heads.

23 The Spec - A analysis presented in chapter 1 provides a solution because there the adjective takes the noun as a right hand specifier (see section 3.1.4, ch.1).

24 Bulgarian (as German) seems to be an intermediate case. Only a very restricted class of nouns (mostly limited to proper names) may occur as prenominal genitives.

25 "Ivan-ov" corresponds to the English Ivan's. In contrast to English in Bulgarian there is a co-occurrence of the determiner and the prenominal genitive particles like "ov". This shows that they do not compete for the D slot as claimed by Abney for the English "s" and "the". Leko, 1995 claims that genitive suffixes like "ov" are generated in a functional category PossP between D and N and then adjoined to nouns to form possessive adjectives.

26 The anaphor "sebe si" is not accepted here. It seems that the anaphors in general tend to be verb or noun oriented. So "sebe si" (himself/herself) is verb-oriented and "Accusative preposition + samija" (corresponding to "moi-même", "toi-même", "lui-même") is noun oriented.

27 In Italian the arguments are usually introduced by the preposition "di" (of).

28 This example is ambiguous in Italian.

29 According to Giorgi & Longobardi prenominal adjectives in Romance are derived from a postnominal position.

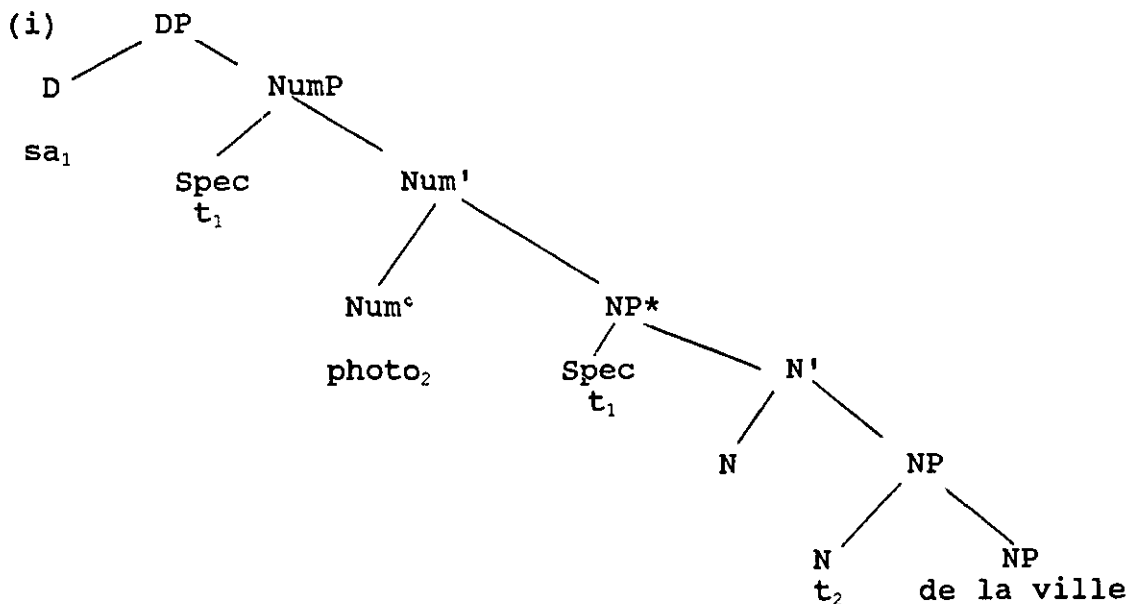
30 Of course it can be expressed also by the genitive argument

"na sârbite" (of the Serbs) that will follow the head noun,

31 In English the co-occurrence of the possessor and the agent is not allowed. In French and Bulgarian they can both project.

32 It also preserves the property that only the thematically highest argument in DP can be extracted (Giorgi & Longobardi, 1991). The extraction of arguments depends on the hierarchical structure of arguments presented in the section above. An agent, for example, is not extractable in the presence of a possessor, and a theme is not extractable in the presence of either a possessor or an agent.

33 Unless we claim that from a Spec position they move to D as has been proposed by Valois, 1991 for the possessive "sa" in the following structure :



34 According to Grimshaw, 1991 the lexical NP projection and the functional XPs are projections of the same N°.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abney, S. (1987) *The English Noun Phrase in its Sentential Aspect*, Ph.D. Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Androutsopoulou, A. (1994) *The Distribution of the Definite Determiner and the Syntax of Greek DP's* (proceedings of CLS, 1994)
- Assenova, P. (1989) *Balkansko ezikoznanie, Nauka i izkustvo*, Sofia
- Belletti, A. & L. Rizzi (1988) *Psych-verbs and θ -theory. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6.
- Bernstein, J. (1993) *Topics in the syntax of nominal structure across Romance*, Ph.D. Dissertation, CUNY
- Börjars, K. E. (1992) *An argument in favour of a syntax-morphology distinction: Scandinavian and Balkan NP*, BLS 18/2/1992
- Chomsky, N. (1981) *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris
- Chomsky, N. (1991) *Some Notes on Economy of Derivation and Representation*, in R. Freidin (ed) *Principles and Parameters in comparative Grammar*, MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts
- Chomsky, N. (1993) *A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory The view from Building 20*, ed. by Kenneth Hale and Samuel J. Keyser, MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts
- Cinque, G. (1993) *On the evidence for Partial Noun Movement in the Romance DP*, Ms, Università di Venezia
- Cornilescu, A. (1992) *Remarks on the Determiner System of Rumanian: The Demonstratives al and cel*, *Probus* 4-3, 189-260
- Dobrovie-Sorin, C. (1987) *A propos de la structure du groupe nominal en Roumain*, *Rivista di grammatica generativa*, 12, 123-152
- Giorgi, A. & Longobardi, G. (1991) *The syntax of Noun Phrases: Configuration, parameters and empty categories*, CUP, Cambridge
- Giusti, G. (1992) *La sintassi dei sintagmi nominali quantificati*,

- Ph.D. Diss., Universities of Venice and Padua
- Gramatika na sâvremennija bâlgarski kni oven ezik (1983), tom 2, Morfologija, BAN
- Grimshaw, J. (1991) Extended Projection, Ms, Brandeis University
- Delsing, L.-O. (1993) On attributive adjectives in Scandinavian and other languages, *Studia Linguistica* 47 (2):105-125
- Halefom, G. (1993) The syntax of functional categories. A study of Amharic, Ph.D Diss., UQAM
- Holmberg, A. (1993) On the structure of predicate NP, *Studia Linguistica*, 47 (2): 126-138
- Jackendoff, R. (1972) Semantic interpretation in generative grammar, MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts
- Jackendoff, R. (1977) X'-syntax: A study of phrase structure, MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts
- Kayne, R. (1994) The antisymmetry of Syntax, MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts
- Kester, E.-P. (1993) The inflectional properties of Scandinavian adjectives, *Studia linguistica* 47(2): 139-153
- Lamarche, J. (1991) Problems for N-Movement to NumP, *Probus*, 3: 215-236
- Larson, R. (1988) On the Double Object construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19(3): 335-392
- Lasnik, H. (1994) Case and Expletives Revisited: On Greed and Other Human Failings, Ms, University of Connecticut (to appear in *Linguistic Inquiry*, vol.26)
- Leko, N. (1995) Functional categories and the structure of DP in Bosnian, Abstract (First Conference on Formal Approaches to South Slavic Languages, Plovdiv, Bulgaria, Oct.13-15, 1995)
- Longobardi, G. (1994) Reference and Proper Names: A Theory of N Movement in Syntax and Logical Form, *Linguistic Inquiry*, vol. 25 (4): 609-665
- Payne, J. (1993) The headedness of noun phrases: slaying the nominal hydra In G.G. Corbett, N.M. Fraser, and S. McGlashan (eds), *Heads in grammatical Theory*: 114-140
- Picallo, C. (1991) Nominals and nominalization in Catalan. Ms.

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

- Pollock, J.-I. (1989) Verb Movement, Universal Grammar, and the Structure of IP, *Linguistic Inquiry*, 20, 365-424
- Pollock, J.-I. (1993) Some Notes on Clause Structure, Ms.
- Radford, A. (1993) Head Hunting: In the Trail of the Nominal Janus. In G.G. Corbett, N.M. Fraser, and S. McGlashan (eds), *Heads in Grammatical Theory*: 73-113, CUP, Cambridge
- Ritter, E. (1990) Two Functional Categories in Noun Phrases: Evidence from Modern Hebrew, *Syntax and Semantics*, 26: 37-62
- Rivero, M.-L. (1991) Long Head Movement and negation: Serbo-Croatian vs. Slovak and Czech, *The Linguistic Review* 8: 319-351
- Rivero, M.-L. and A. Terzi (1994) Imperatives, Illocutionary Force and V-movement, University of Ottawa
- Santelmann, L. (1993) The distribution of double determiners in Swedish: Den support in Do, *Studia Linguistica* 47 (2): 154-176
- Sportiche, D. (1990) Movement, agreement, and case. Ms., UCLA
- Sánchez, L. (1994) Agreement, Null NP-licensing and Word Order in DP, University of Ottawa Colloquium Series (talk given at University of Ottawa 11/11/1994)
- Szabolcsi, A. (1989) Noun phrases and clauses; Is DP analogous to CP?, In J. Payne (ed.) *The Structure of Noun Phrases*, Mouton
- Stankov, V. (1984) Za kategorijata neopredelenost na imenata v bŕlgarski ezik, *Bŕlgarski ezik* 3: 195-205
- Stojanov, S. (1987) Po vŕprosa za naličieto na neopredelitelen člen v bŕlgarski ezik, *Ezik i literatura* : 3-10
- Schutze, C. (1994) Serbo-Croatian Second Position Clitic Placement and the Phonology-Syntax Interface, *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics*, 21: 373-473
- Travis, L. (1985) Parameters and Effects of Word Order Variation, Ph.D. Diss., MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts
- Valois, D. (1991) The Internal Syntax of DP, Ph.D. Diss., UCLA