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## ISSUES IN THE SYNTAX OF NOMINALS

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**Abstract:**

This dissertation explores several aspects of nominal syntax of Resian, an underdescribed highly endangered Slovenian dialect spoken in the Northeast of Italy. From a descriptive point of view, this thesis aims at providing an empirical base related to the syntax of Resian nominals by implementing most recent advances in the formal study of nominal expressions. From a theoretical point of view, its goal is to contribute to the ongoing debate on the presence of the DP layer in articleless Slavic languages. The claim is that Resian has developed the definite article, though visible only in certain syntactic environments. As a consequence, null Ds are possible if certain structural conditions are satisfied. Chapter 1 offers an overview of socio(linguistic) situation of Resian, some of the properties of Resian grammar ascribed to the contact with Romance, and methodology implemented in the thesis. Chapter 2 contains theoretical framework of the dissertation, including the debate on the presence of DP in article-less nominals, a matter of considerable debate within Slavic linguistics, and the view of the nominal structure endorsed in the thesis. Chapter 3 is dedicated to the description of Resian nominal syntax along with systematic comparison with Slavic and Romance. Chapter 4 and 5 are devoted to the elaboration of the main proposal.

**Estratto per riassunto:**

Il presente lavoro esamina alcuni aspetti di sintassi nominale in resiano, un dialetto sloveno parlato in Friuli, annoverato tra i trenta dialetti d'Italia a rischio. Come primo obiettivo la tesi si prefigge di fornire una base empirica relativamente agli aspetti sintattici del dominio nominale, fondata su criteri più formali. Come secondo obiettivo, di interesse prettamente teorico, la tesi si propone di contribuire alla disputa sulla presenza della proiezione funzionale del determinante (DP) anche nelle lingue slave che non possiedono l'articolo definito. L'ipotesi principale, difesa in questa tesi, è che il resiano abbia sviluppato l'articolo definito, seppur esso sia visibile solamente in alcuni contesti sintattici. Di conseguenza, nella tesi viene sostenuto che il D nullo sia possibile a patto che determinate condizioni strutturali siano soddisfatte. Il primo capitolo offre una descrizione della situazione sociolinguistica del resiano, nonché una breve descrizione linguistica con particolare riferimento ai tratti grammaticali generalmente attribuiti al influsso esercitato dalle lingue romanze circostanti. Il

capitolo si conclude con la descrizione della metodologia utilizzata nella tesi. Il secondo capitolo discute il quadro teorico di riferimento, sia per quanto riguarda la mappatura tra sintassi e semantica di espressioni nominali senza articolo, sia per quanto concerne la struttura nominale adoperata nella tesi. Il terzo capitolo contiene la descrizione della sintassi nominale in resiano, insieme a un confronto sistematico con le lingue romanze e lo sloveno. Negli ultimi due capitoli viene elaborata l'ipotesi principal

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|       |                             |
|-------|-----------------------------|
| AP    | Adjectival Phrase           |
| AUX   | Auxiliary                   |
| CL    | Clitic                      |
| DAT   | Dative case                 |
| DIM   | Diminutive                  |
| DP    | Determiner Phrase/DP layer  |
| EXPL  | Expletive (pronoun)         |
| FEM   | Feminine                    |
| GEN   | Genitive                    |
| INSTR | Instrumental                |
| LBE   | Left Branch Extraction      |
| LOC   | Locative                    |
| LONG  | Long-Form Adjective         |
| MASC  | Masculine                   |
| NE    | Nominal Expression          |
| NEU   | Neuter                      |
| NOM   | Nominative                  |
| NP    | Noun Phrase                 |
| OCS   | Old Church Slavonic         |
| PART  | Partitive article           |
| PL    | Plural                      |
| POSS  | Possessive ending           |
| PP    | Prepositional Phrase        |
| Q     | Quantifier                  |
| REFL  | Reflexive                   |
| RRC   | Restrictive Relative Clause |
| SC    | Serbo-Croatian              |
| SG    | Singular                    |
| SHORT | Short-Form Adjective        |

|        |                             |
|--------|-----------------------------|
| STRONG | Strong-form (demonstrative) |
| WEAK   | Weak-form (demonstrative)   |

*Abbreviations for the written sources*

|     |  |
|-----|--|
| BTT | <i>Biside ta-na traku</i>                        |
| HS  | <i>The Slovene Dialect of Resia: San Giorgio</i> |
| NG  | <i>Naš Glas</i>                                  |
| RE  | <i>Resianica</i>                                 |
| RD  | <i>Rozajanski dum</i>                            |
| RF  | <i>Raccontami una favola</i>                     |
| VC  | <i>La Vita Cattolica</i>                         |
| ZR  | <i>Zverinice iz Rezije</i>                       |
| VC  | <i>La Vita Cattolica</i>                         |

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1. The aim and the structure of the dissertation

The present study aims at investigating a range of issues related to the nominal syntax of Resian, a Slavic dialect spoken in Italy. Topics include the syntax of quantifiers, possessives and adjectives in comparison with Romance and Slavic; syntax-semantic mapping, and the rise of the definite article.

The choice of Resian for the empirical domain to be investigated stems from two facts. Though this dialect have sparked keen interest among scholars since late XIX century (Baudouin de Courteney 1875), the available descriptions have focused primarily on the instances of (morfo)phonological and phonetic variation between its varieties. Its syntax, on the other hand, has remained largely under-described to the present day, save for some hints on the influence yielded by the surrounding Romance languages (Benacchio 1994, 1996, 2002, Skubic 2000). Therefore, the dissertation aims at filling this gap by providing an empirical basis resulting from the application of most recent advances in formal studies of nominal syntax. In the second place, Resian, since related both to Slovenian, an article-less language, and Friulan/Italian, a genuine article language, provides a good testing ground for the proposals advocating the universality of the projection hosting articles or lack thereof, as well as the modalities of its licensing.

The major claim put forward in this thesis is that Resian has developed the definite article, plausibly due to an intense contact with an article language, even though the germ of this process may have existed in the older stages of this dialect, shared with Slovenian (Bažec 2011). However, the Resian definite article is rather peculiar with respect to the genuine definite article of the Romance languages. While it is ambiguous between demonstrative and the definite article interpretation, its distribution *qua* a definite article is restricted exclusively to modified nominal expressions. For this reason, a large part of this study is devoted to accounting for the sources of this ambiguity, and refuting accounts in terms of the adjectival article analysis *à la* Marušič and Žaucer (2013).

The novelty of the present work with respect to the other studies arguing for the DP in Slavic lies first of all in the comparison with Romance and not only English. At the same time, whereas in

the previous work arguments for the DP were based upon indirect evidence for this projection (Bašić 2004, Perelstvaig 2007, Caruso 2012, among others), this study seeks to argue that D is filled with the definite article, a *bona fide* instantiation of D, even though under specific conditions.

The dissertation is organized in five chapters and is structured as follows. In the remainder of the present chapter a general overview of Resian is provided and methodology adopted in this thesis is explained. Hints of the geographical and dialectal position, as well as sociolinguistic situation are given so as to provide a better understanding of its complex reality and chances of survival. Subsequently, most important studies dedicated to this dialect are reported, including reviews of several linguistic phenomena that have been imputed to the contact with Romance. However, not all of them can be attributed plainly to the language contact, as some are attested in other Slovenian varieties as well. When dealing with a dialect with such a peculiar (socio) linguistic situation, a problem of considerable variation stands out. On top of that, huge inter- and intra-speaker variation has important implications for research methodology. The chapter concludes with the description of methodology implemented in data collection and problems encountered.

Chapter 2 is divided into two parts. The first part introduces the DP-Hypothesis (Abney 1987) along with some issues related to the problems of nominal reference and syntax-semantics map. The issue of whether nominal reference is established at NP or DP level further bears on the question of whether DP is universal (Longobardi 1994, Chierchia 1998). The universality of the DP has been a prominent topic in Slavic linguistics with two standpoints emerging: the one according to which all nominal arguments project DP irrespective of the presence of articles in a language (Progovac 1998, Bašić 2004, Perelstvaig 2007, Caruso 2012), and the other in which the presence of the definite article in a language is taken as a proof that nominals do not project to the DP level (Zlatic 1997, Bošković 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011; Despić 2011). The survey of the ongoing debate on NP versus DP concludes with the position adopted in the present study, which advocates the universality of the DP. The second part introduces the structure of the nominal expression opted for as a theoretical background for the descriptive analysis to follow. The point of departure is provided by the map of nominal constituents as in Cinque (2012), complemented by some additional assumptions on the nominal structure. Three nominal constituents are discussed individually, quantifiers, possessives and adjectives, while particular reference is given to their syntactic behavior across Slavic and Romance.

Chapter 3 includes a range of heterogeneous arguments with the aim of probing into Slavic- or Romance-like features of Resian nominal syntax. Quantifiers, possessives and adjectives are described and analyzed separately against the background provided in the second chapter. The data

show that certain (morpho) phonological change internal to the Resian has led to the syncretism between nominative and genitive plural. Subsequently, prompted by the contact with Romance, nominal structure was affected. To elaborate, cardinals from 5 upwards, though still assigning genitive to the complement nominal, do not project any longer additional functional structure, unlike their counterparts in other Slavic languages. As regards possessives, the tendency to employ analytic structures for lexical possessors may also be viewed as an instance of endogenous and exogenous cause of language change. As for the cause internal to the system, Resian has lost nominal possessive adjectives. Due to the contact with Romance, which applies analytical structures for lexical possessors exclusively, the analytical structure arised. As regards adjectival syntax, it appears to be Slavic-like altogether: two different inflectional paradigms are encountered, though their distribution is dissimilar from Slovenian; and a presumably greater freedom in their ordering may also be viewed as quintessentially Slavic. In the remainder of the chapter the order of prenominal constituents is addressed, and a generalized NP movement across adjectives is dismissed. To this end, a structure in which a noun is used in front of adjectives is analyzed as a type of appositional structure, regularly in use in Friulian. The chapter concludes with syntax-semantic map of Resian nominals. An asymmetry between modified and unmodified nominal expression in the distribution of determiners is highlighted and evidence for the existence of the indefinite article is provided.

In Chapter 4, the system of demonstratives in Resian is weighed up, with the aim of establishing in which contexts the demonstrative exhibits article-like behavior. Resian has a two-term demonstrative system, with the unmarked demonstrative branching into strong and weak form. The weak form is ambiguous between demonstrative and article interpretation, with either interpretation being determined by the syntactic context. Considering that cross-linguistically the definite article derives from the demonstrative (Lyons 1999), the chapter investigates in detail conditions on the use of each form. The starting point is provided by the behavior of demonstratives and articles in languages in which a separate lexical entry instantiates the two forms (English and Italian). Subsequently, Resian data are probed into. The conclusion is that in unmodified nominal expressions the weak demonstrative displays demonstrative-like behavior whereas in modified nominals it acts as the definite article. In order to account of the ambiguity of the weak demonstrative, it is proposed, along the lines of Giusti (2001) and Van Gelderen (2007, 2011), that the weak demonstrative takes part in two different structures. In one it is inserted in SpecDP, whence the demonstrative, and in the the other, it fills D-head, whence the definite article. The two structures are in coexistence with each other, as the process of reanalysis has not been accomplished

yet. In addition, the two items are probed into so as to understand their feature make up and the process of semantic bleaching. The existence of the strong form, on the other hand, is accounted for if the formation of the novel demonstrative is assumed to have occurred in order to fill the gap within the demonstrative system. In this way, the definiteness cycle is assumed to be completed (Van Gelderen 2007).

The last chapter outlines the proposal that Resian has developed the definite article. Still, such proposal is not as straightforward considering that the distribution of what is claimed to be the definite article is tied to modified nominal expressions alone. Accordingly, conceivable approaches that would treat the item in question as part of adjectival (extended) projection are first addressed and rejected. Key differences between adjectival article in Slovenian (as analyzed in Marušič and Žaucer's works 2008, 2013) and the Resian article are looked at. It is shown that despite numerous similarities between the two elements, in first place concerning the distributional properties, differences between the nominal structure of the two languages point to the dissimilar analysis altogether. In the remainder of the chapter arguments in favor of a separate functional projection hosting the definite article are brought about. The asymmetry between modified and unmodified nominal expressions is accounted for in light of the movement of NP to SpecDP, which is blocked by the presence of adjectival modifiers. The ability of prenominal adjectives to impede the movement of an NP to SpecDP is related to their syntactic properties.

The dissertation concludes with the summary of achieved results and the contribution that the present study might have for the ongoing debate of the necessity to project DP in languages without articles. Lastly, questions open for further research are hinted at.

## **1.2. Empirical domain: Resian**

### *1.2.1. Resian: Basic facts*

Resian is a non-standard Slovenian dialect spoken in the North-East of Italy, in the province of Udine, at the western limit of Slovenian dialectal area. Although part of the northern Slovenian dialects in origin (Ramovš 1928, in Steenwijk 1992), from the 15th century on, Resian came into direct contact with western Slovenian varieties, and is now classified as one of the dialects of this group, *aka* The Littoral dialect group (see Slovene linguistic atlas (up to year 2008)).<sup>1</sup> This

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<sup>1</sup> *Slovenski lingvistični atlas (do leta 2008)* is available at at <http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/>

classification notwithstanding, Resian is often considered an isolated dialect due to its distinctive features, both innovative and archaic, that set it apart from the neighbouring Slovenian dialects, such as ones spoken to the south of Resian valley, in Val del Torre and Val Natisone (Steenwijk 2003).<sup>2</sup> In Map 1.1, the exact location of Resian is marked on the map.

### (1) Position of the Resian dialect



The dialect itself is divided into four major varieties spoken in the villages of San Giorgio (Bila), Gniva (Njiva), Oseacco (Osojane) e Stolvizza (Solbica).<sup>3</sup> Resian is spoken also in the hamlets of Lipovaz, Crisazze (Križan), Gost (Gozd). The location of the villages and their respective proximity is given in map 1.2.

<sup>2</sup> As regards the innovative features, two most important among ones exclusive to Resian concern development of central vowels and vowel harmony (Ramovš 1928), *wotrök* NOM.SG ‘the child’, NOM.PL *wutrucy* ‘children’ (San Giorgio). As for the archaic ones, Resian is the only Slovenian dialect to have preserved the imperfect (but see Steenwijk 1992 and Benacchio 2002 for an overview of the present-day situation).

<sup>3</sup> The toponyms are given in Italian and Resian (in brackets).

## 1.2. Location of the Resian villages<sup>4</sup>



As shown in Map 1.2, Resian is situated in the proximity of three language families: Germanic to the north, Slavic to the east and south and Romance to the north and west. Historically, the most intensive contacts occurred between Resian and Romance speaking population, primarily Friulan and in more recent past Italian. The absence of contact with other Slavic speakers resulted in a strong feeling about their own linguistic and national identity, perceived as entirely distinct from Slovenians (Dapit: 2005, a.o).

According to Unesco's 2010 Atlas of World Languages of danger, Resian is in a group of *definitely endangered* languages, with an estimated 1000 speakers.<sup>5</sup> As a way of comparison, it is in the same group with Friulan (600000 speakers), Mocheno (1000 speakers) or Emilian-Romagnol (2000000 speakers).<sup>6</sup> With this label Unesco's document *Language Vitality and Endagerment* (p. 7) defines vitality of a language based on six major factors, none to be used alone: 1) Intergenerational Language Transmission; 2) Absolute Number of Speakers; 3) Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population; 4) Shifts in Domains of Language Use; 5) Response to New Domains and Media; and 6) Availability of Materials for Language Education and Literacy. When applied to Resian, these mean that this dialect is no longer acquired as a native language by children; is at risk due to a low number of speakers; is still spoken by the majority of population, its use yet diminishing gradually in size by giving way to the dominant language, Italian, with the result that children, unlike adults, become receptive bilinguals; is used in (some) new domains, materials written in

<sup>4</sup> The map is drawn from [http://147.162.119.1:8081/resianica/ber49\\_1.do](http://147.162.119.1:8081/resianica/ber49_1.do) (Bergmann 1849).

<sup>5</sup> 'Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, © UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas>'

<sup>6</sup> For a complete list of definitely endangered languages in Italy, see <http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas>).



Resian being available;<sup>7</sup> and finally, is taught in the kindergarten and at school, though the application of written form has been persistently avoided considering a vigorous ongoing debate on the orthography (Steenwijk 2003: 223).

By way of illustration, the following are some of the figures drawn from the study of Micelli (1996) and reported in Steenwijk (2003). Out of total of 120 subjects included in Micelli's study, all residing in Resian valley, 92% responded to have a good passive knowledge of Resian compared with 79% with equally good active knowledge. In age terms, within the group of 65-100 only 12% "do not regard Resian as (one of) the language variety (-ies) in which they can express themselves easily, whereas in age group 10-18 this is the case for 79%" (Steenwijk 2003: 222). Among interviewed subjects, even 77% could understand Friulan, whereas 42% could speak it well. This means that besides Italian, Friulan plays an important role in shaping the linguistic profile of Resian speakers, which seems to be that of trilinguals in most cases.

In consideration of the above premises, it is hard to imagine a future scenario for Resian. As Steenwijk points out, Resian is changing rapidly due to the influence Italian is wielding on the language of younger generations, while little is known about nature of these changes. Besides the impact of the dominant language, two major factors hindering its preservation concern the inability to standardize Resian – given considerable variation both among speakers of different age and different villages – and the impossibility to teach written Resian due to wide disagreement on the orthographic norm to adopt. At the same time, strong sense of attachment to their identity, accompanied by refusal of the written norm, has paved the way for the preservation of spoken language.

### *1.2.2. Previous studies*

Resian has generated strong interest among linguists ever since 19<sup>th</sup> century (the first study on Resian dates back to the late 1808 (Dobrovský 1808). A new era in the study of Resian began by Baudouin de Courteney's (1875 and 1895) detailed description of Resian phonetics and phonology. These studies laid foundations for subsequent interest in Resian diachronic phonology and accentology by numerous scholars.<sup>8</sup> Despite large in number, the studies on Resian centered around either phonological issues or lexicon, and to a lesser extent morphology. This is why the Resian

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<sup>7</sup> Here, a word of caution is in order. Though Resian is broadcasted on radio, it is only for a half-hour a week. In addition, a local magazine *Náš glas*, featuring several articles in Resian (less than a half) comes out three times a year.

<sup>8</sup> For an extensive survey of these studies, see Steenwijk (1992).

syntax remains largely under-described hitherto, save for a handful of studies aimed primarily at detecting Romance influence on this dialect (see Pellegrini 1972, Benacchio 1994, 1997, 2002, Skubic 2000). A most comprehensive grammatical description of Resian (restricted to the variety of San Giorgio) is provided by Steenwijk (1992). However, as acknowledged by the author himself, the focus of the description is on phonetics, phonology and morphology, syntax being only ancillary to these and thus presented in an unsystematic fashion (ibid: 15). Steenwijk’s monography remains however a most valuable tool and an obligatory point of departure for whoever embarks on the study of Resian.

A topic that has remained constant throughout studies dedicated to Resian pertains to different aspects of variation and change, as well as to the contact with Friulan and Italian (Skubic 2000, Benacchio 2002, a.o). Yet, the reach of such contact has not been grasped nor fully described.<sup>9</sup> In the next subsection I report on several other properties already hinted at in the literature on Resian (Pellegrini 1972, a.o) and arguably linked to the Romance influence.

### 1.2.3. Resian syntax through the lens of a contact with Romance

Internal to the nominal system the most detectable changes bear on the reduction of the tripartite gender paradigm (masculine/feminine/neuter) to solely masculine-feminine opposition, typical of Romance. In some cases agreement phenomena are affected, leading to morphological mismatches between the noun and agreeing elements. In (1) and (1) below, neuter nouns *suncë* ‘sun’ and *města* ‘places’, respectively, are no longer able to value gender feature on the participle/adjective, which is why either default masculine emerges (3) or adjectives show up with the feminine ending, like in (4). The latter mismatch pattern is more characteristic of plural.

(1) Suncë jë wstajal. (instead of *wstajalu*)<sup>10</sup>  
 sun<sub>NEU</sub> AUX rose<sub>MASC</sub>  
 ‘The sun rose.’ (Stolvizza)

(2) valike mēsta (instead of *valika mēsta*)  
 big<sub>FEM.PL</sub> places<sub>NEU.PL</sub>  
 ‘big places’ (from Jakop 2008: 75)

<sup>9</sup> Many of the studied phenomena are not contact-induced and concern other Slovenian dialects as well (see Skubic 2000, Ramovš 1928).

<sup>10</sup> This usage was attributed by one of my informants to the variety spoken by speakers of younger generations.

In other cases the erosion of neuter affects only parts of the paradigm, with the plural being generally more prone to change of gender, e.g. as in *okno* n.sg ‘window’ but *okne* f.pl (Jakop 2008: 49).<sup>11,12</sup>

Another change concerns the system of number and the loss of dual. Unlike Standard Slovenian, in which dual is obligatory, Slovenian dialects vary as to the degree of its preservation (Jakop 2008).<sup>13</sup> Steenwijk (1992: 347) reports that dual is arguably in decline in Resian. As for the nouns, it is generally better preserved on nominative and accusative, with the tendency to employ plural endings in oblique cases. Again, this situation is typical of many Slovenian dialects (Jakop 2008). Dual in Resian is well preserved on personal pronouns instead (*midwa/midwi* ‘we’ (m/f.du); *vidwa/vidwi* ‘you’ (m/f. du); *onedwa/onedwi* ‘they’ (m/f.du)).<sup>14</sup>

The use of prepositional phrase in place of an NE with genitival ending has also been described as a result of the contact with Romance (see Skubic 2000, a.o), in which this is the only way to express a lexical possessor. The case in point is illustrated in (3) and the relevant constituent is underlined.

- (3) Noša kultūra tu-w roke od ti mladi.  
 our culture is here-in hands of the<sub>GEN.PL</sub> young<sub>GEN.PL</sub>  
 ‘Our culture is in the hand of young people.’ (NG)

This usage has been understood as linked to the weakening of Resian case paradigm (in Slovenian or in Serbo-Croatian an NE with the genitive ending would be used instead). Case paradigm displays several instances of syncretism, for instance: LOC-DAT in the singular paradigm of all

<sup>11</sup> Neuter is generally the least stable morphological category in Slovenian dialects (Jakop 2008). This means that its loss is not necessarily brought about by language contact though it may be affected by it.

<sup>12</sup> Steenwijk (1994) reports that in the variety of San Giorgio (Bila), which is assumed to be in closer touch with Romance varieties, neuter is lost on plural nouns, although is preserved on singular. For instance, neuter noun *lētu* ‘year’ in plural declines either as masculine or feminine nouns, thus giving rise to plural doublets such as *litavi* and *lite*. The remaining varieties are reported to have preserved the entire paradigm of neuter and have the plural form *lita* accordingly.

<sup>13</sup> As a matter of fact, the picture is rather complex across Slovenian dialects, as shown in detail in Jakop’s study, with the degree of preservation being contingent on multiple factors, such as geographical differentiation and word type (noun, pronoun, adjective, numeral and verb).

<sup>14</sup> In the oblique cases, there is a syncretism in genitive, accusative, instrumental and locative of first and second person, in which the unique form for all these cases is *na*.

three genders; NOM-INSTR in the masculine plural; ACC-INSTR in the feminine singular; NOM-INSTR of certain nouns in feminine plural; GEN-DAT-LOC of the feminine nouns ending in a consonant.<sup>15</sup> As far as agreeing elements (universal quantifiers, demonstratives, possessive adjectives and adjectives) are concerned, they have their own inflectional paradigm (pronominal one), with the most important instance of the syncretism concerning NOM-GEN in the plural.

The most important innovation occurred presumably due to contact with Romance regards the development of both the definite article and the indefinite article (see Benacchio 2002, a.o). Since this is the topic of chapters 3, 4 and 5, I defer the discussion of this issue until that point.

At the clausal level the most interesting phenomenon – emerged as a consequence of contiguity with Friulan – pertains to the development of subject clitic/weak pronouns (alongside the strong ones), expletive subjects and various doubling phenomena.<sup>16</sup> Some of the examples are reported below.

(4) **Won an bil se našinal itako [...]** (strong/clitic subject pronouns)

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<sup>15</sup> Overall, the case paradigm seems rather reach. Resian distinguishes six case forms, three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter) and three numbers (singular, plural, dual). The case preservation depends on gender, number and the declination class (see Steenwijk 1992). Steenwijk divides Resian nouns into three declination classes, based on a separate genitive ending in singular. By way of illustration, I report the case paradigm for each declination class (only for singular and plural, since dual presumably has an incomplete paradigm, and a distinctive form only for nominative and dative):

- (i) a. I declination (masculine/neuter *jarbul* 'tree'): NOM.SG *jarbul*, GEN.SG *jarbula*, DAT/LOC.SG *jarbulu*, ACC=NOM (inanimate); NOM.PL *jarbulavi*, GEN.PL *jarbuluw*, DAT.PL *jarbulan* ACC.PL *jarbule*, INSTR.PL *jarbulami* LOC.PL *jarbula*
- b. II declination (feminine nouns ending in a vowel, *gora* 'mountain'): NOM.SG *gora*, GEN.SG *gore*, DAT/LOC.SG *gori*, ACC/INSTR.SG *goro*; NOM./ACC.PL *gore*, GEN.PL *gur/guri*, DAT.PL *goran*, INSTR. PL. *gorami/goramin*, LOC.PL *gora*
- c. III (feminine nouns ending in a consonant *kökuš* 'han') NOM/ACC. SG *kökuš*; GEN/DAT/LOC.SG *kökuši*, INSTR.SG *kökošjo*; NOM.PL *kökuši*, GEN.PL *kukuši* DAT.PL *kokošan*, INSTR.PL *kökošami*, LOC.PL *kökošja*

Resian is a Slavic language characterized by reach morphology, and doublet forms are pervasive. Besides, stress patterns should also be taken into account. For a most in-depth study of morphological properties of Resian nouns, see Steenwijk (1992). However, further research is needed as lots of data are still missing and the overall picture is far from clear.

<sup>16</sup> Resian (involving other western Slovenian dialects in close touch with Romance) is unique among Slavic languages in that it has subject doubling. Conversely, object doubling is attested also in Macedonian and Bulgarian, including several non-standard Serbian dialects spoken in the border area with these two languages.

He<sub>NOM</sub> he<sub>CL.NOM</sub> aux refl born that.way

‘He was born that way [...]’

- (5) [...] dva mlada, muž anu žana, **to** bilu šlo kopat [...] (expletive subjects)  
two young, husband and wife, it aux<sub>SG</sub> went<sub>SG</sub> dig

‘Two young people, a husband and a wife, had gone to the fields.’

- (6) **Te savi an** nima trebat sole.<sup>17</sup> (subject doubling)

TE wise he<sub>CL</sub> doesn’t need salt

‘A wise man needs no wisdom.’ (lit. A wise man needs no salt)

((4), (5), (6) San Giorgio, RE)

- (7) Ja si **ti** rekāl **tabe**. (indirect object doubling)

I aux to.you<sub>CL.DAT</sub> told to.you<sub>DAT</sub>

‘I told you.’

- (8) Nīmatě **me** gledat **mle**. (direct object doubling)

must.not me<sub>CL.ACC</sub> look me<sub>ACC</sub>

‘You don’t have to look at me.’

((7) and (8) from Benacchio 2002: 28)

Resian has also been reported to have ceased to obey Wackernagel law, i.e. second-positioning of clitics (Benacchio 2011).<sup>18</sup> The examples below show that auxiliary and pronominal clitics may appear unconstrainedly at the beginning of a sentence:

<sup>17</sup> This example is drawn from the written text. It is not clear whether this is the case of left dislocation. Unfortunately, I do not possess prosodic and acoustic analysis of the above examples. Moreover, these phenomena have never been studied in depth.

<sup>18</sup> Clitics in Standard Slovenian can occupy different positions in the syntax (Marušič 2009, 2007, Bošković 2001) but generally cannot be sentence initial (with few exceptions, see Marušič 2009 and Greenberg 2006). The general phonological requirement imposes Slovenian clitics (pronominal and auxiliary ones) to be placed at the left edge of an intonation phrase. The placement of clitics in Resian and Slovenian differs, as can be shown by the following near minimal pair (the pronominal clitics are given in capital letters).

- (i) Čo dělat škodo, ka nidyn šlověk nyma morět SE MI branit. (Oseacco, ZR)

Will. I do damage that no man not.have can REFL me defend

‘I will be doing harm so as no person can defend themselves from me.’

- (ii) Delal bom škodo, da SE ME bodo vsi bali. (Slovenian)

- (9) **Si** se našinala fis izdē w tu hīši [...] (Prato, RF)  
 aux<sub>1SG</sub> refl. born exactly here in that house  
 ‘I was born in this very house [...]
- (10) **Jë** bil kaporal Campiani, ki paraćawal [...] (Gniva, RF)  
 aux was corporal Campiani who was.preparing  
 ‘The corporal Campioni was there and was preparing [...]
- (10) **Se** srëst ziz drügimi minoranči to rüdi na lipa rič [...] (Stolvizza, NG)  
 imp meet with other minorities it always a nice thing  
 ‘It’s always nice to meet up with other minorities [...]
- (11) Alora, bužica, na bila **mi** paršila den rimjal. (BT, Stolvizza)  
 then woman she<sub>CL</sub> AUX me<sub>CL.DAT</sub> sewed.on one apron  
 ‘Then the poor little woman sewed on my clothes one apron’
- (12) Ano otročići, ko so bili ni moji, kako ni so **je** oblačili? (BT, Stolvizza)  
 and children when AUX were a<sub>PL</sub> small how they<sub>CL</sub> AUX her<sub>CL.ACC</sub> dress  
 ‘But when children were small, how did they dress her?’
- (13) Anu e **ga** žworbow [...] (ZR, Oseacco)  
 And AUX<sub>3SG</sub> him<sub>CL</sub> hit  
 ‘And he hit him.’

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do will.I damage that REFL me will.they all fear

‘I will be doing harm so that everybody will be afraid of me.’

Whereas in Resian the clitic cluster consisting of the reflexive and accusative clitic is adjacent to the infinitival complement of the modal *morët* ‘can’, in Slovenian the clitic cluster is in the second position of the subordinate clause. I thank Petra Mišmaš for the translation and relevant judgments about the Slovenian example.



- (16) a. Dopo ni so se srětli ziz maeštro Dorino  
 Later they<sub>CL</sub> REFL met with teacher<sub>NOM</sub> Dorino<sub>NOM</sub>
- b. An jë pomoel pa paračet ziz profasörjon Nikita Tolstoj [...]
 He<sub>CL</sub> AUX helped prepare with professor<sub>INSTR</sub> Nikita<sub>NOM</sub> Tolstoj<sub>NOM</sub>  
 (RE, Stolvizza)

In (14) and (15), variation among speakers of the same variety is illustrated. In (16), the variation in case is produced by the very same speaker. Moreover, both forms occur in the same text and in quick succession. It is hard to make a generalization accordingly, since both nouns are masculine singular (generally the most stable instrumental form), and both of Romance origin. Still, one bears the case ending while the other is caseless. In sum, case assigning properties of the preposition *ziz* may not be lost entirely, but depend both on the paradigm (the plural less stable than singular, the singular feminine already syncretic with accusative), variety in question, and the speaker, with all the factors in combination often giving the impression of little predictability.<sup>20</sup>

Yet another instance of massive variation concerns phonological properties and the lexicon of the four major Resian varieties (Steenwijk 1992 and subsequent works, among others). On the other hand, morphosyntactic properties have been taken to diverge to a much lesser degree and have been hence treated as part of the unique grammatical system (e.g. Benacchio 1994; 1997; 2002, a.o). In order to understand the range of phonological variation, observe the outcomes of the velar plosive /g/ across different varieties.

(17) glawa ‘head’

|             |         |         |           |
|-------------|---------|---------|-----------|
| San Giorgio | Gniva   | Oseacco | Stolvizza |
| [gláwa]     | [hláwa] | [ɣlávā] | [láwa]    |

<sup>20</sup> To illustrate, the preposition *ziz* can also have spatial use and mean *from*. In that case, it assigns genitive (So bili karjè iz našaga pajža ‘There were many from our<sub>GEN</sub> village<sub>GEN</sub>). But it was not rare that the two prepositions were reversed with the spatial preposition found with instrumental Ni so nan parpijüwali ziz timi drügimi kraji ‘They brought it to us from other regions.’



In (17), based on the directionality of the process of lenition, the variety of San Giorgio proves to be the most conservative one whereas the variety of Stolvizza is the most innovative in this respect (see also Ramovš 1928).<sup>21</sup>

#### 1.2.5. Methodological remarks

The thesis avails itself of all the data available in written format. These include either transcripts of spontaneous oral production or newspaper articles and stories. The written and internet sources consulted comprise:

- *Besede ta-na traku* – collection of interviews to older generation of Resian speakers for the radio program *Te rozajanski glas* ‘The Resian voice’ collected over years with the aim to document and preserve local traditions and customs; the volume includes samples of spoken Resian in use in San Giorgio, Gniva, Oseacco, Stolvizza and Ucea, and is transcribed according to ortographic norm that takes into account single variants
- *Raccontami una favola* – collection of transcriptions of short narrative texts related to local religious traditions and important historical events, comprising folktales, legends and traditional poems in local varieties of San Giorgio, Ucea, Oseacco, Prato, Stolvizza and Gniva (33 texts in total); written by means of an ortography that takes into account local variants
- *The Slovene Dialect of Resia: San Giorgio* – Han Stenwijk’s study of the Resian variety of San Giorgio containing transcripts of spontaneous oral production of the variety of San Giorgio; written in the phonetic alphabet created for that purpose by Han Steenwijk
- *Resianica* – web site of The University of Padua containing collection of studies, a corpus of 22 texts in Resian and a dictionary, in which 2224 lexical entries are given in Standard Resian ortography and four principal local variants, whereas 226 entries

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<sup>21</sup> The variety of San Giorgio is the closest one to Romance speaking varieties in geographical terms and thus the one most exposed to contact with Romance (Steenwijk 1994). I surmise that the direction of syntactic change is exactly the opposite.

are given only in local variants. The web site is edited by Han Steenwijk, Ivana Vrvelja and David Mereghin

- *Náš glas* – a local magazine containing articles in Resian and written in Standard Resian orthography
- *La Vita Cattolica* (Udine) – local weekly featuring one text in Resian, written in standard spelling system
- *Rozajanski dum* – a web site of a local cultural association ‘Rozajanski dum’ displaying texts and articles in Resian written according to the standard orthography, edited by Luigia Negro
- *Zverinice iz Rezije* – collection of fairytales written in pre-standardized spelling system

A large set of data was collected during my field trip to Resian Valley, in June 2012. I interviewed several speakers but focused my attention subsequently only to three linguistic consultants: Luigia Negro, Sando Quaglia (Stolvizza) and Alberto Siega (Oseacco). Afterwards, data collection was carried through phone and e-mail communication for a period covering nearly two years. For each of the tested structures, I would create an appropriate context, after which my consultants were asked either to translate a sentence already provided in Italian or to provide an example in Resian. The examples were complemented with judgments on possible and impossible structures, as well as on more and less felicitous structures depending on the contextual conditions I used to vary. On several occasions, I was compelled to repeat questionnaires due to the issue of remarkable intra- and inter-speaker variation. The examples drawn from the written sources were cross-checked whenever possible. Communication between me and the consultants occurred entirely in Italian.

The most difficult problem to tackle was related to variation. As already hinted at in this chapter, competence in Resian among various speakers tends to differ considerably and many consultants have proven not to be reliable as they were unsure about their own judgments and would constantly change them in the course of the interviews. In addition, within the community there is a belief that some speakers are more competent in Resian and hence entitled to give judgments about Resian to researchers coming from outside the community. All the younger speakers I interviewed told me they didn't speak Resian.

Another controversial issue relates to the spelling system(s) in use. Although huge efforts have been made in order to create a standardized Resian ortography (due to Steenwijk 1994), many speakers are either unacquainted with this norm or unwilling to accept it since it reminds them of the Slovenian one. They thus continue to use the one relying on the spelling of Italian and Friulan. To illustrate, in (18) pairs written in both spelling systems are given, with the first word of the pair spelled hinging on Italian/Friulan writing system and the second one written according to the ortographic norm proposed by Steenwijk.<sup>22</sup>

- (18) a.     gnìua            vs.    njīwa            ‘field’  
       b.     ślize           vs.    žlīca            ‘spoon’  
       c.     vacéria       vs.    vačerja        ‘dinner’  
       d.     Solbiza       vs.    Solvica

Nevertheless, this problem is beyond the scope of this thesis as it is not central to our concerns. Yet, for purposes of consistency, I kept the ortography from written sources if in compliance with Steenwijk (1994), I took into account local variants whenever possible and accommodated all the examples written in other spelling systems to Steenwijk’s suggestions. In doing so, I largely benefited from the dictionary provided on the web site Resianica as well as from suggestions patiently provided by Luigia Negro. Needless to say, all errors are my own.

For each example used in the thesis, I provide a written source by using a code (see List of abbreviations) and the village. Examples coming from the magazine *Naš glas* lack the geographical indication since they are written in Standard Resian. Examples with no indication of written source are my own and come primarily from the variety of Stolvizza and Oseacco.

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<sup>22</sup> The first element of the pairs is drawn from Steenwijk (1993).

## Chapter 2

### Theoretical Framework

#### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter contains theoretical background of the thesis, subdivided into two parts. The first part introduces a range of problems stemming from the DP-Hypothesis. The most important one relates to the licensing of bare nominal arguments in both languages with articles and languages without articles. The answers to this question are contingent on the view on whether D is needed for nominal reference and argumenthood. The proposal that D is universal (Longobardi 1994) places the burden of variation between languages onto syntax, and to a lesser degree on semantics – mainly on feature composition of empty Ds (Longobardi 2003, Guardiano 2011). A diametrically opposed viewpoint takes D to be needed only if nouns denote properties (Chierchia 1998); otherwise languages can dispense with it altogether (for instance Slavic).

The debate on the universality of DP is far from being settled even as far as languages with articles are concerned. When it comes to the Slavic language family, in which most languages have no articles, this debate becomes even more heated. The proponents of the universal D seek for parallels between article languages (mainly English) and Slavic article-less language in order to justify a D projection in Slavic as well. These parallels generally include interpretation of nominals, order of nominal constituents, obligatory licensing of D-like elements (possessives and demonstratives) and their non adjective- but determiner-like behavior (Bašić 2004, Perelstvaig 2007). The opponents of the presence of D in Slavic (Zlatic 1997, Bošković 2005 and subsequent works, Despić 2011) refute the D status of possessives and demonstratives in Slavic by claiming that they have adjectival nature. The most elaborate position against the universality of DPs is contained in a series of works of Bošković's (2005, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2010) dedicated to a formulation of a macroparameter (DP/NP), according to which languages with article and those without articles differ in a number of syntactic and semantic properties.

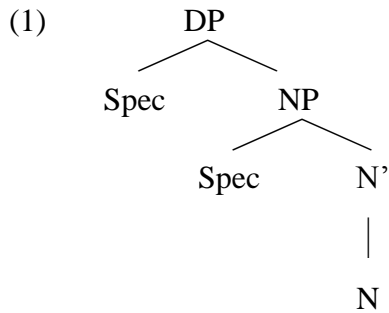
The position taken here is at neither part of the extreme. The idea defended is that nouns do not denote properties (*pace* Longobardi 1994) but as in Zamparelli (2000) can be turned into by a system of determiners. Such view is based on the fact that even when predicates, nouns can be used with determiners (She is a teacher.). However, I do not adopt a layered structure for the DP. Instead, I assume that different values of determiners (referential/non-referential) are encoded in the lexicon. Articles do have their canonical meaning but also can be semantically vacuous (for instance indefinite articles with predicates and in non-referential uses; definite articles with kind-denoting nominals). Such view not only explains different uses of articles in synchrony but also the process of grammaticalization, characterized by the gradual loss of semantic content. I loosely assume that nouns are <e>, the unique bearers of referential index among lexical categories (as in Baker 2003) but that this prototypical feature of the nominal category is encoded in syntax – nouns need to be overtly associated with the DP layer, either by raising or by inserting a determiner.

The second part of the chapter deals with the structure of nominal extended projection as viewed in this study. The position adopted is that nominal constituents can be clustered into three three layers, analogously to the constituents comprising the verbal spine. I also follow the idea that nominal constituents are hierarchically organized, with generally very little room for movement (Cinque 2005). Quantifiers, possessives and adjectives are addressed with due care since these constituents show considerable degree of variation in Romance and Slavic language family.

The chapter unfolds as follows. Section 2.2. introduces the DP-Hypothesis and related issues of syntax-semantic map. Section 2.3. offers an overview of the responses to the DP-Hypothesis formulated within Slavic linguistics. Section 2.4. outlines the position adopted in this dissertation. The second part, related to the nominal structure begins with Section 2.5.

## **2.2. The DP-Hypothesis**

Abney (1987), building on the work of Szabolcsi (1983), formulated a DP-Hypothesis, according to which nouns, on a par with verbs, are dominated by a functional projection, called D(eterminer) Phrase, as in (1).



Though initially the DP-Hypothesis was justified on the grounds internal to the linguistic theory, a desideratum of which was to establish parallels across lexical categories, Abney supplied theoretical rationale with empirical arguments (Bernstein 2001).

When postulating a functional projection, generally three types of evidence are advanced: semantic, syntactic and morphological (see Alexiadou *et al.* 2007). The most widely discussed arguments in favor of the functional structure on the top of the noun can briefly be summarized as follows. As for the semantic rationale, Szabolcsi (1992) noted a parallel behavior of DPs and CPs in being able to function as arguments, unlike NPs and IPs. This amounts to saying that DPs are referential whereas NPs are not.

(2) I saw [<sub>DP</sub>\*(a) [<sub>NP</sub> bird on my window]]

(3) [<sub>CP</sub> \*(That) [<sub>IP</sub>he is a good chess player]] everybody knows.

Concerning the syntactic evidence for the symmetrical behavior of nominals with respect to their clausal counterparts, the most compelling sign is provided by nominalizations, and the fact that nominals can have the same argument structures as verbs.<sup>1</sup>

(4) a. The enemy destroyed the city.

b. the enemy's destruction of the city (Alexiadou *et al.*: 479)

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<sup>1</sup> Others include subject-like positions within nominal projections (Cinque 1980) that host possessives, movement within nominal domain (nouns move just like verbs move) and extraction phenomena (for a detailed survey see Alexiadou *et al.* 2007)

Lastly, as morphological evidence is concerned, some languages display the exact same type of agreement morphology within clausal and nominal domain. One such language is Hungarian.

- (5) a. az én- $\emptyset$  vendég -e -m (Hungarian)  
the I-NOM guest- POSS- 1SG  
‘my guest’
- b. a te - $\emptyset$  vendég -e -d  
the you-NOM guest- POSS-2SG  
‘your guest’
- c. (a) Mari - $\emptyset$  vendég - e-  $\emptyset$   
(the) Mary-Nom guest-POSS-3SG  
‘Mary’s guest’

- (6) Mari- $\emptyset$  alud -t-  $\emptyset$   
Mary-NOM sleep-Past-3SG  
‘Mary sleeps.’ (from Szabolcsi 1983, in Bernstein (2001))

Abney was assuming that this functional projection host determiners – quantifiers, possessives, demonstratives and articles – based on their complementary distribution in English. However, the functional make up of nominal expressions has undergone substantial changes upon more in-depth crosslinguistic survey of the above items, as will be seen in due time. As it stands now, there is a general consensus that the only true D item is the definite article (Bošković 2008b).

Whereas establishing parallels between clausal and nominal domain has remained an important research topic ever since, as constantly nourished by insights coming from the research on the clausal domain, there are many more issues surrounding the DP-Hypothesis that have remained a matter of vigorous debate to the present day. In a nutshell, these topics revolve around conditions under which DP is projected; the status of bare nominals in languages with articles; justification or lack thereof for the presence of DP in articleless languages; surrogates for D in article-less languages; features encoded in D, and alike.

Therefore, in the next subsections a number of problems intrinsic to the DP-Hypothesis on a larger cross-linguistic scale are touched upon. The ways they have been addressed are briefly discussed.

### 2.2.1. Problems intrinsic to the DP-Hypothesis

As suggested above, there is an implicit statement in the literature that definite articles are the only genuine fillers of D. However, this statement is not coupled with an unanimous stance on what definite articles encode.<sup>2</sup> For instance, according to Giusti (2002 and subsequent works) definite articles are lexical exponents of case and  $\varphi$ -features for the languages that lack morphological case, e.g. Italian.<sup>3</sup> In (7), a contrast between Latin, an article-less language with morphological case, and Italian, a language with articles and no morphological case, is accounted for if in Latin, number, case and gender are bundled on the noun, whereas in Italian the case is split from the noun.<sup>4</sup>

(7) a. [DP {N<sub>Num+Gen+Case</sub>} [FP AP {N<sub>Num+Gen+Case</sub>} [NP AP {N<sub>Num+Gen+Case</sub>}]]]  
(Latin)

b. [DP D<sub>Num+Gen+Case</sub> [FP AP N<sub>Num+Gen+Case</sub> [NP AP N]]]<sup>5</sup>  
(Romance)

(adapted from Giusti 2013)

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<sup>2</sup> Or, to put it differently, whether categories generally related to articles such as referentiality, argumenthood, (in)definiteness should be associated with D or with the articles.

<sup>3</sup> Or they are bearers of  $\varphi$ -features (Mathieu 2009 for French).

<sup>4</sup> The asymmetry in (7) also accounts for the different positioning of the noun in the two languages. In Latin, it can move all the way up to D, whereas in Italian it cannot reach D, unless inherently referential, e.g. proper names (see Longobardi 1994, and subsequent works). Giusti's proposal is a formal elaboration of the transition from a synthetic to an analytic system.

<sup>5</sup> In Giusti (2013) case is bundled with number and gender redundantly due to the adjectival properties of Italian determiners, which agree in number and gender with the head noun.



Furthermore, Giusti assumes that the definite article itself is not necessarily endowed with semantic features. In her view, what counts for the interpretation of nominals is SpecDP, with which the article is in a local agreement (Spec-head).

On the other hand, in semantic literature (Chierchia 1998, among many others), it is generally assumed that the definite article represents the lexicalization of the *iota* operator, as in (8).

- (8) a.  $\iota X$  = the largest member of X if there is one (else, undefined)  
b. the dogs =  $\iota$  DOGS = the largest plurality of dogs  
c. the dog =  $\iota$  DOG = the only dog (if there is one) (Chierchia 1998)

Lyons (1999), in somewhat similar vein, takes the definite article to be the exponent of the category of definiteness (however defined, either as encoding a semantic notion of uniqueness or maximality, as in (8), or a pragmatic notion of familiarity (Heim 1982)).

Yet another problem is related to the treatment of indefinite articles. Though Abney placed them in D as well – Longobardi (1994, 2001) also treats them on a par – it is often the case that the two articles are dealt with separately, as hinted at above. Indefinite articles derive from the numeral *one*. Since numerals are generated lower than the projection in which the definite article is found, and the two can co-occur, they are taken to not be inevitably related (Bošković 2008b).

Lastly, the fact that both in languages with articles and languages without articles we find articleless nominal arguments bears on the question of whether there exists a null D, under which conditions it is licensed and finally, where the nominal reference is established – at NP or DP level (see (1)).

In the next two subsections, two groups of answers to the above pursuits are presented: one according to which all nominal arguments project DP layer, whether visible or not (*The Universal DP-Hypothesis*), and the other, according to which DP layer is projected only when the denotation of nouns is such that they denote properties (<e,t> type).

### 2.2.2. Towards legitimacy of *The Universal DP-Hypothesis*

The most important voice advocating the universality of DP is represented by Longobardi (1994, 2001, 2005), building upon Stowell (1989) and Szabolcsi (1994). The idea behind his proposal is that regardless of the surface manifestations, all argumental nominals have to project D. Nouns denote properties,  $\langle e, t \rangle$ , and as such must be turned into arguments by D.

- (9) “A nominal expression is an argument only if it is introduced by a category D”  
(Longobardi 1994: 620)

Accordingly, D can be null but subject to proper licensing conditions. In Italian, for instance, not only certain syntactic conditions must be met, but null D has also a fixed semantics – it interpreted as existential indefinite.

To elaborate, the idea that all nominal arguments are in need of D was formulated based on the fact that in Italian, for instance, bare arguments are grammatical only in certain syntactic positions – (10b) *vs.* (10b’). This structural requirement is coupled with the condition that their denotation be plural or mass and interpreted as existential.<sup>6,7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Other syntactic means that can license null D in Italian include modification by restrictive relative clauses or PPs and topicalization/focalization. For syntactic conditions that can rescue bare nominal arguments in Italian, see Longobardi (1994), Chierchia (1998) and Renzi (2001). On the role of modification in licensing null Ds, see Dalay (2010).

- (i) Studenti, ne ho molti. (topical NP)  
students, of.them have<sub>1SG</sub> many  
‘I have many students.’
- (ii) Hanno telefonato studenti che volevano sapere la data dell’esame. (modified NP)  
AUX<sub>3PL</sub> telephoned students that wanted know the date of.the exam  
‘Students have telephoned in order to find out the date of the exam.’ (from Chierchia 1998)

<sup>7</sup> Generic reading of bare nominals in Italian is however possible but only in the presence of external operator of genericity (habitual aspect or quantificational adverb). For a detailed account, see Longobardi (2003).

- (i) Elefanti di colore bianco possono creare grande curiosità.  
‘White-colored elephants may raise a lot of curiosity.’
- (ii) Elefanti di colore bianco hanno creato sempre/spesso in passato grande curiosità.  
‘White-colored elephants always/often raised a lot of curiosity in the past.’

(from Longobardi 2003: 241, his (4b) and (4c))

- (10) a. \*(La/una) Macchina è svoltata a sinistra.  
           the/a car AUX turned to left  
           ‘The car turned left.’
- a’. Ho visto \*(una/la) macchina.  
       AUX seen a/the car  
       ‘I’ve seen \*(a/the) car.’
- b. \*(Dei/Alcuni) biscotti sono caduti per terra. (subject argument)  
       a<sub>PART</sub>/some cookies have fallen on floor  
       ‘Cookies have fallen on the floor.’
- b’. Ho preso biscotti con il mio latte. (object argument)  
       AUX took cookies with the my milk  
       ‘I had cookies with my milk.’ ((4b) is from Chierchia 1998)

Additional means of licensing null Ds consists in inserting overt lexical material in place of the definite article. This can be obtained, for instance, by raising the noun so as to fill the null D. However, not all nouns can be raised – only proper names or highly referential names such as *casa* ‘house’, *mamma* ‘mother’ and alike. The raising paradigm with proper nouns is illustrated in (11). In (11b) a noun ( $X^0$ ) has raised past the adjective (XP) to replace the definite article (11a). If merging an article or moving a noun from a lower position is not accomplished, as in (11c), the structure is ruled out.

- (11) a. L’antica Roma (N-D raising)  
       b. Roma antica  
       c. \*Antica Roma  
           ‘Ancient Rome’

In Longobardi’s system then, parametric variation between languages rests mainly on syntax: raising of the noun, presence vs. absence of null D and syntactic conditions on the licensing of

null Ds.<sup>8</sup> As regards semantic parametrization, null Ds can have different interpretation (e.g. existential in Italian or kind-denoting and existential in English), depending on a language in question. Such variation should be reduced to feature composition of Ds (Guardiano 2011).

### 2.2.3. Against the universality of the DP-Hypothesis

A view entirely different from the previous one, put forth by Chierchia (1998), rests on the assumption that there exists semantic parameterization to the effect that not all languages have to project D: languages have different settings for what their nouns denote, as in (12).

(12) *The Nominal Mapping Parameter* (Chierchia 1998)<sup>9</sup>

| Feature Specification | Denotation              | Language          |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| [-arg][+pred]         | Predicates              | Romance           |
| [+arg][+pred]         | Arguments or Predicates | Germanic, Slavic  |
| [+arg][-pred]         | Kinds                   | Chinese, Japanese |

(adapted from Alexiadou *et al.* 2007)

The parameter in (12) underlies the distribution of bare nominals crosslinguistically. By way of illustration, Italian is a language in which all nouns are [-arg, +pred]. This means that they necessarily project D given that predicates (properties) must be turned into arguments. If a nominal argument is bare, a null D is still projected but must be properly licensed as any other silent category (see above). Slavic articleless languages, on the other

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<sup>8</sup> For example, unlike Italian, in French null Ds are not available, the article is used even in vocatives. Raising is allowed only with proper nouns. English and Italian differ to the extent that Italian employs the definite article in all kind-denoting nominals, singular, mass and plural (expletive article in Longobardi's terms) whereas in English the definite article is generally used only in the canonical meaning, to lexicalize *iota* (singular generic terms can use the definite article). With kind-denoting nouns, raising to D is done covertly in Longobardi's system.

- (i) a. I cani sono i migliori amici dell'uomo.  
       the dogs are the best friends of.the man  
       b. Dogs are our best friends.

<sup>9</sup> I abstract away from distinction mass/count, as it is not relevant for the languages discussed here.

hand, are taken to be [+pred, +arg], which is tantamount to the claim that they allow for bare arguments. In this group, languages are further subdivided into those with articles and those without them. Type shifting is blocked if a determiner performing the same function is present in a certain language – Blocking Principle.<sup>10</sup> For example, in Italian (and English for that purpose) type shifting from predicative NP, ⟨e,t⟩ type, to argumental, ⟨e⟩ type is unavailable due to the presence of the definite article, whose meaning is that of the *iota* operator.<sup>11</sup> This means that type shifting is made use of as a last-resort operation.

(13) *Blocking Principle* (‘Type Shifting as Last Resort’)

For any type shifting operation  $\tau$  and any X:

\* $\tau(X)$

if there is a determiner D such that for any set X in its domain  $D(X) = \tau(X)$

But in most Slavic languages, where determiners performing these functions are missing, type shifting is essentially unconstrained. Oversimplifying, this entails that in a language with a parameter setting [+pred, +arg] and no definite and indefinite determiners, bare singular, plural and mass arguments can be interpreted as definite, indefinite or generic/kind-denoting. To illustrate, I report only interpretative possibilities of singular nouns.

- (12) a. V komnate byli malčik i devočka. Ja obratilsja k malčiku. (Russian)  
 in room were boy and girl. I spoke to boy.  
 ‘There were a boy and a girl in the room. I spoke to the boy.’
- b. Sobaka obyčnoe životnoe.  
 Dog common animal  
 ‘Dog is a common animal.’

Parametric variation in Chierchia’s system is hence reduced to nominal denotation and availability of overt type shifters.

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<sup>10</sup>This principle stems from the considerations of economy.

<sup>11</sup>For a full array of type-shifting operations in natural languages, see Partee (1987).

### 2.3. Slavic linguistics and the DP-Hypothesis

The DP-Hypothesis has been a hot topic of Slavic linguistics from its early days. Most Slavic languages, a part from Bulgarian and Macedonian, lack articles. As far as bare arguments in article-less Slavic languages are concerned, two quite opposite views on how to treat them have emerged. On the one end of the extreme, the presence of the definite article as such is not indicative of the presence of the DP, as the latter is assumed to be universal (Progovac 1998, Rappaport 2001, Bašić 2004, Pereltsvaig 2007, Caruso 2012, a.o.). The difference between languages with or without overt determiners (articles) is thus only PF based. On the other end of the extreme, the presence of the definite article is taken as a clear and unique signal of the presence of the DP layer in a language (Zlatić 1997; Bošković 2005, 2008a, 2008b, 2011; Despić, 2009, 2010, 2011). NPs in languages without articles should be treated as NPs, whereas those in languages with articles are DPs. This view is frequently referred to as *The Parametrized DP-Hypothesis*.

The first group of proposals has put forward various arguments in order to justify the presence of the DP in Slavic. Though the list of arguments is by no means exhaustive, the most discussed arguments include: asymmetry between nouns and pronouns (Progovac 1998); ordering restrictions on the placement of adjectives within nominal expressions (Pereltsveig 2007, Bašić 2004); conditions under which the D-elements (such as demonstratives) are obligatorily lexicalized and cannot be omitted (Caruso 2012, Laterza 2014). Some examples are given below.

- (13) a. I nju/mene samu to nervira. (Serbo-Croatian)  
and her/me alone that irritates  
'That irritates even me/her'
- a'. ?\*I Mariju samu to nervira.  
And Marija<sub>ACC</sub> alone<sub>ACC</sub> that irritates  
'That irritates even Marija.'
- b. Mi siti ne verujemo gladnima.  
we full not believe hungry<sub>DAT</sub>

‘We full do not believe the hungry.’

- b. \*Ljudi siti ne veruju gladnima.  
People full not believe hungry<sub>DAT</sub> (from Progovac 1998)

In (13), Progovac replicates the raising paradigm along the lines of Longobardi (1994) and concludes that the only elements occupying D in overt syntax in Serbo-Croatian are pronouns.

Pereltsveig (2007) and Bašić (2004) build on some ordering restrictions among demonstratives, possessives and adjectives in Slavic, and disjoint analysis of possessives and adjectives. According to them, the pronominal possessors and demonstratives cannot be subsumed under the category of adjectives, considering that they exhibit some morphological and syntactic properties that set them apart from adjectives. For instance, they can bind anaphors unlike plain adjectives (16). The neutral/default order of adjectives in Russian and SC is as in (14) and (15), respectively.

- (14) a. demonstrative-possessive-attributive  
b. ètot Vanin krasivyj dom (Russian)  
this Vanya’s beautiful house  
c. \*krasivyj ètot Vanin dom (from Pereltsveig 2007)
- (15) a. [<sub>DP</sub> Demonstrative [<sub>POSSP</sub> Possessive]<sub>αP</sub> Adjective]<sub>NP</sub>  
b. ovaj njegov brbljivi sused (Serbo-Croatian)  
this his talkative neighbor  
‘this talkative neighbor of his’ (from Bašić 2004)
- (16) a. \*sosedskij<sub>i</sub> rasskaz o svoix<sub>i</sub> problemax  
neighbourly story about self’s problems  
‘a story about one’s problems, characteristic of neighbours’  
b. sose<sub>DP</sub>sk<sub>i</sub> rasskazz o svoix<sub>i</sub> problemax  
neighbour’s story about self’s problems

‘[my female] neighbour story about her problems’ (from Pereltsveig 2007)

Lastly, Caruso (2012) and Laterza (2014) define conditions in which the use of the demonstrative is not an option in Serbo-Croatian. By way of illustration, La Terza observes selectional dependencies between D and relative clauses in Serbian, and concludes that a demonstrative *onaj* ‘that’ selects for the restrictive modifier in the identical contexts in which in article languages the use of the definite article is obligatory. This makes her conclude these selectional dependencies prove the existence of the DP in Serbian.

(17) Sećam se onog \*(starog) Novog Sada \*(u kojem sam odrasla) / \*(iz 80-ih).  
remember REFL that old Novi Sad in which AUX grew.up / from 80s  
‘I remember the old Novi Sad / the Novi Sad I grew up in / from the 80s.’

(18) \*the Paris vs. the old Paris, the Paris that I love, the Paris of the twenties

(from Laterza, 2014)

As far as the second group of proposals is concerned, among the arguments advanced is the one in which in Serbo-Croatian, so called D-elements, such as possessives and demonstratives do not display determiner-like properties, but behave like adjectives (see Zlatić 1997 and Bošković 2008).<sup>12</sup>

(19) Ova majica je tvoja.  
this shirt is your

Bošković (2009), for instance, argues against the restrictions on placement of adjectives as rooted in the syntax. Instead, he assumes that syntax generate all possible orders, whereas semantics excludes the ungrammatical ones. In his view, adjectives are maximal projections adjoined to the NP. As far as possessives are concerned, building on the possibility of having both *possessive* > *adjective* and *adjective* > *possessive* orders in Serbo-Croatian, as illustrated in (20), he deduces that possessives in Serbo-Croatian are equal to other adjectives.

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<sup>12</sup> However, possessive and demonstratives behave as adjectives in Romance as well: *Questa maglietta è mia*.



- (20) Marijina omiljena kola/omiljena Marijina kola (Serbo-Croatian)  
 Marija's favourite car/ favourite Marija's car  
 'Marija's favourite car'

Since the order between demonstratives and other adjectives is not subject to permutability in Serbo-Croatian, he concludes that this is due to their semantics as markers of direct reference. They map nominals to an individual, and once they are composed, modification is no longer available.<sup>13</sup>

- (21) ova skupa kola /\*skupa ova kola (Serbo-Croatian)  
 this expensive car /expensive this car

Building upon the observation that languages with articles and those without articles (DP vs. NP languages) display distinct behavior with respect to various syntactic/semantic phenomena, Bošković (2008) formulates a NP/DP Parameter, and makes the following generalizations accordingly (Serbian and Bulgarian data are from Bošković's papers, the Italian counterparts are mine):

- (22) Only languages without articles may allow Left-branch extraction.
- a. Skupa/Ta<sub>i</sub> je vidio [t<sub>i</sub> kola]  
 Expensive/that AUX seen car
- b. \*Costosa/Quella ha visto[t<sub>i</sub> macchina].
- (23) Only languages without articles may allow adjunct extraction out of traditional NPs.
- a. Iz kojeg grada<sub>i</sub> je Ivan sreo [djevojke t<sub>i</sub>]?  
 from which city AUX Ivan met girls
- b. \*Di quale città<sub>i</sub> ha incontrato Ivan [delle ragazze t<sub>i</sub>]

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<sup>13</sup> Yet, at least as Latin, an article-less language is concerned, Giusti and Iovino (2012) note that this argument does not hold as demonstratives in Latin can be preceded by adjectives. They note the restriction on the number of adjectives (only one) and conclude that this is for the interpretative reasons of contrasting adjectives by placing them in a separate projection.

- (24) Only languages without articles may allow scrambling.
- (25) Negative raising is disallowed in languages without articles.
- a. Giovanni non credeva [che Maria sarebbe andata via [ fino a domani]]
  - b. \*Ivan nije vjerovao da će Marija otići sve do sutra.
- (26) Multiple Wh-Fronting (MWF) languages without articles don't show superiority effects.
- a. Ko koga vidi?/Koga ko vidi?                      Serbian (article-less MWF language)  
who whom see? Whom who see
  - b. Koj koga vižda? \*Kogo koj vižda?              Bulgarian (MWF language with articles)
  - c. Chi vede chi? – Italian                      (no MWF language, language with articles)
- (27) Only languages with articles may allow clitic doubling. (but neither SC nor Italian are clitic-doubling languages)
- (28) Languages without articles don't allow transitive nominals with two genitives.

The extended account on the NP/DP (Bošković 2010) includes following generalizations:

- (29) Elements undergoing focus movement are subject to a verb adjacency requirement only in languages with articles.
- (30) Possessors may induce an exhaustivity presupposition only in languages with articles.
- (31) The sequence of Tense phenomenon is found only in languages with articles.

The above differences between article and article-less languages make Bošković conclude that they cannot be derived if the difference is only based on overt versus covert manifestations of D. Instead, he proposes that in article-less languages noun phrases do not project a DP-layer at all. The differences between languages with and languages without articles are derivable thus from this parameter.

What underlies Bošković's NP/DP distinction is the idea of the macroparameter: if a language possesses the definite article, the consequence is that it will have a number of other

characteristics. However, I assume, in line with Van Gelderen (2010), that such view is hard to reconcile with gradual reanalysis, as will be seen in detail in Chapter 4. For instance, as pointed out by Giusti and Iovino (2012), Latin, an article-less language shares a number of properties with DP-languages. If no DP level is assumed for Latin, the problem is then how to account for the change that brought about the rise of daughter Romance languages, all with articles.

## 2.4. Background assumptions

In this thesis, I pursue the line of research according to which DP is a locus of (in) definiteness. The notion of (in)definiteness is assumed in its broadest meaning and encompasses all the uses of definite and indefinite articles. I basically follow Zamparelli (2000) in positing a DP projection for all types of nominals (referential, predicative and kind-enoting) but depart from him in not splitting DP into three separate layers. That the DP projection is not necessarily dependent upon the presence or the absence of determiners is shown by the example in (32). Actually, in predicative use, it is possible to have determiners if the determiners are not endowed with referential import.

(32) John is a fool (=John is foolish).

In addition, even when the nouns are supposed to be referential by their inherent semantic properties, D can be filled by determiners (with proper names). Conversely, the weak definites employ the definite article though not referential.

- (33) a.     la Soniaa  
          the Sonia  
      b.     Should you take your baby to the hospital?

I also adopt the view according to which D can have either an overt realization (represented by the article) or a covert one (if properly licensed). I assume that proper licensing of D occurs in a local (Spec-head) configuration.

The underlying idea is that nouns do not come from lexicon as properties  $\langle e, t \rangle$  and are subsequently turned into arguments by a D position. D can be filled by both definite and indefinite articles and whether it will be referential or not, depends on the properties of the determiner. I dismiss altogether the idea of covert type shifting, the reasons for which will be seen in the next chapter (see also Borer 2005). I assume, in line with Baker (2003), that nouns are of  $\langle e \rangle$  type, and are unique among lexical categories to bear a referential index, understood as a criterion of identity. Furthermore, nouns are the only lexical category that can appear with articles encoding distinctions between definite/indefinite and specific and non-specific (Baker 2003: 97). The idea is that nouns can be turned into a predicative type by a certain type of the determiner. The idea is that D is necessarily associated with the nominal category as such, and the distinction as referential/non-referential is encoded in the system of determiners.

Based on diachronic considerations, there are strong reasons to believe that that D is not only bound to definiteness or referentiality. Despite the widely held view that definite and indefinite articles should be somehow reserved a separate treatment, Keenan (2011) provides a unified perspective based on diachronic data coming from several Romance and Germanic languages (French, Spanish, German, English) with the complex article system. She establishes a unique pattern in all the languages under examination: the definite article precedes remarkably the emergence of its indefinite counterpart; indefinite articles appear first as non-specific indefinites, and only since quite recently consistently as non-specific indefinites.<sup>14</sup> Building on these considerations, she revisits Greenberg's (1978) definiteness cycle and proposes a unified cycle as responsible for the rise of both articles. According to Greenberg, articles start off as discourse definite articles, or anaphoric articles – Stage 0; afterwards are progressively used in non-anaphoric contexts as well – Stage 2; then they are carried over to specific – both definite and indefinite – contexts as in Stage 3; to be eventually used as mere noun markers in Stage 4. Greenberg's grammaticalization path was devised as to account for the development of articles in single-article languages. Keenan proposes instead that languages have actually two options at their disposal: either to cover all the above uses by only one article form (based on the economy principle) or to develop a new article form for novel meanings (principle of explicitness). The above languages applied the

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<sup>14</sup> Another important fact she points is that the emergence of the definite article in the examined languages overlaps with the fall of synthetic systems in Late Latin and Early Germanic.

latter option since in the stage 2 they develop a separate article, the indefinite one, which in the subsequent stage extends to cover to both specific and non-specific contexts (present-day stage in many languages). The main point of this thesis is roughly along the lines of Keenan (2011) – if a system has two article forms, as will be seen in the next chapter, this should indeed be seen as a related process.

In the next section I lay out the main assumptions and issues related to structure of nominal expressions as adopted in the present study.

## 2.5. Nominal structure adopted in the dissertation: Overview

First, as assumed in much of the current literature on the nominal structure (Grohmann and Haegamann 2002, Ticio 2003, Giusti 2013, among many others), I take the nominal structure, on a par with clausal domain, to be divided into three major subfields, as shown in (34).

(34) [DP layer [AgrP layer [NP layer]

NP layer is the portion of nominal structure where arguments of the noun are assigned thematic roles, much the same as thematic grid of the verb is established at the VP layer in the clausal projection (*theta*-domain):<sup>15</sup> AgrP layer is entitled to agreement relations entertained by various modifiers (including possessives) and the head noun (*phi*- domain); and lastly, the DP layer is the portion of the nominal structure in charge of the interpretation of the entire NE. Therefore, DP corresponds to CP, AgrP layer is the nominal counterpart of the IP, and NP parallels VP. As a result, DP layer will be hosting items that can provide the nominal expression with reference (such as demonstratives and articles); IP layer will host adjectival modifiers and possessive adjectives; NP layer will contain nominal and PP arguments.

Furthermore, I assume in line with Dimitri-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998) and Giusti (2013), DP can be split in order to host focused (or contrasted) constituents.

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<sup>15</sup> I will not discuss at length the rationale for extending the little *vP* to the nominal domain as well, hence assuming the *nP* instead, since the exact degree of these parallels is outside of the scope of the present study (for an extensive survey of these issues the reader is directed to Alexiadou *et al.* (2007).

(35) [DPD<sub>[KonP[XP]<sub>AgrP</sub>PossP[...]]]</sub><sup>16</sup>

The above hierarchy DP – AgrP– NP farther implies that constituents comprising the nominal spine obey a certain hierarchy *w.r.t.* to each other. The point of departure for the ordering of nominal constituents (basic ones – demonstratives, numerals, adjectives and noun) of NEs is contained in Cinque’s (2005) idea that crosslinguistically the base-generated order is as in (36), with all other orders being derived by NP-movement.<sup>17</sup>

(36) Dem > Num > A > N

However, the extended projection of nominals may host more elements besides ones outlined above, such as quantifiers, determiners, possessives and relative clauses, to name a few. In order to accommodate various nominal constituents and their reciprocal order scrutinized in the next chapter, I take as a reference point a detailed map of nominal structure as given in Cinque (2012b), assumed to be valid crosslinguistically, hence universal.

(37) [RC<sub>nonrestr</sub> [QP<sub>univ</sub> [DemP [Det° [QP<sub>distr</sub> [RC<sub>restr</sub> [OrdP [CardP [CLF [Number° [RC<sub>red</sub> [AP<sub>value</sub> [... [AP<sub>size</sub> [DIM<sup>(o)</sup> [END/PEJ<sup>(o)</sup> [AP<sub>shape</sub> [... [AP<sub>color</sub> [... [AP<sub>nation</sub> [... [NP ] ...]

In this representation the highest position in the extended projection of the noun is occupied by nonrestrictive relative clauses (which are, however, attached above the level of DP), followed by universal quantifiers, demonstratives, determiners, distributive quantifiers, (full) restrictive relative clauses, ordinals, cardinals, (reduced) relative clauses and finally different

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<sup>16</sup> Cinque reports that in a special usage some descriptive adjectives can precede cardinals and ordinals. Superlative adjectives can also appear higher than numerals. The relevant examples are given below.

- (i) le <splendide> due <splendide> settimane passate in montagna
- (ii) i loro <più spettacolari> tre <più spettacolari> concerti dal vivo (adapted from Cinque 2012a: 182)

Giusti (2013) takes this pre-numeral position to be the one hosting contrasted adjectives.

<sup>17</sup> Cinque dispenses with N-movement since it does not exclude the unattested orders controlled for in an impressive sample of languages.

types of adjectives ordered hierarchically depending on their semantics, as illustrated by the subscripts (see Sproat and Shih 1988, 1991, Cinque 1994, *a.o.*). Note that possessives are missing in this structural representation. They will be dealt with in a separate subsection below.<sup>18</sup>

Another underlying assumption is that nominal structure is built by the application of the operation of Merge (Chomsky 1995), in a way that only two syntactic objects are combined at a time, in order to create a new object. The operation of Merge is complemented by Move (Internal Merge), in which nominal constituents are moved inside the nominal expressions. Following Cinque (2005), I assume that movement within NEs occurs in a very restricted manner: only phrasal movement of NPs and APs is allowed. Whereas the movement of the NP is posited as to license nominal projections inside the nominal spine, the movement of AP occurs for interpretative reasons, as a focus-related movement.<sup>19</sup>

One exception to this constrained theory about what can move within nominal expression is offered by possessive adjectives – another type of nominal constituents that are found in various positions within NEs, and thus assumed to move (see Alexiadou et al. 2007 for an overview).

The nominal constituents are subsequently mapped onto the hierarchy of nominal elements provided by the Universal Grammar, which arguably has a cognitive basis (Cinque and Rizzi).

In the subsections to follow, I restrict the discussion to three types of nominal constituents – quantifiers, possessives and adjectival modifiers – as they are of particular interest for the description of the Resian nominal syntax and its general tendencies, dealt with in the next chapter.

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<sup>18</sup> Existential quantifiers are dropped out from this representation and are not given in Cinque (2012b).

<sup>19</sup> Cinque allows only NP-movement from specifier to specifier, either alone or by pied-piping the material dominating NP (roll-up movement). The details of his proposal will be presented in more detail in Chapter 5, where NP movement is addressed in relation to the main proposal of the dissertation.

### 2.5.1. Nominal constituents: Quantifiers and numerals

As can be noted from Cinque's hierarchy in (37), universal quantifiers are generated above determiners, but are still part of the nominal extended projection. In this representation, DP is not the highest extended projection of nominals; with the difference that D could be the highest head within the nominal spine (Cinque 2011). Such conclusion is based on the fact that universal quantifiers are found above demonstratives and articles, as can be seen in (38), and that nominal expressions containing them have the same distribution as those without them<sup>20,21</sup>

(38) tutte queste/le donne (Italian)  
'all these/the women'

(39) Ho salutato (tutte) le persone che conosco.  
Have<sub>1SG</sub> greeted all the people that knew<sub>1SG</sub>  
'I've said hello to all the people I knew.'

A different proposal regarding NEs containing quantifiers is put forth by Giusti (1990; 1994), Cardinaletti and Giusti (1992; 2006), Giusti and Leko (1996, 2005). Under this view, not all nominal expressions comprising quantifiers are DPs.<sup>22</sup> Whether they are DPs or not will depend on the categorial status of the quantifier in question. If this quantifier is a head, as

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<sup>20</sup> Based on their distribution with respect articles in English, Abney (1987) positions quantifiers either in D, due to their complementary distribution with articles '\*every the man'; or lower than D, as adjectival Q heads, due to the examples such as 'the many faces of emotional abuse'.

<sup>21</sup> Indeed, in a semantic literature which treat quantifiers on a par with determiners, a separate QP projection could be dispensed with by assuming that quantifiers are generally licensed in SpecDP (see also Zamparelli 2000). The structure of 'all these five horses' would then require bracketing like the one in (i), in which the universal quantifier (determiner) 'all' appear as a modifier of a demonstrative, or, alternatively we would have to assume that demonstrative heads a DP, like in (iii).

(i) [DP [DemP all these] D° [CardP five [NP horses]]]

(ii) [DP all [D' these [CardP five [NP horses]]]]

<sup>22</sup> Unless otherwise stated, in this subsection the label DP indicates the entire extended nominal projection and not only the highest portion of it.



in (6), it projects independently as QP; if it is a maximal projection with modifier-like syntax, it is inserted in some adjectival projection along the nominal spine.<sup>23</sup>

- (40) a. [QP [Q all] [DP [D Ø] [ . . . [NP men]]]] are mortal  
 b. [QP [Q tutti] [DP [D gli] [ . . . [NP uomini]]]] sono mortali

(adapted from Cardinaletti and Giusti 2006)

- (41) [DP [D the] [FP many. . . [NP men]]]]

Among a number of diagnostics for the Q status of a quantifier devised by Cardinaletti and Giusti (C & G), I report the following ones: (i) Q may come both in front of definite and indefinite articles; (ii) Q can co-occur with pronouns (*tutti loro* lit. ‘all them’);<sup>24</sup> (iii) various classes of Q correlate with the (in)definiteness of the embedded DP; (iv) Q can appear in non-adjacent position to the DP in many languages, unlike other nominal modifiers and determiners, in a phenomenon known as ‘quantifier floating’, (*The players have both played well*), first discussed in Sportiche (1988).<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, among most notable traits of quantifiers with adjectival-like syntax are that they are found below D (if D is filled by overt material); cannot occur with a pronoun; can be used predicatively (*the boys are many*); and may not appear in discontinuous position in languages that do not allow extraction of adjectives out of nominal expressions (C & G).<sup>26</sup>

Morphological properties of Italian provide no clues about the status of quantifiers as either heads or modifiers given that both categories exhibit adjectival properties and agree with the head noun in gender and number. However, strong empirical support for the above division is offered by data coming from Slavic, which complement C & G’s distinction with yet another criterion: case assignment and agreement phenomena. For instance, in Serbo-Croatian (SC), language discussed by Giusti and Leko (1996, 2005), quantifiers, including

<sup>23</sup> In addition, whether a certain quantifier will be a head or an adjective, is a language-specific fact, not related to the meaning of the quantifier.

<sup>24</sup> Strong pronouns are assumed to be undoubtedly full DPs (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999)

<sup>25</sup> According to C & G, Spec of QP serves as an escape hatch for the DP, attracted by T for case reasons.

<sup>26</sup> Not all properties are exemplified for reasons of space.

numerals from 5 up, are invariable and assign genitive case to the DP complement.<sup>27</sup> Adjectival quantifiers cannot assign case, but agree instead with the head noun. The former type of quantifier is given in (8a), the latter in (8b).<sup>28</sup>

- (42) a. Mnogo lepih haljina je prodato. (Serbo-Croatian)  
 many<sub>Q</sub> nice<sub>GEN.PL</sub> dresses<sub>GEN.PL</sub> is<sub>NEU</sub> sold<sub>NEU</sub>
- b. Mnoge lepe haljine su prodate.  
 Many<sub>NOM.PL</sub> nice<sub>NOM.PL</sub> dresses<sub>NOM.PL</sub> are sold.  
 BOTH: ‘Many nice dresses are sold.’

Note that two structures above correspond to two different DP-external agreement patterns. In (42a) the DP triggers singular agreement on the predicate (or fail to agree, which is why the default neuter surfaces); in (42b) the predicate agrees in number and gender with the DP. These agreement patterns are unrelated to the position of the quantified DP as either pre- or post-verbal. The structural representation for the quantified nominals above would be as in (43) and (44).

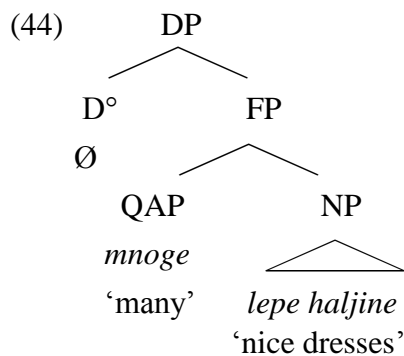
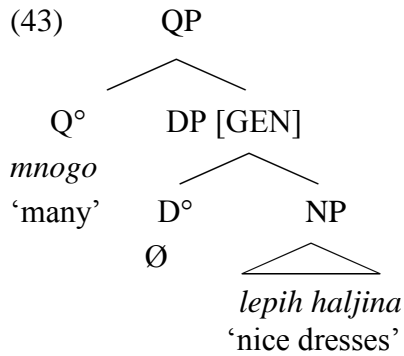
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<sup>27</sup> Slovenian behaves the same. Quantifiers assign genitive case to the DP complement. Note that in (iib) it is possible to extract a pronominal DP out of QP, through SpecQP (according to C & G).

- (i) a. Videl sem veliko študentov. (Slovenian)  
 Saw.I AUX any<sub>Q</sub> students<sub>GEN.PL</sub>
- b. Videl sem jih veliko.  
 Saw.I AUX them many<sub>Q</sub>  
 ‘I saw many of them.’

<sup>28</sup> The same type of quantifiers is found in Slovenian:

- (i) Pridružite se tudi vi mnogim uspešnim študentom!  
 join.you<sub>PL</sub> REFL also you many<sub>DAT.PL</sub> successful<sub>DAT.PL</sub> students<sub>DAT.PL</sub>  
 ‘Join many successful students!’



In addition, invariant quantifiers are assumed to be caseless forms (Franks 1995) and are thus found only in direct case positions (nominative/accusative), whereas they are generally ruled out in oblique case positions.<sup>29</sup>

In the thesis, I rely on the morphological clues provided by Slavic languages and assume that they project independently only in cases like (43). This means that not only adjectival quantifiers discussed by C & G, but also universal quantifiers are merged along the extended projection of the noun, as suggested by Cinque’s nominal map. As for the quantifiers as projecting categories, I would like to introduce minor revisions to the proposal put forth by Cardinaletti and Giusti. First, I maintain the structural representation for the

<sup>29</sup> One notable difference between Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian is that unlike SC, the invariant quantifiers can indeed be found in oblique contexts.

- (i) [Pisal sem [QPveliko ljudem]]. (Slovenian)  
wrote.I AUX many<sub>Q</sub> people<sub>DAT.PL</sub>
- (ii) \*[[Pisao sam [Qpmnogo ljudima]]. (SC)  
'I wrote to many people.'

Note that in (i) the case of the nominal complement is overridden by the case assigned by the external case assignor.

quantifiers as in (9) but depart from them in assuming that these projecting categories are heads. I take quantifiers to be phrasal and placed in the Specifier of QP whereas the case on the DP is assigned by an empty Q head. That quantifiers are phrasal is also confirmed by the fact that they can be expanded by an intensifying adverb, which takes scope over the quantifier, and not over the Q+NP, as it would be expected in case they were heads.

- (45) [zelo veliko] prijateljev<sup>30</sup> (Slovenian)  
 very many<sub>Q</sub> people<sub>GEN.PL</sub>

This extends over to the numerals that assign case in Slavic (and are treated on a par with quantifiers in Giusti and Leko's proposal). Numerals, just like quantifiers, can be expanded (46a), or modified (46b).

- (46) a. [dvesto i pedeset] godina (Serbo-Croatian)  
 two.hundred and fifty years<sub>GEN.PL</sub>  
 'two hundred fifty years'
- b. [jedno dvadeset] ruža  
 some twenty roses<sub>GEN.PL</sub>

Again, in (46b) the indefinite quantity adverb *jedno* 'some' contributes indefiniteness to the cardinality of the number and not to the whole nominal expression, which means that it scopes over the cardinal alone.

One problem for the QP-Hypothesis (Giusti 1990; 1994, Cardinaletti and Giusti 1992; 2006, Giusti and Leko 1996, 2005) in Slavic is that it shouldn't predict the co-occurrence of the quantifier phrases containing both universal quantifiers and numerals assigning genitive (since they both project QPs), contrary to the facts, as attested by the example in (47).<sup>31</sup>

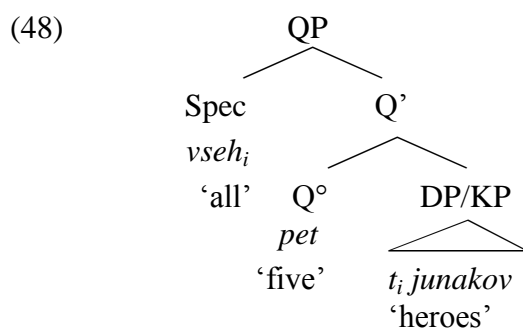
<sup>30</sup> Kayne (2007) analyzes these quantifiers as modifiers parallel in behavior to adjectives, which is confirmed by their ability to have comparative and superlative forms.

<sup>31</sup> Adopting the test on quantifier float, universal quantifiers behave as projecting categories as they allow for the extraction of the nominal complement.

- (i) Mladi<sub>i</sub> so bili [QP vsi [DP t<sub>i</sub>]] navdušeni. (Slovenian)

- (47) a. vseh pet junakov (Slovenian)  
 all<sub>GEN.PL</sub> five heroes<sub>GEN.PL</sub>

In order to circumvent this problem, they assume that the universal quantifier in (47) is an element displaced from within the embedded nominal complement to the specifier of the QP. This analysis is supported by the fact that both the universal quantifier and the nominal complement bear genitive. The same type of analysis is reached by Franks (1995) and Bošković (2006), on the same grounds, i.e. that all pre-numeral constituents in Serbo-Croatian (and Slovenian) bear genitive plural, i.e. they agree in case with the embedded DP.



In this way, the QP-Hypothesis is not called into question by the above data. That numerals and quantifiers assigning genitive case provide additional functional structure within the nominal domain is assumed also by proponents of the Parameterized DP-Hypothesis (Bošković 2011, Despić 2011).

Before concluding this subsection, I point to one difference with respect to numerals between Romance and Slavic languages. As for the numerals, in Slavic they present themselves in two types, as was hinted at above.<sup>32</sup> Lower numbers (1-4) exhibit agreeing,

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young<sub>PL</sub> AUX were all excited  
 'Young people were all excited.'

<sup>32</sup> With numbers two, three and four in Serbo-Croatian, for instance, the nominal complement bears paucal number, arguably genitive singular (see Franks 1995 for an overview). Despić (forthcoming) suggests that the nominal complement of these numbers bears paucal nominative.

adjectival behavior, while numbers from 5 onwards behave as true quantifiers.<sup>33</sup> This means that in Slavic, NEs containing numerals will oscillate between DPs and QPs. In Italian, on the other hand, all numerals behave the same, apart from number ‘one’, which is homophonous with the indefinite article. This means that in Romance all NEs containing numbers are uniformly DPs and adhere hence to Cinque’s representation from above, where only one projection is assumed for all cardinal numbers (CardP).<sup>34</sup>

After surveying several issues pertaining to the syntax of quantifiers, I turn to the discussion of possessives.

### *2.5.2. Nominal constituents: Possessives*

Possessives are a peculiar kind of nominal constituents to the extent that due to their semantic and syntactic properties they exhibit both adjectival and (pro)nominal properties. On the one hand, they may have adjectival morphology and agree with the head noun in number, gender and case. On the other hand, they bear person features, may express arguments of the head noun and they can bound an anaphor (see below). Furthermore, possessives, unlike true adjectives, cannot be iterated. Due to their ambiguous nature as both modifiers and arguments of the noun, it is not clear whether a unifying approach to possessives is achievable at all (Partee and Borschev 2001).

The ability of possessives to have adjectival morphology is not contingent on the presence of articles in a language. The divergent behavior of English/French with respect to Italian in this regard have led Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) to formulate a sort of parameter according to which possessive elements are specified to be realized syntactically as either determiners or adjectives (ibid: 155). Such parameter is responsible for different distributional properties of possessives in the two types of languages, as illustrated in the contrastive paradigm in (49).

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<sup>33</sup> Lower numbers show adjectival behavior crosslinguistically (Zamparelli 2000).

<sup>34</sup> Zamparelli (2000) take cardinals to be essentially  $X^0$ , with the exception of complex numerals, which are  $XP$ s and pattern with vague numerals (many, few etc.).

- (49) a. \*the my book  
 a'. il mio libro  
 b. \*a my book  
 un mio libro  
 b'. \*many my books  
 molti miei libri  
 c. \*the book is my  
 il libro è mio  
 c'. \*the book my  
 il libro mio

Yet another parameter that cuts across the distinction between adjectival/determiner-like possessives concerns featural specification of a possessive as either strong or weak items (in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke 1999).<sup>35</sup> This parameter is responsible for a double series of possessive elements in a language, if it has one (English or various Italian dialects – see Poletto and Tomaselli 1994 for an overview), and is what underlies, for example the distinction between *The book is myne*/\**my*.

However, even if a language have adjectival type of possessives compatible both with definite and indefinite NEs, they can be found as high as DP layer (as D, or SpecDP (according to Giusti 2003)). In Italian, possessives as determiners have a very restricted distribution, occur within inherently unique and familiar definite descriptions such as nouns denoting kinship terms (inalienable possession) in singular ((50a) vs (50c)), and have to be string-adjacent to nouns (50b).

- (50) a. (\*la) mia madre  
 the my mother  
 a'. [DP mia<sub>i</sub> [ AgrP t<sub>i</sub> [NP madre t<sub>i</sub>]]

---

<sup>35</sup> In order to show the difference between strong and weak possessive paradigm in Italian, Cardinaletti (1998) applies a number of diagnostics. To illustrate, unlike strong possessives, weak possessives cannot be used predicatively; cannot be modified and coordinated; and cannot bear focus and introduce new referents into the discourse. In Slavic there exists only one series of possessive elements, and therefore I will not consider at length this parameter.

- b.     \*(la) mia bella madre  
           the my beautiful mother
- b'.    [<sub>DP</sub> la [<sub>AgrP</sub> mia<sub>i</sub>[<sub>FP</sub>bella[<sub>NP</sub> madre t<sub>i</sub>]]]
- c.     \*(i) miei fratelli  
           the my brothers

Possessives may convey a number of thematic roles within the nominal expression: Possessor, Agent or Theme (for the nouns with argument structure), and thus substitute for the argument of the noun.<sup>36,37</sup>

- |      |            |                         |
|------|------------|-------------------------|
| (51) | my house   | (Possessor)             |
| (52) | my arrival | (Theme)                 |
| (53) | my photo   | (Possessor/Agent/Theme) |

Capitalizing on this fact on this fact, it is generally assumed that possessives originate in the lowest part of the nominal structure, NP layer or *theta*-domain (see Alexiadou *et al.* 2007 for an overview, and also for a different, small-clause like analysis of possessive constructs), as

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<sup>36</sup> Event denoting nouns (Grimshaw 1990) or relational nouns (*mother, picture, etc.*).

<sup>37</sup> This process, known as possessivization, is subject to a hierarchy (Cinque 1980, Giorgi and Longobardi 1991, Longobardi 2001, Ticio 2003, a.o), as expressed in (i).

(i)     Possessor > Agent > Theme or (P(ossessor)>S(ubject)>O (object))

The above hierarchy entails that the argument with theta-role higher in the hierarchy will have precedence over lower ones one when possessivized or extracted. Theme/Agent can be possessivezed or extracted/only if arguments bearing roles higher in the the hierarchy are absent. This hierarchy is coupled with yet another condition aimed at accounting for why some lower arguments cannot be possessivized even the higher one is absent, like in ‘the perception/knowledge of the problem /*its*/the problem’s perception (Anderson 1970, in Longobardi 2001). This is due to the fact that all possessives compete for the same structural position, which may be defined as syntactic subject of the nominal expression (Cinque 1980, 2013). For this reason, the example above is ungrammatical, given that the syntactic subject of the noun *perception* is already occupied by an empty category (subject of the noun *perception*), hence unavailable for possessivization (see Longobardi 2001).



genitive complements of the noun, since genitive is the structural case within nominal domain (Rappaport 2000, 2004).<sup>38</sup>

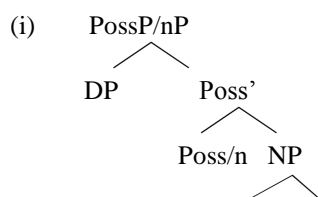
The fact that nominal expression can contain only one possessive adjective irrespective of the thematic grid of the noun itself is due to the fact that (all) possessives compete for a structural position that can be compared to that of subjects within the clausal domain. For this reason, they are generally assumed to be licensed in a special position, highest within the inflectional domain of the NE, dubbed as PossP in (54).

(54) [DP[<sub>AgP</sub>] [PossP]...[NP]]

However, the problem is that possessive adjectives, for instance in Romance (Latin or Italian) are not necessarily licensed in this projection and can be associated with either pre- or post-nominal positions. In order to account for this behavior two explanations suggest themselves. First, due to their adjectival nature they target the nominal domain in which adjectives are generally licensed, *phi*-domain, owing to their adjectival properties (see also Giusti 2003). I conclude hence that postnominal possessives in Italian are allowed due to the fact that NP-movement across adjectives is available. This accounts of the asymmetry between Slavic and Italian, as in (55).

(55) la <sua> macchina <SUA> (Italian)  
 the his/her car HIS/HER

<sup>38</sup>Alexiadou *et al.*'s (2007), following Radford (2000), further distinguish between possessors and agents/thematic as only the latter are involved in the argument structure of the head noun. They assume that possessive relation between a possessor (noun) and a possessum is conveyed by a dedicated functional projection, positioned above NP.



(Alexiadou *et al.* 2007: 563)

This projection is a nominal counterpart of little *v* in the clausal domain, whereby its institution aims at accounting for the subject-like behavior of possessors.

- (56) njegov avto \*njegov (Slovenian)  
his car

Another explanation for why they are found both post- and pre-nominally owes to the fact that they are taken to move for case reasons. Such movement is then optional depending on the availability of case morphology in a language (see Giusti 2008, 2013).<sup>39</sup>

To sum up, I assume that possessive adjectives are base-generated in a complement position of the head noun and are licensed subsequently at the left edge of the inflectional layer of the nominal expression in a dedicated projection, with subject-like properties. I also assume that they are able to fill SpecDP position and license a null, definite D (see 50a).

So far the behaviour of (pronominal) possessive adjectives was addressed. Slavic languages allow for yet another type of possessive adjectives, derived from nouns, i.e. nominal possessive adjectives (Corbett 1987, 1995, Rappaport 2000, Matasović 2011), which agree with the head noun in number, gender and case.<sup>40</sup>

- (57) a. Janšev otrok (Slovenian)  
Janša's son  
b. Majdin otrok  
Majda's son

However, the formation of these adjectives is highly restricted: the referent has to be human (or at least animate), definite, singular and not complex. All other options lead to ungrammaticality and an adnominal genitive is used instead. To illustrate, a couple of minimal pairs from Slovenian are provided.

- (58) a. mamin a'. \*hišin (human vs. inanimate)  
mother's house's

<sup>39</sup> Based on the ungrammaticality of *\*a her friend*, Kayne (1994) assumes it is to attribute to the fact that definite D is involved in case assignment, whereas indefinite D does not license case.

<sup>40</sup> These forms are used in all Slavic languages except in Polish, which has no longer the ability to form nominal possessive adjectives. For an overview of derivation of these adjectives and various constraints underlying this process across Slavic languages, the reader is referred to Corbett (1995).



In a nutshell, in order to express a lexical possessor, almost all Slavic languages can use nominal possessive adjectives though in a rather restricted manner. For those cases in which this is not an option, an adnominal genitive is used or a PP (*od* + DP genitive). In Italian, on the other hand, any possessive construction involving lexical possessors must be expressed by means of a PP (*di* + NE).

- (62) a.     la casa di Mario  
      b.     la casa di mia mamma

Even though in this section I touched upon on possessives as arguments of deverbal nouns, this was primarily with the aim of giving grounds for their general syntactic properties. Accordingly, in the next chapter I won't be dealing with nominalizations and related issues unless in passing. Possesives will be addressed mostly with regards to object referring and relational nouns.

In the next subsection, a number of issues pertaining to the adjectival syntax are tackled.

### 2.5.3. *Nominal constituents: Adjectives*

Languages show the highest degree of variation when it comes to the adjectival category (Dixon 1982, in Baker 2003) and syntactic means devised in order to express modification on nouns. Several issues are of particular interest for the arguments addressed in the next chapter due to the fact that considerable differences were found among Romance and Slavic, on the one hand, and among Slovenian and Resian, on the other hand. These include: the existence of more than one adjectival paradigm and their distribution; mapping of adjectives on the extended projection of the noun; and the problem of the sequencing of adjectives. I address each of them in turn.

A number of languages display more than one adjectival inflectional paradigm. German, for instance, has a different adjectival form in attributive position depending on the determiner it agrees with. The inflection on the adjective in German is defined as syntactic agreement considering that it does not depend on the semantic status of determiners as either



Russian, the distinction is purely syntactic, considering that long-form adjectives appear as attributes whereas short-form are used as predicates.<sup>44</sup>

According to Sussex and Cubberley (2006: 454), among modern Slavic languages only Serbo-Croatian (SC), and Slovenian, to a limited extent, retain long-form adjectives as markers of definiteness. Here, I point out several important facts related to the distribution and meaning import of long/short form in these two languages, with more details being provided as the dissertation unfolds. In both languages, long and short-forms are allowed in adnominal position. In predicative position, only the short-form is allowed.

- (65) a. dober/dobri človek (Slovenian)  
good<sub>SHORT</sub>/good<sub>LONG</sub> man
- b. tisti človek je dober/\*dobri  
that man is good<sub>SHORT</sub>/good<sub>LONG</sub>

At the same time, the paradigm of short forms is in decline and in most varieties the distinction is preserved only in masculine nominative singular, with all other forms (distinguished for number, case and gender) being replaced by the long forms. A general impression based on the colloquial varieties of SC spoken in Serbia and Croatia, to the exclusion of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and parts of Western Serbia is that SC has been developing towards the Russian type of the long/short-form distinction. Colloquial Slovenian, on the other hand, has entirely lost a long adjectival form for qualitative adjectives and has developed a sort of definite article in order substitute for this loss (see Toporišič 2000, see Chapter 5 for details).

Another important fact is that in both languages the long form is the only inflection of a certain group of adjectives, with the inherently definite lexical semantics. A part from deictic adjectives (*upper*, *lower*, etc), these generally include relational and more generally, classificatory adjectives.

- (66) a. zgornji  
upper

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<sup>44</sup> More details on different patterns of long/short distinction and their relative syntactic/semantic behavior will

- b. kemični  
chemical
- c. domači paradižnik  
domestic tomato

The second group of issues addressed here relates to the mapping of adjectives onto the nominal spine. Adjectives may have different semantics and this is generally what determines their syntax – in terms of height of merger, as well as their ability to appear as either predicates or attributes, or both. To illustrate briefly and in a rather simplified manner, I introduce adjectival types as discussed in (Kamp and Partee) (1995), Partee (1995) and Partee (2010). For instance, in terms of a set theory, an adjective like *sick* could be defined as:

$$(67) \quad \|\text{sick N}\| = \|\text{sick}\| \cap \|\text{N}\|$$

This means that a noun phrase ‘sick person’ denotes as an intersection of the set of persons and the set of sick things. Therefore, these adjectives are known as *intersective* and may occur both as predicates and attributes.

- (68) a. that person is sick.
- b. that sick person

Another group of adjectives, called *subsective*, are defined as:

$$(69) \quad \|\text{typical N}\| \subseteq \|\text{N}\|$$

The expression ‘typical wine’ denotes a subset of the set of wines. These adjectives cannot be used as predicates, but only as attributes.

- (70) a. \*That wine is typical.
- b. the typical wine

Some adjectives cut across both categories. The adjective *old*, for instance, when used with a noun *friend*, give rise to two meanings. If intersective, it would correspond to the meaning

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be provided in due time, especially when a comparison with Resian will be dealt with (Chapter 3, 5).

‘having lived for a long time; no longer young’, if substantive, it means ‘dating from far back; long-established’.<sup>45</sup>

Yet another group of adjectives do not belong to neither of the above categories. These are adjectives like *former*, *alleged*, *fake*. To illustrate, ‘former senator’ denotes neither an intersection of the set of senators and former things, nor a subset of senators.

(71) a.  $\| \text{former senator} \| \neq \| \text{former} \| \cap \| \text{senator} \|$

b.  $\| \text{former senator} \| \not\subseteq \| \text{senator} \|$

*Fake*, on the other hand is also called *privative* considering than in an example ‘fake banknote’ the noun is deprived of its defining property, or ‘it’s a non-banknote’. In set theoretic terms, the definition is as in (27).

(72)  $\| \text{fake N} \| \cap \| \text{N} \| = \emptyset$

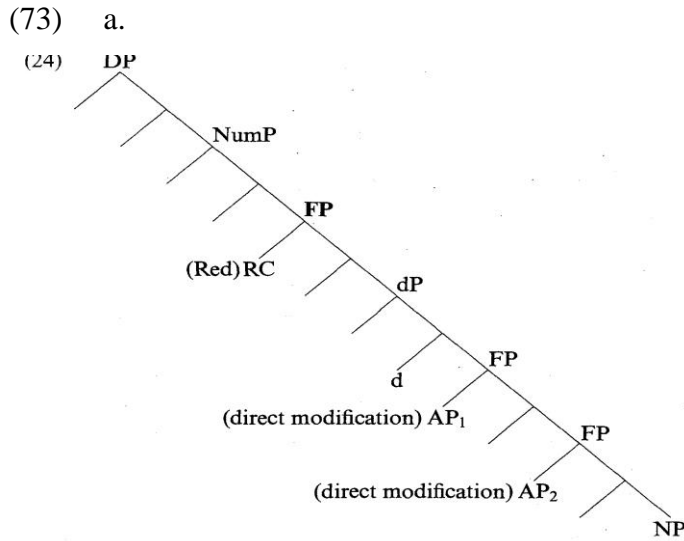
Neither of the last group of adjectives can be used predicatively.

The above facts could also be translated as in Cinque’s (2010) seminal work dedicated to the syntax of adjectives. The general idea is that adjectives come in two types, as either reference-modifying (‘direct modification’ adjectives as in Sproat and Shih’s 1988, 1991 parlance) or referent-modifying (indirect modifiers). This means that some adjectives modify the intension of the noun, others modify its extension; and this fact bears consequences for their overall syntax. First, direct modifiers are generated closer to the noun as specifiers of dedicated functional projections. Indirect modifiers are merged as predicates of (reduced) relative clauses. While adjectives merged as specifiers obey a hierarchy in (36), adjectives merged as predicates of (reduced) relative clauses – ‘indirect modification’ adjectives – are freely ordered (Cinque 2010: 28-29).

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<sup>45</sup> Both definitions are taken from Oxford Dictionary Online:  
(<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/old?q=old>)





b. Direct modification adjectives:

[ AP<sub>value</sub> [... [AP<sub>size</sub> [AP<sub>shape</sub> [... [AP<sub>color</sub> [... [AP<sub>nation</sub> [... [NP ] ...]

In sum, structurally speaking, adnominal adjectives can have a dual source, either as predicates of (reduced) relative clauses or as specifiers of dedicated functional projections. This principle underlines their positioning with respect to each other.

Here, I would like to point to some problems, though. Despite the fact the distinction between two types of modifiers is indubitable and semantically grounded (see above), there are problems both with what type of adjectives constitute the category of direct modifiers in a crosslinguistic perspective, and those related to their respective ordering.

To illustrate, a good example is provided by Slavic languages, especially when compared to Romance. It is a well known fact that Slavic languages allow for a laxer order of adjectives (Rappaport 2000, among many others). In Serbo-Croatian, for instance, all of the below sequences of adjectives seem equally acceptable.

- (74) a. veliki okrugli italijanski sto (Serbo-Croatian)  
 big round Italian table
- b. veliki italijanski okrugli sto  
 big Italian round table
- c. okrugli veliki italijanski sto  
 round big Italian table
- d. italijanski veliki okrugli sto

- Italian big round table
- e. veliki italijanski okrugli sto  
big Italian round table
- f. italijanski veliki okrugli sto  
Italian big round table

In Italian, on the other hand, only two orders are acceptable, with the second one being marked with respect to the first one (notice that the NP has crossed past color and nationality adjectives).

- (75) a. un grande tavolo rotondo italiano (unmarked) (Italian)  
a big table round Italian
- b. un grande tavolo italiano rotondo (marked)

One possible answer to the problem raised in (74) and stemming from the work of Cinque is that in case languages do not obey this hierarchy in a strict manner and display only unmarked or preferred orders, the principle applies nonetheless, but can be blurred due to the fact that some adjectives can have either source. Would this mean then that all adjectives in Slavic are indirect type of modifiers?<sup>46</sup>

Yet another answer could be that in (74) all adjectives are asyndectically coordinated, in which case they are not subject to hierarchical restrictions, to but then we run into a problem of the denotation of those adjectives.<sup>47</sup> The question is then why those adjectives in Italian are reference-modifying whereas in Serbian they are referent-modifying, considering that in both cases their denotation is the same (size, shape, color, size).

The second problem relates to the fact that the hierarchy itself is almost impossible to test. As pointed out by Giusti (2013) examples with more than two adjectives are extremely hard to find and they sound very artificial. I assume that this is because in most unmarked

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<sup>46</sup> Actually, two explanations suggest themselves in case of deviations from the hierarchy above. The first one is related to the fact that some adjectives may belong to either direct or indirect modification type and as a result exhibit a different syntax. The second one has to do with the displacement of adjectives for interpretative purposes. Importantly though, direct modification adjective cannot move (p.59).

<sup>47</sup> In written form, some speakers tend to separate adjectives with a comma.

cases adjectives are employed restrictively, when there is further need to identify the referent. Romance varieties are a good testing ground in this sense since they have the option to mark overtly the distinction between appositive and restrictive use of adjectives. For instance, adjectives placed pre-nominally always have the appositive reading, i.e. they do not help in identifying the referent but emphasize some already known quality, generally associated with the referent denoted by the noun. Postnominal adjectives are ambiguous between the appositive and restrictive reading (Cinque 2010). The use of pre-nominal adjectives in Italian, for instance, is rather restricted. I illustrate two examples to show the point. The example in (76) with prenominal adjective denoting color is stylistically marked, and generally could be found in poetry or otherwise used as a collocation, since any other adjective would be pragmatically odd.

- (76) le verdi colline della Toscana  
 ‘the green hills of Tuscany’ (Cinque 2010: 72, his (10))

The example in (77) shows that the range of felicitous adjectives include those related to the given context.

- (77) Ieri sono stata ad un matrimonio. Il giovane/#vecchio/#brutto sposo era molto  
 Yesterday AUX was<sub>1SG</sub> to a wedding. The young/old/ugly bridegroom was very  
 allegro.<sup>48</sup>  
 cheerfull

It seems that languages vary considerably in allowing the appositive use of adjectives, with dialects being much more parsimonious when compared to standard varieties. One case in point is illustrated by Paduan, a Romance dialect spoken in the Italian region of Veneto. In Paduan, the appositive use of adjectives is almost impossible, a part from a handful of adjectives that are either felt by most speakers as collocations (*bello* ‘nice’ with proper names)

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<sup>48</sup> Other adjectives allowed in this context could be *emozionatissimo* ‘very emotional’ *sposo*, *disperato* ‘desperate’ *felice* ‘happy’, with absolute superlatives being generally more felicitous (Paola Benincà, personal communication).

or are used preminally because directly modifying the reference . The paradigm is given in (78).<sup>49</sup>

- (78) a. Domenega passà so ndà a un matrimonio. \*El zovane sposo /  
 Sunday last AUX1<sub>SG</sub> to a wedding. The young bridegroom  
 El sposo,? (che el gera) zovane, el gera contento.  
 The bridegroom, that he<sub>CL</sub> was young, he<sub>CL</sub> was happy.
- b. ?La bela Sonia  
 the beautiful Sonia
- c. la to bela sorela  
 the your beautiful sister  
 ‘your mean sister’ (*beautiful* is used ironically)

Turning back to Slavic and the puzzle of why adjectives may swap place arguably without violating any of the constraints underlying configurationality of adjectives, I would like to propose the following.<sup>50</sup> First, notice that not all adjectives may scramble.

- (79) a. stari životni prostor (Serbo-Croatian)  
 old living space
- a'. \*životni stari prostor  
 living old space  
 ‘an/the old living space’
- b. prostrani porodični dom  
 spacious family home
- b'. \*porodični prostrani dom  
 family spacious home

<sup>49</sup> The same contrast is noted in Resian.

<sup>50</sup> This property have led various researches to propose that in Slavic adjectives are adjuncts (Bošković 2005, among many others).

This is normally the case of type-denoting or classificatory adjectives. I follow Rutkowski and Progovac (2005) in taking classificatory adjectives as a function of an adjective in a particular sentence rather than an inherent characteristic of a lexical entry. This means that practically any adjective may take part in establishing a kind/type if it expresses a regular/typical property of what is denoted by an NP (see Chierchia 1998 and the references therein). For the above reasons, I would maintain the distinction between direct/indirect modifiers but propose that only one adjective of either type is allowed. Direct modifiers are constituted exclusively by classificatory adjectives (or reference modifying, such as subsective or privative, for instance). In out-of-the blue contexts, when more than one adjective is used, it normally occurs under appositive reading, and then all adjectives tend to be of indirect modifier-type, asyndectically coordinated. But under normal circumstances more than one adjective is never used.

To conclude this survey about adjectives, there is yet another type that does not fall into neither of the two categories of Cinque's typology. There are adjectives with high referential value, either deictic (*upper/lower/yesterday's*) or anaphoric (*next, following, aforementioned, latter, etc.*), or modal adjective (*certain, possible*) and they tend to be merged very high within the nominal expression, above numerals. Generally, they are related to the DP layer more than other adjectives since they appear to be sensitive to the choice of a determiner (see also Giusti 2013). Ordinal numbers (since adjectival cross-linguistically) can be subsumed under this category.<sup>51</sup>

- (80) a. leve tri knjige<sup>52</sup> (Slovenian)  
left three books  
b. zgornje tri knjige  
upper three books (from Marušič 2011)

- (81) a. \*a/the following conclusion

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<sup>51</sup> When questioned, these adjectives have a corresponding identification with *Which one?*, and cannot be questioned with *What kind?* unlike descriptive adjectives.

<sup>52</sup> For instance, a felicitous use of the expression like 'gornje tri lepe klasične knjige' (upper three beautiful classical books) in Serbo-Croatian would require a context in which there are classic books on the lower and upper shelf, and in addition, some of them are of good artistic quality, others not (at least according the speaker's view). The example is pragmatically odd because generally speakers rarely convey so much information in order to identify the referent.

- b. a/\*the certain book
- c. a/the upper mountain

In Italian, these (quasi-functional) adjectives that appear very high in the extended projection include *altro* ‘other’, *prossimo* ‘next’, *scorso* ‘last’, *solito* ‘usual’, *solo* ‘only’, *unico* ‘unique’ and *rimanente/restante* ‘remaining’ (Cinque 2012a: 181).

To sum up, adjectives have different semantic properties and this is what underlies their position with respect to the noun. As for their sequencing, it was proposed that at least in Slavic they are subject to ordering constraints only if belonging to different types. This conclusion was based on the impossibility of classifying adjectives to scramble with other modifiers. What counts as a classifying adjective is determined not by the semantics of the adjective alone but by its syntax – it is merged as the lowest adjective in the nominal structure and it restricts the denotation of the noun directly. Otherwise, adjectives are merged either as indirect modifiers or as semi-functional elements close to the DP layer and above numerals.

## 2.6. Conclusion

This chapter has introduced a number of arguments relevant for the syntax of nominals. The first one was related to the nature of the functional structure on the top of nouns. Though the idea of defining D as a locus of referentiality is appealing at first sight, many parallels with indefinite nominals are lost. If specific indefinite NPs may fit into this idea, the problem of non-referential indefinites remains. Also, the fact that predicative nouns may be introduced by a determiner and that highly referential nouns may bear the definite article suggest that a plain mapping of referentiality onto the DP layer is hard to obtain. The idea adopted here is along the lines of Zamparelli (2000) who maps the denotation of nouns entirely onto the DP layer by splitting it into three components: argumental (strong), predicative (weak) and kind-denoting. However, though sharing basic insights of this idea, I assume that these differences are lexically encoded into articles/determiners. However, DP layer is needed for the interpretational properties and as a category identifying nominals. The second part critically reviewed the syntactic properties of major nominal arguments to be addressed in detail in the next chapter.

## Chapter 3

### The Nominal Syntax of Resian

#### 3.1. Introduction

This chapter encompasses several phenomena related to the Resian nominal syntax and syntax-semantic map hitherto uninvestigated, with the aim to offer a better understanding of the presence of Slavic- or Romance-like features in Resian nominals. It is a well known fact that language contact is one of the principal triggers for language change (Kroch 2011). However, an impact of the contact with Romance have not been grasped nor addressed by means of formal syntax.

In the previous chapter, we have seen that Slavic and Romance vary with respect to many traits relative to nominal syntax and syntax-semantics map. To illustrate, in Romance nouns move past adjectives (Cinque 1994), to the effect that most adjectives, a part from semi-functional ones, are placed postnominally. However, a noun never moves as high as the DP layer, which is why the use of articles is in most cases obligatory.

- (1) a. un/il ragazzo italiano/\*un/il italiano ragazzo (Italian)  
a/the boy Italian a/ the Italina boy  
b. \*(un/il) ragazzo italiano

Slavic, on the other hand, places all nominal constituents (to the exclusion of PPs and relatives) pre-nominally.<sup>1</sup>

- (2) slovenski človek/\*človek slovenski (Slovenian)  
Slovenian man man Slovenian

Though in Resian we find a structure in which the noun is placed in front of the adjective, it will be shown that this cannot be assumed as an instance of NP movement.

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<sup>1</sup> There are a few exceptions, for instance classificatory adjectives are placed postnominally in Polish and some adjectives can be postnominal in Russian.

An important difference between Slavic and Romance concerns the presence of rich case paradigm in Slavic and absence thereof in Romance. In Italian, for instance, all nominal constituents agree in number in gender. In Slavic, they agree in number, gender and case.

As for quantifiers and numerals, in Slavic they may project additional functional structure since case assignors. In Italian, they are rigorously inserted in the nominal extended projection (both numerals and quantifiers). We will observe that some tendencies towards Romance pattern in this sense are observed. The same can be said of lexical possessives. Resian lacks nominal possessive adjectives typical of Slavic, and employs adnominal genitives instead. However, this possessive structure seems to be in decline since subject to numerous constraints, and is replaced by an analytical possessive structure of the Romance type. I suspect that both changes have had the same scenario. Initially, some system-internal changes were driven by phonological changes. To illustrate, the process of lenition with the final loss of the fricative /h/ has led to the syncretism between nominative and genitive plural of the agreeing nominal constituents (universal quantifiers, demonstratives, possessives). Subsequently, the preposition was introduced in order to render the case on the complement NE visible to the interface system (3). As the prepositional possessive structure with lexical possessors is the only structure present in Romance, even in cases in which genitival ending is stable (in the singular paradigm) this structure has been regularly employed.

- (3) Noša kultūra jě tu-w roke od ti mladi.  
 our culture is here-in hands of the<sub>GEN/NOM.PL</sub> young<sub>GEN/NOM.PL</sub>  
 ‘Our culture is in the hand of young people.’ (NG)

As far as adjectives are concerned, Resian presents Slavic syntax altogether but differs considerably with respect to Slovenian as far as the distribution of long-form adjectives is concerned. The placement and sequencing of adjectives exhibit Slavic traits.

Finally, Resian has developed both definite and indefinite articles, but their distribution is rather peculiar with respect to Romance, since sensitive to the presence of adjectival modifiers. Unlike Italian, the indefinite article has also a plural form. With respect to Slovenian, it can also be used in non-specific contexts.

The chapter is organized as follows. In section 3.2. it is hinted at the position of the nominal constituents. In sections 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5. numerals/quantifiers, possessives and



adjectives are dealt with; Section 3.6. is concerned with the relative positioning of prenominal elements and the analysis of an alternative order in which an NP precedes its modifiers. Lastly, Section 3.7. addresses the syntax-semantics map of Resian nominals and provides empirical evidence for the claim that there is an indefinite article in Resian. Section 3.8. concludes the chapter.

### 3.2. Resian nominal constituents: Position

In Resian, all the nominal constituents, with the exception of relative clauses and prepositional phrases, occur prenominally, as illustrated by the following examples. The same positioning of nominal constituents is found in Slovenian. Italian, on the other hand, generally places adjectives postnominally.<sup>2</sup>

- (4) a. **wse** Rozajanavi (universal quantifier)  
all Resians
- b. **wsaki** sjort (distributive quantifier)  
every type
- c. **nidan** langač (negative quantifier)  
no language
- d. **karjě** litratuw (existential quantifiers)  
many photographs<sub>GEN.PL</sub>
- e. **već** bečuw  
more money<sub>GEN.PL</sub>
- (5) a. **iti** din (distal) (demonstratives)  
that day

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<sup>2</sup> Here, I limit myself to specifying case, gender and/or number properties only when necessary. To be more precise, in this section I specify case properties on the nominal complements of a case-assigning invariant numeral or quantifier; number features of the indefinite article; case, gender and number of possessives. In all other cases, the prenominal constituent bears the same set of features as the head noun.

- b. **isa** leć (proximal)  
this law
- c. **to** romoninjë (weak unmarked)  
that speaking
- d. **take** srce (qualitative)  
such heart
- (6) a. **dan** sīn (indefinite article) (determiners)  
a son
- a'. ne **stare** hišice  
one<sub>PL</sub> old houses<sub>DIM</sub>
- b. **käke** mēstu (indefinite determiner)  
some places
- c. **to** rozajansko romoninjë (definite article)  
the Resian speaking
- (7) a. **štiri** asočacjoni (cardinals) (numerals)  
four associations
- b. **dēsät** kraw  
ten COWS<sub>GEN.PL</sub>
- c. te **dēsetnji** nūmarjon (ordinals)  
the tenth number
- (8) a. **noša** kultūra (possessives)  
our<sub>NOM.FEM.SG</sub> culture<sub>NOM.FEM.SG</sub>
- b. **näš** glas  
our<sub>NOM.MASC.SG</sub> voice<sub>NOM.MASC.SG</sub>
- c. **nji** mati  
she<sub>GEN</sub> mother
- d. **nji** oća  
she<sub>GEN</sub> father

- (9) ne **stare** hišice (adjectives)  
 one old houses<sub>DIM</sub>

On the other hand, relative clauses, both appositive and restrictive, are always positioned postnominally.

- (10) Hudić, **ka an si mislil da an jë furbast** [...] (appositive)  
 devil who he<sub>CL</sub> REFL thought that he<sub>CL</sub> was cunning  
 ‘The devil, who thought of himself as cunning [...]’ (RE, Lipawica)
- (11) So bile te žane **ki so predle wolno.**<sup>3</sup> (restrictive)  
 AUX were the women who AUX spinned wool  
 ‘The women who were spinning wool were also there.’ (NG)

### 3.3. Numerals and quantifiers

As was hinted at in the previous section for other Slavic languages, numerals in Resian also fall into two distinct types. The numerals 1, 2, 3 and 4 display adjectival syntax in that they exhibit gender and number features and agree with the complement nominal expression (e.g. *triji/štirji sinavi* ‘three/four sons’ vs. *tri/štiri žane* ‘three/four women’).<sup>4</sup> In cases different from nominative and accusative, the entire noun phrase containing these numbers receives case from the external case assigner (verb or preposition) and is marked for the oblique case ((9) (10)), though this may also be contingent on the preservation of the case assigning properties of the preposition in question.

<sup>3</sup> In both examples the relative pronoun is the same – the orthographic difference is due to different varieties in question.

<sup>4</sup> The gender distinction is kept throughout the entire paradigm for numbers 1 and 2 but appears only in nominative for numbers 3 and 4.

(12) ziz štiri / štirima asoćacjoni  
with four / four<sub>INSTR.</sub> associations<sub>INSTR.PL</sub> (Stolvizza)

(13) Pravin tren sinen  
talk<sub>1SG</sub> three<sub>DAT</sub> boys<sub>DAT</sub>  
'I talk to three boys.' (Stolvizza)

Starting from the numeral 5 onwards, numbers are uninflected even in the presence of the external case assigner, whereas the NE bears uniformly genitive plural endings (cf also 7b).

(14) tu-w ti zadnji deset lit<sup>5</sup>  
here-in the last ten years<sub>GEN.PL</sub>  
'in the last ten years' (Stolvizza)

This is also the case of the NP under existential quantifiers ((4d) and (4e)).

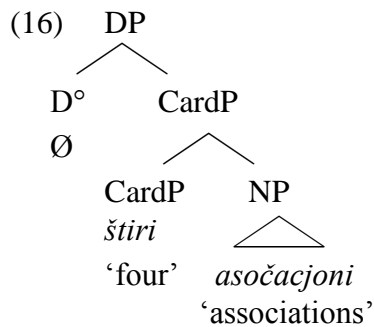
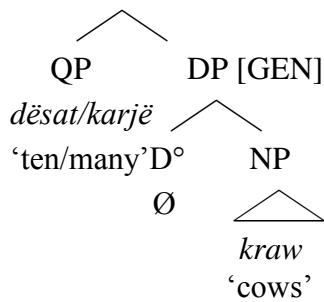
Recall from the previous chapter that this dichotomy can potentially be captured along the lines of Giusti and Leko (1996, 2005). The corresponding structural representations for the two different type of numerals is provided in trees in (15) and (16).

(15) QP

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<sup>5</sup> Standard Slovenian presents the same pattern as Resian, with the exception that low numbers decline obligatorily for case, whereas case assigning numbers do that optionally. As for the noun, it bears the case assigned by the external case assigner and thus agrees in case with the number. With the case assigning numbers the nominal complement may bear genitive or be overridden by the case assigned from the external assignor. The available patterns are exemplified in (i) and (ii)

- (i) njoke s štirimi siri (Slovenian)  
gnocchi with four<sub>INSTR.</sub> cheese<sub>INSTR.PL</sub>
- (ii) a. v zadnjih desetih letih  
in last<sub>LOC</sub> ten<sub>LOC</sub> years<sub>LOC</sub>  
b. v zadnjih deset let  
in last ten<sub>NOM/ACC</sub> years<sub>LOC</sub>  
c. v zadnjih deset letih  
in last<sub>LOC</sub> ten<sub>NOM/ACC</sub> years<sub>LOC</sub>



Again, placing numerals and quantifiers in the specifier position is warranted by the data in (17), where both numerals and existential quantifiers contain more structure.

- (17) a. [fis karjē] judi  
 too many people  
 'too many people' (NG)
- b. [trikrat dwisti] naših pravic  
 three.times twenty our<sub>GEN.PL</sub> story<sub>GEN.PL</sub>  
 'sixty stories of ours' (NG)
- c. [ne dwisti] lit<sup>6</sup>  
 a<sub>PL</sub> two.hundred years  
 'some (approximately) two hundred years' (NG)

<sup>6</sup> Compare to this effect the corresponding structure in Italian.

- (i) un duecento anni  
 a two.hundred years

The structure is essentially the same save for the difference that in Italian the indefinite determiner is in the singular form and in Resian in the plural.

Recall from the previous chapter that such dichotomy is not registered within Romance, which displays a uniform structure for all the NEs containing numbers – the one in (16). There is empirical evidence that Resian cardinal-containing NEs have been changing towards the Romance pattern, and that this is an instance of contact-induced change. Two pieces of data suggest this line of reasoning. The first one pertains to the agreement patterns internal to NEs containing numbers, the other one to the agreement phenomena external to NEs.

As far as the former, unlike Slovenian (and Serbo-Croatian), in which the quantifier/modifier preceding the case assigning numeral shares the case with the complement NE and is thus assumed to be extracted from there, in Resian the two constituents exhibit different case – nominative plural and genitive plural, respectively.

(18) vseh pet junakov (Slovenian)  
 all<sub>GEN.PL</sub> five heroes<sub>GEN.PL</sub>

(19) wsy pet konjuw  
 all<sub>NOM.PL</sub> five horses<sub>GEN.PL</sub>  
 ‘all five horses’ (Stolvizza)

Concerning the latter, unlike Slovenian, where these NEs cause singular agreement on the predicate (or fail to agree and hence triggers default, neuter agreement on the verb), in Resian the predicate agrees in number and gender with the NE. The example in (20) shows the Resian pattern, whereas (21) is an example from Slovenian.

(20) So bile trykradwysti wužic [...]  
 AUX<sub>PL</sub> were<sub>FEM.PL</sub> sixty stories<sub>GEN.FEM.PL</sub>  
 ‘There were sixty stories [...] (ZR)

(21) Pet evrov je bilo premalo / \*so bili premalo. (Slovenian)  
 5 euro<sub>GEN.MASC.PL</sub> aux<sub>SG</sub> been<sub>NEU.SG</sub> too.little / AUX<sub>PL</sub> been<sub>MASC.PL</sub> too.little  
 ‘Five euros were not sufficient.’  
 (from Marušič and Nevins 2009)

In order to account for the above facts – heterogenous case patters inside NEs containing numbers and plural agreement on predicats – I propose that in Resian all NEs containing numbers are in fact DPs, and are not ambiguous between QPs and DPs, regardless of their ability to assign case. In the spirit of Kayne (2007), I suggest that all numerals are uniformly placed in the Specifier of an unpronounced head NUMBER (Card<sup>o</sup>). This silent head is responsible for the case on the complement nominal in Resian and is not endowed with the number features itself (it is numberless and caseless) but is obtained through agreement between with the head N.<sup>7</sup> The case disagreement pattern seen above is accounted for if we assume that case on the pre-numeral element is the case of the whole NE containing the numeral assigned from the external case assigner but visible only on the highest functional element in the extended nominal projection (Sauerland 2004; Cardinaletti and Giusti 2011).

That all numeral-containing NEs in Resian behave uniformly (except for those with ‘one’), irrespective of the case on the following nominal, is confirmed also by the fact ordering considerations of pre-numeral constituents and their case properties (22).

- (22) a.     wse     ise           štiri asočajuni  
           all<sub>NOM.PL</sub> these<sub>NOM.PL</sub> four associations<sub>NOM.PL</sub>  
 a'.     wsi     isi           pet librinow  
           all<sub>NOM.PL</sub> these<sub>NOM.PL</sub> five books<sub>GEN.PL</sub>  
 b.     te       prve       štiri asočajoni  
           the<sub>NOM.PL</sub> first<sub>NOM.PL</sub> four associations<sub>NOM.PL</sub>  
           the first four associations  
 c.     ti       drui       pet librinow  
           the<sub>NOM.PL</sub> other<sub>NOM.PL</sub> five books<sub>GEN.PL</sub>

With regards to the existential quantifiers, in contrast to Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian, in Resian only non-agreeing, projecting categories were found.<sup>8</sup> They exhibit Slavic-like

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<sup>7</sup> Kayne (2007) convincingly shows that this unpronounced NUMBER is singular in English. This could also hold for Italian as already seen above on the basis of the number feature of a prenumeral determiner (*un duecento anni* ‘a two hundred years’). However, in Resian, the same item is plural, *ne dwisti lit* ‘a<sub>PL</sub> two hundred years’.

<sup>8</sup> In oblique contexts various strategies were employed in order to circumvent the problem and avoid the constituency of the quantifier and the nominal complement. For instance, a sentence ‘I wrote to many students’

properties in that they assign genitive case to the nominal complement, as illustrated in (4d) and (4e). Nevertheless, one important property sets them apart from the Slavic-like QPs. As far as agreement on the predicate is concerned, in most cases they trigger plural agreement on the predicate (23a). Very few cases of singular agreement pattern were found and not all the informants accepted them. In Slovenian, on the other hand, default agreement is the only option (24).

- (23) a. **So napisane** karje nih lipih riči.  
aux<sub>PL</sub> written<sub>FEM.PL</sub> many a<sub>GEN.FEM.PL</sub> nice<sub>GEN.FEM.PL</sub> things<sub>GEN.FEM.PL</sub>  
 ‘Many nice things were written.’ (NG)
- b. %Tu-w ti rozajanski kultürski hñši **jë bilu** karjë judi.  
here-in the Resian cultural house AUX<sub>SG</sub> was many people  
 ‘There were a lot of people in the Resian cultural center.’ (NG)
- (21) Kjer **je** mnogo besed, **je** mnogo laži. (Slovenian – default agreement only)  
where is many words<sub>GEN</sub> is many lies<sub>GEN</sub>  
 ‘A lot of words hide a lot of lies.’ (Slovenian proverb)

Another property observed pertains to the process of change affecting the existential quantifier *karjë* ‘many’. Besides the structure *karjë litratuw* ‘many books<sub>GEN</sub>’, Resian is developing an additional configuration in which *karjë* ‘many’ is reanalyzed as an adjectival quantifier agreeing in number with the head noun, presumably in order to fill the lexical gap.

- (25) Po poti ni so sretli karjë judi in ni so vidali  
on road they<sub>CL</sub> aux met many people<sub>GEN.PL</sub> and they AUX saw  
 karji ni lipi rači [...].

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was rendered as *Si pisou karjë letter studintan*. (lit. I wrote many letters to students.) (Oseacco), or a preposition was inserted in order to rescue the structure *Si pisou lettere za karjë student*.’ With the prepositions other than those assigning accusative, like *ziz* ‘with’ (which assigns instrumental), the problem did not arise given that this preposition is used with the accusative form as well (since losing its case assigning properties): *Si romoneu ziz karjë judi* (I spoke with many people).

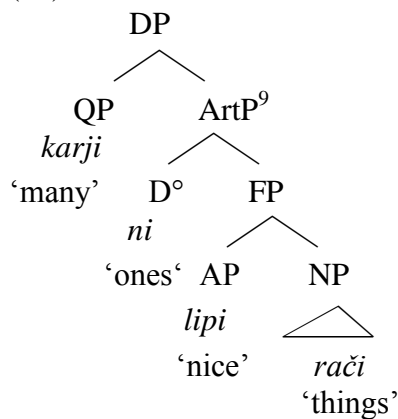


many<sub>NOM.PL</sub> a<sub>NOM.PL</sub> nice<sub>NOM.PL</sub> words<sub>NOM.PL</sub>

‘They met many people on the road and they saw many nice things [...].’ (VC)

Structurally speaking, this newly-formed adjectival-like quantifier does not project any longer additional functional structure on the top of the noun, and behaves similarly to the universal quantifier. The structure proposed is thus the one in (26).

(26)



As expected, just like the universal quantifier is found only within definite nominal expressions, the agreeing *karje* is restricted to indefinite NEs. For the reasons of semantic incompatibility, this quantifier is incompatible with demonstratives since the two do not agree in definiteness.

(27) \*karji isi librīni  
 many these books

The genuine quantifier, on the other hand, can be used with both indefinite and definite noun phrases. This is expected, as it embeds the full NE.

<sup>9</sup> I labelled this projection provisionally as ArtP since the projection hosting articles and demonstratives is not the highest one within the extended nominal projection (see previous chapter).

- (28) karjě tih/nih starih rači<sup>10</sup>  
 many the<sub>GEN</sub>/a<sub>GEN.PL</sub> old<sub>GEN</sub> things<sub>GEN</sub>  
 ‘many of these books’ (NG)

The above data illustrate an innovation of the Resian grammatical system. Recall that true quantity adjectives in Giusti (1991 and subsequent works), like ‘many’ in ‘the many problems’ are placed below D°. As both syntax and morphology of Resian lack this option, the new quantifier is created out of the existing, invariant quantifier, but using the evidence provided by the morpho (syntactic) properties of Italian quantifiers.

In this section, the properties of the Resian quantifiers were addressed. Some syntactic changes were attributed to the situation of language contact, namely those leading to the uniform treatment of all NEs containing cardinals, regardless of case assigning properties of the numbers, a typical Slavic property. Yet another contact-induced change relates to the rise of a novel quantifier, but whose syntax differs from both Slavic and Romance.

The next section deals with issues pertaining to the syntax of the Resian possessives.

### 3.4. Possessives

The system of Resian possessive comprises both adjectival and nominal (lexical) possessives, achieved by means of adnominal genitives (like in Polish). The two systems exhibit rather different syntactic properties. Whereas the system of possessive adjectives is comparable to both Slovenian and Italian counterparts – save for the fact that in Resian and Slovenian adjectival possessives can license null definite D unconstrainedly – the system of lexical possessives is different from Italian and comparable to Slovenian only to a certain degree. On the other hand, lexical possessives altogether seem to be in decline due to the rise of the analytical possessive structure, akin to the one in use in Italian as the only option, and in

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<sup>10</sup> Note that /h/ is used here for the genitive plural, but this is due to the fact that examples from NG are written in Standard Resian, mainly inspired by Slovenian and revised accordingly. In no variety the genitive plural is distinct from the nominative plural.

Colloquial Slovenian as one of the options, for conveying structures with lexical possessors.<sup>11</sup> Resian is a system in change and is transiting to a more analytical structure on different levels of grammar. With regards to possessive structures, although genitive case is well preserved on nouns, the prepositional possessive construction has been replacing adnominal genitives and is applied throughout as a most preferred option. As a matter of fact, the preposition *od* ‘of’, involved in this structure, assigns genitive case to the complement NE. Genitive is marked even on the proper names of Italian origin as exemplified by (29).

- (29) wūže od Rinina Chinese Hođina anu poezije od Silvane Paletti Bertulave  
 songs of Rino<sub>GEN</sub> Chinese Hođin and poems of Silvana<sub>GEN</sub> Paletti Bertulawa<sub>GEN</sub>  
 anu od Renatina Quaglia Ğukatavaga  
 and of Renato<sub>GEN</sub> Quaglia Ğukataw<sub>GEN</sub> (RD)

The existence of both genitive case on nouns and the preference towards the prepositional, analytical structure must be viewed as an instance of change. The main property of the so called ‘upward change’ (see Van Gelderen 2010) is that an element undergoing change will be identified in two different positions, one lower and one higher in the hierarchy. To that end,

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<sup>11</sup> To illustrate, analytical structure, as a more pervasive property of the Resian system, is used to express all thematic roles, Possessor/Agent/Theme:

- (i) a. makinja od Silvane (Possessor)  
 car of Silvana  
 b. poezije od Silvane (Agent)  
 poems of Silvana  
 c. kazanjē od kwadrinuw (Theme)  
 exhibition of paintings

In (Colloquial) Slovenian, this is not the case: Possessor and Agent are fine, but the theme is ruled out:

- (ii) a. hiša od Janeza (Possessor)  
 house of Janez  
 b. besede od naših staršev (Agent)  
 words of our parents  
 c. \*razstava od slik (Theme)  
 exhibition of paintings

The Possessor hierarchy (Possessor > Agent > Theme) seems to be at work here as well. An implicational scale could be translated as: a. If Theme can be expressed by means of a PP, then both Agent and Possessor can be conveyed by a PP; b. If Agent can be expressed by a PP, then Possessor can be conveyed by a PP as well.

compare Macedonian and Bulgarian, which have undergone this change fully and are comparable to Italian in this respect. Both have lost genitive case and are using analytical possessive constructions instead, as the only one available, consisting of *od/na* + NE ‘of + NE’, with no case endings on the nominal.

- (30) a) Promocija na knjigata "Ugrej sonce vo mojot dom" od Ivan Trposki<sup>12</sup>  
 presentation.the of book.the Heat sun at my.the home of Ivan Trposki  
 (Macedonian, <http://www.intvau.com>)
- b. knjigata na Ivan  
 book.the of Ivan  
 ‘the book of Ivan’ (Macedonian and Bulgarian)

As it stands now, and particularly in relation to more innovative speakers, the genitive ending in Resian, though regularly appearing on nominal complements, is no longer able to convey possession on its own. For this reason, the preposition is used higher in the structure.

The first part of the section treats adjectival possessives, whereas the second part is dedicated to lexical possessives.

### 3.4.1. Adjectival possessives

Resian possessives exhibit two morphologically different forms, depending on the person. For the first and second person they appear as true adjectival forms and agree in case and number with the possessum ((8a), (8b)). Conversely, third person possessives do not take regular adjectival inflection but appear as an invariant form ((8c) (8d)). This form is actually the genitive form of the personal pronoun.

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<sup>12</sup> Again, here the interpretation of the NP is agentive.

- (31) za njeh lipo fješto<sup>13</sup>  
 for they<sub>GEN</sub> nice<sub>ACC</sub> holiday<sub>ACC</sub>  
 ‘for their nice holiday’ (NG)

Regardless of the morphological difference, both forms show common syntactic properties. Resian 3rd person possessives, for instance, just like their adjectival counterparts, occur freely in postcopular predicative position.

- (32) Te libri jë möj /nji<sup>14</sup>  
 that book is mine /she<sub>GEN</sub> (Stolvizza)

Their adjectival nature is additionally confirmed by the possibility to be coordinated with ethnic adjectives, which, at least in Resian, are indisputably adjectival (see below).

- (33) Ti solbaški so teli da to jë ti solbaški Sert. Ti biski so  
 The Stolvizzans aux<sub>3PL</sub>wanted that it is the Stolvizzan Sert. The SanGiorgians aux<sub>3PL</sub>  
 teli da to jë nji.  
 wanted that it was theirs  
 ‘The people from Stolvizza wanted the mountain Sert to be Stolvizzan. The people  
 from San Giorgio wanted it were theirs. (RF, Prato)

They are obligatorily positioned preminally, similarly to all other adjectives.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Note that this is yet another instance of heterogeneous case patterns in the Resian noun phrase, considering that the possessor is genitival and the rest of the noun phrase is bearing accusative. But see below for the claim that adnominal genitives of pronouns are actually exhibiting adjectival syntax nonetheless.

<sup>14</sup> Resian informants were also providing structures such as: *Isi to je möj libri*. ‘This it is my book.’

<sup>15</sup> The fact that all pronominal possessives display the same syntactic properties, be they adjectives or pronouns, is reminiscent of Italian possessive system, in which the non-agreeing 3rd person plural possessive *loro* behaves almost identically as other agreeing possessives.

- (i) il mio libro / la mia casa  
 the<sub>MASC</sub> my<sub>MASC</sub> book<sub>MASC</sub> / the<sub>FEM</sub> my<sub>FEM</sub> house<sub>FEM</sub>  
 ‘my book/my house’
- (ii) il loro libro / la loro casa  
 the<sub>MASC</sub> their book<sub>MASC</sub> / the<sub>FEM</sub> their<sub>FEM</sub> house<sub>FEM</sub>

- (34) a. năș sîn /\*sîn năș  
           our son son our
- b. nji sîn / \*sîn nji  
           they<sub>GEN</sub> son son they<sub>GEN</sub>

As pointed out in the previous chapter (*Possessive Parameter* of Giorgi and Longobardi's), the adjectival nature of the possessives will bear consequences on their distribution within NE. This means that they are able to appear in the indefinite nominal expressions as well, as NEs containing them are not by themselves specified for definiteness, just like in Italian.

- (35) na nji amĭginja  
       one her girlfriend  
       ‘one girlfriend of hers’ (Stolvizza)

On the other hand, Resian possessives cannot be preceded by the definite article and are generally not compatible with the definite article.<sup>16</sup>

- (36) a. \*ta nji amĭginja  
           the her friend

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‘their book/house’

Assuming in line with Cardinaletti (1999) that *loro* is a genitive of the personal pronoun and not an invariant possessive adjective, the conclusion is that this form is on its way to be reanalyzed as a true adjective nonetheless. For the contexts in which the use of ‘loro’ is ungrammatical see Cardinaletti (1999) I assume that these restrictions on the use of bare *loro* ‘their’ (without the insertion of the preposition *di* ‘of’) are due to the syncretism (in present-day Italian) between nominative, genitive, dative and accusative – *loro* ‘they, their/of them/ to them/them’. Dative *loro* is somewhat less preferred nowadays and is limited to higher registers, which is why *a + loro* is used in colloquial Italian. As for genitive, according to Cardinaletti it is restricted to the prenominal position internal to DP. This is why *loro* is excluded in postcopular predicative position ‘Questo ritratto è \*? loro.’. However, all my Italian consultants (of younger generation) accept *loro* as predicate possessives, which is also confirmed by Internet search results.

- (iii) La bicicletta è **loro**, se la pedalino. ([http://forum.corriere.it/cosi\\_e\\_la\\_vita/28-03-2005/tanto\\_io\\_figli\\_non\\_ne\\_ho\\_credito-382539.html](http://forum.corriere.it/cosi_e_la_vita/28-03-2005/tanto_io_figli_non_ne_ho_credito-382539.html)) accessed 10/04/2014

- b. \*nji ta amīginja  
her the friend

I take this to indicate possessives adjectives alone are able to contribute reference to the nominal expression by targeting SpecDP and licensing a definite null D. Possessive adjectives are thus found in the following two positions within the Resian nominal expressions.

- (37) a. [DP na [<sub>AgRP</sub> [nji<sub>i</sub>]]...[<sub>NP</sub> amignja t<sub>i</sub>]]  
b. [DP nji<sub>i</sub> [<sub>AgRP</sub> [t<sub>i</sub>]]...[<sub>NP</sub> amignja t<sub>i</sub>]]

### 3.4.2. Lexical possessives

Nominal possessives adjectives are absent in Resian (unlike in Slovenian). They are attested in some older stages of Resian, and are now preserved only in religious texts – they are no longer productive and are perceived as archaic by Resian speakers.

- (38) dwa Ježušova dišepula (nominal possessive adjective)  
two of.Jesus disceples  
'(the) two disceples of Jesus' (RE, Luca 24:13-35, "I Discepoli sulla via di Emmaus", translated in Resian, 1852)

Instead, Resian avails itself of adnominal genitives which are grammatical in both pre- and post-nominal position.

- (39) Marije sīn /sīn Marije  
Marija<sub>GEN</sub> son/ son Marija<sub>GEN</sub> (Stolvizza)

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<sup>16</sup> Unless the definite article is used as the focus marker (for which, see Chapter 5).

Lexical possessives are subject to tight restrictions: they have to be singular, definite and animate. Recall that all these limitations underlie the formation of nominal adjectival possessives in other Slavic languages.

(40) *dobrute Jezušā* [+animate, +definite, +singular]  
 good.deeds Jesus<sub>GEN</sub>  
 ‘Jesus’s good deeds’ (RE, Stabat mater, 1862)

(41) *nua lisice* [+animate, +definite, +singular]  
 leg fox<sub>GEN</sub>  
 ‘the fox’s leg’ (Stolvizza)

Furthermore, they do not occur readily in pre-nominal position since their fronting generally requires that the lexical possessive be simple, not phrasal (but see exception in (40), and that the nominal expression contain no functional items other than possessive itself. The latter is shown by the ungrammaticality of the example (45a) and (45b), in which a distributive quantifier *wsaki* blocks the fronting of the lexical possessive.<sup>17</sup> Lexical possessives can also be used as predicates but only if conveying a Possessor role (46).

(42) *Davydā krajuškē stōl* (simple)  
 David<sub>GEN</sub> royal throne  
 ‘the royal throne of David’ (RE, Lipawica)

(43) *ma moti amīg* (complex)  
 my mother’s friend (BTT, Stolvizza)

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<sup>17</sup> Judgments about noun phrases containing both numeral and lexical possessives are not so straightforward. The example *Marije tri wenti* ‘Marija’s three dresses’ was judged acceptable but other examples featuring both numerals and lexical possessives were rejected, for example *\*Marije triji otroci* (lit. ‘of Marija three children’) or *\*triji Marije otroci*, and only *triji otroci Marije* was accepted. The potential answer could lie in alienable vs. inalienable (*dresses* versus *children*).



- (44) a. kazanjë      kwadrinuw      Brunette Di Lenardo<sup>18</sup>      (complex)  
           exhibition      paintings      Brunetta<sub>GEN</sub> Di Lenardo  
           ‘the exhibition of Brunetta Di Lenardo’s paintings’      (RD)
- b. \*kazanje Brunette Di Lenardo kwadrinuw
- (45) a. \*wsaki Marie      amig  
           every Maria<sub>GEN</sub> friend
- b. \*Marie      wsaki amig  
           Maria<sub>GEN</sub> every friend
- c. wsaki amig      Marie  
           every friend      Maria<sub>GEN</sub>      (Stolvizza)
- (46) Libri jë Sandrina.  
           book is Sandro’s  
           ‘The book is Sandro’s.’      (Stolvizza)

Considering the robust restrictions on the distribution of lexical possessives in general, analytical possessive structures, achieved by means of a postnominal PP has been replacing adnominal genitives even in cases in which the latter does not violate any of the mentioned requirements. The key advantage of possessive PPs is that they are not affected by any of the above constraints on the type of the possessor. This means that possessors inside this construction may also be plural, indefinite and inanimate.

- (47)            sito od radia Spazio 103      [-animate]  
           site of radio Spazio  
           ‘web site of the radio Spazio 103’      (NG)
- (48) wüže (od) Rinina Chinese Hoğina anu poezije (od) Silvane Paletti Bertulave  
           songs of Rino<sub>GEN</sub> Chinese Hoğin and poems of Silvana<sub>GEN</sub> Paletti Bertulawa<sub>GEN</sub>  
           anu (od) Renatina Quaglia Ğukatavaga<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> In this example the genitival noun phrase has an agentive interpretation, but these two NEs, agents and possessors in the ‘picture’ nouns show uniform syntax.

and of Renato<sub>GEN</sub> Quaghlia Ġukataw<sub>GEN</sub>

(RD)

In (48) the syntetic and analytic possessive structures are in free alternation. Furthermore, the possessive PP is fully grammatical in inalienable possessive structures denoting inherent relation between the possessor and the possessum ((49) – ‘part-whole’ relationship, (50) – kinship relationship) alongside the preposition-less possessive structure.

(49) nua lisice /nua od lisice

leg fox<sub>GEN</sub> / leg of fox<sub>GEN</sub>

‘the leg of the fox’

(Stolvizza)

(50) baba Lorenzine /baba od Lorenzine

grandmother Lorenzina<sub>GEN</sub> /grandmother of Lorenzina<sub>GEN</sub>

‘Lorenzina's grandmother’

Finally, NEs containing lexical possessives are always definite, which is why they are incompatible with indefinite articles.

(51) \*na Marie amġinja

a Marie girlfriend

(Stolvizza)

‘I came to visit my friend.’

(Stolvizza)

In order to rescue the structure the preposition *od* ‘of’ is inserted.

(52) na amġinja od Marie

a friend of Maria<sub>GEN</sub>

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<sup>19</sup> Interestingly though, the lexical possessive of masculine names is formed by adding a genitival ending to a nominal possessive adjective (Renato > Renatin (nominal possessive adjective, lit. of Renato) > Renatina (adnominal genitive). Since morphemes closer to the stem are assumed to represent older stages of language, the derivational affix used to form nominal adjectives (-in) is older than the inflectional affix of the adnominal genitive (-a).

To conclude, I assume that lexical possessive may stay in situ due to their overt genitival morphology (Giusti 2013) but are semantically compatible only with definite Ds, due to their inherent definite semantics. Given that they are crucially incompatible with other functional elements, I assume that they are either raised to SpecDP or must be in Agree relation with the definite D. Their phrasal nature is confirmed by few, but yet possible instances of expansion (see (43)).

- (53) a. [DP [Marie<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>AgP</sub> ... [<sub>NP</sub> amignja t<sub>i</sub>]]  
 b. [DP wsaka [<sub>NP</sub> amignja [Marie]]]

The following table summarizes the basic distributional properties of each type of possessive construction in Resian.

Table 3.1 Possessive constructions in Resian

|   | <b>Adjectival possessives</b> | <b>Lexical possessives</b>       | <b>Possessive PPs</b>   |
|---|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <b>Position w.r.t. noun</b>                         | Prenominal                    | Postnominal/prenominal           | Postnominal             |
| <b>Semantic compatibility</b>                       | Definite/indefinite NEs       | Definite NEs                     | Definite/indefinite NEs |
| <b>Co-occurrence with other functional elements</b> | Yes                           | Only if postnominal and definite | Yes                     |
| <b>Predicate position</b>                           | Yes                           | Yes                              | Yes                     |

In the following section, I discuss several issues pertaining to the adjectival syntax.

### 3.5. Adjectives

In this section I first investigate the distribution of short and long forms of adjectives. Hence I address some issues related to their sequencing.

#### 3.5.1. Long/short-form adjectives<sup>20</sup>

In Resian, adjectives agree with the head noun in number, gender and case. However, as many other Slavic languages, Resian, in addition, displays two forms for most descriptive adjectives. Such distinction is preserved only on nominative singular of masculine and neuter adjectives with fixed stem stress and on adjectives with columnar desinence stress, with all other forms being indistinguishable, and thus belonging to the long-form adjectival paradigm (Steenwijk 1992: 107-108). The examples below illustrate the difference between the two types:

(54) adjective ‘new’ (fixed stem stress)

a. nōw (short-form, nominative masculine) – nōvi (long-form, nominative masculine)

b. nōwu (short-form, nominative neuter) – nōvë (long-form, nominative neuter)

(55) adjective ‘good’ (columnar desinence stress in the feminine paradigm)

a. dobrä (short-form, with the stress on ‘ä’) – dōbra (long-form, with the stress on ‘ö’)

For ease of exposition, I will use throughout only examples containing a distinctive ending, resembling to the one in (54a).

The distribution of long/short-form adjectives is such that long-form adjectives occur as attributes, whereas short-form adjectives are used only predicatively. This distribution is reminiscent of modern Russian and it was arguably already a trend in common Slavic (Flier, 1974; but for the arguments against this view see Rondestvedt, 1986). The distributional paradigm of long/short-form adjectives is given in (56).



- (59) ni stari möj amīg  
 an old my friend  
 ‘a friend of mine, who is old’ (Stolvizza)

We conclude similarly as Larson (1999) for Russian that the distinction long/short in Resian is only positional, with long morphology being nothing more than agreement morphology on adjectives in adnominal contexts. This is confirmed by the fact that long-form adjectives are not sensitive to readings associated with attributive adjectives only.<sup>21</sup>

### 3.5.2. *Issues in the sequencing of adjectives*

We have seen in the previous chapter that languages vary substantially when it comes to adjectival category. Resian, for instance, lacks many among those adjectives that in Italian or Slovenian can be used only adnominally, and applies relative clauses accordingly. Some cases are exemplified below.

- (60) to letu k pride  
 the summer that comes  
 ‘next summer’

- (61) profesör, ki wučil  
 professor that taught  
 ‘ex professor’

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<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, it is not possible to reconstruct the development of long/short distinction on adjectives due to the lack of diachronic data. However, that this stage was preceded by the one in which both adjectives occurred adnominally is confirmed by the fact that in traditional songs or collocations (also toponyms) there are residues of short-form adjectives used attributively: *din lipi bukuw gost* ‘a big beech wood’ (nowadays only *bukuvi*), *boguw lok* ‘rainbow’, *to ni bo lilo cel dan* ‘it probably won’t rain all day long’. All examples are drawn from Steenwijk (1994: 113)

- (62) profesör, ki pridë  
 professor that come  
 ‘future professor’ (all from Stolvizza)

On the other hand, it possesses adjectives that in Italian or English are non-existent and may be rendered either by means of a PP or a relative clause (Italian) or a genitival phrase (English).

- (63) ti laninji libri  
 the last.year book  
 ‘last year’s book’ (Italian: *il libro dell’anno scorso/uscito l’anno scorso*) (ZR)

As far as the sequencing of adjectives, we have seen above that in out-of-the-blue contexts Slavic languages allow for more freedom. Resian in this regard does not constitute an exception. One case in point is shown in (64), where both orders were judged as equally acceptable by informants.

- (64) a. ta lesana černa tawla  
 the wooden black table
- b. ta černa lesana tawla  
 the black wooden table  
 ‘the black wooden table’ (English: *\*wooden black table*)  
 (Stolvizza)

Interestingly though, even adjectives that in Italian are placed rigidly next to the noun or are taken to be arguments of the noun (like in nominalizations) may swap place with some higher adjectives without leading to ungrammaticality. In (65) the manner or subject-oriented adjective *strašan* ‘horrible’ (Cinque 1994) may follow the thematic adjective *niški* ‘German’.

- (65) a. ta strašna niška okupacjon  
 the horrible German occupation

- b. ta niška strašna okupacijon  
the German horrible occupation (Stolvizza)

But as expected, classifying adjectives are merged as direct modifiers and cannot scramble. The order below was judged by speakers as the only acceptable order.

- (66) te rozajanski kultürski čirkolo  
the Resian cultural circle  
'The Resian cultural circle' (RD)

In respect of the fact that the displacement of the so-called arguments of the noun, such as agentive German in the NP *ta niška okupacijon* 'German occupation', does not result in ungrammaticality as it would in its Italian or English translations, I assume, in line with Arsenijević *et al.* (2014) that these adjectives are adjectives proper and not underlying nouns. As a matter of fact, Arsenijević *et al.* build their proposal on the fact that ethnic adjectives may have not only a thematic use (in which case they generally express an agent theta-role) but also classificatory use (like *French* in *French wine*), and finally may contribute origin and therefore predicate of individuals (John is English). They conflate all three uses by endowing ethnic adjectives with the semantics of origin, considering that they express a relation of origin, thereby dispensing with 'disguised nominal' view altogether.<sup>22</sup>

- (67) a. French (x) iff Origin (x, France)  
b. Origin (x,y) iff *x* comes into existence within the spatial domain of *y*.  
(Arsenijević *et al.* 2010)

This also allows the above authors to split ethnic and other relational adjectives. We have seen above that Resian relational adjective such as *kultürski* 'cultural' indeed defy scrambling. For the present purposes, it will suffice that there are convincing semantic (and syntactic) arguments in favor of the hypothesis that ethnic adjectives (in all their uses) are

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<sup>22</sup> For the full elaboration of the proposal, the reader is referred to the paper.





universal quantifiers > determiners

- (71) **wse te** lipe rěči  
all the nice things

universal quantifiers > numerals

- (72) a. **wsy pet** konjuw (cardinals)  
all five horses  
b. **wsy ti pyrvi** librini (ordinals)  
all the first books

universal quantifiers > possessives

- (73) **wse naši** jüdi  
all our people

universal quantifiers > adjectives

- (74) **wse lipe** reče  
all nice things

Conversely, distributive quantifiers sit lower than the universal quantifier, which complies with the hierarchy in (69). One piece of evidence is provided by the fact that distributive quantifier *wsaki* ‘every’ cannot co-occur with the definite determiner, differently from the universal quantifier *wse* ‘all’, as in (71).<sup>25</sup> The contrast recalls their Italian counterparts, in which we have *tutte le belle cose* ‘all the nice things’ but *ogni bella cosa* ‘every nice thing’. In the latter case, the use of the definite article is ruled out. The same is true of adjectival possessives, which follow the universal quantifier while preceding the distributive quantifier.

- (75) *wsaki* (\*te) valyki krej  
every (\*the) big part

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<sup>25</sup> This means that they compete for the same position. However, in the hierarchy in (69) they are placed lower than determiners. This is due to English *my every sin*, under the assumption that English possessives sit in D°.

- (76) a. **wse naši** jüdi (universal quantifier > possessive)  
all our people
- a'. \***naši wse** jüdi (\*possessive > universal quantifier)
- b.. **möj wsaki** amig (possessive > distributive quantifier)  
my every friend
- b'. \***wsaki möj** amig (\*distributive quantifier > possessive)

(Strong) demonstratives precede determiners, numerals, possessives and adjectives.

demonstrative > determiners<sup>26</sup>

- (77) **iti** (te) lipi sïn  
that the nice son

demonstrative > numerals

- (78) a. **ise** **štiri** asočacjoni  
these four associations
- b. **iti** (te) **pyrvi** libri  
that the first book

demonstrative > possessive

- (79) **iti** **noš** amig  
that our friend

(80) demonstrative > adjective

- iti** **lipi** člověk  
that handsome man

Determiners seem to be able to occupy different positions.

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<sup>26</sup>This structure is marked, as will be shown in chapter 5.

determiners > possessives > determiners

- (81) a. **nji** (**te**) štartnji diško  
their the last disk  
b. **te** zadnji **njuh** CD  
the last their CD

(NG)

They always precede adjectives, as witnessed by the above examples.

Cardinals also seem to be able to occupy different positions. One is either below or above determiners (as in (82a) and (82b), respectively). The other is either above or below (adjectival) possessives ((83a) and (84b)).<sup>27</sup>

numerals > determiners > numerals

- (82) a. **štirji ti** lipi lībrini  
four the beautiful books  
b. **ti** lipi štirji lībrini  
the beautiful four books

numerals > possessives > numerals

- (83) a. **mōja pet** mloda konjuw  
my five young horses  
b. **pet mōja** mloda konjuw  
five my young horses

(Stolvizza)

(Adjectival) possessives can be located in different positions, above and below determiners (84a, 84b), above and below numerals (82a, 82b) and above and below adjectives (84a, 84b).

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<sup>27</sup> The situation with numerals is a bit complicated as they allow for more than one interpretation (Zamparelli 2000), referential, specific and non-specific. They may appear below demonstratives *iti tri wonti* 'those three dresses', but are degraded below them (*??tri iti wonti*). In Italian they can also occupy different position within the nominal expressions and swap place with possessives 'i miei tre amici', 'i tre miei amici'. I was not able to ascertain whether (83a) and (83b) differ in interpretation, especially whether (83b) is an instance of a partitive structure. My informant told me that the two structures differ because in (83b) the number is used emphatically. I leave this issue for further research.

(84) a. **nji** ta **moja** lisica  
her the little fox

b. ta **maja nji** lisica  
the little her fox

(Stolvizza)

Putting all the above orders together, we arrive at the following coarse-grained representation for the Resian NP, in which each nominal constituent is represented according to all of its possible positions. Co-occurrence restrictions should be kept in mind.

(85) [QPuniv [DemP/PossP/QPdistr [Det° [Indirect.modAP [RefAP [OrdP [<PossP>[CardP [<PossP> [Indirect.modAP [Direct.modAP [... [NP ] ...]]<sup>28</sup>

In Chapter 5 I will discuss different orders involving possessives and determiners. In the next section, I will discuss yet another order of nominal constituents with somewhat peculiar properties, which appear to be used quite frequently in Resian.

### 3.6.1. *Alternative orders*

One of the major difference with respect to Romance concerns the position of the NP. As was seen hinted at above, in Italian and Friulan a noun (or an NP, in Cinque's (2005) amendment to (1994) paper) moves across adjectives. In case of classificatory and nationality adjectives this movement yields their obligatory post-nominal placement, while it is optional with color, size, shape, value, *etc.* in compliance with the semantics of pre-nominal and post-nominal adjectives in Italian (Cinque 2010).

(86) a. la bomba nucleare  
b. \*la nucleare bomba  
‘the nuclear bomb’

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<sup>28</sup> Only adjectival possessives are taken into account.

- (87) a. le verdi colline della Toscana  
 b. le colline verdi della Toscana  
 ‘the green hills of Tuscany’ (Cinque 2010: 72, his (10))

We have seen above that adjectives in Resian are positioned in front of the NP, exactly as in Slovenian. However, a structure where an adjective is found postnominally is found quite frequently in Resian in the following configuration:

- (88) a. kolindrin te rozajanski  
 calendar the/that Resian  
 ‘the Resian calendar’ (RD)

b. NP > WEAK DEMONSTRATIVE > ADJECTIVE

Here, I would like to exclude that there is a generalized NP movement across adjectives in Resian.<sup>29</sup> Instead, I propose to treat this structure as a sort of appositional structure. Interestingly, this configuration is regularly employed in Friulan and is absent in both Slovenian and Italian.

- (89) la kiasa kè biela (Friulan)  
 the house that nice  
 ‘the nice house’

- (90) la kiasa kè cun il tet ros  
 the house that with the roof red  
 ‘the house with the red roof’ (Camponè)

There are a number of reasons to believe that in this structure the noun has not moved across adjectival modifiers. To begin with, this order differs in a number of respects from the one in which modifiers precede the head noun. First, it is available only in definite NPs, witness the definite determiner/weak demonstrative, which is not compatible with (strong) indefinite NPs.

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<sup>29</sup> But see Chapter 5, in which some changes in this sense are discussed.



- (94) a. \*sin ta Sandrina  
 son the of.Sandro  
 ‘Sandro’s son’  
 b. \*went te möj  
 dress the my

At the same time, this construction may contain prepositional phrases and relative clauses, which are both excluded from prenominal position, as the asymmetry in (95) and (96) shows. Such distribution disfavors strongly the analysis in terms of NP movement across modifiers.

- (95) a. iša ta ziz wërton  
 house the with garden  
 ‘the house with the garden’  
 b. \*ta ziz wërton iša  
 the with garden house (Stolvizza)

- (96) a. wüži te ka pujajo jüdi  
 songs the which sing people  
 ‘popular songs’ (lit. songs that are sung by people)  
 b. \*te ka pujajo jüdi wüži

- (97) Akademija ta tu-w Ibjoni  
 Academy the here-in Ljubljana<sub>LOC</sub>  
 ‘The Academy of Ljubljana’ (NG)

Last, it disallows adjectival stacking – only one adjective is permitted to follow the noun.

- (98) a. \*mokinja ta lipa niška  
 car the nice German  
 ‘the nice German car’  
 b. mokinja ta niška  
 c. mokinja ta lipa (Stolvizza)



Furthermore, the construction in question is peculiar with respect to the one containing pronominal modifiers on syntactic, semantic and pragmatic grounds. Since both parts constituting the NP, a noun and a modifier, contribute reference to the noun phrase, whereas the second part contains its own determiner, I take this construction to be a kind of close apposition (as proposed for Greek polydefinites by Lekakou and Szendroi 2007) and not loose apposition. Loose apposition can be broadly defined as follows (Keizer 2007: 1-3): (i) both elements refer to the same entity; (ii) there is a semantic relation of modification, specification or predication between the two elements; (iii) the second element is restrictive and is necessary to restrict, or define the meaning of the first; (iv) the two elements form the same intonation unit.<sup>32</sup> In addition, close appositives are definite cross-linguistically (Lekakou and Szendroi 2007 and the references therein).

The above amounts to saying that without the ‘modifying’ part, restrictive in its meaning, the NP cannot refer successfully.<sup>33</sup> As for its pragmatic status, this structure is not felicitous in all contexts. Certain pragmatic conditions should however be met (they are not that perfect in *out-of-the-blue* utterances). For instance, native speakers judged this structure completely inappropriate in headlines. The rationale should be sought in the fact that it is partitioned into presuppositional (topic-like) part expressed by the NP and the novel (roughly speaking focus-like) remnant expressed by the modification. Such construction is actually preferred when the speaker wants to render more prominent what is expressed by the modificational subpart (Luigia Negro, personal communication). To illustrate, if focus is placed on the adjective (or PP for that matter), then the structure under consideration is the most felicitous one. For instance, if we add a contrastive adversative negative in order to correct the previous statement (contrastive narrow focus on the property expressed by the modifier), then the possible structures in order of preference are:

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<sup>32</sup> In written language the two parts are never separated by a comma, unlike in loose appositions: *New York, the city of all cities*.

<sup>33</sup> The analysis I provide is similar in spirit to the one proposed by Lekakou and Szendroi in several works dedicated to Greek polydefinites.

- (99) a. Nji lisica ta valika jë doajala (në ta moja). (contrastive focus)  
her fox the big aux came (not the little)
- b. Ta valika nji lisica jë doajala (në ta moja).  
the little her fox aux arrived (not the little). (Stolvizza)

This is to say that such construction is most appropriate in presuppositional contexts.

- (100) a. Which one (among her foxes) has arrived?  
b. Nji lisica ta valika  
her fox the big (Stolvizza)

Such requirement on the use of this construction is not surprising if we adopt, in line with Lekakou and Szendroi's analysis of Greek polydefinites, that the modification part of the structure contains an ellipsis site. Conditions on ellipsis generally include that the remnant material be contrastively focused (Corver and Van Koppen 2009). I assume that both elliptical structure and informational novelty are responsible for the possibility of having only one modifier. The structure proposed is as in (113), a close apposition of two nominals, the second of which contains the ellipsis site.

- (101) [DP [DP mokinja] [DP ta niška ~~mokinja~~]]  
car the German

Though this construction superficially resembles the one found in Romance (Romanian for instance), *băiatul (cel) frumos* (boy-the *cel* beautiful) that has been analyzed as an instance of a predicative structure (Cinque 2010; Marchis and Alexiadou 2009), there are strong reasons to believe that here we are not dealing with the structure in which the modificational part constitutes part of a (reduced) relative clause.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> One important similarity is the order of constituents, the type of constituents that can enter into this structure (adjectives, PPs, relative clauses) and the fact that the modificational part is introduced by a demonstrative article *cel*. However, unlike in Resian, the demonstrative is optional in these constructions.

First, unlike in Romanian, in Resian we do find adjectives that are direct modifiers and cannot be used predicatively. One case in point is provided by occurrence of classificatory adjectives, as *bili* ‘white’ in example (102).<sup>35</sup>

- (102) kafe te bili  
coffee the white  
‘white coffee’

This is to say that although the color adjective *per se* may be used predicatively and have a reduced relative source, in (102) it functions as a classificatory adjective and denotes the type of tea.

Secondly, even arguments of nominalizations, if expressed by an adjective, appear in this construction though they fail to be used predicatively.

- (103) okupacjon ta niška  
occupation the German  
‘German occupation’

Another important condition concerns the identifiability of the null nominal, which has to be recoverable through linguistic or discourse antecedent and properly licensed in morphosyntactic terms. In this case, a null element is recoverable through the antecedent NP whereas the definite determiner is a proper licenser of null noun qua functional category (Contreras 1989). No such conditions are imposed on predicative structures.

Lastly, the most revealing fact against the predicative approach to this structure comes from the adjectival form employed. If we are to assume a predicative analysis construction, then the occurrence of long-form adjectives is unexpected. Recall that their distribution is limited to adnominal position, as seen above. Furthermore, this is the only form that appears

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<sup>35</sup> Classificatory adjectives are banned from *cel* constructions. The example is drawn from Marchis and lexiadou (2009)

- (i) tragedia clasică / \*tragedia cea clasică  
tragedy classical /\* tragedy cel classical  
‘Classical tragedy’

when a noun is elided, in which case the use of a determiner is obligatory as the long-form adjective alone cannot license nominal ellipsis in Resian, unlike Slovenian, as will be seen more in detail in Chapter 5.

- (104) Ito    nadějo   jě   paršel nes nalěst te   mladi   profasör anu   dopo te   stari ~~profasör~~.  
 that    Sunday aux   came   us visit    the young professor and later   the old<sub>LONG</sub>  
 “On that Sunday the young professor paid us a visit and afterwards the old one.”  
 (Stolvizza)

To conclude, in this section it was excluded that in Resian there is a generalized NP movement across adjectives, though a configuration in which NP is used in front of the adjective is commonly used. Instead, a number of arguments have been presented in order to show that this structure is peculiar on syntactic, semantic and pragmatic ground. Therefore, an analysis in terms of close apposition was proposed. In the next section issues related to the syntax/semantics map are addressed.

### 3.7. Syntax-Semantics map

This section highlights crucial differences between Resian on the one side, and Italian/Friulan and Slovenian on the other side in the matter of nominal syntax/semantics facts. Both Italian and Friulan are genuine article languages and cannot use determinerless nominal arguments if these are not properly structurally licensed. Recall that bare singular count nouns are ungrammatical in argument position:

- (105) \*(Il/Un) vero amico non tradisce mai.  
 the/a true friend not betrays never  
 ‘A true friend will never betray you.’

Singular D is null only with proper names, or if SpecDP is occupied with a possessive adjective with nouns denoting kinship terms. Plural bare nouns instead are allowed only with

existential reading and if properly licensed, as objects of transitive verbs or subjects of unaccusatives, as illustrated in the previous chapter.

In all the other cases, a DP has to be overt lexically. Italian has a singular indefinite article, but not a plural form, in which case it resorts to either a partitive article or an indefinite quantifier.

- (106) a. Un ragazzo sta giocando nel parco. (Italian)  
 A boy is playing in.the park  
 b. Dei/Alcuni ragazzi giocano nel parco.  
 a<sub>PART.PL</sub>/Some boys are playing in the park

Slovenian, on the other hand, is a language that lacks articles altogether and supposedly allows bare nominals to be either definite or indefinite. However, Colloquial Slovenian has been argued to have developed the indefinite article (Bažec 2011, Bošković 2009, Franks 2013, Marušič and Žaucer 2006 and subsequent works). Yet, both Franks and Bažec claim that the readings available with NP introduced with an indefinite article is only specific. As we will see below, this is not taken as a diagnostic of an indefinite article.<sup>36</sup> The example is from Franks (2013: 85).

- (107) Meni, da sem podobna eni ameriški igralki. (Slovenian)  
 To.me, that AUX<sub>1SG</sub> similar one American actress  
 ‘(They told) me that I look like an American actress.’ (only specific)

In addition, Colloquial Slovenian has a sort of an invariant definite article (TA), whose distribution is rather interesting and in many respects akin to the Resian definite determiner. This article was analyzed as a sort of ajectival article, due to the fact that it appears only on adjectivally modified NEs (Marušič and Žaucer 2013). I will resume this argument in detail in Chapter 4, when the full account of the Resian article will be provide.

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<sup>36</sup> Note however that dialectal differences may come into play here. I interviewed speakers from both from Littoral dialectal group (more innovative) and Central varieties (more conservative), about narrow scope reading of an indefinite NP in an example *Wsak dom ima eno televizijo*. ‘Every house has a television’. Speakers from Littoral varieties allow both scalar reading (numerically one) and an indefinite reading. In the latter reading, the use of the article is optional. Other speakers allow scalar reading only (‘one and not two’, for instance).

(108) ta zalen svičnik  
the green wallet

(109) \*ta svičnik  
the wallet (under the same reading as (108), OK with the meaning 'this wallet')  
(from Marušič and Žaucer 2013)

Turning back to Resian, the situation seems relatively complex as this language distinguishes overtly between modified and unmodified nominal expressions. The question of whether it possesses the overt definite and indefinite articles is thus controversial. As illustrated in the examples below, bare arguments (singular, plural, mass) are indeed allowed in this language. The interpretation of these nominals and their morphological number is indicated in brackets. The relevant nominal constituent is underlined.

(definite, plural/singular)

(110) Ko si bil dan mali, ġenitōrji so mi lajali librin Zverinice iz Rezije [...]  
when aux<sub>1SG</sub> was a young parents aux<sub>3PL</sub> to.me read book 'Stories from Resia'  
'When I was a young boy, my parents used to read me a book called 'Stories from Resia'. (NG)

(specific indefinite, plural)

(111) [...] somo mogle vīdēt ne lipe hiše anu wortace: rože su bile powsud  
aux<sub>1PL</sub> could see a<sub>PL</sub> nice houses and gardens: flowers aux were everywhere  
'We could see nice houses and gardens: there were flowers everywhere.' (NG)

(112) Matē otroke? (specific indefinite, plural)  
Have<sub>2SG</sub> children  
'Do you have children?' (NG)

At the same time, modified nouns circumvent whatever principle underlines the distribution of unmodified nouns, since the former are obligatorily introduced by the overt determiners.

- (113) Ćelular jë prajal \*(to) modernasto kulturo. (generic singular)  
 cell phone aux changed \*(the) modern culture  
 'The mobile phone has changed modern society' (Stolvizza)  
 (specific indefinite, singular)

- (114) Alora ito gorë w Ame bilä \*(na) lipä lipa hći anu na mēla \*(na) lipa duga lasa  
 then there up in Jama was \*(a) nice nice girl and she had \*(a) nice long hair  
 'At that time, up there in Jama there was a very nice girl with a nice long hair.'  
 (RE, San Giorgio)

- (115) Wsën našën judin awgurawamō ne lipe fjěšte. (non-specific, indefinite, plural)  
 To.all our people wish<sub>1PL</sub> a<sub>PL</sub> nice holidays  
 'We wish happy holidays to all our people!' (NG)

The asymmetry is even more remarkable considering it need not depend on the modification as such. It is precisely with adjectives that the insertion of the determiner turns to be obligatory.

- (116) a. (te) wuže z Rezije (prepositional phrase)  
 (the) songs from Resia  
 b. \*(te) rozajanske wuže (adjectival modifier)  
 \*(the) Resian songs

Table 3.2 Distribution of unmodified and modified NPs in Resian

|                                | UNMODIFIED NOUNS         |                               | MODIFIED NOUNS           |                          |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
|                                | Singular                 | Plural/Dual                   | Singular                 | Plural/Dual              |
| <b>Definite</b>                | Bare                     | Bare                          | Definite<br>determiner   | Definite<br>determiner   |
| <b>Indefinite</b>              | Indefinite<br>determiner | Bare/Indefinite<br>determiner | Indefinite<br>determiner | Indefinite<br>determiner |
| <b>Specific</b>                | Indefinite<br>determiner | Bare                          | Indefinite<br>determiner | Indefinite<br>determiner |
| <b>Indefinite non-specific</b> | Bare                     | Bare                          | Definite<br>determiner   | Definite<br>determiner   |
| <b>Kind-denoting (generic)</b> |                          |                               |                          |                          |

Note that plural specific indefinites can be either bare or introduced by the determiner. This type of variation is dependent on the speaker. Some speakers use specific indefinites throughout, others allow both. The tendency seems to be to apply the indefinite article with specific plural indefinites and to omit it with non-specific plural indefinites.

Besides the asymmetry between modified and unmodified nominal expressions, there is also an asymmetry in terms of definite and indefinite NEs.<sup>37</sup> As can be seen in Table 1, indefinite NEs show distinct behavior only in case of non-specific plural, otherwise they present an indefinite determiner uniformly (modified or unmodified).<sup>38</sup> This is in compliance

<sup>37</sup> The fact that in the context of modified nouns, the definite and indefinite determiners show the very same behaviour as their Italian counterparts (which overtly lexicalize  $\iota$  and  $\exists$ ) begs the question of why the operation of type shifting, if any, would consistently be done covertly with unmodified nouns, and overtly with modified nouns.

<sup>38</sup> This does not mean that Resian has the indefinite article only, as will be seen later on. The superficial asymmetry is indeed misleading. Bažec (2011) examined texts written in Old Slovenian (starting from the 9<sup>th</sup> century to present-day Slovenian) and concludes that the use of the definite article precedes notably the use of the indefinite article, in compliance with Keenan's conclusions on the relation between two types of articles in diachrony. She further notes that the rise of the indefinite article was not contingent on the loss of the distinction between short and long-form adjectives.





- (118) Maeštro to bil den karnjel. (specificational sentence)  
 teacher it was a Carnic  
 ‘Our teacher was from Carnia.’ (RF, Prato)
- (119) [...] ki romonijo tej mī ne slavinske djalēte  
 who speak like us one<sub>PL</sub> Slovenian dialects  
 ‘[...] who speak, as we do, Slovenian dialects’ (NG)
- (120) Koro jē pēl karjē nih wuž [...]  
 Choir was singing many one<sub>PL</sub> songs  
 ‘The choir was singing a lot of songs’ (NG)

*Non-referential (Non-specific use)*

- (130) Tu-w Reziji mamō si mīslit za te mlode, za jin dati no okažjon za  
 here.in Resia have<sub>1PL</sub> refl think for the young for to.them give an occasion for  
 moret živit ano stat izdē w noši lipi dolini [...]  
 be.able.to live and stay here in our beautiful valley (NG)  
 ‘Here in Resia we need to think about the young people in order to provide them with  
 an opportunity to be able to live and stay in our beautiful valley [...].’
- (131) Rezija to jē tej na perla  
 Resia it is like a pearl (NG)

*Predicative use*

- (132) a. Ko si bil ä dan mali [...] (predicational sentence)  
 when aux<sub>1SG</sub> was I a small  
 ‘When I was a child[...].’ (RF, Uccesa)
- b. Ki somo bili ni mali [...]  
 because aux<sub>1PL</sub> were a<sub>PL</sub> small  
 ‘Cause we were children[...].’ (RF, Prato)

(133) Isi mus te biu dan comunista  
 this man expl was a communist  
 ‘This man was a communist.’ (RE, Oseacco)

(134) Lisīca? Vī stē na līsica? – rēkal Jakumčić.  
 Fox? You are a fox? – said Jakumčić

It is important to note that in (134) we are not dealing with the intensifying use of *den* ‘one’ (Gorishneva 2013), which induces the scalar reading on the predicate noun, as it does the indefinite determiner *uno* in *Sei un cretino* ‘You are an idiot’. Such use of the indefinite determiner requires the predicate noun denote a gradable property but above, the predicate noun does not denote a gradable property given that in the example presented the noun *fox* is not used metaphorically (the example is from the story I which the dialogue is between a real fox and other animals).

However, examples of bare nominal predicates are also attested.

(135) Na jē bila wduvīca karjē lit  
 She was widow many years  
 ‘She was a widow for many years.’ (NG)

(126) Ko so bile hćere [...] when aux<sub>3PL</sub> were girls  
 ‘When they were (young) girls [...]’ (RF, Oseacco)

Even in languages with the indefinite article, both types are found, as shown by the asymmetry between English and Italian. In Italian, the use of determinerless nominals as predicates is limited to certain nouns indicating profession, kinship or a specific role, such as *neighbour* and alike (all defined as ‘role nouns’ in Zamparelli 2008).

(127) a. She is (a) teacher  
 b. Lei è insegnante.

The above two uses of bare predicate nominals in Resian however can be subsumed under the determinerless predicative use of singular nouns in languages with the indefinite article, since they have a time bound character (Zamparelli 2008 for a more detailed description of such nouns), which is one of the features that generally license bare predicative nouns. So I take them not to be a good testing ground nevertheless.

#### *Generics*

- (128) [...] ni so paršly pošlušet ano vīdet kako se paraćawa no tražmišjun  
 they aux came hear and see how imp. make a program  
 ‘They came to hear and see how a program is made.’ (NG)

#### *Within the scope of a modal*

- (129) [...] litus be tēli radē organizāt no ġito za poznāt kakē lipē mēstu  
 this.summer would<sub>1PL</sub> like gladly organize a trip to know some nice place  
 ‘This summer we would like to organize a trip in order to’ (NG)

#### *Narrow-scope*

- (130) Skorē wsaka iša ma no televižjun, aliböj no radio [...]  
 Almost every hous has a television or a radio  
 ‘In every house there is either a television or a radio [...].’ (NG)

I take the above data to offer sufficient empirical evidence for the claim that in Resian there is an indefinite article. However, it remains to be understood the exact licensing conditions on bare indefinites. I leave this issue for future research.

### **3.8. Conclusion**

In this chapter several arguments related to the nominal syntax were addressed in order to gain a better insight into the overall characteristics of Resian nominals, as either Slavic or Romance-like. Many details have been left out since the arguments dealt with were rather heterogenous. We have seen that, as expected, Resian is a language in change towards

Romance-like pattern under a number of aspects though the dynamics of this process is unpredictable and will depend on the overall (socio) linguistic situation.

In the next chapter I focus on the demonstrative system of Resian, considering that the definite articles in most cases originate from demonstratives. The aim is to set the stage for the last chapter in which the claim that the Resian have indeed developed the definite article will be elaborated.

## Chapter 4

### Demonstrative system in Resian: An Instance of Definiteness Cycle

#### 4.1. Introduction

Various scholars have claimed that among article-less languages in contact with article languages, Resian has reached the most advanced point in the grammaticalization of the definite article (Heine and Kuteva 2006, a.o). This claim is supported by the existence of the deictically unmarked weak demonstrative, which, in a broad cross-linguistic panorama, is by large the most common source of the definite article. The unmarked demonstrative is taken to represent an intermediate stage towards the full development of the definite article (Lyons 1999: 332). As noted by Steenwijk (1992) and Benacchio (2002), the unmarked weak demonstrative in Resian has an ambiguous status as either demonstrative or the definite article, as illustrated in (1).

- (1) a.   tā            assemblea<sup>1</sup>  
          that<sub>WEAK</sub>    meeting
- b.   tā            zadnja assemblea  
          that<sub>WEAK</sub>    last    meeting  
          ‘the last meeting’

Interestingly though, the strong demonstrative can be substituted for by the weak demonstrative in (1a) without any change in meaning (2a). But if the strong demonstrative is used in place of the weak demonstrative in (1b), the example becomes ungrammatical (2b).

- (2) a.   itā            assemblea  
          that<sub>STRONG</sub>   meeting

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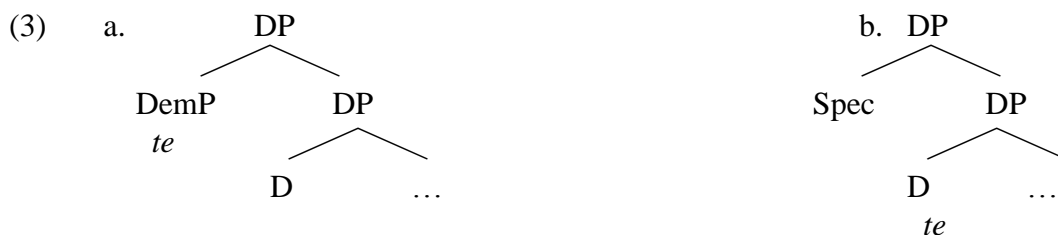
<sup>1</sup> Throughout this chapter I will gloss the weak demonstrative as THAT<sub>WEAK</sub>, regardless of the change in meaning.

- b. \*itā zadnja asemblea  
 that<sub>STRONG</sub> last meeting

The purpose of this chapter is dual. On the one hand, it aims at understanding the conditions under which the weak demonstrative exhibits either behavior. On the other hand, it attempts to account for the existence of both strong and weak forms of the unmarked demonstratives within the Resian demonstrative system.

The first step in this direction consists in investigating under which conditions nominal expressions containing either a demonstrative (henceforth demonstrative descriptions) or a definite article (henceforth definite descriptions) are used felicitously in languages that possess a separate lexical entry for each item, such as Italian and/or English. Subsequently, the bulk of Resian data are presented against this background. Both nominal expressions containing strong demonstratives and those with weak demonstratives are analyzed and compared in order to understand in what contexts the two pattern alike or are not interchangeable.

The data show that in unmodified nominal expression the weak demonstrative behaves uniformly as a demonstrative whereas in modified NEs it exhibits article-like behavior. In order to account for this ambivalence, I build on the notion of definiteness cycle as formally elaborated in Giusti (2001) and Van Gelderen (2007) and claim that the weak demonstrative in Resian partakes in two different structures, one in which it is inserted in SpecDP, a canonical position of demonstratives, and the other in which is found in D, as a result of the process of the reanalysis still in progress. The underlying idea is that gradience is a synchronic continuum, which is a consequence of grammaticalization (Van Gelderen 2010). The most relevant notion for gradience relates to features. Accordingly, this change will be stated in terms of the loss of features.



The existence of the double series of the unmarked demonstrative is explained as due to the changes affecting the demonstrative system as a whole. As a matter of fact, it is easy to construct a scenario in which the strong demonstrative was initially introduced as to substitute for its non-transparent weak counterpart. Unfortunately, the diachronic perspective cannot shed light on this issue due to lack of data and relevant studies.<sup>2</sup>

The chapter is structured as follows. In Section 4.2. the Resian demonstrative system is briefly introduced. In Section 4.3. basic properties discriminating between definite descriptions and demonstrative descriptions are discussed in relation to the languages that possess two separate lexical items for the demonstrative and the definite article. Resian data are presented in Section 4.4. In order to account for the ambiguity of the Resian weak demonstrative and the existence of strong and weak unmarked demonstrative, in Section 4.5. the notion of Definiteness cycle is discussed in connection with Resian data. Section 4.6. concludes the chapter.

## 4.2. Strong and weak demonstratives in Resian: Introduction

Resian has a two-term demonstrative system, proximal and unmarked, with the unmarked form branching into a strong and a weak variant.<sup>3</sup> The weak form further splits into the demonstrative and the definite article, as hinted at in the introductory section.<sup>4</sup> All forms

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<sup>2</sup> Oldest attested writings in Resian date back to 18<sup>th</sup> century but they were composed by non-native speakers of this dialect (mainly local priests of non Resian origin). Unfortunately, although there are some hints that the analysis above is on the right track, data are insufficient and unreliable so as to substantiate this claim empirically.

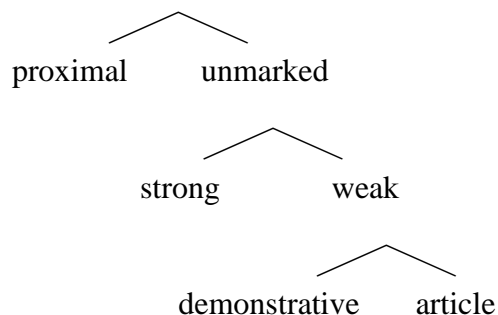
<sup>3</sup> Steenwijk (1992) reports that the proximal demonstrative has also the weak counterpart but this form has never been encountered neither in the corpus examined nor in the course of data collection. The proximal demonstrative is an archaic Slavic form since it is built on the same stem as the proximal demonstrative in Old Church Slavonic (OCS), a common ancestor of all South-Slavic languages. In OCS the proximal demonstrative contained *s*- stem. The demonstrative system in OCS was formed around three-value degree of proximity, proximal *si*, medium distance *toj* and distal *onŭ*. The last form gave rise to 3rd person pronouns, apart from Macedonian and Bulgarian. Yet another proximal demonstrative, based on the *ov*- stem was used in restricted context (Greenberg 1990: 330). The *s*- stem proximal demonstrative (which was also a common Slavic proximal form) is arguably not preserved in neither contemporary Slavic language, but in Resian (Steenwijk 1994). In modern Slavic languages the relicts of this stem are found only on temporal adverbs, for instance, Russian *sejčas* ‘now’, or within South-Slavic in Serbo-Croatian *sada* and Slovenian *zdaj*.

<sup>4</sup> Standard Slovenian has a three-term demonstrative system, *ta* - proximal, *tisti* – medium, distance and *oni*



share case and *phi*- features with the head noun and other modifiers, if any. The demonstrative system in Resian can be described schematically as in (4).

(4)



In table 4.1 and 4.2 the entire array of forms for both strong and weak unmarked demonstrative is provided.

Table 4.1 Paradigm of the strong demonstrative in Resian

|                     | <b>Singular</b> |        |          | <b>Plural</b> |              |
|---------------------|-----------------|--------|----------|---------------|--------------|
|                     | Masculine       | Neuter | Feminine | Non-feminine  | Genus Comune |
| <b>Nominative</b>   | iti             | ito    | ita      | iti           | ity          |
| <b>Genitive</b>     | itaa            |        | ite      |               | ity          |
| <b>Dative</b>       | itimu           |        | itěj     |               | ity          |
| <b>Accusative</b>   | =N/G            | ito    | ito      |               | ite          |
| <b>Instrumental</b> | itën            |        | ito      |               | itëmi        |
| <b>Locative</b>     | itimü           |        | ity      |               | ity          |

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distal (see Toporišič 2000). The three-way demonstrative system is preserved in Resian within the system of personal pronouns: *ja*-1st person (I); *ti*- 2nd person (you) and *un / an* – 3rd person (he). Note that 3rd person pronoun and distal demonstrative in Slovenian share the same stem *-n-*. This stem has not been found on any deictic adverb in Resian.

Table 4.2 Paradigm of the weak demonstrative in Resian

|                     | Singular  |        |          | Plural       |              |
|---------------------|-----------|--------|----------|--------------|--------------|
|                     | Masculine | Neuter | Feminine | Non-feminine | Genus Comune |
| <b>Nominative</b>   | te        | to     | ta       | ti           | te           |
| <b>Genitive</b>     |           | taa    | te       |              | ti/te        |
| <b>Dative</b>       |           | timu   | ti       |              | ti/te        |
| <b>Accusative</b>   | =N/G      | to     | to       |              | te           |
| <b>Instrumental</b> |           | ti     | to       |              | tëmi         |
| <b>Locative</b>     |           | timu   | ti       |              | te           |

In (5), the strong and weak unmarked demonstrative in an unmodified and in a modified nominal expression are illustrated.<sup>5</sup>

- (5) a. iti libri  
           that<sub>STRONG</sub> book
- b. te libri  
           that<sub>WEAK</sub> book  
           ‘that book’
- a’. itë mladi člověk  
           that<sub>STRONG</sub> young man
- b’. te mladi člověk  
           that<sub>WEAK</sub> young man

<sup>5</sup> There is a phonetic difference between the strong form of the unmarked demonstrative in the variety of San Giorgio, which bears an initial glide [j] in place of the vowel [i] attested in the remaining three varieties. This difference is conserved in the spelling of the two forms: jte ‘that’ (San Giorgio) vs. iti ‘that’ (Stolvizza, Oseaco and Gniva).

‘that/the young man’

In order to set the stage for the discussion to follow and an in-depth analysis of Resian data, in the next section I examine some principal characteristics of demonstrative and definite descriptions in Italian and English, both languages with two-way demonstrative system (proximal and distal/unmarked) and the definite article. I focus only on the distal/unmarked demonstrative (*that* and *quello*) since that is the form bearing interest for the development of the definite article.

#### 4.3. Demonstratives vs. definite descriptions in languages with articles

Demonstrative descriptions and definite descriptions share some core properties. First, both are subject to uniqueness condition, i.e. their referent has to be the unique referent satisfying the property denoted by the given description (Wolter 2006).<sup>6</sup> Another common characteristic is that they can be used deictically – to refer to entities present in the physical context of an utterance; anaphorically – to refer back to entities present in the linguistic context of an utterance; and descriptively – to introduce referents identifiable exclusively in virtue of their descriptive content. In the first two uses the identification of the referent relies on the information retrieved from the context; in the last case, the description can be used successfully out of the blue. The three main uses of demonstrative and definite descriptions are illustrated in (6), (7) and (8) on the examples from standard Italian:

- (6) a. [pointing to a coat or using some other gesture]  
Passami quel cappotto!  
‘Give me that coat!’

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<sup>6</sup> According to Roberts (2003) both definite and demonstrative descriptions presuppose that there exists a unique, familiar discourse referent satisfying the descriptive content of the NE. In her account, the uniqueness associated with definite is informational whereas the existence presupposition is essentially anaphoric. This is an informational recasting of Russell’s (1905) semantic uniqueness and Heim’s (1982) familiarity condition underlying the concept of definiteness.

- b. [in a room with only one coat]  
 Passami il cappotto!  
 ‘Give me the coat!’
- (7) a. Ho ricevuto in regalo dei fiori. Ho gradito molto quelle rose.  
 ‘I have received flowers as a gift. I was very pleased with those roses.’
- b. Ho ricevuto in regalo dei fiori. Ho gradito molto le rose.  
 ‘I have received flowers as a gift. I was very pleased with the roses.’  
 (Vanelli 1992: 115)
- (8) a. A me piacciono quelle persone che sanno ridere in ogni situazione.<sup>7</sup>  
 ‘I like those people who can take jokes out of any situation.’
- b. Il presidente della Repubblica viene eletto ogni sette anni.  
 The President of the Republic is elected every seven years.

However, the conditions under which either description is used differ. For instance, in order for the deictic use of the definite article to be felicitous, we must assume a situation in which only one coat is present in the context of utterance. When two or more coats are present, the use of a demonstrative description with an accompanying gesture is felicitous but not the definite description. As for the anaphoric use, when there exist no lexical correspondence between antecedents and anaphoric expressions with plural NEs, like in (8), demonstrative descriptions are appropriate in picking out an entity denoted by the antecedent. On the contrary, definite descriptions may pick out only a subpart of what is denoted by the antecedent. With regards to descriptive use, the use of demonstratives is constrained by specific structural conditions, such as licensing by the restrictive relative clause. Furthermore, this usage is restricted to plural antecedents. Other differences between demonstrative and definite descriptions for all three usage types will be discussed below in more detail.

The classical view on the demonstrative descriptions (Kaplan 1977) is that they are rigid designators. The same position is adopted also in Vanelli (1992) and Giusti (1997;

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<sup>7</sup> One of the Italian consultants judged this sentence as belonging to the colloquial register of Italian.



adopts the view that definite and demonstrative descriptions form a natural semantic class. In order to account for the possibility of demonstrative descriptions to participate in the compositional semantics of the sentence, she defines them as indirectly referential (the term is due to Roberts 2002). This concept has to do with how demonstrative and definite descriptions are composed internally. Being indirect allows them to contain bound variables or take a narrow scope. According to Wolter (2006) the two descriptions differ in how they are interpreted – definite description are interpreted with respect to default situation (corresponding to that of a main predicate), whereas demonstrative descriptions are interpreted *w.r.t.* to non-default situation. This analysis relies heavily on contextual-domain restriction and semantic-pragmatic interface.

(16)  $[[the_n]]: \lambda P. P(s_n)$  is a singleton set.

If defined, denotes  $\iota x.P(x)(s_n)$

$[[that_n]]: \lambda P.P(s_n)$  is a singleton set and  $s_n$  is non-default.

If defined, denotes  $\iota x.P(x)(s_n)$

Given a sentence A, a situation variable  $s$  is a *default* situation just in case it is bound in A. Otherwise  $s$  is a *non-default* situation.

Spelling out all the details of her proposal would lead me too far afield. For the purposes of my analysis, it would suffice to rely on Wolter’s proposal to the extent that it identifies precisely contexts in which demonstrative and definite descriptions refer successfully. Hence, I will use these as diagnostic that would help me establish the nature of descriptions with strong and weak demonstratives in Resian, both modified and unmodified. But before surveying Resian data in detail, I will outline some conditions determining distribution of either definite or demonstrative descriptions in Italian and/or English.

#### 4.3.1. Deictic use

It has been shown above that demonstrative descriptions can discriminate between several potential referents in the physical space of an utterance solely by means of gestures.

Definite descriptions are completely insensitive to demonstrations.<sup>9</sup> For instance, Roberts (2002: 94) reports an example that shows how two identical demonstrative descriptions can be used to indicate two different entities if only accompanied by some kind of demonstration.

- (17) You [nodding to Mary] sit in that chair [pointing to a chair *a*], and you [nodding to Jonathon] sit in that chair [pointing to chair *b*] (Roberts 2002; 94, her (15))

This strategy is fully inaccessible to definite descriptions as illustrated by the following example:

- (18) You [nodding to Mary] sit in the chair [pointing to a chair *a*], and you [nodding to Jonathon] sit in the chair [pointing to chair *b*] (Roberts 2002; 94, her (16))

The crucial condition for definite descriptions to be used deictically is that there exists only one referent satisfying the property indicated by that description. Yet, even if there exists only one referent in the physical context, some other factors may induce the speaker to opt for a demonstrative description. One such case concerns the situation in which the speaker assumes that the intended referent might be unnoticed by the addressee (cf. Wolter 2006: 70). To illustrate, in (19) although there is only one ashtray in the room, the speaker uses a demonstrative on the assumption that the hearer is not aware of its presence.

- (19) [in a room with only one ashtray]  
Passami quel portacenere!  
'Give me that ashtray!'

Another example discussed by Roberts (2002) and further elaborated on by Wolter (2006) in situational default *vs.* non-default terms relates to the fact that demonstratives are chosen over definites whenever an entity is salient in the physical context. In addition, if there is a high degree of saliency in a particular situation, there is no need to use any type of deictic gesture at all to identify the intended referent. Consider a scenario in which during a conference talk a cellphone starts ringing and a person called initiates a conversation to the

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<sup>9</sup> This is not valid cross-linguistically, given that definite articles in Macedonian do encode spatial distinctions.

surprise of the audience.<sup>10</sup> Here, one of the auditors may comment on this behavior by whispering to a person sitting by:

(19) That person is very rude.

Needless to say, once again the definite description is not felicitous under this scenario.

#### 4.3.2. *Anaphoric use*

In the opening of this section, we have seen that both definite and demonstrative descriptions can be used to pick out an entity already introduced in the linguistic context. If we are to assume, in line with Roberts (2002), that discourse can be understood as a more abstract representation of the physical space, then some of the conditions determining the distribution of either demonstrative or definite description in their deictic usage can be extended to the anaphoric use as well.

Saliency wise, when used anaphorically, this concept may be translated into recency of mention (Wolter 2006: 74). For example, when there are two potential antecedents for the anaphoric expressions, demonstrative description can pick out the most recent antecedent whereas definite descriptions fail to refer at all due to the violation of the uniqueness condition.

(20) Una donna<sub>i</sub> è entrata dalla porta a destra. Un'altra donna<sub>j</sub> è entrata dalla porta a sinistra.

a. Quella donna<sub>j</sub> portava un cesto con fiori.

b. #La donna portava un cesto con fiori. (adapted from Roberts 2002)

‘A woman entered through the door on the right side. Another woman entered through the door on the left side.

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<sup>10</sup> For Wolter (2006) this new situation formed by the person answering the phone and talking loudly would represent a non-default situation (as a subpart of an overall situation), requiring subsequently that the demonstrative description be interpreted uniquely in relation to this situation.



In case there is only one potential antecedent for the given expression, then just like in deictic use, the felicity of the demonstrative description is determined by an assumption on the part of the speaker that the intended referent may have been forgotten by the addressee. That this indeed is the case can be shown by the possible reaction of the hearer. A request for more information regarding the identity of the intended referent is a plausible reaction of the hearer in (21), while if a definite description is used such reaction is odd.

- (21) a. Sai che è morto quel gatto? – Quale?  
b. Sai che è morto il gatto? – #Quale? (adapted from Vanelli 1992)
- a. ‘Do you know that that cat is dead? – Which one?  
b. ‘Do you know that the cat is dead? – #Which one?

Another factor determining the anaphoric use of demonstratives concerns their implying contrast either with another NP of the same type introduced in a succession (as in (22)) or with other members of a set, implicating that the property in question is possessed only by the referent denoted by the demonstrative description and not by other members of the contrast set (Roberts 2002: 124, also Hawkins 1978).

- (22) A man walked in. That man handed a flyer to another man. (from Wolter 2006: 22)

Next, I would like to discuss a particular type of anaphor, in which an antecedent NE is not mentioned explicitly in the immediate discourse. Instead, the antecedent NE is weakly familiar, in the sense that the anaphoric expression is licensed through inferences. The first case is represented by bridging-cross references (Clark 1975) or associative anaphors (Hawkins 1978). In (23), what licenses the use of the definite description *the bride* is our general knowledge that weddings involve brides. Besides, this knowledge entails that under normal circumstances there is only one bride per wedding (the uniqueness condition is thus satisfied). Such kind of associations cannot license the use of the demonstrative description.

- (23) I’ve just come back from the wedding. The bride was wearing red.

- (24) I've just come back from the wedding. \*That bride was wearing red. (*Alexiadou et al.* 2007: 102)

#### 4.3.3. *Descriptive use*

In line with Wolter (2006) I assume that definite and demonstrative descriptions are used descriptively when the identification of the referent is not obtained through some contextual information (situation of the utterance or linguistic context) but exclusively on the basis of their descriptive content. These descriptions are perfectly acceptable if uttered out of the blue. The most typical cases are represented by those expressions that are inherently definite/unique (Löbner 1985).

- (26) il primo ministro francese  
'the prime minister of France'
- (27) La terra è rotonda.  
'The Earth is round'
- (28) L'ultimo tango a Parigi  
'The last tango in Paris'

In all the above cases, the use of a demonstrative in place of the definite article is unacceptable.

- (29) \*quel primo ministro francese
- (30) \*Quella terra è rotonda.
- (31) \*Quell'ultimo tango a Parigi

The only case in which a demonstrative determiner is compatible with a semantically unique description is when it is endowed with emotive readings (Lakoff 1974). This reading allows demonstrative to be used even with proper names. As pointed out by Wolter (2006), such usage of demonstrative descriptions is language-specific.

(32) That mother of John is quite a woman!

(33) That Mary Smith is quite a woman! (from Wolter 2006: 81, her (48) and (49))

It works well also for Italian, as illustrated by the following examples:

(34) Quella Sonia Marin è una vera signora!

(35) Quella madre di Gianni è una vera signora.

The descriptive use of a demonstrative description, on the other hand, is subject to specific structural licensing conditions. In the introductory section we illustrated one such example, repeated here for convenience:

(36) A me piacciono quelle persone che sanno ridere in ogni situazione.

‘I like those people who know how to make jokes in any situation.’

In this example the demonstrative description is interchangeable with the definite description – for most Italian informants, there is no detectable change in meaning (but see footnote 7), as illustrated by (37).

(37) A me piacciono le persone che sanno ridere in ogni situazione.

These descriptions are particular in that they are possible with postnominal modification exclusively (both in Italian and in English).<sup>11</sup>

Lastly, I would like to report one more use available exclusively to definite descriptions (with both singular and plural NEs, modified or unmodified), at least across Romance languages, but not to demonstrative ones. This use concerns reference to an entire class, also known as the generic (kind-denoting) reading of NEs. (40) and (41) are ungrammatical under this reading.

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<sup>11</sup> These involve restrictive relative clauses. With appositive relatives, such usage is not possible as the referent is already identified. Recall that in Italian restrictive relative clauses are always postnominal unlike in English where only a subset of RRCs are postnominal.

- (38) Il telefono cellulare ha cambiato le abitudini dell'uomo moderno.  
'Cell phone has changed habits of modern people.'
- (39) I gatti sono i migliori amici delle donne.  
'Cats are women's best friends.'
- (40) \*Quel telefono cellulare ha cambiato le abitudini dell'uomo moderno.  
'\*That cell phone has changed habits of modern people.'
- (41) \*Quei gatti sono i migliori amici delle donne.  
'\*Those cats are women's best friends.'

The sentences (40) and (41) becomes acceptable only under the reading 'that type/category of NE' (cf. also Vanelli 1979: fn.1). In a vein similar with that of Kayne (2004), where he analyzes deictic adverbs as including a silent noun PLACE, I assume that such demonstrative determiners are actually more complex and contain a silent noun KIND. In any event, the desired reading in which the demonstrative description denotes not only a subset of the category but the entire category is impossible.

#### 4.3.4. *Interim summary*

Up to this point, the conditions under which either descriptions refer successfully have been scrutinized in order to set the stage for the investigation of the data in Resian. Table 4.3 summarizes the major differences between nominal expressions containing demonstratives and those containing articles.

Table 4.3 Summary of the distinctions between demonstrative and definite descriptions

|                                 | Demonstrative NEs | Definite NEs |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Sensitiveness to demonstrations | ✓                 | X            |
| Sensitiveness to saliency       | ✓                 | X            |
| Implication of contrast         | ✓                 | X            |

|                                  |   |   |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| Use in associative anaphora      | X | ✓ |
| Semantically unique descriptions | X | ✓ |
| Generic use                      | X | ✓ |

In the next section, I investigate in what way Resian NEs displaying strong and weak demonstrative behave in order to determine their nature as either demonstrative or definite descriptions.

#### 4.4. From lumping to splitting: The case of Resian<sup>12</sup>

As regards the canonical deictic use with the accompanying demonstration, both NEs containing weak and strong forms can be implemented in order to indicate objects in the physical context of the utterance. However, the choice of either form is a matter of preference considering that the strong demonstrative is felt to a great extent as more natural in this usage. In addition, no change is detected if a modifier is added.

- (42) [in a clothing store; speaker points to one among several dresses]  
 Iti/Te went jë lip. (strong/weak)  
 ‘That dress looks nice.’
- (43) [in a clothing store; speaker points to one among several green dresses]  
 a. Iti zalëni went jë lip. (strong)  
 b. ?Te zalëni went jë lip. (weak)  
 ‘That green dress looks nice.’

However, if there is only one referent in the context of utterance and no demonstration is possible, the strong demonstrative is ruled out whereas the weak one is acceptable. Recall that in languages with articles in this case only the definite description would be acceptable. Another piece of data worth mentioning relates to the fact that in this context, a NEs with the weak demonstrative is in free variation with the determinerless noun.

<sup>12</sup> All examples in this section are drawn from the variety of Stolvizza.

- (44) [in a room with only one dress]
- a. Went jě lip. (determinerless)
  - b. Te went jě lip. (weak)
  - c. #Iti went jě lip. (strong)
- ‘The dress looks nice.’

Yet, if a modifier is added, the strong demonstrative is still ruled out, whereas the weak demonstrative is the only grammatical possibility left, given that the modified nominal expressions are independently ruled-out if determinerless.

- (45) [in a clothing store; there are several dresses, but only one among them is green]
- a. Te zalěni went jě lip. (weak)
  - b. \*Zalěni went jě lip (determinerless)
  - c. #Iti zalěni went jě lip. (strong)
- ‘The green dress looks nice.’

For referents that are perceptually salient in the context of utterance, both the use of NEs with weak and strong demonstratives are equally acceptable.<sup>13</sup> In languages with articles demonstratives are predicted in this case.

- (46) [in a bar; a man is discussing with a bar tender; speaker whispers to a friend sitting by]
- Iti/Te člověk mi nī plaža. (strong/weak)
- ‘I don’t like that man.’

In relation to the anaphoric use, with strongly familiar antecedents (explicitly introduced in the previous discourse), the strong and weak demonstrative behave alike with unmodified NEs.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> If a modifier is added, the weak demonstrative is less preferred for the same reasons as in (43). See below for an example related to saliency.

(47) [in a bar with two doors; one on the front side, the other on the back side]

Dna žana<sub>i</sub> je wlizla po ti duri ta-prid . Na drua žana<sub>j</sub> jě wlizla po ti duri ta-nazad.

Ita/Ta žana<sub>i,j</sub> jě mala dan lipi went. (strong/weak)

‘A woman<sub>i</sub> entered the front door. Another woman<sub>j</sub> entered the back door. That woman<sub>i,j</sub> was wearing a nice dress.

However, as soon as a modifier is added, the parallel no longer holds. Only the NE containing the strong demonstrative is felicitous. In the translation provided, it can be observed that in English, the demonstrative is employed in this case.

(48) [in a bar with two doors; one on the front side, the other on the back side]

Dna lipa žana<sub>i</sub> je wlizla po ti duri ta-prid . Na drua lipa žana<sub>j</sub> jě wlizla po ti duri ta-nazad.

a. Ita lipa žana<sub>i,j</sub> jě mala dan lipi went. (strong)

b. #Ta lipa žana jě mala dan lipi went. (weak)

‘A beautiful woman<sub>i</sub> entered the front door. Another beautiful woman<sub>j</sub> entered the back door

a. That beautiful woman<sub>i,j</sub> was wearing a nice dress.

b. #The beautiful woman was wearing a nice dress.’

If aNE containing either a weak or a strong demonstrative is used when contrast with another referent introduced in a succession is implied, both are fine when a NE contains no modifier, otherwise only the strong demonstrative is acceptable.

(49) a. Dan muž an jě wlizel nutor. Iti/Te muž an jě saludel naa drua muža.

(weak/strong)

‘A man walked in. That man said hello to another man.’

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<sup>14</sup> This example is somewhat problematic. Unlike what claimed in Roberts (2002), where the most recently mentioned antecedent should be picked out by the demonstrative description, in Resian, demonstrative descriptions were insensitive to this condition as they couldn’t discriminate between the two solely on the basis of the recency of mention. The same holds in Italian.

- (50) a. Dan lipi muž an jë wlizel nutor. Iti lipi muž an saludel naa drua lipaa muža.  
(strong)
- b. #Dan lipi muž an jë wlizel nutor. Te lipi muž an jë saludel naa drua lipaa muža.  
(weak)
- ‘A handsome man walked in. That handsome man said hello to another handsome man.’

When a NE picks out a weakly familiar antecedent (i.e. familiar in virtue of inferences), the use of both weak and strong demonstratives is ruled out. However, if a nominal expression contains modifiers, the weak demonstrative is employed. Once again, modification plays a role in licensing the use of the weak demonstrative.

- (51) Wnedëjo si šla na ženetka. (\*Iti/\*Te) Novyć jë bil karje  
sunday AUX went to wedding that<sub>STRONG</sub>/that<sub>WEAK</sub> bridegroom AUX was very  
vesel.  
cheerful (strong/weak)  
‘On Sunday I went to a wedding. The bridegroom was very cheerful.’
- (52) Od isaa müša ja polnin moköj te /\*ite sue nöe.  
from this donkey I remember only those<sub>WEAK</sub>/\*those<sub>STRONG</sub> thin legs  
‘All I can remember about this donkey are its thin legs.’ (weak)

As far as the descriptive use is involved, only the weak demonstrative is possible. Modification plays no role.

- (53) Mi plažajo ti /\*iti (döbri) jüdi ki ni rüdi se  
smëjajo.  
I like those<sub>WEAK</sub>/\*those<sub>STRONG</sub> (good) people who they<sub>CL</sub> always AUX laugh  
‘I like those people who always laugh.’ (weak)





Table 4.4 Summary of properties of NEs with strong/weak demonstratives in Resian

|   | Strong demonstrative NEs |          | Weak demonstrative NEs |          |
|---|--------------------------|----------|------------------------|----------|
|   | unmodified               | modified | unmodified             | modified |
| <b>Sensitiveness to demonstrations</b>  | ✓                        | ✓        | ✓                      | ✓        |
| <b>Sensitiveness to saliency</b>        | ✓                        | ✓        | ✓                      | X        |
| <b>Implication of contrast</b>          | ✓                        | ✓        | ✓                      | X        |
| <b>Use in associative anaphora</b>      | X                        | X        | X                      | ✓        |
| <b>Semantically unique descriptions</b> | X                        | X        | X                      | ✓        |
| <b>Generic use</b>                      | X                        | X        | X                      | ✓        |

Several things are worth noting here. First of all, in order to cover the full array of data, it was necessary to split the table taking into account modified nominal expressions as well. Yet, as can be seen from the first two columns, such splitting was unnecessary for the nominal expressions containing strong demonstratives as they behave uniformly as demonstrative descriptions throughout. On the other hand, NEs with weak demonstratives oscillated between demonstrative descriptions and definite description, depending on the specific structural conditions – modification. The only exception in which modification played no role was when a modified NE with a weak demonstrative was used deictically, unlike their counterparts in article languages above examined.

The bulk of data presented here give substance to the observation made in Benacchio (2002) and Steenwijk (1992) that the weak demonstrative is indeed ambiguous between the definite article and the weak demonstrative. However, so far it has never been explored which conditions (pragmatic and syntactic) give rise to either reading. Nor the link with the strong demonstrative has been pointed out.

In the reminder of this chapter, I explore the ambiguous behavior of the weak demonstrative as well as the existence of the strong demonstrative as part of the unique process – a cyclic change in which first a definite article is created, and subsequently the

strong counterpart of the demonstrative is formed with the purpose of filling the gap within the demonstrative system.

#### 4.5. Definiteness cycle

Language change has been assumed to occur in cyclic fashion (among first proponents of cycle as underlying the process of change, see Bopp 1816 and Humboldt 1822).<sup>15</sup> The idea behind the view that language changes cyclically can be translated as an iterated process in which once a change has come towards an end state, the initial stages of the process are resumed in order to counterbalance the loss caused by the change. In addition, the process of linguistic cycle has been taken to be unidirectional, which means that languages do not move backwards to a previous step in the process. This entails that the renewed stage is never identical to the stage from which the process was initiated (also Van Gelderen 2011). Cycles can also be broken, due to factors both internal and external to the language system undergoing a change.<sup>16,17</sup>

To illustrate the workings of the cyclic change, take for instance negative cycle (*aka* Jespersen's cycle) as the most studied and discussed case in the literature. This was originally formulated by Jespersen (1917) in order to explain a model of repeated weakening and subsequent reinforcement of negation – a negative adverb is initially weakened; afterwards it is reinforced by means of another item, which in turn can be taken to instantiate negation proper; subsequently, this newly formed item is subject to the same process of weakening.

In order to capture both the ambivalent behavior of the Resian weak demonstrative and the existence of the strong demonstrative, I rely on the notion of 'definiteness cycle' as formally elaborated in Van Gelderen (2007, 2010, 2011) and Giusti (2001), building on Renzi (1997). Definiteness cycle is yet another instance of language change in the course of which a functional item (the definite article) is created out of a lexical item (demonstrative). Van

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<sup>15</sup> Here, my intention is by no means to review pros and cons of cyclic approach to language change. For a detailed overview of the literature on linguistic cycles as well as arguments against such view, I refer the reader to Van Gelderen (2010, 2011). Van Gelderen also points out that generative linguistics has remained silent on such notion of language change, and only recently has come up with some formal elaborations of this idea.

<sup>16</sup> One of the factors external to the language system itself concerns prescriptivism.

<sup>17</sup> This is to say that the process of linguistic change is not deterministic.

Gelderen (2010, 2011) suggests the following cline in order to represent steps of this process:<sup>18</sup>

(57) demonstrative > definite article > case/generic

Subsequent to the reanalysis above, a novel process aimed at filling the gap left by this process initiates by means of reinforcement. In this way, the cycle is completed.

Three important ingredients of the process of the reanalysis of a lexical item into a functional element can be explained in terms of:<sup>19</sup>

- (morpho)phonological weakening
- semantic weakening
- structural weakening

In this particular case, (morpho)phonological weakening entails a change from independent word to a clitic-like element; semantic weakening entails loss of interpretable features (deictic or demonstrative (Lyons 1999) features), whereas structural weakening implies a categorial shift of the item undergoing a change from XP to X, i.e. from Specifier to head.

The important premise underlying proposal put forth here is that the change we are interested in – the reanalysis of the demonstrative as the definite article (followed by a formation of the strong demonstrative) – starts within the DP portion of the nominal structure.<sup>20</sup> This assumption does not come for free though, especially if we take into account some very prominent views on the grammaticalization of the definite article, such as Lyons (1999). Lyons assumes that the principal function of definite articles is to indicate that DP is projected. The development of the definite article thus entails the development of the DP layer. This is at odds with the stance adopted here, according to which the change itself does not bring about the creation of the DP layer. Although Lyons elaborates no formal apparatus

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<sup>18</sup> Important research questions pertain to the exact individuation of the steps within the cycle as well as sources out of which renewal is drawn (Van Gelderen 2010).

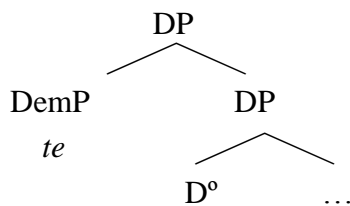
<sup>19</sup> Here I use the term ‘feature’ in a broad sense.

<sup>20</sup> As pointed out in the introductory section of this chapter, diachronic perspective cannot be added to this proposal as written sources from earlier stages of Resian are (almost) nonexistent.

on this grammaticalization process, there is an underlying assumption that the demonstrative is merged in some lower adjectival position, but is not obligatorily moved to the DP layer, unless DP layer is projected once a language has grammaticalized the category of definiteness. I do not see how the concomitant process of creation of articles and that of the DP layer can be formalized under this approach as the former excludes the latter and vice versa.

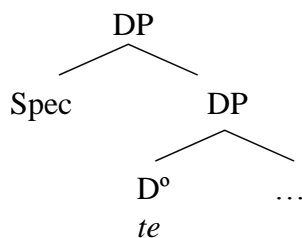
Building on Giusti (1997) I take the demonstrative as the leftmost constituent within nominal expression in both languages with and without articles, positioned in SpecDP.<sup>21</sup> For the relevant data concerning Resian, check the order of nominal constituents presented in chapter 3.<sup>22</sup> This is the position from which the change initiates, Stage 0. Under this assumption, in older stages of Resian, when this process began, the present-day weak demonstrative was the only distal/unmarked demonstrative in use.

(58) Stage 0



In the following stage the demonstrative is reanalyzed as the definite article, as D.

(59) Stage 1



As pointed out in Giusti (2001), the structures represented by Stage 0 and Stage 1 may exist abreast for several generations before the reanalysis comes to an end (unless prevented). The data presented above suggest indeed that Resian speakers do have at their disposal both structures. As a matter of fact, the possibility of implementing the weak demonstrative in

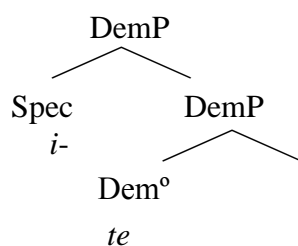
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<sup>21</sup> According to Giusti and Brugè (1993) and Brugè (2002) this is a derived position for demonstratives as they start out lower in the structure, where deictic reinforcers are normally found.

generic sentences and with semantically unique descriptive content strongly advocates the structure in (59).<sup>23</sup> At the same time, the fact that the weak demonstrative is found within deictically used NEs, suggest the availability of the structure in (58).<sup>24</sup>

I propose that the existence of the two structures above in all likelihood was the trigger for the changes occurred within the demonstrative system. The strong demonstrative hence was formed so as to substitute for its *opaque* counterpart (Stage 0-1), opacity of which stems from entering two different structural configurations.

(60) Stage 2



The whole cycle is represented in (61).

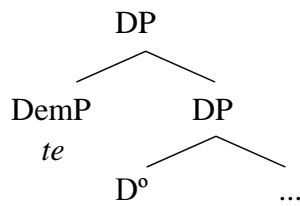
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<sup>22</sup> Here, I abstract away from consideration of where universal quantifiers should be placed.

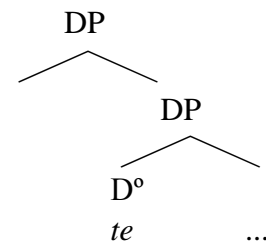
<sup>23</sup> In both Giusti's (2001) and Van Gelderen (2011) proposal, the demonstrative represents a bundle of semantic, interpretable features (iF) [definite, deictic, 3 person]. The change from a demonstrative into a definite article consists in turning a set of interpretable features into uninterpretable ones (Van Gelderen 2011) or unvalued ones (Giusti 2011). Giusti (2001) claims that the unvalued features of the definite article are valued through Spec-head agreement with SpecDP. In Giusti's system SpecDP is in charge of referential features of the entire nominal expression. I am led to reject the view according to which the features of the Resian weak demonstrative, when in D, are unvalued for definiteness.

<sup>24</sup> As far as the (morpho)phonological weakening is concerned I was unable to establish whether the weak demonstrative *qua* demonstrative is indeed a weak item (in terms of Cardinaletti and Starke's 1999 division between strong, weak and clitic elements – weak element, unlike clitics, are bearer of stress) whereas the weak demonstrative *qua* definite article, is a clitic element. Steenwijk (1992) calls both elements clitics but does not provide evidence for such claim.

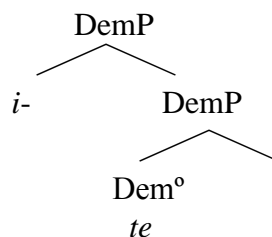
(61) a. Stage 0



b. Stage 1



c. Stage 2



A few issues should be tackled here. The first one stems from the considerations of economy. Bearing in mind that Resian speakers have at their disposal both structures in (58) and (59), it is worth exploring whether there was need for the creation of a novel demonstrative. More precisely, whether the non-transparency raised by the two structures was the only motivation behind or it was due to the gap remained within the demonstrative system after the process of the reanalysis commenced. If the latter holds, then we should understand the nature of this gap.

As a matter of fact, although the weak and the strong demonstrative in many cases overlap (see Table 4), the weak demonstrative is unvalued for proximity feature, differently from its strong counterpart. The weak form hence can indicate objects either close to or distant from the speaker, whereas the strong form is marked as distal.<sup>25</sup> This contrast can be best illustrated by the possibility of the weak demonstrative to combine unselectively with all types of deictic adverbs, such as *izdĕ* ‘here’, *ito* ‘there’ (medium distance) and *iten* ‘there’ (maximally distant). Strong forms, on the other hand, can combine only with deictic adverbs indicating medium and maximum distance from the speaker. This is to say that whereas with strong demonstrative deictic adverb reinforces the deictic content of the demonstrative, with the weak ones it serves to specify/value it (see Roehrs 2010).

<sup>25</sup> Although the choice to dub both forms ‘unmarked’ is somewhat imprecise, I assume that there are many more reasons to opt for this label even in case of the strong form, as seen in the previous section.

(61) [in a clothing store; speaker points to a dress distant from her]

Dej mi iti /te went iten.  
give me that<sub>STRONG</sub>/that<sub>WEAK</sub> dress there  
'Give me that dress over there'

(62) [in a room; speaker points to a book on the table close to her]

Ka to jë \*iti/te libri izdë?  
what EXPL is that<sub>STRONG</sub>/that<sub>WEAK</sub> book here  
'What is this book over here?'

That the weak demonstrative is unvalued for proximity features, it is confirmed by the fact that it can be used in place of a proximal demonstrative, as illustrated in (63).<sup>26</sup>

(63) [holding a dress]

a. Mi plaža isi went. [+proximal]  
I like this dress  
b. Mi plaža te went.  
I like that<sub>WEAK</sub> dress  
'I like this dress.'

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<sup>26</sup> The fact that the weak form is completely insensitive to contrast in distance calls for a comparison with general demonstrative *ce* in French. In fact, French demonstrative *ce* is unspecified for proximity and as pointed out by Kayne and Pollock (2010, their (1), (2) and (3)) both English examples with proximal/non-proximal demonstratives can be translated into French with *ce*.

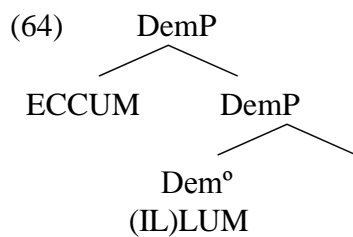
- (i) John appreciates that book.
- (ii) John appreciates this book.
- (iii) Jean apprécie ce livre.

That the deictically unmarked form *ce* in French is on its way to acquire the definite article status has been argued for by the above authors. The old definite article *le* has thus become a pure nominal marker (Mathieu 2009). This is yet another instance of definiteness cycle: once the definite article has approached the end state on the cline of definiteness, the process in which the definite article is created out of a demonstrative has already initiated.



Based on the above data, I assume that the novel demonstrative was introduced not because the weak demonstrative was unvalued for deictic but for proximity features. The demonstrative system in Resian is founded on the opposition [ $\pm$  proximal]. Since this distinction was lost in the course of the reanalysis of the demonstrative.

The second problem concerns the source of renewal for the strong demonstrative. Cross-linguistically, when the demonstrative is weakened, it is commonly strengthened by a deictic adverb. This is exactly what happened in Romance: the locative reinforcer *eccum* was added to support a weakened demonstrative.<sup>27</sup>



In the case of Resian, the new demonstrative was reinforced by a morpheme *i-* (60).<sup>28</sup> I can make no claim about the etymology of this morpheme.<sup>29</sup> Still, I suspect that this morpheme was not added for purely phonological consideration, as a kind of epenthetic vowel.<sup>30</sup> I am led to believe that *i-* is endowed with deictic (demonstrative) feature, as in present-day Resian this stem is found on all deictic words across the board.<sup>31</sup>

- (64) *injān* ‘now (at this moment)’<sup>32</sup>  
*isi* ‘this’  
*ištēs* ‘all the same way’  
*itaku* ‘so, like this’  
*itān* ‘there’ (maximum distance)

<sup>27</sup> To be more precise, the adverb *ECCUM* is an ostensive adverb used in exclamations.

<sup>28</sup> Or its allomorph *j-*, in use in the variety of San Giorgio.

<sup>29</sup> The comparison is tempting anyway with the anaphoric pronoun *i-* of OCS.

<sup>30</sup> Epenthetic vowels are normally added to break up unwelcome consonant clusters in a language. This does not apply above as it would apply in the following examples in Italian: *Ispagna* (Spagna), *pišsicologia* (psicologia).

<sup>31</sup> Possibly, *i-* was introduced on the strong demonstrative and was subsequently generalized to all words with demonstrative semantics.

<sup>32</sup> The examples in (64) and (65) are spelled according to the Standard Resian ortography.

iti 'that'  
 ito 'there' (medium distance)  
 ituliku 'so much, so many'  
 izdë 'here'

On the other hand, presumably the older, *t*- stem, is preserved on morpheme *ta*- (a shortened version of the adverb (*i*)*tään* 'there') which is an integral part of locative/temporal prepositions and locative/temporal adverbs or nouns.

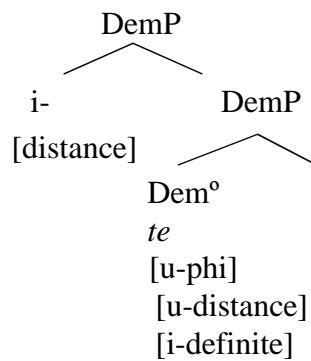
- (65) a. ta-lëtë  
 there-summer  
 'in summer'
- b. ta-nutrë  
 there-inside  
 'inside'
- c. ta-brid  
 there-in front  
 'in front'

*T*- stem is also preserved on the expletive pronoun *to* 'it'.

Although written attestations are few, a piece of data that can be revealing for the above proposal is found in *Arboit's the Lord's Prayer*, dating back to 1869. Considering that it is a Paternoster it may be indicative of some older stages of Resian. The prayer contains both forms, *taku* and *itaku* 'this way', given in quick succession. It is plausible that at that time both forms were in use as the process of the reanalysis had not been brought to an end. In present-day Resian the *t*- form is no longer acceptable.

We are now in the position to offer a picture of the whole cycle within the demonstrative system from above in terms of features ('i' stands for interpretable, 'u' for uninterpretable/unvalued features).

(61)



#### 4.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, it was shown that Resian has developed a genuine definite article based on the numerous uses in which only definite articles in languages with articles are normally found. However, this form is peculiar as it is ambiguous between a demonstrative and a definite article, and the definite article reading is contingent on the syntactic context. It was proposed that the ambiguity detected results from the structural ambiguity arising in the process of reanalysis. In addition, this process has left gaps within the demonstrative system concerning the opposition proximal/distal, upon which the Resian demonstratives are built. As a matter of fact, the interpretable deictic feature became unvalued, and a supporting morpheme endowed with deictic features was added so as to restore the lost opposition. Throughout the chapter an asymmetry between modified and unmodified NEs was highlighted. However, an account of this asymmetry has not been addressed. This is the subject of the chapter to follow.

## Chapter 5

### The Definite Article in Resian

#### 5.1. Introduction

So far the following issues have been addressed with respect to the Resian nominal expressions:

- The architecture of NEs and syntactic properties of nominal constituents
- Semantics-syntax map
- Shape and undergoing changes within the demonstrative system

It has been observed that Resian NEs oscillate between Slavic- and Romance-like syntax, and that the changes in Romance direction affect mainly the semantics-syntax map as well as the demonstrative system. Throughout chapters 3 and 4 it has been shown that there exists sharp asymmetry between modified and unmodified NEs, though a full account of this matter has not been provided at that time. To illustrate, in (1) the unmodified definite nominal is bare, while its modified counterpart is mandatorily introduced by the weak demonstrative. The relevant nominal expressions are underlined.

- (1) Ja mu dal roko, ja mu dal \*(to) hüdo roko.  
I to.him gave hand I to.him gave the left hand  
'I gave him my hand, I gave him my left hand.'

In (1) the definiteness status of the noun *roka* 'hand' is contextually inferred due to the inherent relation entertained with the subject (inalienable possession). In (2), intrinsically unique definite descriptions (Löbner 1985) like *sun* or *wind* are also mandatorily bare in Resian, as shown in the previous chapter. Conversely, in genuine article languages such nouns always demand the presence of the definite article, all other determiners being excluded on semantic grounds.

- (2) Makoj sunčace mara kadä to ga pujubilo nu vitar ġujal ziz njimin.  
only sun sometimes expl him caressed and wind played with him

‘Only the sun used to caress it [the three] every now and then and the wind used to play with it.’  
(RE, San Giorgio)

- (3) (La) Terra è rotonda. (Italian)  
the Earth is round  
‘The Earth is round.’

In this chapter, I provide an analysis of the above asymmetry for the definite NEs. I will make a claim that that in the modified NEs the weak demonstrative should be analyzed as an instance of the definite article. However, such analysis is not so straightforward considering that the ‘definite article’ in Resian is atypical if compared to the definite article of genuine article languages in that it displays article-like behavior only in certain contexts. Furthermore, the definite article in article languages is licensed by the noun (Giusti 2001) and not by the modifier. For this reason, a natural move would be to assume that the weak demonstrative in cases as (1) constitutes part of the (extended) projection of the adjective (e.g. along the lines of Marušič and Žaucer 2013 for the Colloquial Slovenian adjectival article, as hinted at in Chapter 3). This analysis would be more plausible if we were to subscribe to the view that Resian lacks a DP layer altogether. Recall however that in this thesis I defend the position that Resian projects both D and has the definite article, though their overt realization is subject to specific conditions, to be discussed in this chapter. I am led to adopt the latter view based on ample evidence supplied in Chapters 2 and 3.

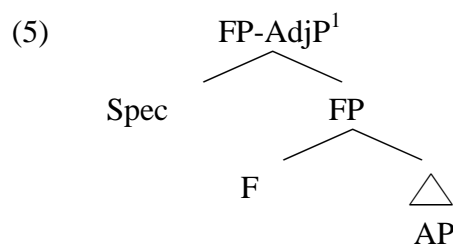
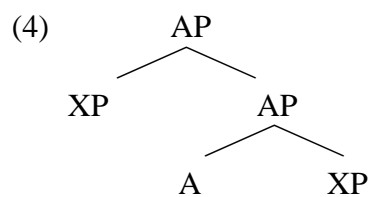
In addition, a number of far-reaching differences in the nominal structure between the two languages, Slovenian and Resian, as well as ongoing changes affecting primarily the Resian demonstrative system suggest that an account along similar lines fails to draw a connection between all these phenomena. As a result, I collapse the discussion ensued from the previous two chapters and claim that three components should be held responsible for the reanalysis of the weak demonstrative as the definite article in the above contexts: the change within the demonstrative system as such, the distribution of long/short-form adjectives and NP-movement.

The chapter is structured as follows. In Section 5. 2 I address conceivable approaches to the Resian weak demonstrative that would analyse it as part of the (extended) adjectival projection or as a reflex of agreement with D<sup>o</sup> (definiteness agreement). Given the importance of Slovenian for the Resian data, I dedicate a separate subsection to the Slovenian adjectival

article, as it was labelled by Marušič and Žaucer (2013). Afterwards, I turn to the Resian data and discuss the above analyses with their advantages and flaws. Since the benefits of both approaches are offset by possible disadvantages, I will eventually reject them. In the remainder of this chapter I pursue an alternative analysis that treats the weak demonstrative as the genuine definite article and discuss concomitant phenomena within the nominal syntax that render this account *prima facie* less straightforward.

## 5.2. Conceivable approaches

Bearing in mind that the weak demonstrative as definite article is present only when adjectival modification takes place, as illustrated in (1), it may be tempting to assume that it is merged together with the adjective, whereby its position could be either as in (4), *à la* Jackendoff (1977), or as in (5).



We indeed have evidence for both structures. As for the first one, the weak demonstrative has to be linearly adjacent to the adjective. Intensifying adverbs cannot disrupt this adjacency, which may suggest that they compete with the weak demonstrative for the same position.

- (6) a. \*te [karje lipi] muž  
           the very handsome man

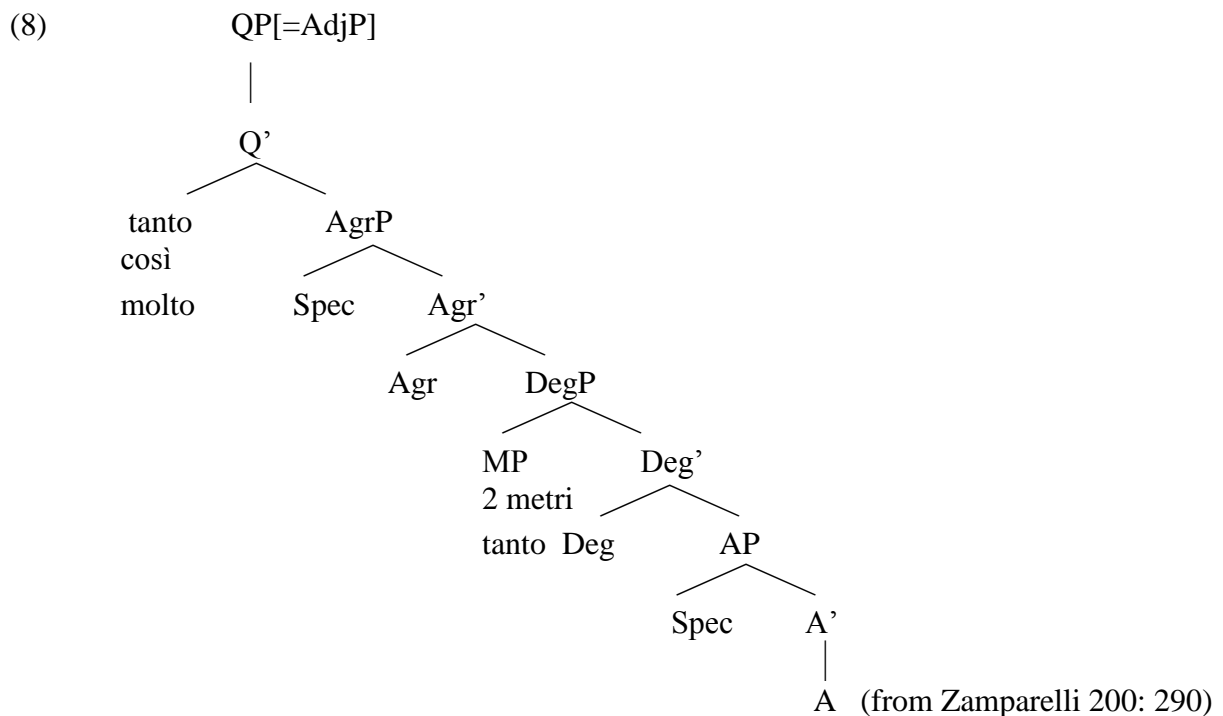
<sup>1</sup> In this structure FP would match either DP or QP of the nominal domain.

- b. \*te [fis lipi] muž  
 the really handsome man
- c. \*te [već lipi] muž  
 the much handsome man  
 ‘the very/really handsome man’ (Stolvizza)

However, it is well-known that adjectival projections present a more articulated structure cross-linguistically with respect to the one provided in (4) inasmuch as they may host degree morphology and various intensifying and degree adverbs, as well as measure phrases (MPs).

- (7) a. big – bigger – biggest  
 b. molto/più/tanto/così bello (Italian)  
 much/ more/ that/so handsome

In order to host all these items, various proposals have been put forth in the literature (Corver 1990, 1997; Zamparelli 2000, a.o), with the aim to establish a parallel with the extended projection of the noun phrase. The one below is proposed in Zamparelli (2000), stated in X-bar terms, for the adjectival extended projection in Italian.



As a matter of fact, Resian provides evidence for a more elaborated adjectival structure since it admits the degree adverbs *bojĕ / bō* ‘more’ and *nejbojĕ* ‘best’, employed in analytic comparatives and superlatives, to be sandwiched in between the weak demonstrative and the adjective.

(9) ta [bō starajša] iša<sup>2</sup>  
 the more older house  
 ‘the oldest house’

(10) te [nejbojĕ wridne] rozajanske roomoninja  
 the most valuable Resian languages  
 ‘the most important Resian varieties’ (Stolvizza)

One strong piece of evidence in favor of the constituency of the adjective and the weak demonstrative comes from the availability of Left Branch Extraction (Ross 1967), a focus movement of prenominal adjectives.<sup>3</sup> Under the assumption that only constituents can be extracted, the weak demonstrative and the adjective should form a constituent, as otherwise we would have the extraction of a non-constituent (see Adger 2003 and a Ban on a non-constituent movement).

(11) TAA NAJMLOJŠA si vidla sina [, nĕ taa najstarajša]  
 the youngest aux<sub>1SG</sub> seen son not the oldest  
 ‘I saw (his) YOUNGEST son [, not the oldest one]’

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<sup>2</sup> Notice in the glosses that the nominal expression contains both comparative suffix on the adjective and a degree adverb. The fact that comparative/superlative is overtly signaled twice is in compliance with the assumption that the Resian grammar is transiting from a more synthetic to a more analytic grammatical system. As expected, the suffixation pattern is no longer productive in Resian (as well as in Slovenian, see Greenberg 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Left branch condition was first formulated by Ross (1967) in order to define the impossibility of prenominal elements, such as adjectives, possessives and determiners to be extracted from inside the nominal expression in certain languages. The following examples from English illustrate the workings of this condition:

- (i) a. \*Nice I saw a/the car.
- b. \*Whose did you see mother?
- c. \*That I saw girl.



Another piece of evidence concerns the relative positioning of the weak demonstrative and the adjective in nominal expression containing other constituents. In different rearrangements within NE, it turns out that the weak demonstrative and the adjective always appear adjacent to each other. For instance, in an NE containing a possessive, weak demonstrative (WD) and the adjective, all three options are grammatical: poss>WD>adj>noun (12a); WD > adj > poss > noun (12b); poss > noun > WD > adj (12c). The unacceptable order in (12d) illustrates that the sequencing of nominal constituents in which the two items are split, such as WD > poss > adj > noun, yields ungrammaticality.

- (12) a.     nji ta maja lisica  
          her the little fox
- b.     ta maja nji lisica  
          the little her fox
- c.     nji lisica ta maja  
          her fox the little
- d.     \*ta nji maja lisica  
          the her little fox

But before I address the above arguments with due care and propose the answers to the above facts, I discuss briefly the adjectival article TA in Slovenian and the analysis pursued by Marušič and Žaucer (2013).

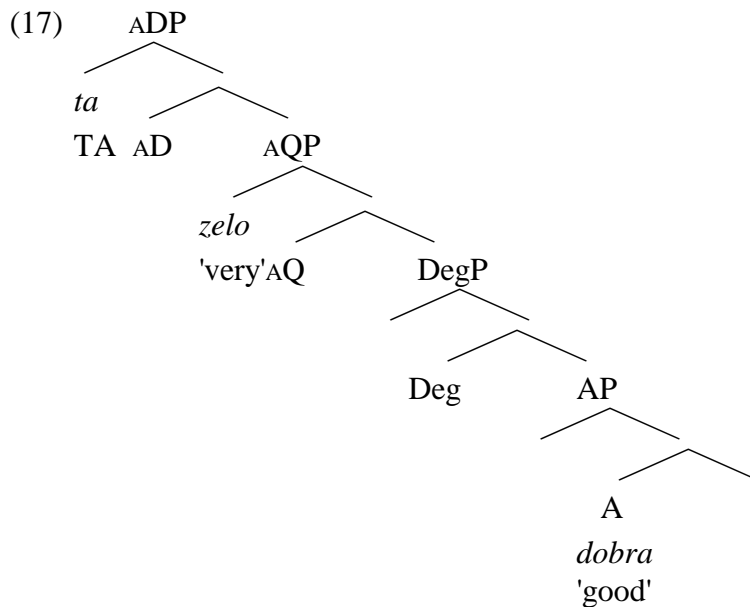
### 5.2.1. *Colloquial Slovenian adjectival article TA*

In chapter 3 it was hinted at the fact that Colloquial Slovenian has a sort of an invariant definite article (TA), whose distribution is rather interesting and in many respects reminiscent of the Resian weak demonstrative scrutinized in this chapter. TA is licensed only in modified nominal expressions and exhibits some rather peculiar traits when compared to the regular definite article of languages with articles (see Marušič and Žaucer for the arguments why TA is not *the* in a series of papers dedicated to this topic, 2006, 2008, 2013). To put it succinctly, their analysis of the invariant clitic TA is that of an adjectival article and hinges on the



- (16) en ta hiter avto  
 one TA fast car  
 ‘a fast car’

In addition, this element does not seem to be obligatory on adjectives but when it does show up, it turns an accompanying descriptive adjective into a classificatory one by endowing it with the semantics that could be paraphrased as ‘of that type/kind’. The example (16) could be understood accordingly as ‘a car belonging to the fast type/kind of cars’.<sup>7</sup> For all the aforementioned reasons, Marušič and Žaucer do not consider TA a locus of definiteness for the entire NE, do not place it as high as the DP layer accordingly, but propose the structure in (17) instead.



(from Marušič and Žaucer 2013)

Their analysis is built on one important fact related to the adjectival morphology in Colloquial Slovenian, already hinted at in Chapter 3. Unlike Standard Slovenian, which preserves long/short distinction on qualitative adjectives, in Colloquial Slovenian the long-form (henceforth LF) morphology on descriptive adjectives is lost (save for some residual

<sup>7</sup> Though at first glance this may look as a partitive structure, Marušič and Žaucer show that this is not the case.

cases).<sup>8</sup> In order to compensate for this loss, a structure TA+short form (henceforth SF) adjective is used.<sup>9,10</sup>

(18) TA + SF adjective = LF adjective<sup>11</sup>

a. Prihaja tə lep. (Littoral, Karst dialect, Dornberk)  
 comes.he TA handsome<sub>SHORT</sub>  
 ‘The handsome one/man arrives.’

b. Prihaja lepi. (Standard Slovenian)  
 comes.he handsome<sub>LONG</sub>  
 ‘The handsome one/man arrives.’

Given that TA contains interpretable features (it contributes definiteness to the adjective by endowing it with the semantics of a classificatory adjective), it turns out that also long morphology on adjectives contains interpretable features.<sup>12</sup> Marušič and Žaucer arrive at this conclusion on the grounds of a well-known fact – classificatory adjectives in Slavic bear long-morphology *by default* (Progovac and Rutkowski, 2005; Cinque 2010).

(19) generalni direktor (Slovenian)  
 general<sub>LONG</sub> director  
 ‘a/the general director’

(20) zdravstveni delavec  
 health<sub>LONG</sub> worker  
 ‘health worker’

<sup>8</sup> Recall that long form is not a felicitous term at all, as it is preserved only on nominative masculine singular, but I use it here as an umbrella term for the adjectival paradigm that was historically related to definiteness.

<sup>9</sup> In Marušič and Žaucer’s works it is not specified what exactly they mean by ‘Colloquial Slovenian’ and whether their observations apply in all the informal varieties spoken in Slovenian are taken into account. Recall that huge dialectal differences underlie variation among Slovenian speakers.

<sup>10</sup> This is especially the case of the speakers of Littoral dialects, who report that they do not possess long-form adjectives in their own dialect at all and feel them as belonging entirely to Standard Slovenian.

<sup>11</sup> Recall that long-form adjectives in Proto-Slavic were formed by adding an anaphoric/demonstrative pronoun \*jь. In the final analysis, TA and the anaphoric demonstrative could be related to the same source.

<sup>12</sup> Note that this explanation is problematic as it does not account for the example in (13) where TA/long morphology is used either as a nominalizer or as to license a nominal ellipsis, as shown in the English translation.

In conclusion, the definite article in Slovenian, according to Marušič and Žaucer is best analyzed as linked to the adjective in semantic and syntactic terms considering that it is not able to render the entire nominal expression definite.<sup>13,14</sup> Furthermore, considering that the use of TA is optional, it is able to turn any descriptive adjective into a classificatory one if contained in the numeration. Their analysis predicts then that whenever there is a classificatory adjective, which bears a long morphology as part of its lexical entry (and possibly meaning), the use of TA would be ruled out. This prediction is indeed borne out, as illustrated in (21a) and (22b), respectively, in which NEs contain adjectives with long morphology.

- (21) a. (\*ta) kulturni dom (Slovenian, Standard and Colloquial)  
 TA cultural<sub>LONG</sub> center  
 ‘The Resian cultural association’
- b. (\*ta) rezijanski kulturni dom  
 TA Resian.long cultural.long center  
 ‘The Resian cultural association’

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<sup>13</sup> This leaves open the question on how it is to be dealt with when it indeed provides reference for the whole NE. I suspect that a unifying syntactic account of all uses of TA is extremely difficult to achieve, unless we split definiteness into two separate fields (along the lines of Cinque 2010), the lower one, where the uniqueness of the reference is established (lower d) and the higher one, responsible for the uniqueness of the referent. One attempt in this direction, based on the behavior of long morphology on adjectives in Serbo-Croatian, which however does not presuppose the existence of D in article-less languages, is made in Despić (2011).

<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, even in languages that regularly display the definite article, as Scandinavian languages, if preceded by similar adjectives, NEs can optionally drop the definite article (Delsing 1993).

- (i) (den) franska revolutionen  
 (the) French revolution

The list includes some other adjectives that, due to their inherently unique semantics, are capable of providing uniqueness for the whole NE.

### 5.2.2 Resian weak demonstrative w.r.t. to Colloquial Slovenian adjectival article

In this subsection, I highlight major difference in the distribution of the Resian weak demonstrative when compared to TA. We have seen above that Colloquial Slovenian TA can be below the indefinite determiner, as illustrated in (17).<sup>15</sup>

- (22) ena ta prava privlačna ženska<sup>16</sup> (Colloquial Slovenian)  
a TA trully attractive woman  
'a truly attractive woman' (from Bažec 2011: 91, her (92))<sup>17</sup>

In Resian, on the other hand, in neither of the below contexts was it possible to elicit the use of the weak demonstrative – it seems banned from prototypically indefinite contexts, both specific and nonspecific. The indefinite nominal expressions in English are underscored whereas their Resian equivalents are excerpted from the relevant translations and reported under the English dialogues.<sup>18</sup>

[-definite, +specific]

- (23) Lorenzo: How was your trip?  
Maria: Fine, I met an Italian friend/an old friend of mine, but you don't know him.  
  
Resian: a. naa laškaa amīga  
a Italian friend  
'an Italian friend'

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<sup>15</sup> There are many more differences (and similarities, as already pointed above) which I skip due to space limitations. Hence, I focus only on a cluster of properties that I consider pertinent for the analysis to be developed in the second part of the chapter.

<sup>16</sup> Although I don't have a fully elaborated account, I suspect that TA in these examples is used as a focus marker. If this indeed is the case, then NEs containing classificatory adjectives should be excluded on independent grounds, since these adjectives cannot be emphasized (Cinque 2010).

<sup>17</sup> Glosses are mine.

<sup>18</sup> The examples are modeled after Ionin, Ko and Wexler (2004). See also Marušič and Žaucer (2008), who adopt similar tests in order to probe into the distribution of TA in Colloquial Slovenian.

- b. naa staraa mia amīga  
 ‘an old my friend’ (Stolvizza)

[-definite, -specific]

- (24) Student: I am new in this school. This is my first day.  
 Teacher: Welcome! Are you going to be at the school party tonight?  
 Student: Yes. I’d like to get to know my classmates. I am hoping to find  
a good friend/an Italian friend! I don’t like being all alone.

- Resian: a. naa laškaa amīga  
 ‘an Italian friend’  
 b. naa dobraa amīga  
 ‘a good friend’ (Stolvizza)

In addition, even when native speakers were instructed to use the weak demonstrative as to provide definiteness to the kind/type of the referent denoted by the nominal expression, they kept rejecting the use of the weak demonstrative.

- (25) Si kupila no (\*to) niško/ valīko makinjo.<sup>19</sup>  
 aux bought one (\*the) German /big car  
 ‘I bought a German car.’ (intended ‘of the German/big type’) (Stolvizza)

Second, as opposed to Colloquial Slovenian TA, which does not have a rigid position within a nominal expression and can show up on any among multiple adjectives, the Resian weak demonstrative always precedes the highest adjective. Notice, however, that adjectives

<sup>19</sup> Another difference can be observed in nominalizations. In Colloquial Slovenian, for instance, TA can be used form nouns out of adjectives and in this context it is perfectly grammatical with the indefinite determiner, as in

- (i).  
 (i) En/Nek ta mlad je skuhal kosilo.  
 a/some TA young AUX<sub>3SG</sub> cooked lunch.  
 ‘A/some young person prepared a lunch.’

In Resian, on the other hand, such co-occurrence of the indefinite determiner and the weak demonstrative is ruled out:

- (ii) \*dän te mladi (OK: dän mladi; te mladi)  
 a the young

below may appear in either order, as long as the first among them is preceded by the weak demonstrative.

(26) a. ta valika lipa stancija

the big nice room

b. ta lipa valika stancija

the nice big room

c. \*lipa ta valika stancija

nice the big room

‘the big beautiful/beautiful big room’

(Stolvizza)

Not only, but TA can be optionally iterated, if certain interpretative conditions are met (see fn. 6). In Resian, instead, only one instance of the weak demonstrative per nominal expression is allowed.

(27) \*ta lipa ta valika stancija

the nice the big room

‘the big nice room’

And this is also true of those adjectives that cannot scramble. The order below in (28) is the only order allowed.

(28) te stari kulturni čirkolo

the old cultural center



The distributional differences between Resian TE and Colloquial Slovenian are summarized in table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Differences in the distribution of the Resian weak demonstrative w.r.t. Colloquial Slovenian TA

|                                      | <b>Obligator<br/>y</b> | <b>Definite<br/>NEs</b> | <b>Indefinite<br/>NEs</b> | <b>Rigid<br/>Position</b> | <b>Possibility<br/>of iteration<br/>within NE</b> | <b>SF<br/>adj.</b> | <b>LF<br/>adj.</b> |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---|--------------------|--------------------|
| <b>Colloquial<br/>Slovenian TA</b>   | NO                     | YES                     | YES                       | NO                        | YES   | YES                | NO                 |
| <b>Resian weak<br/>demonstrative</b> | YES                    | YES                     | NO                        | YES                       | NO  | NO                 | YES                |

I take two pieces of data to be particularly revealing. The first one relates to the optionality of TA versus obligatoriness of the Resian weak demonstrative in comparable contexts. To that end, I report a quote from the doctoral dissertation of Bažec (2011), in which she draws the following conclusion upon surveying at length the use of TA in contemporary colloquial Slovenian:

In this work, I focused primarily on those cases in which the article is employed. Nevertheless, the use of the article in Colloquial Slovenian is optional, and even when favorable communicative conditions are met, it can still be missing. It should be pointed out that the cases in which the article is dropped are to a great extent more frequent than those in which it is employed. (Bažec, 2011: 87, translation mine)<sup>20</sup>

Even in cases in which the use of TA is impossible in Slovenian (both Standard and Colloquial), the use of the weak demonstrative in Resian is obligatory. The minimal pair is given below.

- (29) a. \*(te) rozajanski kultürski čirkolo (Resian)  
           the Resian cultural center

<sup>20</sup> “In questo lavoro la ricerca è stata focalizzata soprattutto sui casi in cui l’articolo viene impiegato; tuttavia, l’uso dell’articolo nello sloveno parlato è facoltativo, e pur in presenza di condizioni comunicative favorevoli al suo impiego esso può mancare. È necessario precisare che i casi in cui l’articolo è omesso sono di gran lunga più numerosi dei casi in cui esso è usato.”

- b. (\*ta) rezijanski kulturni dom (Slovenian, Standard and Colloquial)  
 (the) Resian cultural center  
 ‘The Resian cultural association’

The other revealing fact concerns the use of TA in front of short-form adjectives exclusively.<sup>21</sup> In chapter 3 we have seen that the distribution of long/short-form adjectives in Resian differs both with respect to standard and colloquial Slovenian. In Resian, long forms are used in adnominal position while short forms are employed predicatively. The weak demonstrative can never be used with short forms.

- (30) \*te mlad človek  
 the young<sub>SHORT</sub> man  
 ‘the young man’

The above structure could be excluded on independent grounds due to the ungrammatical placement of the short-form adjectives. But even when the weak demonstrative is used in the context in which short-forms adjectives are allowed, the structures are ruled out nonetheless. In (31) the short-form is used as primary, in (32) as secondary predicate.

- (31) [...] da krū bodi (\*te) mihak.  
 that bread be the soft<sub>SHORT</sub>  
 ‘that bread be soft’ (HS, San Giorgio)

- (32) Prít ni so mestili ziz mišalnikom ma so ostajale (\*te) cële kartufule.<sup>22</sup>  
 before they aux beat with ladle but aux stayed the whole potatoes  
 ‘Before they used to beat with the ladle but the potatoes would remain whole’  
 (HS, San Giorgio)

<sup>21</sup> The analysis of TA proposed by Marušič and Žaucer (2013) refers to the use of TA in front of adnominal short-form adjectives.

<sup>22</sup> In this example the subject is inverted (the example is drawn from the transcription of spontaneous oral production).





- (38) \*mlodi        ano te lipi        novýc  
      young and    the handsome bridegroom

Indeed, such type of analysis is empirically unmotivated insofar that the weak demonstrative would differ from all the other determiners in Resian in being merged with APs exclusively. In addition, an important parallelism with the indefinite articles, which has been highlighted on several occasions throughout the thesis would be entirely lost.<sup>24</sup>

- (39) ta / na lipa hčí  
      the/ a    beautiful girl

The indefinite article systematically subcategorizes for an NP and displays no shift in meaning between modified and unmodified NPs as can be seen from the following minimal pairs (recall Chapter 3).

- (40) a.        na lipa hčí  
      b.        na hčí  
              ‘a (beautiful) girl’

And finally, unlike colloquial Slovenian, where we do have two separate lexical entries, one for the demonstrative element, and the other for the adjective, the homophony between the weak demonstrative as a demonstrative and the weak demonstrative as part of the adjectival (extended) projection would have to be explained as a consequence of a mere phonological accident since it is hard to see how they could be related in syntactic terms.

#### *5.2.4. Addressing the arguments favoring the adjectival article-like analysis of the weak demonstrative*

Before I turn to the analysis of the weak demonstrative as a genuine ‘definite article’ which circumvents many of the problems outlined above, I discuss two arguments anticipated in section 5.2 that could potentially undermine the analysis that follows. The first one was

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<sup>24</sup> The approaches that assume that the definite and the indefinite articles behave differently fail in capturing all the above parallelisms.

related to the possibility of Left Branch Extraction (LBE), to wit the extraction of prenominal adjectives, allowed only in languages without articles (Corver 1990, 1992, Bošković 2005 and subsequent works). To that end, note the difference between, Latin, a language without articles that allows LBE and Italian, which excludes LBE.

- (41) a. quales<sub>i</sub> legimus [t<sub>i</sub> panegyricos]? (Latin)  
 what read.we panegyric  
 ‘What kind of panegyrics do we read?’ (Quint. Inst. 2,10,11)
- b. \*quali leggiamo panegirici? (Italian)  
 (from Giusti and Iovino 2012, their (3))

Within the Slavic language family, the contrast has been noted between Serbo-Croatian, which lacks definite articles and permits LBE, and Bulgarian, an article language which disallows LBE.

- (42) a. \*Novata<sub>i</sub> ja prodade Petko [t<sub>i</sub> kola]. (Bulgarian)  
 new.the it sold Petko car  
 ‘Petko sold the new car.’ (Petko sold the NEW car)  
 (from Bošković 2005, his (4e))
- b. Nova je prodao kola. (Serbo-Croatian)  
 new aux<sub>3SG</sub> sold car  
 ‘He sold the new car.’ (He sold the NEW car)

In Corver (1990, 1992), and later in Bošković (2005, 2008, 2010), the availability of LBE was associated with the absence of the DP layer in a language, insofar as all the languages displaying LBE lack articles.<sup>25</sup> This proposal is generally complemented by two additional

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<sup>25</sup> Slovenian, on the other hand, although being an article-less language, does not allow for LBE:

- (i). \*Milojkina odhaja hči. [cf. √Milojkina hci odhaja.]  
 Milojka’s is.leaving daughter  
 ‘Milojka’s daughter is leaving.’ (from Franks 2013: , his (51b))

assumptions related to the status of adjectives and determiners in article-less languages: adjectives are adjuncts and can extract from NEs without any restrictions; determiners behave as adjectives, and as such can extract on a par with them (see Giusti and Iovino 2012 for discussion).

According to Bošković (2008a), in languages where there is no DP layer altogether (like for instance, Serbo-Croatian or Latin), the subextraction of prenominal constituents is possible since NPs are not phases and need not obey two principles preventing extraction (of adjectives) from within NEs.<sup>26</sup> The first principle is Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), due to Chomsky (2000), according to which movement out of a phase must proceed via its specifier; the second bans movement that is too short and does not cross at least one phrasal boundary (due to Abels 2003). Accordingly, in order to be extracted from DPs, adjectives should make use of a SpecDP as an escape hatch, but even when this position is vacant, the movement of an adjective does not cross a full constituent before reaching it, whence the ungrammaticality of the structure. In article-less languages, in which, according to Bošković, DP layer is not projected, adjectives can be extracted freely since neither of the above principles is violated.<sup>27</sup>

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Indeed, none of my informants accepted the examples below, in which the adjective is extracted together with the adjectival article.

(ii) \*Ta nov sem videl avto.

TA new<sub>SHORT</sub> AUX seen car.

‘I saw THE NEW CAR.’

Both Bošković (2009) and Franks (2013) take the absence of LBE as a hint that Slovenian might be developing into a DP language, which is, according to both authors, additionally supported by the rise of the indefinite articles.

<sup>26</sup> Note that whenever I report on the accounts put forth by Bošković I use his terminology: NPs stand for nominal expressions of article-less languages; DPs are nominal expressions in languages with articles.

<sup>27</sup> I abstract away from an in-depth discussion of extraction possibilities in NEs in article *vs.* article-less languages, which bears on the different phasehood of NEs in these two languages. In a contextual approach to phases, put forth by Bošković (2012) which revises slightly the above proposal, DPs are phases in article languages, and NPs are phases in article-less languages (see Talić 2013 for an overview). This assumption underlies the possibility of extracting genitival PP complements from DPs (no violation of PIC and Anti-locality) in article languages (i), and the prohibition of that type of extraction from NPs (violation of PIC and Anti-locality) in article-less languages (ii).

(i) [Di chi]<sub>i</sub> hai visto le [foto t<sub>i</sub>]? (Italian)  
of whom have.you seen the photos

(ii) \*[Koga]<sub>i</sub> si videla [NP slike t<sub>i</sub>] (Serbo-Croatian)

Another account based on the presupposition that all NEs project a DP layer, would make use of the SpecDP (in the spirit of Giusti 1997) and assume a null D instead. In order to see how this works, note the below asymmetry in the extraction of possessors out of NEs in Italian.<sup>28</sup>

- (43) a. Di chi hai la foto sulla tua scrivania?<sup>29</sup> (Giusti 1997)  
of whom have.you the photo on.the your desk
- b. \*Di chi hai questa foto sulla tua scrivania?  
of whom have.you this foto on.the your desk

In (43a) it is possible to extract the theme/possessor out of NE through SpecDP, since this position is free. The ungrammaticality of (43b) follows, since SpecDP is occupied by a proximal demonstrative *questo* ‘this’ and cannot serve as an escape hatch for the extraction of the possessor.

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Who<sub>GEN</sub> aux<sub>2SG</sub> saw photos  
‘Whose photos did you see?’

However, Giusti and Iovino (2012) show that in Latin, an article-less language, the extraction of genitival complements IS available (iii), which makes an account in terms of NP/DP split resting on the availability of articles not so clear-cut.

- (iii) summi oratoris habuit laudem (Cic. Brut. 110) (Latin)  
great<sub>GEN</sub>. orator<sub>GEN</sub> had reputation  
‘He had the reputation of a great orator.’ (from Giusti and Iovino 2012)

<sup>28</sup> Note that in Italian it is possible to extract out of NEs only PPs introduced by a preposition *di* ‘of’ that exhibit subject-like behavior, which can be diagnosed by the following two tests: the extractable elements can be paraphrased by possessive adjectives; the extracted elements cannot be paraphrased by the preposition *di* ‘of’ and 1 and 2 personal singular pronoun (Cinque 2013, fn. 1, 1980). Possessive adjectives themselves, on the other hand, cannot be extracted due to their occupying a criterial subject position (Cinque 2013), as defined in Rizzi (2007).

- (i) a. Abbiamo visto [la sua borsa]  
We.have seen the his bag  
b. \*SUA<sub>i</sub> abbiamo visto [la t<sub>i</sub> borsa]

These conditions on extractability of elements from NEs in Italian make Cinque conclude that SpecDP is an A- rather than A’-bar position in Italian. This however seems to not hold crosslinguistically.

<sup>29</sup> The extracted possessor ‘di chi’ (of whom) can denote either the possessor or the theme.



Now, turning back to Resian, both analysis face empirical and conceptual problems. I take the crucial piece of data that hinders both approaches to the extraction of the weak demonstrative and the adjective in the same step to be the one in (44).

- (44) NO BILO si kupila mokinja [, nĕ no černjalö]  
 a white aux<sub>1SG</sub> bought car not one red  
 ‘I bought a WHITE car[, not the red one]’

First, in an analysis in the spirit of Bošković (2008a), it is hard to reconcile the extraction of the indefinite article and the adjective with the assumption that indefinite articles are inserted along the spine of the extended nominal projection and the weak demonstrative together with the adjective, unless a distinct analysis is posited for the two types of extractions, which seems unmotivated.

As far as the second approach is concerned, the one that rests on null D and vacant SpecDP, it would be viable to assume that the extraction of the adjective and the weak demonstrative starts out from the postnominal position, just like the extraction of possessor PP in the Italian example. Recall from chapter 3 that in Resian, alongside the unmarked prenominal order of adjectives, there is an alternative order in which a weak demonstrative and the adjective are generated in postnominal position.<sup>30</sup>

- (45) sĭn [te najmlojši sĭn]  
 son the youngest (Stolvizza)  
 ‘the YOUNGEST son’

However, the difficulty with a similar analysis lies in the fact that there exists no parallel structure in which the indefinite article is merged in place of the weak demonstrative.

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<sup>30</sup> Interestingly, in Greek polydefiniteness construction it is possible to extract the postnominal adjective with its own article through SpecDP.

- (i) a. Agorase [to forema to kokkino]  
 he.bought the dress the red  
 b. to kokkino agorase [t to forema t]  
 the red he.bought the dress

(from Cinque 2012: 176, fn.3, judgments due to Marika Lekakou)

- (46) \*mokinja [na bila ~~m~~akinja]  
 car a white  
 ‘a WHITE car’

This is why even this analysis would suffer the very same downside as the approach above, i.e. two different types of analysis would be required in order to account for (44). In addition, as would be claimed below, in (45) SpecDP is actually not vacant since the NP *sin* ‘son’ has moved there in order to license a null, definite D.

Recall that in my proposal the weak demonstrative and the adjective do not form a constituent (weak demonstrative being in D), and the same can be said of the indefinite article and the adjective. I would like to keep this parallel intact and build on the proposals put forth with the purpose of accounting for the extraction of non-constituents in languages that allow for LBE and subsequently applied for LBE as well (see Bašić 2004 for Serbo-Croatian, Pereltsvaig 2008 for Russian). One such case is the extraction of a preposition together with the adjective modifying the complement NP, as illustrated in (47). The extracted non-constituent is given in bold print.

- (47) a. U malu je otišao sobu. (Serbo-Croatian)  
 In small aux<sub>3SG</sub> went room  
 ‘It is in the **SMALL** room that he went.’
- b. Protiv sovjetskoj on vystupal vlasti. (Russian)  
 against Soviet he demonstrated regime  
 ‘It is against the **SOVIET** regime that he demonstrated.’ or  
 ‘It is **AGAINST** the Soviet regime that he demonstrated.’  
 (Pereltsvaig 2008, in Matushansky 2010)

Building on the parallels with the above cases, I would like to propose the following derivation of LBE cases of adjectives in Resian (for ease of exposition I provide only those steps that are steps relevant for the extraction and the final derivation). Though I do not enter

into the question of whether there is a generalized remnant movement in this language, the description aims to showing that alternative analyses are indeed possible.<sup>31</sup>

(48) TA NAJMLOJŠA si vidla sīna  
 the youngest AUX<sub>1SG</sub> saw soon

- (49) a. [DP ta najmlojša [NPSīna]] – Merger of F and attraction of *sīna* to its Specifier  
 b. [FPSīna<sub>k</sub> [DPT<sub>k</sub> [ta najmlojša [NP t<sub>k</sub>]]]  
 ...  
 c. [CP *pro*[C si [IP vidla<sub>j</sub> [VP t<sub>j</sub> [FPSīna<sub>k</sub> [DPT<sub>k</sub> [ta najmlojša [NP t<sub>k</sub>]]...]]] – Merger of Foc and attraction of the remnant DP to its specifier  
 d. [<sub>FocP</sub>[DP ta najmlojša [NP t<sub>k</sub>]]<sub>I</sub> [CP *pro*[C si [IP vidla<sub>j</sub> [VP t<sub>j</sub> [FPSīna<sub>k</sub> t<sub>i</sub>]]...]]]

The second problem, highlighted in section 5.2, is related to the obligatory adjacency of the weak demonstrative and the adjective in different rearrangements of nominal constituents within the nominal expression. The example is repeated here as (50) for convenience.

- (50) a. nji ta maja lisica  
 her the little fox  
 b. ta maja nji lisica  
 the little her fox  
 c. nji lisica ta maja  
 her fox the little  
 d. \*ta nji maja lisica  
 the her little fox

As for (50c), this order stems from a different structure, in which the postnominal weak demonstrative and the adjective belong to an appositive nominal expression. In the

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<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, I am unable to provide a full description of the phenomenon of LBE in Resian, as my informants were particularly reluctant to give judgments about these structures.

postnominal part of the structure, the noun has been elided due to discourse pragmatic requirements, as was illustrated in detail in Chapter 3.

As regards (50a) and (50b), it is important to note that the two configurations do not yield fully identical truth conditions. Even so, it should also be borne in mind that both configurations are instances of marked structures with the adjective contrastively focused, which is why it is extremely hard to assess under what conditions either expression is used felicitously. Yet, in (50a) it is possible to omit the weak demonstrative (*nji maja lisica* ‘her little fox’) whereas in (50b) it is not. Furthermore, it seems that the construction in (50b) is a less felicitous option in an answer to a broad-focus question.

- (51) What happened? (new information focus)
- a. Jë doajala nji ta moja lisica.  
 aux<sub>3SG</sub> came her the little fox
- b. Jë doajala ta moja nji lisica (less preferred option)  
 aux<sub>3SG</sub> came the little her fox (Stolvizza)

On the other hand, if focus is placed on the adjective, then the structure in (50b) is more felicitous than the one in (50a).

- (52) Which one (among her foxes) has arrived? (narrow focus)
- a. ta moja nji lisica  
 the little her fox
- b. nji ta maja lisica.<sup>32</sup> (less preferred option)  
 her the little fox

I assume that the two orders above are instances of two different strategies of focusing adjectives in Resian NEs. The order in *ta moja nji lisica* ‘her little her fox’ is due to an overt displacement of the adjective to a focus projection inside a NE. The possessive adjective

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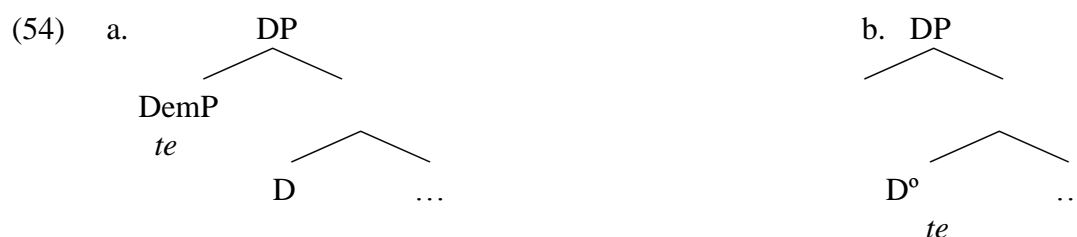
<sup>32</sup> Again, the acceptance of this answer is due to the presence of the weak demonstrative which emphasizes the contrastive reading of the adjective.



In the following sections I discuss each of the above facts in turn. I skim over the changes in the Resian system of demonstratives since this topic was addressed at length in the previous chapter.

### 5.3.1. Changes in the demonstrative system

As far as the demonstrative system is concerned, I hypothesize that the existence of both strong and weak demonstratives (see Chapter 3 for extensive evidence) is due to the process of the reanalysis still in progress. Recall that Resian speakers have at their disposal two structures, one in which the weak demonstrative is interpreted as a demonstrative and is located in SpecDP (Giusti 1997 and subsequent works), and another in which it is interpreted as the definite article, and heads a DP projection. In Chapter 4, I suggested that this is what underlies the ambiguous status of this item. The two structures are repeated here for convenience.



### 5.3.2. NP-movement to SpecDP

As regards movement of the NP, that is the lower portion of the extended nominal projection, first of all, it should be borne in mind that modification in itself is not a licenser of the weak demonstrative.<sup>33</sup> To that end, notice a contrast between prepositional phrases and restrictive relative clauses, on the one side, and prenominal modifiers, on the other side.

- (55) a. (te) wuže z Rezije (prepositional phrase)  
 (the) songs from Resia

<sup>33</sup> See the role of modification for the licensing of articles in French (Mathieu 2012).

- b. So bile (te) žane ki so predle wolno. (restrictive relative)  
 aux were (the) women who were spinning wool  
 ‘Women who were spinning wool were also there.’
- c. \*(te) rozajanske wuže(adjectival modifier)  
 \*(the) Resian songs

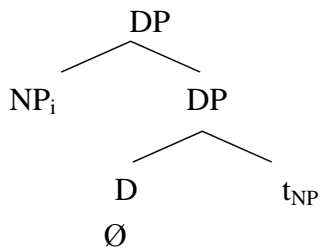
If the weak demonstrative and the modifier are discontinuous, as is the case with the former type of modifiers, the use of the weak demonstrative becomes optional, regardless of the definite article reading induced by this type of modification.<sup>34</sup> Prenominal adjectives, on the other hand, are ungrammatical if the weak demonstrative is omitted. The only case in which the use of the weak demonstrative with prenominal modifiers seem to vary is with titles, as shown in (56).

- (56) a. ta nona Silvana  
 the lady Silvana
- b. profasör Han Steenwijk  
 Professor Han Steenwijk (source)

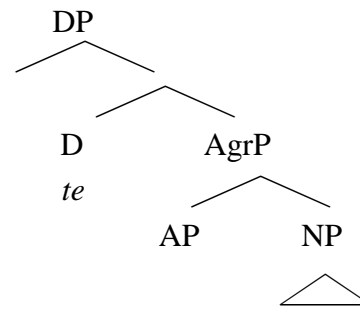
As a matter of fact, the above contrast in the use of the weak demonstrative is related to the type of noun that performs the role of the modifier. This means that the use of the weak demonstrative is obligatory with certain nouns, such as *nona* ‘lady’ (56a), and is ruled out with others, such as *profasör* ‘professor’ (56b). This difference will be qualified in structural terms once the proposal is spelled-out in detail.

I take the aforementioned fact to suggest strongly that in Resian the asymmetry between unmodified nominal expression and modified nominal expressions is best accounted for if in the former case the NP is assumed to reside in SpecDP in virtue of movement. Conversely, in modified nominal expressions NP is left in place since its movement is prevented by prenominal modifiers. For this reason, the insertion of the weak demonstrative becomes obligatory. The relevant structures are provided in (57a) and (57b).

(57) a. Movement



b. No movement



In the remainder of this section I spell-out the details of this proposal and address potential objections.

As regards the NP-movement to SpecDP, I assume that the rationale is to be looked for in the fact that DP layer needs to be licensed in Resian and the strategies employed involve either movement of NP to SpecDP or the insertion of overt material. The one involving NP-movement is a preferred one and is applied whenever possible considering that, as pointed out in Giusti (2002:55), the overt realization of the functional head is a last-resort operation.<sup>35</sup>

As far as nature of this movement is concerned – phrasal vs. head movement – I depart from Longobardi (1994 and subsequent works) in qualifying nominal movement as a head movement. Recall from the introductory chapter that Longobardi adopts an N-D raising in case of proper names (and kind-denoting nouns in English) in order to account for the distribution of definite articles in nominal expressions containing both proper names and a modifier in Italian. The idea is that either the insertion of the article or the raising of a proper name to D applies, otherwise the derivation crashes, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (58c).

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<sup>34</sup> The presence or the absence of the weak demonstrative does not induce a change in interpretation of the nominal expression either.

<sup>35</sup> This a tricky issue as it opens up another potential problem related to the Merge-over-Move principle (Chomsky 1998), formulated within Minimalist framework, which favors Merge as a more economical operation than Move, due to its minor complexity. This problem has also been raised by Julien (2003) in her analysis of Scandinavian double definiteness, which also makes use of the movement of *np* to SpecDP. Since my intention is by no means to assess the overall empirical (and conceptual) validity of this principle (see Motut 2010 for an overview), I can at best ascertain that the simple application of Merge is hampered by the ambiguity of the weak demonstrative, stemming from the existence of two different structural positions in which this element is found, SpecDP or D, leading ultimately to its interpretation as either demonstrative or a definite article.



- (58) a. L'antica Roma (the insertion of the definite article)  
 b. Roma antica (N-D raising)  
 c. \*Antica Roma  
 'Ancient Rome'

- (59) a. [DP [D la] [AgrP antica [NP [N Roma]]]]  
 b. [DP [D Roma<sub>i</sub>] [AgrP antica [NP [N t<sub>i</sub>]]]]

Nonetheless, it is possible to amend Longobardi's proposal and claim quite safely that the above examples involve in fact NP movement and not head movement. This is confirmed by the raising paradigm containing complex proper names, which are XPs and not X.<sup>36</sup>

- (60) a. lo stesso Matteo Renzi (the insertion of the definite article)  
 b. Matteo Renzi stesso (NP-SpecDP raising)  
 c. \*stesso Matteo Renzi  
 'Matteo Renzi himself'

The above complementary distribution between articles and proper names suggests that what we have in the above cases is not the definite article versus proper name in D, but filled D versus null D licensed by the overt material in SpecDP.<sup>37</sup>

As far as the type of NP-movement is concerned, I rely on Cinque (2005) typology of NP movement, which predicts only two types across languages and adopt the first type of movement for the case of Resian:

1. NP movement from specifier to specifier (through Agr(eement projection) found above each of the functional projection hosting adjectives, numeral and demonstratives)
2. NP successive movement to each of the specifiers above pied-piping the category which it dominates – roll-up movement

<sup>36</sup> I thank Guglielmo Cinque for suggesting and discussing the above data. All errors are mine.

<sup>37</sup> I am unable to reproduce the raising paradigm for the Resian data since the raising of the NP is blocked in the presence of the adjectival modifiers. The difference between Italian and Resian in this sense will be illustrated below and the changes affecting Resian nominal syntax in this regard will be qualified at the end of the chapter.





In a revision of Relativized minimality effects, the total structural identity as given in (i) was recast as matching in terms of features (featural non-distinctness). In addition, the class of intervenors (*Z* in (64)), which was initially defined in structural terms exclusively, i.e. as either occupying A- or A' specifiers (Rizzi 1990) was revised due to the possibility of some elements to cross other elements occupying the specifier position of the same type. This led Rizzi to define A'-position in more detail, based on the features that license these specifiers, and propose a bipartite A'-system: quantificational and modificational.<sup>39</sup> The leading idea is that Relativized Minimality remains in force only for classes of features.

This is exactly what is of interest here in accounting for the blocking effects on NP-movement raised by adjectival modifiers in Resian (see also Roehrs 2009).<sup>40</sup> At the beginning of this section it was anticipated that the distribution of long-form adjectives in Resian, alongside NP-movement and changes having effect on the demonstrative system, conspired to the rise of the definite article in Resian. In next section I explore the semantics and syntax of the long-form adjectives in Resian in order to define their 'share in the rise of the definite article.'

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<sup>39</sup> To illustrate, movement of adverbs was shown to be responsive to the intervention of other adverbs but not if such movement targets focus position. The asymmetry is illustrated by (i) and (ii), in which fronting of the manner adverb *rapidamente* 'fast' across epistemic adjective *probabilmente* 'probably' is allowed only in case the lower adverb is focused (ii). In Rizzi's system such movement is possible since the adverb targets focus position identified by a focus (quantificational?) feature and not simply a modifier position.

- (i) \**Rapidamente*, i tecnici hanno probabilmente risolto \_\_\_\_ il problema.  
'Rapidly, the technicians have resolved the problem.'
- (ii) *RAPIDAMENTE* i tecnici hanno probabilmente risolto il problema (non lentamente).  
'RAPIDLY the technicians have probably solved the problem (not slowly).' (from Rizzi 2001: 102-103, his (44) and (46) respectively)

<sup>40</sup> In order to account for this fact, Roehrs builds on the revised version of Relativized Minimality put forth in Rizzi (2001), in which the potential to block movement is explained in terms of feature composition of intervening elements and not only in terms of them occupying the intermediate position (s) the NP is making use of on its way to SpecDP. This is the same principle adopted by Roehrs in order to explain the movement of possessives inside nominal expressions.

### 5.3.3. *The distribution of long-form adjectives and the rise of the definite article*

Given the distribution of long-form adjectives as pronominal modifiers only, I claim that they are to be held responsible of preventing the raising of NP to SpecDP. But what is so special about long-form adjectives so that they trigger minimality effects? I assume that this ability stems from their nature as not mere adjectival modifiers, but as pronominal-like items, given that long-form adjectives exhibit certain properties that set them apart from regular adjectives.

First of all, they are deprived of what is generally assumed to be the defining semantic characteristic of descriptive adjectives – gradability (Jackendoff 1977, Cabredo Hofherr 2010). As already hinted at in section 5.2, degree adverbs cannot modify long-form adjectives.

- (66) \*te [karje /fis/već lipi] muž  
the very/really/too handsome<sub>LONG</sub> man  
'the very/really/truly handsome man'

Conversely, this is not the case of short form adjectives, as witnessed by (67).

- (67) Te muž je karje /fis /već lip.  
That man is very/ really/too handsome<sub>SHORT</sub>  
'That man is very/really/too handsome.'

An exceptional status of long-form adjectives is also corroborated by diachronic considerations, touched upon in Chapter 2. Recall that long-form adjectives were created in Proto-Slavic by attaching an anaphoric pronoun \*jь to the short-form adjectives (Schenker 1993). Hence, in Old-Church Slavonic adjectives could appear either as short-form, or as long-form, which contained an additional, pronominal inflection (Aljović 2010: 31) and presumably induced difference in interpretation for the entire NE.

I suspect that despite the distribution of long-short forms in Resian nowadays is determined only positionally (recall semantic tests applied in order to illustrate that long morphology is no more than a sort of agreement marker for adjectives in adnominal position) and are not themselves able to induce definite/indefinite interpretation on the NE as they occur under both definite and indefinite determiners, the link with its origin as pronominal-like elements has not been entirely lost. To that end, compare Resian with some other Slavic

languages, for instance Russian, which has very similar distribution of long/short form adjectives, but still, their syntax seem to be different when compared to long-form adjectives in Resian. In Russian, both long-form and short-form allow degree adverbs, as witnessed by examples in (68).

- (68) a. očen' prijatnyj mužčina (Russian)  
 very nice<sub>LONG</sub> man  
 'a/the very nice man'
- b. dejstvitel'no junaja ženščina  
 trully young<sub>LONG</sub> woman  
 'a/the trully young woman'
- c. etot mužčin bil očen' molod  
 that man was very young<sub>SHORT</sub>

Or, Polish, in which the opposition between short and long-form adjectives has almost been entirely lost, with the result that the only survived adjectival form is the long one.<sup>41</sup>

- (69) bardzo młody mężczyzna (Polish)  
 very young<sub>LONG</sub> man

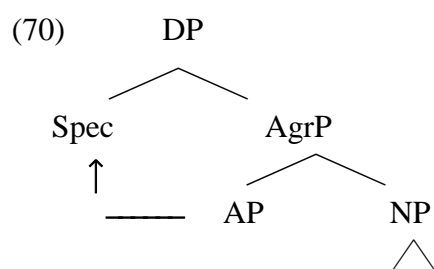
For the above reason, I claim that long-form adjectives in Resian are interveners for the raising of the NP due to their featural composition akin to that of the NP.

At this point, considering that for my proposal the featural composition between NP and long-form APs is what underlies the blocking effect of long-form adjectives, the problem arises as to why then APs are not targeted by SpecDP since being a closer goal than than the

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<sup>41</sup> In contemporary Polish, short-form adjectives are reduced to relicts surviving only in idiomatic expressions such as *zdrow jak ryba* (lit. healthy<sub>SHORT</sub> as fish) 'as fit as a fiddle' or in religious texts. Otherwise, long-form has completely replaced the short form throughout, even in predicative position *Radek jest zdrowy* 'Radek is healthy<sub>LONG</sub>.' Although short forms can arguably be used as predicates, they have a very archaic/literary flavor for most Polish speakers (Radek Iwankiewicz, personal communication). In addition, Radek informs me that many Polish speakers are completely unaware of the existence of short forms.

NP. This would allow a configuration in which a long-form adjective is raised to SpecDP and a null definite D is identified and licensed by the presence of the AP in SpecDP.



First, note that the structure above is not excluded in South-Slavic, unlike in Scandinavian (see Julien 2005, LaCara 2011), but crucially depends both on the availability of the distinction between short/long- form adjectives in attributive position and the presence of definite articles in a language.<sup>42</sup> In order to illustrate the point, I draw examples from Standard Slovenian.

In Standard Slovenian, which draws the distinction between long- and short-form adjectives, it is possible to use a determiner-less noun expression with a long-form adjective to refer back to the referent previously introduced into the discourse by means of the short-form adjective.

- (71) Živela sta dva brata, reven in bogat. Bogati brat se je odpravil...  
 lived.DU AUX two brothers,poor<sub>SHORT</sub> and rich<sub>SHORT</sub> rich<sub>LONG</sub> brother REFL AUX went  
 ‘Once upon a time, there were two brothers, one rich and the other poor. The rich brother...’

On the other hand, if SpecDP is filled with a determiner (demonstrative, for instance), a long-form adjective is left in place.

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<sup>42</sup> In order to account for the inability of APs to raise as high as SpecDP and provide overt material in the local configuration with a null D, Julien (2005) relies on Baker’s (2003) assumption that among lexical categories nouns are the only bearers of referential index and as such the only candidates for SpecDP (alongside demonstratives). This means that in Norwegian, for instance, a configuration in which an AP is not preceded by the definite article is unacceptable since definite D has to be licensed by the overt material in either SpecDP or D.

- (72) ta/moj prečudoviti kraj  
 this/my marvellus<sub>LONG</sub> area

This amounts to saying that long-form (descriptive) adjective is merged in the inflectional field of the nominal structure, but can be subsequently raised to the SpecDP in order to render definite the interpretation of the entire NE. The nominal structures in (71) and (72) can be thus represented as in (73a) and (73b), respectively.

- (73) a. [DP reveni<sub>i</sub> [AgrP t<sub>i</sub> [NP brat]]]  
 b. [DP ta/moj [AgrP prečudoviti [NP kraj]]]

In Resian the option in (73a) is ruled out. The first mention of the two brothers would be mandatorily rendered as *dan bögi/bogäti* ‘a poor<sub>LONG</sub>/rich<sub>LONG</sub>’ whereas the second mention would obligatorily bear the weak demonstrative *te bogäti bratar* ‘the rich brother’. This behavior parallels the one in Italian. The relevant NEs are underlined.

- (74) C'erano due fratelli, uno Ø ricco e uno Ø povero. Il fratello ricco...

The above data show that differently from Resian, long-form adjectives in Standard Slovenian (the same holds for Serbo-Croatian) can be bearer of referential index, in a vein that nouns can (à la Baker 2003 and the development in Julien 2005). This is to say that they themselves are able to identify a nominal category, both in ellipsis (where they can license a null noun or *pro*) and in nominalizations.<sup>43</sup> This is not the case in Resian. To that end, observe the contrast in the data below. In (75), the long adjectival form can license noun ellipsis in Standard Slovenian, but not in Resian (76).<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> This confirms their special status and the fact that in South-Slavic they cannot be subsumed under the adjectival category. Recall that in Cinque's restricted approach to 'what can move' inside the nominal projection, adjectives are supposed to move only because focused or contrasted. However, long adjectival forms, just like possessives, move so as to license interpretation of the nominal expression (definite). Furthermore, it is similar to possessives in being able to identify a nominal category.

<sup>44</sup> Interestingly, the possessives can license ellipsis. This amounts to saying that they differ from pure modifiers (*pace* Bošković 2008).

- (i) Na mela pa wonà no male, ma nji to bilo bulnu



(75) Živela sta dva brata, reven in bogat. Bogati ~~brat~~ se je odpravil... Revni ~~brat~~...

‘There were two brothers, a poor one and a rich one. The rich one went... The poor one...’

(76) Sömo šli na te visöke planine anu dopo sömo šli na \*(të) niske ~~planine~~  
AUX went on the high mountains and after AUX went to the low<sub>LONG</sub>

‘We went to the high mountains and then we went to the low ones’

(HS, San Giorgio)

(77) iša za \*(te) parlitne [*pro*]

(Resian)

house for the old<sub>LONG</sub>

‘the retirement home’ (lit. the house for the old)

(76) Mladi [*pro*] dan danes ne berejo.<sup>45</sup>

(Standard Slovenian)

young<sub>LONG</sub> nowadays not read

‘Nowdays, young people don’t read’

We are now in a position to address the asymmetry between the degree adverb *bö(je)/najböje* ‘more/most’, which, unlike all other intensifying adverbs, can combine with the long-form adjective.<sup>46</sup> I ascribe this possibility to both a language change in which long-form adjectives have been losing gradually their pronominal-like syntax and language contact with

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She<sub>CL</sub> had she<sub>STRONG</sub> a young but her it was sick

‘She had a small one, but hers was sick.’

(RE, San Giorgio)

<sup>45</sup> As expected, in Colloquial Slovenian a short-form adjective and TA are used instead ‘Ta mladi dan danes ne berejo.’ (TA mladi<sub>SHORT.PL</sub>). I thank Edit Paf for providing the relevant examples.

<sup>46</sup> My full understanding of the diachronic development of long-form adjectives in Resian is limited by the insufficiency of the relevant data but I can at best report an anecdote from my field trip in Resia. One of my informants, Sandro Quaglia, in the course of the elicitation technique, reported with astonishment that it was rather interesting that they put the weak demonstrative (*te*) all over the place now, whereas he was pretty sure that his grandparents tended not to use it all the time. Unfortunately, I was able to neither test those claims nor give them credit.

Italian. As far as the former hypothesis is concerned, at this stage of development I found both structures, one above the weak demonstrative and one below, and they were equally acceptable for my informants.

(77) <bö> ta <bö> starajša iša  
more the more older house

(78) <najbojë> te <najbojë> wridne rozajanske romoninje  
most the most important Resian varieties

I take this to indicate that initially the adverb *bö* was generated higher than the nominal expression itself. Interestingly, examples in which this adverb is found higher than the indefinite article are also frequent.

(79) a. bö den dulgi repic  
more one long tail  
'a longer tail' (ZR, San Giorgio)

b. ...na mēla fis bö no slabo išico  
she<sub>CL</sub> had really more a poor house  
'she had a poorer house' (RF, Stolvizza)

As far as the latter, the adverb *più* 'more' is the only adverb that can be found on attributive adjectives in Italian, as shown by the contrast below.

(80) \*il [molto/estremamente/tanto/proprio bel(lo)] vestito  
the very /extremely/ truly/really nice dress  
'the very nice dress'

(81) il [più bel] vestito  
the more nice dress  
'the nicest dress'

I take the above two facts to point to a contact-induced change, but not only, as probably an endogenous change affecting long-adjectival forms has already been taking place.

The second problem was related to the fact that noun modifiers were either preceded by the weak demonstrative or not. Following Stowell (1991), I assume that prenominal noun modifiers can have either an adjective- or a nominal-like syntax, which is encoded in the lexicon. In brief, the asymmetry should be viewed in light of the possibility for the modifying NP to raise to SpecDP and license a null D in the latter case and the impossibility to do so in the former case. With the nominal modifier such as *nona* ‘lady’, this is not possible, presumably due to adjectival nature of this modifier.

- (82) a. [DP [NP profasör]<sub>i</sub> D [AgrP t<sub>i</sub> [NP Han Steenwijk]]]  
           ‘Professor Han Steenwijk’
- b. [DP ta [AgrP nona [NP Silvana]]]  
           the    lady    Silvana

#### 5.4. Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that the definite article in Resian is atypical if compared to the definite article of genuine article languages in that it displays article-like behavior only in certain contexts. The relevant contexts in most cases include adjectivally modified nominal expressions. Despite such distribution, I rejected the analysis of the Resian article-like weak demonstrative that would treat it as part of an (extended) adjectival projection. Instead, I propose that in the contexts in question the weak demonstrative is indeed a definite article though its distribution is determined by the concomitant changes affecting the Resian nominal syntax altogether. First, the dual nature of the weak demonstrative as either demonstrative or article-like element stems from two different structures in which this element is found – SpecDP or D, arising from the reanalysis of the weak demonstrative as the definite article. Second, in unmodified nominal expression Resian makes use of NP-movement to SpecDP in order to license an empty D. This movement can be prevented either by the presence of the overt material in SpecDP (and this is how the demonstrative-like reading of the weak demonstrative is achieved), or by the presence of pronominal-like adjectives in intermediate

projections. In the latter case, D must be filled by overt material. Considering that Resian has the structure in which D is filled by overt material, the article-like reading of the weak demonstrative is obtained.

## Chapter 6

### Conclusions

The main goal of this dissertation was to investigate a range of phenomena related to the nominal syntax of Resian, a Slovenian dialect spoken in Italy. The examined issues were selected on the basis of their relevance for the comparison of the internal structure of nominal expressions between Slavic and Romance. The comparison between Romance, on one side, and Slavic, on the other side is the backbone of the present study. From a descriptive point of view, the provided analysis aimed at filling the existing gap in the syntactic description of the Resian nominal facts. From a more theoretical view, the issues assembled contribute in one way or another to the ongoing debate on the universality of DP projection in languages without articles.

Analyzed through the prism of Romance-Slavic comparison, it can be concluded that the nominal structure of Resian is in the final analysis Slavic: nouns inflect for gender, number and case whereas all nominal constituents agree for the same set of features; there is no generalized movement of the NP across adjectives; the sequencing of adjectives is subject to more freedom than in Romance; existential quantifiers assign genitive case to the nominal complement, and project additional functional structure on the top of nominals. However, upon a closer examination, some tendencies towards the Romance pattern are discernible. First of all, numeral quantifiers, though still assigning genitive case, do not project additional functional structure any longer. In Romance, all numerals are placed in a separate projection, CardP (Cinque 2012b), placed below DP layer, and can be preceded by various nominal constituents, the same ones found in front of the numerals in Romance. The change affecting the system of projecting numeral quantifiers in Resian is an instance of language change in which both internal and external causes are at play. Though initially triggered by phonological processes which led to the syncretism between nominative and genitive plural on nominal modifiers, the restructuring towards Romance type of cardinal elements was induced by language contact. The same line of reasoning can be applied to changes affecting lexical possessives, for which an analytical structure of the Romance type is now the most preferred option.

The most interesting phenomena concern syntax-semantic map and the rise of definite articles in Resian. This topic is the subject of two chapters of the dissertation due to its relevance for a fierce debate on the universality of DPs in Slavic languages without articles. Considering that in Resian bare nouns are possible with definite and generic interpretation, both singular and plural, the claim that Resian has the definite article is not so straightforward. First, it is mandatory only in modified nominal expressions: second, if used with unmodified nominals, it is interpreted as a demonstrative. This puzzle was hence addressed in the following way. In a separate chapter the double behavior of the weak demonstrative was explored. The bulk of Resian data exhibiting the weak demonstrative was presented against the background provided by the use of demonstratives *vs.* articles in those languages where both elements display a separate lexical entry. The asymmetry between ‘definite article’ or ‘demonstrative’ reading of the item in question was entirely tied to the syntactic context, i.e. the presence of pre-nominal modifiers. At the same time, the distribution of the weak demonstrative was compared with the distribution of its strong counterparts. All the uncovered ambiguities, including the double behavior of the weak demonstrative, and the existence of two demonstrative forms (weak and strong), were analyzed as outcomes of the changes affecting the demonstrative system in Resian. The major contribution of this chapter consists in providing enough empirical evidence for the claim that the weak demonstrative in specific contexts is a fully fledged definite article. However, the ambiguity as either a definite article or a weak demonstrative was viewed in light of two structural configurations in which this element is found, due to the process of reanalysis. This line of reasoning was confirmed by the distribution and semantic make up of the strong demonstrative, which appears to have been formed so as to fill the gap in the demonstrative system left by the weak element.

The asymmetry between modified and unmodified nominal expressions in displaying the definite article and lack thereof respectively was dealt with in the last chapter of the thesis. The fact that unmodified nominals consistently defy the use of the weak demonstrative was accounted for if a movement of the NP to SpecDP so as to license a null definite D is postulated. Such movement of the NP is prevented in the presence of adjectival modifiers, which in Resian all display long form, formed historically by adding an anaphoric demonstrative, and presumably tied to definiteness (Lunt 2001). I have proposed that adjectival modifiers block movement of NP due to their syntax as non-genuine adjectival modifiers in South Slavic. Whereas in Standard Slovenian, the licensing of the null definite D

can be obtained by raising of the long-form adjective to SpecDP, in Resian this is no longer possible. The only option is to insert the lexical material in order to identify the null D.

In sum, the contribution of the present study to the NP/DP debate regarding Slavic article-less language consists in submitting evidence for the existence of the null, definite D. In addition, it identifies the conditions in which null Ds are licensed, which involves a local Spec-head configuration with the silent element.

Considering the pioneering nature of the present study in addressing the syntax of Resian nominals with the means of formal syntax, many issues have been addressed only in passing. Since the present-day sociolinguistic situation of Resian points to a rapid change towards Romance, it is of primary interest for both descriptive and theoretical linguistics to provide a solid empirical basis in order to deepen our understanding of this change. One issue that deserves further attention relates to syntax-semantic map of nominals and licensing conditions for null indefinite nominals.

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#### Sources of material

- BTT = *Biside ta-na traku*, Transcripts of spontaneous oral production Resian, edited by Luigia Negro and Sandro Quaglia
- HS = transcripts of spontaneous oral production Resian of the variety of San Giorgio collected by Steenwijk, Han (1992) *The Slovene Dialect of Resia: San Giorgio*. Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi
- NG = *Naš Glas*, a local periodical featuring articles written in Standard Resian

(published twice a year in the period 2005-2010, three times a year from 2010 onwards)

- RE = *Resianica*, web site containing a collection of studies on Resian and a dozen of texts in Resian
- RD = web site of the association *Rozajanski dum*, containing a number of texts written in Standard Resian.
- RF = *Raccontami una favola*, Transcripts of oral Resian edited by Luigia Negro and Roberto Dapit
- ZR = *Zverinice iz Reziže*, a collection of stories for children
- VC = *La Vita Cattolica*, local weekly containing one article in Resian