

## A definite article in the AP – evidence from colloquial Slovenian

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### 1. Introduction

Slovenian has a kind of definite article, TA, which is intimately linked with adjectives and can appear also in indefinite noun phrases. Although it has traditionally been known simply as 'definite article' (e.g. Toporišič 2000, Herrity 2000), these two properties make it clearly different from the "standard" definite articles in English, German, Italian, Bulgarian, etc. It also differs from the definite articles that appear on adjectives in languages with determiner spreading or polydefinite constructions, such as Greek, Swedish, etc., since those definite articles cannot occur in indefinite noun phrases. In this paper, we show how this element differs from the above-mentioned, better-known phenomena in other European languages, proposing that it does not quantify over individuals but rather over degrees. We thus analyze TA as having nothing to do with definiteness or specificity functional projections of the noun phrase but rather as a definite article of the adjective phrase. We propose to treat this adjectival definiteness as determination of the degree to which an adjective holds, which we encode through the DP-like 'determiner' position in the extended projection of the AP. In doing so, we also extend the parallel that is often drawn between the structure of the clause and the noun phrase to the adjectival domain as well.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the basic facts about TA's distribution. Section 3 puts TA in the context of other definite articles, demonstrating that it is comparable neither to "standard" definite articles nor to some other adjective-associated definite articles, but that it is more or less parallel to the 'long-form' adjectives in formal/written Slovenian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. In section 4, we look at the meaning contribution of TA, concluding that it is neither definiteness nor specificity of the noun phrase, but rather definiteness of the adjectival subpart of the noun phrase. In section 5, we lay out the proposal and in section 6 we conclude.

### 2. Morphophonology and the basic distribution of TA<sup>1</sup>

The Slovenian definite article, which we will call TA, seems to be formally equivalent with the demonstrative *ta* 'this' in some cases, and historically, it is most likely derived from it; nonetheless, the two are separate entities, differing in several important respects. Whereas the demonstrative agrees with the noun in case, gender and number, TA overtly expresses no agreement features, always staying invariant, (1). In fact, as is also clear from (1), TA can co-occur with the demonstrative, which further shows that the two are separate elements.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) a.     *ta*                    *ta*     *zelen*                    *svinčnik*  
          this<sub>NOM.M.SG</sub>   TA     green<sub>NOM.M.SG</sub>       pencil<sub>NOM.M.SG</sub>

<sup>1</sup> In several places we adapt parts of the contents from Marušič & Žaucer (2006, 2007a), where the reader can also find more data as well as descriptions of some other characteristics of the behavior of TA. See also Bažec (2008) for an extensive collection of spontaneous (i.e. not linguist-construed) data culled from a novel.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout this paper, non-English examples whose language is not specified are from Slovenian.

b.	<i>tem</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>zelenim</i>	<i>svinčnikom</i>
	this <sub>INSTR.M.SG</sub>	TA	green <sub>INSTR.M.SG</sub>	pencil <sub>INSTR.M.SG</sub>
c.	<i>to</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>zeleno</i>	<i>radirko</i>
	this <sub>INSTR.F.SG</sub>	TA	green <sub>INSTR.F.SG</sub>	eraser <sub>INSTR.F.SG</sub>
d.	<i>temi</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>zelenimi</i>	<i>radirkami</i>
	this <sub>INSTR.F.PL</sub>	TA	green <sub>INSTR.F.PL</sub>	eraser <sub>INSTR.F.PL</sub>

The demonstrative and TA also differ phonologically: whereas the demonstrative carries stress, the article TA is a clitic, i.e. it does and can not carry stress, (2).

(2)	a.	( <i>tém</i> )	<i>ta</i>	<i>zelénim</i>	<i>svinčnikom</i>
		this <sub>INSTR</sub>	TA	green <sub>INSTR</sub>	pencil <sub>INSTR</sub>
	b.	(* <i>tém</i> )	<i>tá</i>	<i>zelénim</i>	<i>svinčnikom</i>
		this <sub>INSTR</sub>	TA	green <sub>INSTR</sub>	pencil <sub>INSTR</sub>

Moreover, as noted by Toporišič (2000), Orešnik (2001) and many others (going back to the earliest grammars of Slovenian, see Orožen 1972 for references), TA is intimately linked to the adjective. This is evidenced most clearly by the fact that TA cannot stand next to an unmodified noun, (3a)-(3b); the same does not hold, of course, of the demonstrative, (3c)-(3d).

(3)	a.	* <i>ta</i>	<i>svinčnik</i>	b.	* <i>ta</i>	<i>svinčniku</i>
		TA	pencil <sub>NOM</sub>		TA	pencil <sub>DAT</sub>
	c.	<i>tá</i>	<i>svinčnik</i>	d.	<i>tému</i>	<i>svinčniku</i>
		this <sub>NOM</sub>	pencil <sub>NOM</sub>		this <sub>DAT</sub>	pencil <sub>DAT</sub>

The association between TA and the adjective is shown also by the fact that when there is a stack of adjectives, TA can be repeated, (4); again, this is not the case with the demonstrative.

(4)	a.	<i>tá ta debel ta zelen svinčnik</i>
		this TA thick TA green pencil
		'this thick green pencil'
	b.	<i>tá debel (*tá) zelen svinčnik</i>
		this thick this green pencil
		'this thick green pencil'

Whereas all of the above makes TA clearly separate from the historically and formally partly related demonstrative, its intimate link with the adjective also clearly dissociates it from the typical definite article in, for instance, European languages. As shown in (5b), the definite article in German, Italian, Greek (and English) happily combines with unmodified nouns; and as shown in (5c), the same goes for Bulgarian and Macedonian, in which the definite article of the noun phrase cliticizes (in a 2P-like manner) on the first lexical word in the DP (Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1998).

(5)	a.	<i>ena velika knjiga</i>	<i>ta velika knjiga</i>	–	* <i>ta knjiga</i>
		one big book	TA big book		TA book
		'a big book'	'the big book'		

b.	<i>ein grosses Buch</i>	<i>das grosse Buch</i>	–	<i>das Buch</i>	(German)
	<i>un grande libro</i>	<i>il grande libro</i>	–	<i>il libro</i>	(Italian)
	<i>ena megalo vivlio</i>	<i>to megálo vivlío</i>	–	<i>to vivlío</i>	(Greek)
	a big book	the big book	–	the book	
c.	<i>golema kniga</i>	<i>golema-ta kniga</i>	–	<i>kniga-ta</i>	(Macedonian)
	big bok	big -the book		book-the	

Moreover, the ban on occurrence with unmodified nouns is not the only difference between TA and the definite article in the above-mentioned languages. Even though the meaning contribution of TA in (5) seems to parallel that of the definite articles in English, German, Italian, Bulgarian, etc.—which is why TA is commonly referred to as a 'definite article'—TA can in fact also appear in indefinite DPs, as in (6a). The same is, of course, impossible in Italian, German, Bulgarian or English, (6b).

- (6) a. *Lihkar je mim prdirkal en ta hiter avto.*  
just-now aux by sped a TA fast car  
'Some fast car has just sped by.'
- b. *(\*Some) the fast car has just sped by.*
- b'. *Some (\*the) fast car has just sped by.*

### 3. How does TA compare to potentially similar phenomena?

The previous section established that TA is different from the "standard" definite articles in languages such as English, German, Italian, etc., in which a noun phrase with multiple adjectives does not license multiple articles, in which the article is not intimately linked to adjectives (or more generally, occurs independently of modification<sup>3</sup>), and in which the article does not occur in indefinite noun phrases. In this section, we briefly compare the Slovenian definite TA with some well-known phenomena that might be comparable given that they involve some sort of article stacking and thus at least apparently involve adjectival articles. We will show, however, that TA differs from the additional definiteness marking that can show up in Swedish and Greek when the noun phrase contains an adjective, so adopting an analysis that had been proposed for these phenomena cannot be viable. We will also suggest that TA most likely differs from the Albanian and Chinese "definite" markers, but that it is at least very close to the so-called 'long' (or 'definite') form of adjectives in formal Slovenian and Bosnian/Croatian/ Serbian.

#### 3.1 What TA is not comparable to

A well-known case of definiteness marking that shows up when a noun is modified with an adjective, and can thus in some sense be seen as adjective-associated definiteness, is discussed by

<sup>3</sup> This claim holds for the 'usual'/majority use of definite articles in such languages; it is known, however, that in some special cases, e.g. proper names, the definite article can be closely linked to the presence of modification even in French, (i), English, (ii), etc.

(i) *la \*(petite) Brigitte* (ii) *the Rome \*(that I love)* (Simpson 2002)  
the little Brigitte  
'little Brigitte' (Leu 2001: 58)

Delsing (1993) for Swedish. On its own, the noun has an affixal article, but when it is modified with an adjective, the adjective must be preceded by a second definiteness marker, (7).

- (7) a. *hus-et*  
house-the  
'the house'
- b. *det gamla hus-et* (Swedish)  
the old<sub>STRONG</sub> house-the  
'the old house' (Delsing 1993)

There are, however, also important differences between the Swedish and Slovenian facts. Unlike Swedish, Slovenian has no definite article on unmodified nouns, and more importantly, whereas TA can occur in an indefinite noun phrase (see section 2 above), the Swedish *det* cannot: the only possibility in Swedish is agreement in definiteness, as in (7b). Also, while TA can repeat on stacked adjectives (see section 2 above), *det* cannot, (8). And furthermore, it could also not be the case that rather than to *det*, TA is comparable to the 'strong' adjectival inflection in (7b) and (8), since the strong adjectival morphology is also banned in indefinite noun phrases. The same applies to double definiteness marking in other Mainland (Germanic) Scandinavian languages.

- (8) *det stora (\*det) gamla hus-et* (Swedish)  
the big<sub>STRONG</sub> the old<sub>STRONG</sub> house-the  
'the big old house'

A construction in which the addition of an adjective can be accompanied with the occurrence of an additional article, that is, a construction with what may potentially look like an adjective-associated determiner, is also known from Greek: the so-called polydefiniteness construction. As shown in (9), the determiner in this construction can, but need not, reappear with every adjective.

- (9) a. *to mevalo to kokkino to vivlio* (Greek)  
the big the red the book  
'the big red book'
- b. *to mevalo to vivlio to kokkino*  
the big the book the red
- c. *to vivlio to mevalo to kokkino*  
the book the big the red (Alexiadou & Wilder 1998)

However, this phenomenon also does not seem to be directly comparable to TA simply because TA does not appear on unmodified nouns, and again, such a Greek definite article that precedes an adjective cannot appear in an indefinite DP (Androutsopoulou 2001: 166), (10).<sup>4</sup> Moreover, while the otherwise obligatorily prenominal Greek adjectives can appear postnominally when preceded by the definite article, (9b-c), there is no such effect in Slovenian when an adjective is preceded by TA, (11).

<sup>4</sup> This last piece of data is particularly relevant in light of the fact that the Greek demonstrative and definite article can cooccur, (i).

(i) *afto to oreo to vivlio* (Greek)  
this the nice the book  
'this nice book' (Simpson 2002, example (19))

(10) \**ena to kokkino (to) vivlio* (Greek)  
 a the red the book  
 'a/one the red book'

(11) \**knjiga ta debela*  
 book TA thick

### 3.2 What TA is most likely not comparable to

According to Simpson (2002), Albanian and Chinese allow a "definite" determiner to occur in an indefinite noun phrase, (12), which would seem to establish at least a partial parallel between Chinese and Albanian determiners and TA.

- (12) a. *nje djale i mire* (Albanian)  
 a boy the good  
 'a good boy' (Simpson 2002, (22))
- b. (\**de*) *ren / ren - (\*de)* (Chinese)  
 DE person person-DE  
 'the person' (Simpson 2002, (43))
- c. *wo de liang-ben shu* (Chinese)  
 I DE 2-CL book  
 'two books of mine' (indefinite) (Simpson 2002, (50))

However, it does not seem to be clear if this claim holds up. At least for Albanian, Campos (2009: 1011) suggests that "adjectival articles agree in gender, number, case and definiteness with the noun they modify" but that *i* is one of the forms of the article that is unspecified for definiteness and can as such appear with both definite and indefinite nouns (see also Opitz 2006 for the related view that the nominal suffix *i*, which was traditionally seen as a definite article, is in fact underspecified for definiteness). And as for Chinese, Paul (2005) notes that it is still quite unclear what the correct analysis of *de* is, but at the same time argues against seeing it as a realization of D (and possibly in support of treating it as a realization of the category "modifier"). At the same time, it is unclear what the semantic contribution of these elements is, so the question of whether they are similar to TA cannot be answered until this is determined.

### 3.3 What TA might be comparable to

The only phenomenon that really seems parallel to TA in both meaning and distribution appears to be the formal Slovenian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian long form of adjectives (most clearly present in Bosnian). Škrabec (1895/1994), Toporišič (2000) and Herrity (2000), among many others, hold TA and the long form of Slovenian adjectives to be functionally equivalent. This 'long form', which is typically called definiteness (e.g. Progovac 1998, Rutkowski & Progovac 2005) or specificity marking (Aljović 2002, Trenkić 2004), is essentially just distinct morphology

on adjectives, (13).<sup>5</sup> Just like Slovenian TA, the B/C/S 'long-form' morphology cannot appear on nouns, can be iterated on stacked adjectives, (14), and need not make the DP either definite nor specific, as shown by the fact that it can appear in an otherwise indefinite DP, (15).

- (13) a. *vrijedn-i student* (Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian)  
diligent<sub>LONG</sub> student  
b. *vrijedan student*  
diligent<sub>SHORT</sub> student
- (14) *ono njegovo pouzdano: malo: crno: auto* (B/C/S)  
that his reliable<sub>LONG</sub> small<sub>LONG</sub> black<sub>LONG</sub> car  
‘that reliable small black car of his’ (Aljović 2002: 34)
- (15) *jedan vrijèdn-i student* (B/C/S)  
one diligent(long) student  
‘a diligent student’ (Aljović 2002: 30)

Since the kind of data given in (15) was not taken into consideration and cannot be explained by any of the previous analyses of the B/C/S long-form (Progovac 1998, Rutkowski & Progovac 2005, Aljović 2002, Trenkić 2004), they cannot be correct for the long-form adjectives and thus also cannot be adopted for the Slovenian TA. For a longer discussion of the incompatibility of TA with the current/existing proposals, we refer the reader to Marušič and Žaucer (2006, 2007a).

#### 4. Meaning contribution of TA

Based on cases like (6a) from above (repeated below), in which TA occurs in an indefinite noun phrase, we are forced to conclude that despite its traditional label of 'definite article' and despite its apparent nominal-definiteness contribution in (5a) above (repeated below), TA by itself does not make the noun phrase definite.

- (6) a. *Lihkar je mim prdirkal en ta hiter avto.*  
just-now aux by sped a TA fast car  
‘Some fast car has just sped by.’
- (5) a. *ta velika knjiga*  
TA big book  
‘the big book’

Now, colloquial Slovenian has an indefinite article *en*, while noun phrases with bare singular count nouns (in argument positions) are most typically—though depending on several factors—interpreted as definite (cf. Toporišič 2000: 494). In most contexts, the noun phrase in (16a) will thus be interpreted as definite, and in order to read it indefinitely, the indefinite article (or some other marker of indefiniteness, e.g. *nek* 'some') will be used, as in (16b).

<sup>5</sup> Note that even though they are formally the same, the formal Slovenian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian long form on the one hand and the Modern Russian long form on the other are functionally very different (cf. Bailyn 1994).

- (16) a. *Peter bere knjigo.*  
 Peter reads book  
 'Peter is reading the book.'  
 b. *Peter bere eno knjigo.*  
 Peter reads one book  
 'Peter is reading a book.'

So if TA has nothing to do with definiteness of the noun phrase, we are faced with the question of what the contribution of TA actually is. In the remaining parts of this section, we offer the first steps of an answer to this question, first by rejecting two other possibilities (specificity of the noun phrase, indefiniteness of one of two noun phrases in a covert partitive construction) and then by suggesting that TA contributes something like type definiteness, i.e. a form of adjectival definiteness.

#### 4.1 Specificity?

When speaking of definiteness, it is important to keep in mind that elements that had at first been treated as definiteness markers have often been reanalyzed as specificity markers. Indeed, Aljović (2002) claims that what the Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian adjectival long-form morphology, which was said above to be highly similar not only to the formal Slovenian long-form morphology but also to TA, contributes to the noun phrase is not definiteness but rather specificity (cf. also Trenkić 2004). In this section, we will test whether TA's contribution could be specificity of the noun phrase and conclude that this is not the case.

If we follow Ionin *et al.* (2004) and Ionin (2006), an NP is *definite* when both the speaker and the hearer presuppose the existence of a unique individual (in the set denoted by the NP), and an NP is *specific* when the speaker intends to refer to a unique individual in the set denoted by the NP (and considers this individual to possess some noteworthy property). Definiteness thus involves the speaker's as well as the hearer's knowledge, but specificity involves only the speaker's knowledge. With these definitions in mind, the data in (17) through (20) reveal that TA can be used in contexts of any combination of definiteness and specificity values, as long as it is in an appropriate environment; [+/- def] stands for a definite/indefinite reading, [+/- spec] for a specific/nonspecific reading.

- (17) *Prinesi mi tisto ta rdečo žogo.* [ + def] [ + spec]  
 bring<sub>IMPER</sub> I<sub>DAT</sub> that TA red ball  
 'Bring me that red ball.'
- (18) *Ta najbolj neumen kmet ima ta največji krompir.* [ + def] [ - spec]  
 TA most stupid farmer has TA biggest potato  
 'The dumbest farmer harvests the thickest potatoes.' (a saying meaning 'dumb luck')
- (19) *Šel je v eno ta globoko jamo, Renejevo brezno na Kaninu.* [ - def] [ + spec]  
 gone is in one TA deep cave Rene's shaft on Kanin  
 'He went into a deep kind of cave/one of the deep caves, Renejevo brezno on Mount Kanin.'

- (20) *Hoče eno ta poceni igračko, ampak še ne ve katero.* [- def] [- spec]  
 want a TA cheap toy but still not know which  
 'He wants a cheap kind of toy/one of the cheap toys, but he doesn't know yet which one.'

We conclude, therefore, that TA by itself can be seen as encoding neither definiteness nor specificity of the noun phrase, since noun phrases with TA can receive both indefinite and unspecific readings.

## 4.2 Covert partitive?

Based on the meaning of the cases featuring TA in an indefinite noun phrase, given in (6a) and in (19) and (20) of the previous section, one may wonder whether these cases could actually be covert partitive constructions with two nouns. If so, it would be perfectly unsurprising that we can have an indefinite article together with TA even if TA is a definite article; the indefinite article would belong to one noun, the definite TA to the other.

However, there are two reasons that make us conclude that this line of reasoning is not on the right track. First, some varieties of Slovenian distinguish between *en* 'one', which can be used as a numeral and (nonprescriptively) also as a noun, and *eden* 'one', which is only a noun, (21). (In addition to its use as a numeral and a noun, *en* 'one' also has the already mentioned use as an indefinite determiner.)

- (21) a. *En je še na mizi.*                      b. *Eden je še na mizi.*  
 one is still on table                      one is still on table  
 'One is still on the table.'                      'One is still on the table.'
- c. *en bicikel*                                      d. \**eden bicikel*  
 one bicycle                                      one bicycle  
 'one bicycle'

As expected, both *en* 'one' and *eden* 'one' can occur in the partitive construction, but when used in front of TA, *eden* 'one' is impossible, (22). If the structure with TA in an indefinite noun phrase were covertly a partitive construction with two nouns, the impossibility of using the noun *eden* in it would be unexpected.

- (22) a. *en od ta hitrih avtov*                      b. *eden od ta hitrih avtov*  
 one of TA fast cars                      one of TA fast cars  
 'one of the fast cars'                      'one of the fast cars'
- c. *en ta hiter avto*                                      d. \**eden ta hiter avto*  
 one TA fast car                                      one TA fast car  
 'one of the fast cars'                                      'one of the fast cars'

And secondly, if the structure with TA in an indefinite noun phrase were covertly partitive, it should not accept a singular count noun as the second/overt noun, on a par with (23) (cf. \**one of (the) fast car*); as was just shown in (22c) above, however, this is perfectly acceptable.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The second argument would hold also if the construction were not a proper partitive but some sort of a pseudo partitive (in the sense of e.g. Hankamer & Mikkelsen 2008). At the same time, if we were dealing with a pseudo partitive we would not be dealing with two nouns, so the structure would offer no explanation for the



- (23) \**en/eden od (ta) hitrega avta*  
 one/one of TA fast car

### 4.3 AP-internal definiteness

So far we have established that the presence of TA does not directly affect the definiteness of the noun phrase and that TA is intimately linked to the adjective phrase. We now wish to show that what TA does is bring in AP-internal definiteness.

The intuition about the noun phrase in (24) below (or the similar examples in section 4.1 above) is that the noun phrase does not refer to two unique beers the speaker is asking for, but rather to something like two beers of a unique type, namely, half-pints, or as they are called in Slovenian, ‘small beers’.

- (24) *Dajte nama prosim dva ta mala pira.*  
 give to-us please two TA small beers  
 ‘Bring us a couple of half-pints, please.’

What TA contributes is something like type-definiteness. That is, what is shared between the speaker and the hearer is not the identity of the entity, but rather the degree to which the adjectival property is true of that entity.

In the light of the definiteness/specificity discussion in section 4.1. above, we should stress here that what we are witnessing here is really type definiteness, not type specificity. This can be shown with a test that is loosely modeled on a test in Trenkić (2004). The bolded noun phrase in (25a)-(25b) is indefinite, but the noun phrases in the two examples differ minimally in that the indefinite noun phrase (25a) contains a TA-modified adjective and the indefinite noun phrase (25a) contains a bare adjective. The context in which (25a)-(25b) should be evaluated is the following: the speaker is giving instructions to the addressee about what to do after he enters a place which the speaker knows but the addressee has never seen before.

- (25) a. *Ko vstopiš, vidiš na levi en velik predalnik; odkleni ga in ...*  
 when enter, see on left a big dresser; unlock it and ...  
 ‘When you enter, you will see a/this big dresser on your left; unlock it and ...’  
 b. *Ko vstopiš, vidiš na levi en ta velik predalnik; odkleni ga in ...*  
 when enter, see on left a TA big dresser; unlock it and ...  
 ‘When you enter, you will see a/this dresser of the big type on your left; ...’

According to our judgement, it is impossible to use (25b), with TA, if the speaker and the addressee do not share the knowledge that there exists a particular type/kind of dresser, defined by its being big, which differentiates it from other types/kinds of dressers.<sup>7</sup> So if we continue to assume, with Ionin *et al.* (2004) and Ionin (2006), that definiteness is uniqueness shared by both

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cooccurrence of an indefinite and definite determiner in the first place.

<sup>7</sup> This is not to be confused with the often-debated issue of whether the lexical meaning of adjectives like 'big' is context-sensitive ('big for a mouse' vs. 'big for an elephant'). Even if the meaning of 'big' is context-sensitive, what 'big' means in the context of dressers will be knowledge that the speaker will assume as shared between himself and the addressee also in the case of (25a).

the speaker and the hearer, while specificity is uniqueness that the speaker presupposes for himself but not for the hearer, we can conclude that what TA contributes in (25b) is type-definiteness and not type-specificity. On the other hand, (25a), without TA, does not require any such shared knowledge about the existence of a particular type of dresser.

Now, in view of our description whereby TA apparently contributes something like the meaning of a particular type/kind to the meaning of a qualitative adjective, one may wonder whether TA may not simply be a classifier, the realization of a functional projection that turns qualitative adjectives into classifying ones. At this point, we only wish to point out two things. Firstly, TA occurs also on adjectives that hardly fall in the classifying kind, such as superlatives (e.g. *ta največji problem* ‘the biggest problem’), ordinals (e.g. *ta prvi problem* ‘the first problem’), or adjectives like *isti* (e.g. *ta isti problem* ‘the same problem’). An secondly, as demonstrated in Marušič & Žaucer (2006, 2007a), TA can also occur on inherently classifying adjectives with the result of emphatic contrast (*ta gorski reševalc, ne ta pomorski* ‘the mountain rescuer, not the coastal (one)’); if TA were simply a realization of ClassP, it should have no semantic effect when cooccurring with classifying adjectives (or perhaps not even be able to cooccur with them). Therefore, the function of establishing a shared presupposition of a particular type/kind does not simply reduce to a classifying function. We will discuss the relation between type-definite adjectives and classifying adjectives some more in the last section.

## 5. Proposal

We have now presented the basics of TA’s distribution, placing it also in the context of better-known definite articles and other potentially similar phenomena. As to its meaning contribution, we concluded that it is neither definiteness nor specificity of the noun phrase but type-definiteness of the adjectival subpart of the noun phrase. In this section, we will first provide some background and then present our analysis of TA-modified adjectives, arguing that type-definiteness can be understood as definiteness of adjectival degree. This will allow us to take advantage of an independently proposed structure for an articulated AP, which, in turn, will offer additional support for a parallel between the structure of adjectival phrases and noun phrases (on a par with the better established parallel between clauses and noun phrases).

### 5.1 The three traditional types of adjectives

Traditionally, Slovenian is said to have three types of adjectives: qualitative adjectives, for which the question word is *kakšen* ‘what like, what kind’, classifying or type adjectives, for which (at least prescriptively/formally) the question word is *kateri* ‘what kind, which one’ (in spontaneous speech, *kakšen* is also used), and possessive adjectives, for which the question word is *čigav* ‘whose’ (cf. Toporišič 2000). The three types of adjectives differ morphologically, syntactically and semantically.

Morphologically, in formal Slovenian, the three types of adjectives stand in the following relation. *Classifying adjectives* have the *-i* ending in masculine singular nominative (for inanimates also accusative).<sup>8</sup> *Qualitative adjectives* come in two forms: the definite form, in

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<sup>8</sup> The traditional classification of adjectives whereby all adjectives ending in *-i* (in masculine singular nominative and for inanimates also accusative) are classifying ones (cf. Toporišič 1992: 358) is clearly an oversimplification, a fact that is at least implicitly acknowledged even in works of that tradition (cf. Toporišič 2000: 328). Many

which they have the *-i* ending in masculine singular nominative (for inanimates also accusative), and the indefinite form, in which they have the *-∅* (zero) ending in the same case(s). The *-i* ending of classifying adjectives corresponds to the definite *-i* ending of qualitative adjectives. And the masculine singular forms of the third type of adjectives, *possessive adjectives*, never have the *-i* ending. In a way, then, we could say that definite qualitative adjectives and classifying adjectives pattern together in sharing the *-i* ending and indefinite qualitative adjectives and possessive adjectives pattern together in not having the *-i* ending. The same situation, with shared morphology between classifying and definite qualifying adjectives, is observed also in B/C/S (cf. Rutkowski and Progovac 2005).

Semantically, possessive adjectives, classifying adjectives and definite forms of the qualitative adjectives are all claimed to be definite (cf. Toporišič 2000; though all three can also occur in indefinite noun phrases, as was shown above for definite forms of the qualitative adjectives).

Syntactically, the three types of adjectives differ in that all three can be used attributively, but only indefinite qualitative adjectives seem to be allowed in predicative positions (cf. Vidovič Muha 1995, Marušič & Žaucer 2006, 2007a). (This claim may seem counterintuitive for possessives, but was amply supported with tests in Marušič & Žaucer 2007b, which we will not repeat here.)

So, while morphology groups possessive adjectives with indefinite qualitative adjectives, syntax and semantics groups possessive, classifying, and definite qualitative adjectives together and against indefinite qualitative adjectives. Assuming that the lack of the *-i* ending in masculine singular nominative of possessive adjectives in modern formal Slovenian is due to a bit of a quirk in the history of the language (cf. Larsen 2007), we take the important grouping to be the one exhibited by syntax and semantics, i.e. the co-grouping of possessive, classifying, and definite qualitative adjectives. And while the distinction within this group is clear between the possessive subtype on the one hand and the classifying and definite qualitative subtype on the other (cf. the two different question words above), the distinction between the classifying subtype and the definite qualitative subtype is blurred/hard to define and may actually not even exist; this will be reflected in the structure we propose below.

As has been mentioned above, spoken Slovenian—unlike formal Slovenian—knows no morphological distinction between the definite and indefinite adjectives. Instead, the role of definite morphology is played by TA: TA makes an adjective definite, as discussed above, and just as is claimed for long-form morphology, it turns a qualitative into a classifying adjective, as in (26).

- (26) *Dajte nama prosim dva ta velika pira.*  
 give us please two TA big beer  
 'Please give us two large beers (two beers of the large type/two pints).'

## 5.2 The AP/DP parallel

We now wish to build upon the observation that definite qualitative adjectives have something in common with classifying adjectives. As noted above, although TA appears to make the noun

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adjectives that only have a form with *-i* can easily be used qualitatively. This means that not every *-i* appearing in the relevant forms of an adjective represents the *-i* definite/long form of adjectives.

phrase definite, this must be an illusion/side-effect, since both TA and the long form readily appear in indefinite noun phrases; and in principle, the semantic contribution of TA would be expected to be the same both when a TA-modified adjective occurs in an indefinite noun phrase and when it occurs in a definite noun phrase. So if the semantic contribution of TA is not related to the definiteness of the noun phrase, that is, if it does not (as the Russellian account would see a definite article) quantify over individuals, what could it be? We suggested above that TA brings in type definiteness, and we also noted that it turns a gradable qualitative adjective into a non-gradable classifying adjective. Therefore, keeping in mind that TA is associated with the adjectival phrase, we interpret this as a signal that TA actually quantifies over degrees. In other words, just like an "ordinary" definite article of the noun phrase picks out a known and unique individual, TA picks out a known and unique degree to which an adjective holds.

This is our first step in extending the parallelism between clauses and noun phrases, first proposed in Abney (1987), to adjective phrases. Such a suggestion, of course, is not new: the extension had already been suggested, for independent reasons, a long time ago (see Larson 1991, Zamparelli 1993). We will combine our analysis with the one proposed in Zamparelli (1993, 1995).

Before presenting the proposed structure, we note that two—admittedly theory-internal—arguments can be found for our claims. Firstly, if there is quantification over degrees inside adjective phrases (e.g. Larson 1991, Kennedy 1999, etc.), we would expect to find all kinds of quantificational elements quantifying over degrees, that is, not only existential and universal quantifiers, which are presumably superlatives, but also definite articles. And secondly, if we are extending Abney's (1987) parallel between nominal and clausal domain to adjectival domain, we would expect to see evidence for some AP-dominating functional structure paralleling the FPs of the extended projection of nouns and verbs. And indeed, some of the superficial similarities are fairly obvious. Just like verbs and nouns, adjectives can take complements. Just like verbs and nouns, adjectives can take modifying adverbs. Just like there is quantification inside the noun phrase, there is degree quantification inside the adjective phrase. Just like there are relative clauses inside noun phrases, there are relative clauses inside adjective phrases, as in (27). At least on a Cinquean approach, such characteristics signal the presence of functional structure.

- (27) *ta kolikor si lahko misliš visok hrib*  
 TA as-much-as self<sub>DAT</sub> can think high hill  
 'the hill that is as high as you can imagine'

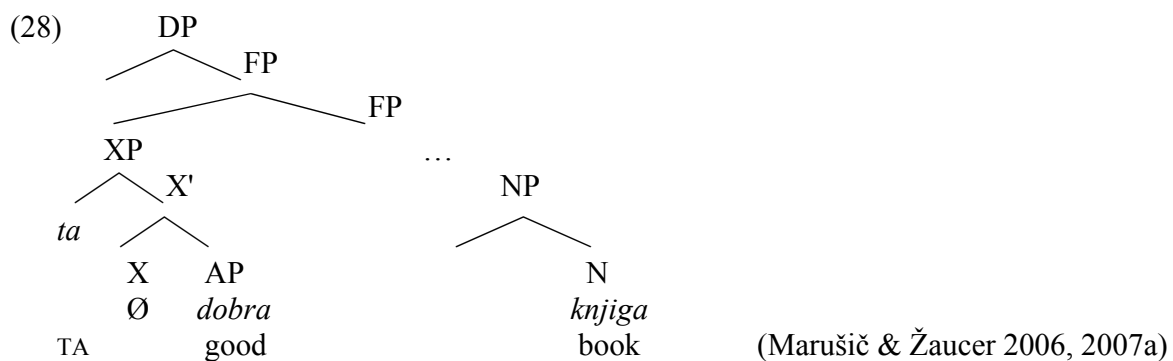
Therefore, just like there is a DP and a QP in the extended projection of the noun, there could be functional syntactic projections in the extended projection of the adjective. Indeed Leu (2009) has recently proposed a definite article inside the extended projection of the adjective, which he calls  $xAP$ . Leu's D, however, is a "standard/ordinary" definite article, that is, it quantifies over individuals, which does not seem to us to be the right way of doing the parallelism. If APs are to have something comparable to quantifier phrases and DPs, these elements should quantify over degrees, which is what Larson's (1991) DegP does. As we can see in (27) above, the relative clause that restricts the adjective does not restrict the set of individuals that the adjective is true of, but rather the set of degrees: it restricts the degree to which the adjective should hold. If there is such a thing as a definite article in the adjectival extended projection, it should be a definite article over degrees. What this definite article should mean, then, is something like "There is a unique degree to which this adjective is true of a certain individual". Of course, this does not

affect the semantic type of the adjective phrase, which is still  $\langle e, t \rangle$ , so that the entire AP remains a predicate over individuals.

If, as we suggested above, the semantic contribution of TA is best described as type definiteness, and if we interpret types as predefined/definite degrees of a qualitative adjective, then this means that TA specifies/defines/determines a degree to which an adjective is true. And if we accept the possibility of an extended projection of the adjective phrase and a parallel between the adjective phrase and the noun phrase, then a structure to derive this should in fact already be ready-made.

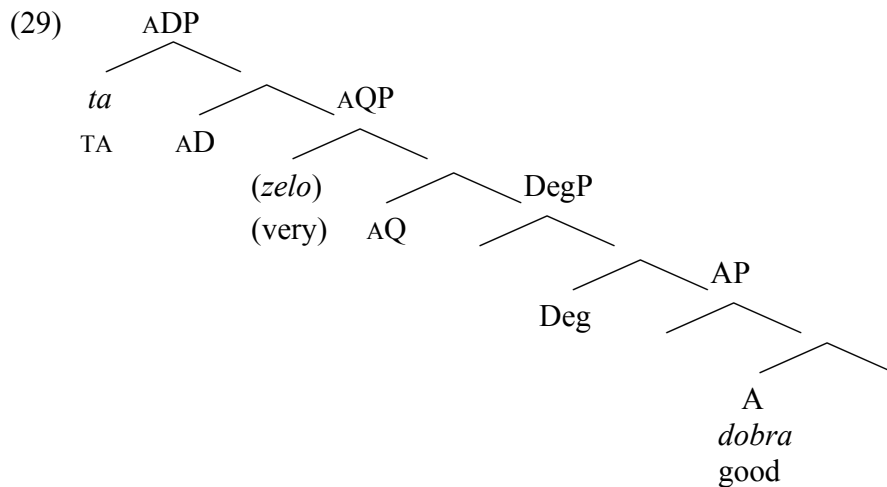
### 5.3 The structure

In Marušič & Žaucer (2006, 2007a) we proposed that the structure for TA-modified adjective phrases is as in (28). The main point of this structure is that TA and the adjective form a small-clause element, of which TA is the subject. This small clause—a reduced relative clause which we labeled XP—is adjoined to a functional projection which is part of the NP-DP frame (cf. Cinque 1994).



However, while (28) captures the basic syntactic distribution and the historical background of TA and the long form, as discussed in Marušič & Žaucer (2006, 2007a), it does not really capture either the semantics of TA or the fact that TA turns a qualitative adjective into a classifying one. According to (28), classifying adjectives and TA-adjectives do not share the same structure: the XP-hosting FP is an unidentified functional projection, while classifying adjectives still merge in dedicated projection immediately dominating the NP (à la Rutkowski and Progovac 2005). Therefore, we propose that the structure in (28) be modified and made more specific.

The modification pertains mostly to the XP, which now we suggest is part of the regular extended projection of the adjective and not a reduced relative clause. Since the counterpart of the XP will be simply a projection in the regular extended projection of the adjective, it will be able to merge in the same projections that TA-less adjectives merge in, without the need for any special dedicated functional projection. The counterpart of the XP will be the highest projection of the articulated adjective phrase—call it ADP—and will dominate Zamarelli's (1993, 1995) AQP. The structure we propose for adjective phrases is given in (29); for details regarding the individual projections of the adjective phrase, see Zamparelli (1993, 1995).



As for the discussed parallelism between APs and DPs, the projections in (29) have the following correlates in the noun phrase: ADP ~ DP, AQP ~ QP, DegP ~ NumP, AP ~ NP. Note that in the context of the noun phrase, the relative order of QP and DP is not unanimously agreed upon. Longobardi (2001), for example, places the DP above the projection hosting other determiners, including universal quantifiers, while Cinque (2005) has Q<sub>UNIV</sub>P as the highest projection of the noun phrase. On the basis of examples like (30), where TA appears to be higher than the degree quantifier, which Zamparelli (1993) places in AQP, we put ADP above AQP and thus offer indirect support for Longobardi (2001).

- (30) a. *ta zelo velik kos kruha*  
 TA very big piece bread  
 'the very big piece of bread'
- b. *ta ves zmešan profoks*  
 TA all crazy professor  
 'the completely crazy professor'

In (29), we place TA in the specifier of ADP rather than in the head, for the following reason. If TA is in the specifier of ADP, the long form can be in the head of ADP, which will explain the different realization—clitic/word vs. suffix—of the two elements but also capture the essentially equal semantic contribution. Further, if TA is in the specifier position we can easily explain the (optional) multiple but apparently 'meaningfree' occurrences of TA within a single adjective phrase in cases such as (31), which we left unexplained in Marušič and Žaucer (2006, 2007a): if the multiple occurrences of (31) are copies of the raised TA, the absence of a semantic contribution of TA's multiplication is expected. Under this view, TA—being a pronominal element—will originate inside the AP and raise from there to the highest projection of the extended adjective phrase, the ADP, to check its D feature (just like subject raises to Spec.TP).

- (31) a. *ta zelo ta dobr pir*  
 TA very TA good beer  
 'the very good beer'
- b. *ta čist ta desn kucl*  
 TA clean TA right hill  
 'the rightmost hill'

(from Marušič and Žaucer 2006)

At the same time, cases that contain two TA's of which each is associated with its own adjective, such as (4a) (repeated below), are also explained straightforwardly. Just like any structure with two adjectives, such structures will also have two APs, each of which will come with its own extended projection, including ADP. Each TA will thus be in its own A, as part of a different adjectival phrase. The proposed structure also captures, unproblematically, the cases where two adjectives of the same noun phrase have different definiteness values; such cases are very natural in Slovenian, as shown in (32) (but see Aljović 2005 for some unclarity and a possibly different situation in B/C/S).

- (4) a. *tá ta debel ta zelen svinčnik*  
 this TA thick TA green pencil  
 'this thick green pencil'
- (32) a. *en mrzel ta velik pir*  
 one cold TA large beer  
 'a cold large beer/pint'
- b. *ena ful dobra ta zgodna sorta jabolk*  
 one very good TA early variety apples<sub>GEN</sub>  
 'a very tasty early variety of apples'

#### 5.4 Type adjectives

As said, TA turns a qualifying adjective into a classifying one, by making it semantically »definite«. But not every »definite« adjective needs a TA, there are plenty of (inherently) classifying adjectives and possessive adjectives that typically occur without TA in colloquial Slovenian, which suggests that there are two kinds of classifying adjectives in Slovenian: (inherently) classifying adjectives that are merged in a dedicated functional projection ClassP immediately dominating NP, i.e. as part of the extended projection of the noun phrase (Rutkowski and Progovac 2005, cf. Toporišič 2000), and qualifying-turned-classifying adjectives that are merged in higher adjective-hosting projections. Support for this claim is given in (33). If a noun phrase contains an inherently classifying adjective and a qualifying-turned-classifying adjective, the latter must precede the former, as in (33a). If the order is reversed, the example becomes marginal, but if accepted, the only prominent reading is one in which *gorški* does not have the classifying interpretation.

- (33) a. (*en*) *ta smotan gorski reševalc*  
 a TA stupid mountain rescuer  
 'a/the stupid (kind of) mountain rescuer'
- b. (*en*) *gorški ta smotan reševalc*  
 a mountain TA stupid rescuer  
 'a/the stupid (kind of) rescuer from the mountains'

The classifying adjectives are nonscalar and thus do not have the extended projection of scalar adjectives, as suggested by Zamparelli (1993). Similarly, non-scalar are also possessive adjectives, which are merged as simple APs in the highest functional projection hosting

adjectives, so that they always precede other adjectives (Toporišič 2000).

If TA quantifies over degrees, one may expect that it will not occur on non-scalar adjectives, since they do not have the extended projection. One group of adjectives that this prediction affects are adjectives like *dead*, *alive*, *empty*, etc., which Zamparelli analyzes as lacking the extended functional projections. Contrary to this expectation, TA does appear with such adjectives, (34); however, these adjectives do not in fact seem to be non-scalar, which is most clearly shown by the fact that they can be modified with adverbs of degree such as 'almost', etc.

- (34) *Ta skor/ na pol/ ne čist crknjen konj.*  
TA almost/ on half/ not quite dead horse  
'the almost/half/not quite dead horse'

At the same time, the list of 'non-scalar' adjectives also contains some with which TA indeed seems impossible, (35) (in some languages the counterparts of such cases are compounds). Not surprisingly, these also do not allow modification with degree adverbs.

- (35) *(\*ta) nogometno igrišče*  
TA football playground  
'football field'

Now, as demonstrated in Marušič & Žaucer (2006, 2007a), this is not the whole truth: TA can also occur on classifying and possessive adjectives with the result of emphatic contrast (*ta gorski reševalc, ne ta jamarski* 'the mountain rescuer, not the cave (one)'). We claim that adding TA adds functional structure to a non-scalar adjective and turns it into a scalar adjective with only a binary 0-1 scale. This allows the classifying adjective to be merged as a regular adjective into one of the higher functional projections hosting adjectives (rather than the ClassP immediately above NP).

Support for this claim comes from two observations. Firstly, while two (inherently) classifying adjectives may appear in any order, (36), as soon as one of them is modified by TA, it has to come first, (37).

- (36) a. *helikopterski gorski reševalc*  
helicopter mountain rescuer  
b. *gorski helikopterski reševalc*  
mountain helicopter rescuer

- (37) a. *\*helikopterski ta gorski (ne helikopterski ta jamarski reševalec)*  
helicopter TA mountain not helicopter TA cave rescuer  
b. *ta gorski helikopterski (ne ta jamarski helikopterski reševalec)*  
TA mountain helicopter not TA cave helicopter rescuer

And secondly, inherently classifying adjectives do not seem to allow adverbial modification with 'almost', 'completely', 'very' etc., but such modification improves if TA is added to the adjective, (38).



- |      |    |  |    |   |
|------|----|--|----|---|
| (38) | a. | <i>gorski reševalec</i><br>mountain rescuer                  | b. | <i>gorski prelaz</i><br>mountain pass                   |
|      | c. | * <i>skor gorski reševalec</i><br>almost mountain rescuer    | d. | * <i>skor gorski prelaz</i><br>almost mountain pass     |
|      | e. | <i>ta skor gorski reševalc</i><br>TA almost mountain rescuer | f. | <i>ta skor gorski prelaz</i><br>TA almost mountain pass |

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper, we summarized the distribution of TA and showed that the element is intimately linked to the adjective phrase. We saw that TA can appear in indefinite noun phrases, which makes it importantly different from the better-known definite articles of languages such as English and from other potentially similar phenomena such as determiner doubling in Swedish. We showed that the semantic contribution of TA is neither definiteness nor specificity of the noun phrase but rather type-definiteness of the adjectival subpart of the noun phrase. We proposed to analyze TA as the definite article in the extended projection of the AP. Unlike the definite article of the noun phrase, it determines a degree to which an adjective holds. We thus extended the often posited parallelism between the DP and the CP also to the AP. This gives us a natural understanding of the semantic contribution of TA, which turns a qualitative adjective into a classifying adjective.

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