

## On the Adjectival Definite Article in Slovenian\*

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This paper discusses the Slovenian word TA, which is in some ways reminiscent of the standard definite articles known from many European languages, but has several atypical characteristics that make it unique and without a true parallel. TA appears only with adjectives, which, along with some other characteristics, makes it parallel to the adjectival LONG form in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. We propose that TA is actually the subject of a small clause that acts as an attributive modifier; as such, TA has nothing to do with definiteness or specificity functional projections.

### 1. Introduction

As noted by Toporišič (1992, 2000), Orešnik (2001) and many others (going back to the earliest grammars of Slovenian, see Orožen 1972 for references), colloquial Slovenian has a definite article associated with adjectives. Its association with the adjective is most clearly expressed by the fact that unlike the typical definite article from, for instance, European languages, TA cannot appear with a bare noun, (1).

- |     |                         |   |                    |             |
|-----|-------------------------|---|--------------------|-------------|
| (1) | <i>ta velika knjiga</i> | – | * <i>ta knjiga</i> | (Slovenian) |
|     | <i>the big book</i>     | – | <i>the book</i>    | (English)   |
|     | <i>das grosse Buch</i>  | – | <i>das Buch</i>    | (German)    |
|     | <i>il grande libro</i>  | – | <i>il libro</i>    | (Italian)   |

This is not the only difference between TA and the definite article in the above-mentioned languages. Even though the meaning contribution of TA in (1) seems to parallel that of the definite articles in English, German and Italian—which is why TA is standardly referred to as a ‘definite article’—TA can in fact also appear inside indefinite DPs, as shown in (2). This is, of course, impossible in Italian, German or English, (2b).

- (2) a. *Lihkar je mim prdirkal en ta hiter avto.*  
Just-now aux by speeded 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.*

In this paper, we show where TA is most commonly used and what its semantic contribution is. Section 2 presents the basic facts. Section 3 shows that TA is not comparable to the familiar cases of definite article repetition, but that it is strikingly similar to the LONG-form adjectives. In section 4, we give an analysis of TA, arguing that it is the subject of a small-clausal prenominal modifier and show how this analysis extends to the LONG-form adjectives. Section 5 is the conclusion.

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## 2. Morphosyntactic and semantic properties of TA

Superficially, TA has the form of the demonstrative pronoun *ta* 'this'. Nevertheless, the two differ in various respects. The difference is clearest when they co-occur, (3). While the demonstrative carries stress, TA does not, it is a clitic hosted by the first element of the adjective phrase. Also, the demonstrative agrees in case, gender and number, while TA never changes its form. Lastly, while the demonstrative can occur with bare nouns, TA cannot, as shown above.

- (3) a. *tá ta zelen svinčnik* b. *téga ta zelenega svinčnika*  
this<sub>NOM</sub> TA green<sub>NOM</sub> pencil<sub>NOM</sub> this<sub>GEN</sub> TA green<sub>GEN</sub> pencil<sub>GEN</sub>  
'this green pencil' 'of this green pencil'

Unlike Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (e.g. Progovac 1998, Aljović 2002) and standard Slovenian (e.g. Toporišič 2000), colloquial Slovenian does not exhibit the opposition between LONG and SHORT adjectival morphology; the presence of TA can thus have no effect on the form of the adjective. Since TA is a clitic on the adjective rather than an affix, other elements can intervene between TA and the adjective (Orešnik 1994), (4).

- (4) *ta frišn pofarban bicikl*  
TA freshly painted bike  
'the freshly painted bike'

TA is very typical in deadjectival nominals, that is, when an adjective appears with a null N. This use also includes some idiomatic expressions, like the three examples in (5b,c).

- (5) a. *Prnes mi ta zelen stol.* – *Prnes mi ta zelenga.*  
bring me TA green chair bring me TA green  
'Bring me the green chair.' 'Bring me the green one.'
- b. *ta rdeči in ta beli* c. *Micka je srečala Petrove ta stare.*  
TA red and TA white Micka aux met Peter's TA old  
'the communists & the quislings' 'Micka met Peter's parents.'

TA is also very common with ordinals and superlatives, (6) (we hesitate to say obligatory since it is hard to tell if the absence of TA in such cases really always reflects an influence of the more standard, TA-less varieties, or if it could also be due to the grammar of colloquial Slovenian). Both ordinals and superlatives are inherently definite; that is, the noun phrase containing a superlative or an ordinal necessarily refers to a unique (and therefore definite) individual.

- (6) a. *ta drug cvek* b. *ta najboljši komad*  
'the second F-grade' 'the best song'

Also inherently definite are noun phrases introduced with a demonstrative. Not surprisingly, these noun phrases are also very often equipped with TA, (7).

- (7) a. *tá ta visok hrib*                      b. *tist ta nizek pukl*  
           this TA tall      hill                      that TA small bump  
           'this tall hill'                              'that small hill'

Although not inherently definite in the same sense as (6) and (7), but definite in some sense or other, are also superlative and ordinal adverbs, derived from adjectives. TA also occurs with these. When such an adverb appears inside a complex adjective phrase (AP), the TA of the adverbial stays in place and an additional TA may be added for the entire AP, as in (8b).

- (8) a. [*ta prvič*] *sem članek bral počasi*  
           TA first-time AUX article read slowly  
           'the first time I read the article slowly'  
       b. *tá [ta [ta prvič] spohan] šniel*  
           this TA TA first-time fried steak  
           'this steak fried (for) the first time'

These examples present some form of a bracketing paradox, since TA is associated with the adjective, forming a semantic constituent with it, but morphologically, TA is its own word, a clitic hosted by the entire derived adverb. The adverbial morphology is semantically further from the adjective than TA is, but it nonetheless forms a single word with the adjective.

- (9) a. [[*ta prvi*]-ič] = [[the first]-time]  
       b. [[*ta zadnji*]-krat] = [[the last]-time]

TA can sometimes iterate even in a single AP. These cases often sound a bit like a playful language experiment, but are quite frequent and accepted as grammatical by most speakers, (10).

- (10) a. *ta naj ta boljša tortica*                      cf. *ta najboljša tortica*  
           TA most TA better cake                      TA best cake  
           'the best cake'  
       b. *ta pred ta zadn tekač*                      cf. *ta predzadn tekač*  
           TA before TA last runner                      TA before-last runner  
           'the penultimate runner'                      'the penultimate runner'

TA can split other complex APs as well, such as: *ta skor ta zadn* "TA nearly TA last", *ta zlo ta dobr* "TA very TA good", *ta čist ta desn* "TA very TA right", *ta res ta drage* "TA really TA expensive" etc. In principle, one can get even three or four TAs: *ta nar ta bl ta rdeč* "TA most TA more TA red", *ta čist ta nar ta bl ta nov* "TA very TA most TA more TA new". We have little to say about this type of repetition at this point, since it is not clear to us what allows it. It might be that a post-syntactic copying operation is responsible for the multiple TAs. As for the TA's base position, it seems that it is not the one on the edge of the adjective phrase, but rather the one right next to the adjective. This is most clearly seen from the fact that at an earlier stage of the language, the only TA in such constructions appeared between the measure phrase and the adjective, as in (11), a sentence from a 1557 text by Primož Trubar.



- b. *Peter je ta višji od obeh bratov.*  
 Peter is TA taller of both brothers  
 ‘Peter is the taller of the two brothers.’

In addition, TA can occur in predicative constructions also with ordinary adjectives when picking an individual from a set (e.g. *the tall one of the boys*), as in (16). The interpretation of such TA+AP in predicative position is partitive, ‘the/an X one (of some relevant group)’. We claim that this construction involves a null noun with the meaning ‘one’; Babby (1973) and Bailyn (1994) made the same claim for an apparent predicative use of the Russian attributive-only LONG form.

- (16) a. *Ta knjiga je ta tanka.*  
 this book is TA thin  
 ‘This book is a thin one / one of (the) thin ones.’  
 b. *Jana je tista ta lepa.*  
 Jana is that TA beautiful  
 ‘Jana is that beautiful one [over there].’

Here is the first argument to support this claim. When complex APs occur in attributive positions in Slovenian, the argument/comparison/adjunct/etc. precedes the adjective, as shown in (17), but when the same complex AP occurs in a predicative position, the argument/comparison/adjunct/etc. follows the adjective, as shown in (18) (cf. Larson & Marušič 2004).

- (17) a. *\*vreden usmiljenja deček*  
 worth pity boy  
 b. *usiljenja vreden deček*  
 pity worth boy  
 ‘a boy who is worthy of pity’  
 (18) a. *Peter je vreden usmiljenja.*  
 Peter is worth pity  
 ‘Peter is worthy of pity.’  
 b. *\*Peter je usmiljenja vreden.*<sup>1</sup>  
 Peter is pity worth

When TA is used with a complex AP in a predicative position, the internal order of the AP is that of complex APs in attributive positions—the adjective precedes the argument/comparison/adjunct/etc. This suggests that the TA-modified adjective in predicative position is actually an attributive adjective in a noun phrase with a null (unpronounced) N. Therefore, this is not a case of TA appearing with adjectives in predicative positions.

- (19) a. *\*Peter je ta vreden usmiljenja.*  
 Peter is TA worthy pity  
 b. *Peter je ta usmiljena vreden.*  
 Peter is TA pity worthy  
 ‘Peter is the one who is worthy of pity.’

<sup>1</sup> (18b) is bad with neutral intonation but can work when *usmiljenja* is given contrastive emphasis (e.g. ‘Peter is worthy of *pitty*, not *money*.’).

The second argument is based on a test that Babby (1975) devised to show the attributiveness of an apparent predicative use of the LONG form in Russian. The polite form of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronoun *vi* ‘you’—which is homonymous with the pronoun for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural—triggers plural agreement, (20a-b), but it requires a singular NP in an equative sentence (‘NP is NP’), (20c). 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural *vi*, on the other hand, requires plural NPs in such sentences, (20d). The difference observed between (21a), with plural agreement on the adjective and the obligatory plural interpretation of the pronoun, and (21b), with singular agreement on the adjective and the obligatory interpretation as the polite singular, thus suggests that TA+AP forms a noun phrase in predicative position.

- (20) a. *Vi ste prišli.*  
 you are came<sub>PL</sub> (=interpretation: either SG<sub>POLITE</sub> or PL)
- b. *Vi ste še mladi.*  
 you are still young<sub>PL</sub> (=interpretation: either SG<sub>POLITE</sub> or PL)
- c. *Vi ste tisti fant.*  
 you are that boy<sub>SG</sub> (=interpretation: only SG<sub>POLITE</sub>)
- d. *Vi ste tisti fantje.*  
 you are those boy<sub>PL</sub> (=interpretation: only PL)
- (21) a. *Vi ste ta mladi.*  
 you are TA young<sub>PL</sub> (=interpretation: only PL)
- b. *Vi ste ta mlad.*  
 you are TA young<sub>SG</sub> (=interpretation: only SG<sub>POLITE</sub>)

TA+AP is therefore always part of a noun phrase, but the head of the NP can sometimes be null. This means that despite appearances, TA always modifies an attributive adjective, even when the two are found in predicative position without an overt noun.

Moreover, TA is also available in predicative constructions with ‘nominalized’ adjectives, (22), but such cases presumably also represent a combination of an attributive adjective and a null noun, as mentioned above.

- (22) a. *Tile so pa ta beli / ta rdeči.*  
 these are PTCL TA whites TA reds  
 ‘These are the Quislings/commies.’
- b. *Tole so njeni ta stari.*  
 these are her TA olds  
 ‘These are her parents.’

We conclude, therefore, that TA is only used on adjectives in prenominal positions, and moreover, that it is only used with predicative adjectives in prenominal positions. All such adjectives (can) occur with TA and no other adjective can occur with TA (some exceptions are discussed in the last section).

In (14a) (repeated here as (23a)), TA was shown to be impossible with the possessive adjective in prenominal position.<sup>2</sup> As mentioned above, possessive adjectives can be used in predicative positions, as in (23b), so that (23a) represents a counterexample to the claim that all

<sup>2</sup> As discussed in Marušič and Žaucer (2006a,b), however, (22a) is in principle possible in a very specific contexts.



c. [- definite] [+ specific]

*V gostilni sem srečal enega/\*ta visokega prijatla,*  
in pub AUX met<sub>1SG</sub> one / TA tall friend

*Vida Juga, ki ga ti ne poznaš.*

Vid Jug that him you not know

‘In the pub, I met a tall friend, Vid Jug, who you don’t know.’

d. [- definite] [- specific]

*#Hoče ta poceni igrco, ampak še ne ve, katero.*

want TA cheap game but still not know which

‘He wants a cheap game, but he does not know yet which one.’

TA is most commonly used to pick an individual from a group, pointing out its unique property in the relevant set and contrasting it with other members of the set, but the property has to be known to both the speaker and the hearer, or else TA is ungrammatical. For example, one cannot utter (26) in a context where only the speaker knows that there is a unique pair of green pants in the washroom.

- (26) *#A mi prneseš ta zelene hlače iz kopalnice?*  
Q I<sub>DAT</sub> bring TA green pants from washroom  
‘Can you please bring me the green pants from the washroom?’

However, TA does not necessarily make the entire noun phrase definite. It does not have to refer to a unique item/token, it can also refer to a definite (/unique) type or class of a noun described by the adjective. This is most clearly seen from examples where TA occurs in an indefinite noun phrase, as in (27).

- (27) a. *kšn ta hitr avto* = some (or other) fast car<sup>3</sup>  
some TA fast car  
b. *nek ta hitr avto* = some fast car  
some TA fast car  
c. *kerkol ta hitr avto* = whichever fast car  
whichever TA fast car  
d. *eni ta hitri avti* = some fast cars  
one<sub>PL</sub> TA fast cars  
e. *kr en ta hitr avto* = any one fast car  
any one TA fast car

Similarly, in (28a), there is no unique/specific bottle the speaker is afraid to drink from, but rather a specific *type* of bottle, namely, that made of green glass. Similarly, TA does not seem to contribute specificity in (28b), where it is preceded by an indefinite determiner, suggesting that there are no two unique/specific large beers I want to drink; rather there is a particular type of beer, *a large beer*.

<sup>3</sup> A question comes up when comparing (27) with (25d). If the type interpretation of adjectives is available in (27), why not also in (25d)? The simplest answer we can give is that in the absence of an explicit indefinite marker (either an indefinite article or some other indefinite determiner) Slovenian noun phrases tend to be interpreted as definite (cf. Toporišič 2000). That is, for expressing indefiniteness, colloquial Slovenian tends to require explicit indefiniteness marking (either articles or indefinite determiners).

- (28) a. *Ne pijem s ta zelene flaše, ker prnaša nesrečo.*  
 not drink from TA green bottle<sub>SG</sub> because brings bad-luck  
 ‘I don’t drink (beer) from green bottles, it brings bad luck.’
- b. *Dejte nama prosm dva ta mala pira.*  
 give to-us please two TA small beers  
 ‘Bring us a couple of half-pints please.’

It seems, then, that the DP’s quantification is separate from TA. The entire noun phrase containing TA is not necessarily definite. What TA contributes is just 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.

So, since we are claiming that TA’s quantification is not one over entities but rather one over degrees, we can still ask whether what we are seeing is type definiteness or type specificity? Based on Trenkić’s (2004) test, and following the above, Ionin *et al.* (2004)-based intuitive distinction—according to which definiteness is uniqueness of which both the speaker and the hearer are aware, while specificity is (specific) uniqueness of which only the speaker is aware—we can have a look at examples in (29). The noun phrase in (29) is indefinite, but the degree of the application of the adjective ‘big’ is what we are looking for. The context we are interested in is when person A, looking at the picture of a room, gives instructions to person B, who does not see the picture and has never seen the room before, on what to do in the room.

- (29) Person A saying to person B, who has never seen the room before
- a. *Ko vstopiš, vidiš na levi en velik predalnik; odkleni ga in ...*  
 When you-enter, you-see to the-left a big dresser; unlock it and ...  
 ‘... a/this big dresser ...’
- b. *Ko vstopiš, vidiš na levi en ta velik predalnik; odkleni ga in ...*  
 When you-enter, you-see to the-left a TA big dresser; unlock it and ...  
 ‘... a/this dresser of the big type ...’

According to our intuition, it is impossible to use (29b), with TA, if the speaker and the hearer do not share some common knowledge on what a big dresser could look like, what it means for a dresser to be big; in other words, TA makes the type of the dresser (but not the dresser itself) definite (it would be possible to use *ta velik predalnik* without the indefinite article/determiner, but then the entire noun phrase would be interpreted as definite – and we would need a second dresser in the room that is not big). Unlike in (29b), (29a) does not require shared knowledge of the type of dresser, suggesting this is a case of a specific type.

To sum up section 2: in 2.1, we established that the article-like element TA is a clitic intimately linked to the adjective, that it can be repeated with stacked adjectives and that it is restricted to predicative adjectives in prenominal positions, and in 2.2, we showed that it seems to bring in (type) definiteness rather than (type) specificity, though in the presence of indefinite determiners, the entire noun phrase which TA is part of can still be indefinite.

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

In this section, we compare the Slovenian definite TA with some better-known and potentially comparable phenomena in other languages. In particular, we will show that TA cannot be compared to Swedish/Scandinavian multiple definiteness marking, that it is different from Greek polydefiniteness and from Bulgarian and Macedonian definite articles. On the other hand, TA is potentially comparable to the Albanian and Chinese “definite” markers, and is essentially the same as the LONG-form adjectives known from Standard Slovenian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian.

#### 3.1 TA is not like ...

One well-known case of adjectival definiteness is discussed by Delsing (1993) for Swedish, where the noun by itself has an affixal article, while an adjective has to be preceded by a second article, (30).

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

However, the Swedish facts are still different. Unlike Swedish, Slovenian has no definite article on bare nouns, and more importantly, while Swedish does not allow the adjectival definite article in an indefinite noun phrase—i.e., there has to be agreement in definiteness between the noun and the adjective, as in (30b)—there is no such restriction in Slovenian, as we showed in Section 2. Further, while TA can be repeated on stacked adjectives, *det* cannot repeat, (31). One might still try to argue that rather than to *det*, TA is comparable to the strong inflection, but the strong adjectival morphology is also banned in indefinite noun phrases. The same applies to other Mainland (Germanic) Scandinavian languages.

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

Another well-known case of an adjective-specific determiner comes from Greek, where a determiner can—but need not—reappear with every adjective, (32). This phenomenon, which has been widely discussed, also does not seem to be directly related to TA for the simple reason that Slovenian TA does not appear on nouns, and again, the Greek adjectival definite article cannot appear in an indefinite DP, (33). Moreover, while the otherwise obligatorily prenominal Greek adjectives can appear postnominally when preceded by the definite article, (32b-c), there is no such effect in Slovenian when TA appears in front of an adjective, (34).

- (32) a. *to mevalo to kokkino to vivlio*  
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)

(33) \**ena to kokkino (to) vivlio*  
 a the red the book  
 'a/one the red book' (cf. Androutsopoulou 2001: 166)

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

Similar features (no article on the noun and no article in an indefinite DP) also keep Slovenian TA apart from determiners in Bulgarian and Macedonian, where the definite article of the noun phrase cliticizes on the first lexical word in the DP (Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1998).

3.2 TA is like ...

On the other hand, TA seems to share at least some features with Chinese and Albanian determiners. Both Albanian and Chinese allow a “definite” determiner inside an indefinite noun phrase, (35) (cf. Simpson 2002). Unfortunately, we cannot go any further into this comparison.

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

Another case parallel to TA both in meaning and distribution seems to be the Standard Slovenian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian LONG form of adjectives (most clearly present in Bosnian). The LONG form is essentially just distinct morphology on adjectives, and is typically called definiteness (e.g. Progovac 1998, Rutkowski & Progovac 2005) or specificity marking (Aljović 2002, Trenkić 2004), (36).<sup>4</sup> Just like Slovenian TA, the B/C/S LONG form cannot appear on nouns, it can be iterated on stacked adjectives, (37), and it need not make the DP either definite nor specific, as shown by the fact that it can appear in an otherwise indefinite DP, (38).

- (36) a. *vrijedn-i student* b. *vrijedan student*  
 diligent<sub>LONG</sub> student diligent<sub>SHORT</sub> student
- (37) *ono njegovo pouzdano: malo: crno: auto*  
 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)

<sup>4</sup> Note that even though they are formally the same, the Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and Standard Slovenian long form and the Modern Russian long form are functionally very different (cf. Bailyn 1994).

- (38) [in a store] *Treba mi jedan plav-i kaput.*  
 need I<sub>DAT</sub> one blue<sub>LONG</sub> coat  
 ‘I need a blue (type of) coat.’ (p.c. Tanja Milićev)

The Serbian LONG form is obligatory in three functions (Rutkowski & Progovac 2005): when the NP is definite<sup>5</sup>, when the AP has the classifying function, and in vocative constructions. With respect to these uses and TA, we have already seen that TA can (though need not) turn a noun definite and that it can turn a qualitative adjective into a definite-kind/type-denoting one, i.e. a classifying one. We should add that TA does not appear with inherently classifying adjectives (more on this in Marušič & Žaucer 2006a,b) and that it is not really clear if it can be used, like the LONG form (as in the standard Slovenian LONG-form vocative in (39a)), in vocative constructions, (39b).

- (39) a. *Pametni človek, spregovori!*  
 wise<sub>LONG</sub> man speak-up<sub>IMPER.</sub>  
 ‘Speak up, wise man!’  
 b. *\*? Ta pametn človk, spregovor!*  
 ta wise man speak-up<sub>IMPER.</sub>  
 ‘Speak up, wise man!’

In addition, just like the LONG form, TA is used when an adjective appears alone (with a null noun), and just like classifying adjectives (which have the LONG form) (cf. Larson & Marušič 2004), TA is restricted to attributive adjectives (Section 2).

There are also certain differences between TA and the LONG form. Unlike adjectives with TA, adjectives with the LONG form, the audience at the *Contemporary Linguistic Prospects* conference told us, respect strict linear order in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (cf. Aljović 2005). This is a surprising fact in itself, since there seems to be a general tendency in languages for richer morphology to allow for freer word order. Moreover, we were told that unlike adjectives with TA, which can freely co-occur with TA-less adjectives, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian LONG-form adjectives cannot occur to the left of SHORT form adjectives in a single noun phrase.<sup>6</sup> Maybe the only exception to this is the LONG form of the classifying adjectives. There the LONG form does not make the DP definite, so there is no need for LONG-form adjectives in the rest of the DP. Some speakers accept cases like (40), where a descriptive adjective like ‘boring’ or ‘experienced’ precedes a classifying adjective.

<sup>5</sup> The extent to which definite contexts *require* rather than just *allow/tend to exhibit* the LONG form needs further investigation. Internet searches for strings such as *ovaj/onaj ružan* ‘this/that ugly’, *ovaj/onaj glup* ‘this/that ugly’—i.e. with the adjective in the short form—return quite a few hits where the NP is most likely definite, such as *da zaboravimo ovaj ružan događaj* ‘so-that we-forget this ugly<sub>SHORT</sub> event’ and *[samo nisi trebao] onaj glup efekat [ubacivati]* ‘[but you-didn’t-need to-put-in] that dumb<sub>SHORT</sub> effect’. If the correct generalization is a tendency rather than a strict requirement, the similarity with TA is even stronger.

<sup>6</sup> Again, this claim needs further investigation. Internet results for search strings such as *ovaj/onaj ružan* ‘this/that ugly’, *ovaj/onaj glup* ‘this/that ugly’, etc., also include hits where a LONG adjective occurs to the left of a SHORT adjective, such as *[neznam kako da obrišem] onaj crni ružan prozor msdos-a* ‘[I don’t know how to get rid of] that black<sub>LONG</sub> ugly<sub>SHORT</sub> window ms-dos<sub>GEN</sub>’. And in fact, all of the hits where elements like *ovaj/onaj/koji* ‘this/that/which’ occur to the left of a SHORT-form adjective—such as *ovaj ružan događaj* ‘this ugly<sub>SHORT</sub> event’, *onaj ružan gipsani odlivak* ‘that ugly<sub>SHORT</sub> plaster cast’, *koji ružan dan* ‘what ugly<sub>SHORT</sub> day’—exhibit the LONG form to the left of a SHORT-form adjective since *ovaj/onaj/koji* are in fact all LONG-form elements; the strings *koji ružan* (lit. which ugly<sub>SHORT</sub>) and *koji ružni* (lit. which ugly<sub>LONG</sub>) ‘what an ugly’, for example, seem to return a comparable number of hits. All of this raises serious doubts about the reported obligatoriness of the restriction.

- (40) a. *(en) dolgočasn mednarodni računalniški tečaj* (Slovenian)  
 a boring international computer course  
 b. *(en) izkušen helikopterski gorski reševalc* (Slovenian)  
 an experienced helicopter mountain rescuer

Although we have argued that TA and the LONG-form adjectives are related, we will not use any of the existing analyses of the LONG forms and try to adjust it to TA but rather propose our own analysis and only briefly explain why TA is incompatible with the current analyses of the LONG form (e.g. Aljović 2002, 2005, Progovac 1998). For a longer discussion of the incompatibility of TA with the current proposals, see Marušič and Žaucer (2006a,b).

#### 4. Proposal

We will build our analysis on two crucial observations: TA is found only in pronominal positions and only with predicative adjectives (see Marušič and Žaucer 2006a,b for exceptions).

Since the definiteness of TA, as explained, is restricted to the adjective and the entire noun phrase need not be either definite or specific, TA seems to be incompatible with Progovac (1998) and Aljović (2002, 2005) (as well as the structurally less explicit Trenkić 2004). For Progovac (1998), the LONG morphology of adjectives is located in DefinitenessP (stacked between DP and AgrP), and since adjectives with TA can occur inside indefinite noun phrases, we obviously cannot adopt this proposal. For Aljović, the LONG morphology occupies the head of the functional projections that host adjectives in their specifiers. Therefore, the LONG-form morphology is part of the main D-N frame and should as such have influence on the interpretation of the entire noun phrase, but this is not what we established for TA+AP. As for adjectives with the short form, Aljović adjoins them to NUMP. Because they are adjuncts, their order is much freer, and this is again not what we established; adjectives with TA have a freer order than adjectives without TA. But if TA+AP combinations were tied to functional projections, their order should not be free (as is the case with LONG-form adjectives according to Aljović).

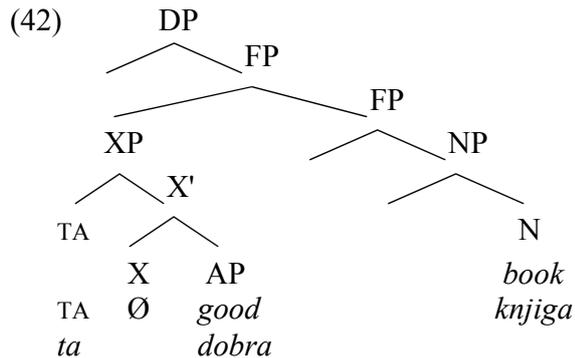
The interpretation of TA+AP is that of a restrictive relative clause. And as we said above, TA is indeed restricted to predicative adjectives, i.e., adjectives for which a very common analysis is that of a reduced relative clause (Kayne 1994, Larson 1991, Alexiadou & Wilder 1998, etc.). In a way, we follow Cinque (2005) in that there seem to be two sources for pronominal APs in Slovenian. Adjectives without TA are simple APs in the specifiers of functional projections (e.g. Cinque 2005), while adjectives with TA appear to be derived from a reduced relative clause.

This is, of course, not everything. If TA+AP elements are indeed reduced relative clauses, it is rather clear where the AP is; the AP is the main predicate of this relative clause, but what is TA? We follow Campos & Stavrou (2004), who analyzed an interesting case of polydefiniteness in Aromanian that is similar, in one specific way, to the presented Slovenian TA+AP construction. In Aromanian, the phonologically reduced demonstrative in (41b) appears in noun phrases with adjectives and seems to have a similar effect as the Slovenian TA. Campos & Stavrou analyze it as the subject of a Small Clause inside the DP that also contains the adjective.

- (41) a. *om-lu atselu bun-lu* Aromanian  
 man-the that good-the  
 'that good man'

- b. *om-lu atsel bun-lu*  
 man-the "that" good-the  
 'the good man' (Campos & Stavrou 2004:159)

Following the reasoning above, and Campos & Stavrou's proposal for the Aromanian phonologically reduced demonstrative, we propose that TA+AP form a small-clause element, of which TA is the subject. This small clause—a reduced relative clause which we simply label XP—is adjoined to a functional projection (cf. Svenonius 1994), (42).



We assume that there is a DP layer higher up in the noun phrase, but it does not really matter for us. Just as an aside, as mentioned above, Slovenian does have what looks like an indefinite article (*ena drevesa* – one<sub>PL</sub> trees “(some) trees”, *en ta velik avto* – one<sub>SG</sub> TA big car “a/some big car”). If this is really an indefinite article (rather than an indefinite adjective), then proposing a DP layer (against Bošković, this volume) does not seem too controversial.

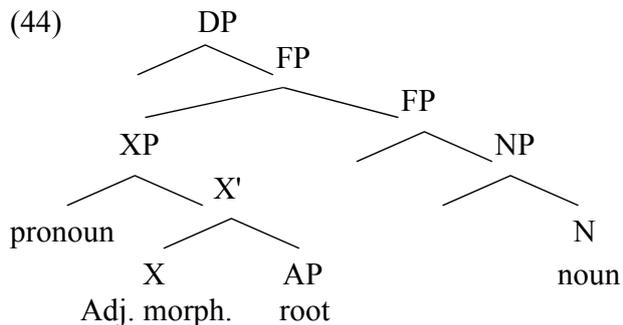
The reason why we place TA in Spec,XP, and not in X<sup>0</sup>, is rather simple. TA is a phonologically reduced demonstrative pronoun, so it seems more plausible to see it as a subject-of-predication element than a predication head.

#### 4.1 How about the LONG form?

Even more revealing regarding the nature of TA, given that the latter is comparable in its use to the adjectival LONG form, is a look into the history of the adjectival LONG form. As described by Schenker (1993), the LONG form is historically a combination of two distinct elements, an adjectival morpheme and a pronoun (the LONG-form declination is sometimes actually called the pronominal declination), (43).

- (43) *star-i* = *star-b-jb* Proto Slavic (Schenker 1993: 91)  
*star-* = stem  
*-b-* = adjectival morpheme (Nom., Masc., Sg.)  
*-jb* = pronoun (Nom., Masc., Sg.)

Putting the historical LONG form in our tree, we get (44), where the pronoun occupies the subject position of the small clause and the adjectival morpheme is the head of the predicate phrase. As already mentioned, TA historically derives from a demonstrative pronoun, so both TA and the LONG form have a pronominal part. This is discussed in more detail in Marušič & Žaucer (2006a,b.)



## 5. Conclusion

We presented the basic facts about the colloquial Slovenian article-like element TA. We showed that it is restricted to attributive adjectives, and that it does not obligatorily bring either definiteness or specificity to the nominal phrase (though it may); the interpretation of a noun with a TA+AP structure was said to be that of a restrictive relative clause. Combining the facts about its distribution, its semantic import, and its status as a (historically) phonologically reduced form of the demonstrative pronoun, we proposed that TA is best analyzed as the subject of a small clause, which is adjoined to a functional projection somewhere between the NP and the DP.

We also mentioned, briefly, that TA is not comparable to some other potentially related phenomena from the literature, such as Scandinavian Germanic definiteness marking, Greek polydefiniteness, and Macedonian and Bulgarian definite articles, but that it does seem more closely related to some lesser-known elements in Albanian and Chinese; we could not, however, pursue a more detailed comparison.

Finally, we contrasted TA with the adjectival LONG form in Standard Slovenian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, suggesting that they are functionally comparable; we thus extended our analysis to the adjectival LONG form as well. In fact, the historical facts about the adjectival LONG form—namely, the fact that the latter historically combines an adjectival morpheme and a pronoun—provided additional support for our placing the historically pronominal TA in the subject position of the small clause rather than in its linker/head position. In a nominal phrase with a LONG-form adjective, the pronominal part of the LONG-form morphology then sits in the subject position of the small clause and the adjectival-morpheme part sits in its linker/head position.

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