

Quantified Noun Phrase Structure in Bulgarian ¹

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0. *Introduction*

In this paper we address some issues in the structure of Bulgarian noun phrases, in particular the constructions that arise with the enclitic article and quantifiers. In section 1. we give a preliminary account of DP syntax in Bulgarian, including movement of the noun and other lexical elements inside the extended nominal projection. In section 2. we present a general analysis of quantifier phrases across languages that will serve as the theoretical framework to be applied to the Bulgarian data presented and discussed in sections 3. and 4.

1. *Preliminary analysis of the Bulgarian DP structure*

In recent times, noun phrase structure has become the focus of much cross-linguistic research. In particular, the existence of enclitic articles in Scandinavian and

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For the sake of requirements by the Italian Academy, Giuliana Giusti is responsible for sections 1. and 2. and Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova for sections 3. and 4.

in most Balkan languages has been taken as evidence to support the hypothesis that D is an independent head selecting the noun phrase; cf. Hellan (1986) and Taraldsen (1990) for Norwegian ((1)), Dobrovie-Sorin (1987) and Grosu (1988) for Romanian ((2)):

- (1) a. en gutt (a boy)
 b. gutt-en (the boy)
- (2) a. un băiat (a boy)
 b. băiat-ul (the boy)

Bulgarian is the only ² Slavic language in what is traditionally referred to as the Balkan *Sprachbund*. In non-modified noun phrases it patterns like Norwegian and Romanian above:

- (3) a. momče ([a] boy)
 b. momče-to (the boy)

However, there are some crucial differences among the three languages when the noun is modified by an adjective: in Norwegian the adjective is preceded by a free form of the article, while the noun still retains what looks like the enclitic article (4), in Romanian either the noun moves to D, thus preceding the adjective in the linear order (5b), or the adjectival head functions as the base for article incorporation (5c), Bulgarian only has this latter choice (6). ³ The empirical generalization about the

2. We consider Modern Macedonian as comprising a variety of dialects of the Bulgarian type, especially in view of basic common syntactic properties (cf Dimitrova-Vulchanova 1995).

3. Interestingly, some Bulgarian dialects (South-Western, along the Danube border and Bulgarian dialects spoken in Romania) display N-to-D movement (i):

- (i) a. deteto miniko/slamata sitna
 'child-the little/hay-the fine'
 b. kustata tas visoka
 'house-the this high'
 c. kačeata onaa golemata
 'barrel-the that big-the'

Proposals have been made (Mladenov (1993)) that the presence of these patterns in some of the above dialects is largely due to a language-contact situation and, consequently, the result of influence from Rumanian. However, the pattern in c. differs from the Rumanian one in that the AP receives the

placement of the article can be stated in the following way: The article morpheme is incorporated into the first head in the DP (e.g. into the first adjective. If the adjective is modified by an adverb the article will still go on the adjective⁴) (cf. Penčev 1993 for a slightly different formulation).

- (4) a. den store gutten
 the big boy
 b. *gutten store
 c. *storen gutten
- (5) a. *cel mare băiat(ul)
 b. băiatul mare
 'boy-the big'
 c. marul băiat
 'big-the boy'
- (6) a. goljamo-to momče
 b. *momče-to goljamo
 the big boy

The variation found in (4)-(6) suggests that the bound nature of the article is no evidence *per se* for N-to-D movement, as it is impossible in Norwegian or Bulgarian, and only optional in Romanian. The trigger for noun movement, therefore, must be some other property. Although we do not go deep into this problem, we tentatively

definite article, too. To what extent these dialects have been affected by the Rumanian system is immaterial to our discussion. The crucial point is that the very same dialects also have intermediate N-movement as shown in (ii):

- (ii) a. meso pečeno/leb dobur
 'meet grilled/bread good'
 b. edna babičeka durta/edna svinja diva
 'one/a granny old / one/a swine wild'

4. Notice that Bulgarian neither has an indefinite article (as shown in (3a)), nor a free form of the definite article, comparable to Scandinavian *den/det* and to the Romanian adjectival article *cel*.

establish the correlation between N-to-D movement and intermediate N-movement.^{5,6}

Cinque (1994) analyses the difference in the adjective-noun word order in Romance and Germanic languages in terms of partial N-movement:

- (7) a. der grosse Knabe/*der Knabe grosse
 b. the big boy/*the boy big
 c. le grand garçon /le garçon grand
 d. il grande ragazzo/il ragazzo grande

Giusti (to appear) proposes that N-to-D movement is possible only in those languages that display partial N-movement, in compliance with the Head Movement Constraint. Its impossibility in Scandinavian and Bulgarian is therefore expected. Thus the ungrammaticality of (4b) is reduced to the ungrammaticality of (8b), while the variation between (5b,c) is reduced to the variation in (9a,b).

- (8) a. en stor gutt (a big boy)
 b. *en gutt store (a boy big)
- (9) a. un mare băiat (a big boy)
 b. un băiat mare (a boy big)

Here we will refrain from discussing what the ultimate trigger for the intermediate N-movement in Romance could be. Whatever this is, it is a necessary although possibly not sufficient condition for N-to-D movement.

5. V-to-C movement in the Mainland Scandinavian languages is the only case we know of movement of a lexical head to a high functional projection, in a (group of) language(s) that do not display the corresponding short movement (in that case V-to-I). The crucial difference between verbs and nouns is that while the modifiers of verbs (adverbials) are of completely different nature and, as a consequence, cannot fulfill the function that triggers V-to-C movement, the modifiers of nouns, namely adjectives share with nouns the possibility of bearing nominal morphology, in our case the article, they therefore compete with the noun in the possibility of moving to a position in DP. We will turn to the hypothesis that it is the economy of derivation that requires the shortest move to fulfill the function of DP.

6. Movement of N to an intermediate functional projection has been proposed in the literature to account for word order variations in noun phrases cross linguistically, cf. Ritter (1988), Picallo (1991), Cinque (1993) among others.

Having established a relation between the absence of N-to-D movement and the absence of partial N-movement in Bulgarian and Scandinavian, there still remains an important distinction between these two (groups of) languages to be accounted for. Namely, the different strategies that are employed to realize the article, which is a bound morpheme on the adjective in Bulgarian and a free morpheme preceding the adjective in Scandinavian. We tentatively propose analysing this difference as arising from different properties of adjectival morphology.

There are strong reasons to believe that in Bulgarian, the adjective in fact inflects for "definiteness" ⁷ as reflected by a different form of the article depending on the morphological properties of the root it appears on ((10)).

- (10) a. xora-ta/*te (people-the)
 b. dobri-te/*ta xora (good-the people)

Evidence for the hypothesis of analysing the article as the internal morphology of the adjective is provided by the fact that the article appears on the adjectival head regardless of whether it has a modifier or a PP-complement. An analysis in terms of A-to-D movement, which predicts (11b), is excluded and so is an analysis of phonological encliticization of D onto an AP in SpecDP, which predicts (12b), (13b):

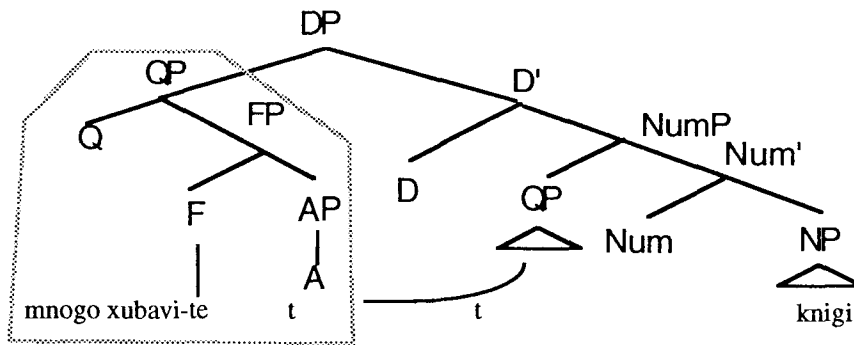
- (11) a. mnogo xubavi-te knigi
 'very nice-the books'
the very nice books
 b. *xubavi-te mnogo knigi
 nice-the very books
- (12) a. kupeni-te včera knigi
 'bought-the yesterday books'
the books bought yesterday
 b. *[kupeni včera]-ta/te knigi
 'bought yesterday-the books'

7. Under "definiteness" we mean the abstract features expressed by the definite article, whatever their nature and language particular realization could be.

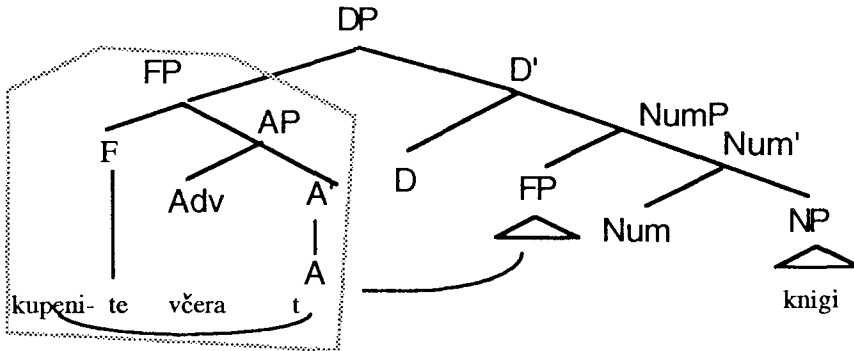
- (13) a. vernij-at na žena si muž
 'truthful-the to wife poss refl man'
the man truthful to his wife
 b. **[veren na žena si]-ta/jat muž

The structure we propose for the modified noun phrase is (14a) for (11a), (14b) for (12a), and (14c) for (13a):⁸

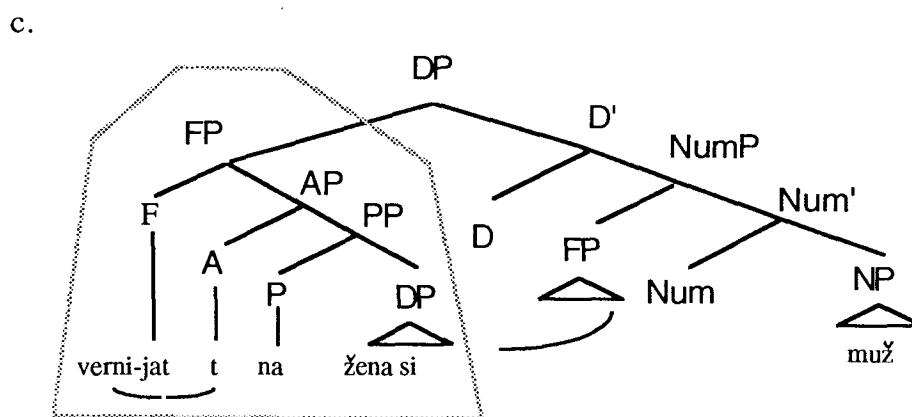
- (14) a.



- b.



8. At this point of the reasoning, the internal structure of adjectival phrases and their functional projections is irrelevant, since our analysis will be limited to the high periphery of the noun phrase. We assume that *mного* in (11a)=(14a) is a Q selecting an extended adjectival projection, parallel to what we are going to propose in section 2. for quantifiers selecting noun phrases.



We assume that the mechanism at work here is checking the features in DP by Spec-Head Agreement of the inflected adjectival phrase moved to Spec DP and the head D. Movement of the highest adjectival phrase is just one step movement, it is therefore preferred to N-to-D movement. Due to lack of independent intermediate N-movement, N-to-D movement in Bulgarian has to take place in as many steps as there are functional heads. This is not the case in Romanian, where N is independently moved to an intermediate functional head (that we take to be Num^o here for expository purposes). In Romanian, AP-to-SpecDP is in perfect competition with N-to-D, in that it requires the same number of steps. The contrast between (5b) and (6b), in this way, is reduced to the principle of economy of derivation, along the lines of Chomsky's (1992) recent proposals.

So far, we have briefly outlined a general structure for DP in Bulgarian, which is going to be the background for our analysis of quantified noun phrases in 3. and 4. below.

2. Quantified noun phrases: a general analysis

Before discussing the Bulgarian data we present below an independent hypothesis about the general structure of QPs across languages.

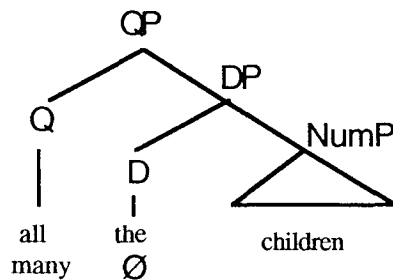
Giusti (1991) and following work, resting on cross-linguistic considerations based on contrastive analysis of some Romance and Germanic languages, suggests analysing the two occurrences of the quantifier in (15) as having a different syntactic status. In (15a) the quantifier is a head selecting a DP as its complement, much in the

same way as the universal quantifier in (16a). In other words, the structure of (15a) includes an empty D position as represented in (16b). In (15b), on the contrary, the quantifier has the function of a modifier of the noun, much in the same way as the adjective in (17b).

- (15) a. many children
b. the many children

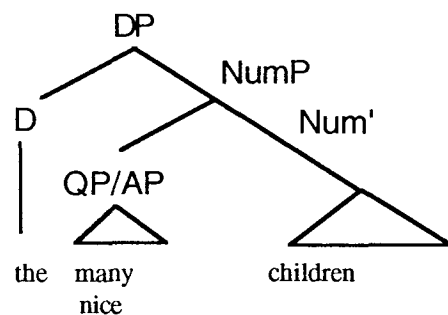
- (16) a. all the children
b. many \emptyset children

c.



- (17) a. The many children
b. the nice children

c.



The surfacing of an article in configuration (16) depends on the selectional properties of the quantifier: *many* selects a partitive DP, which must have a \emptyset determiner, while *all* selects a definite DP which displays a definite article in English.

This analysis was inspired by Romance data, where the definite article is obligatory after a universal Q. But it is more controversial in Germanic where the article may be missing. Consider the German examples in (18)-(19):

- (18) a. all(e) die Kinder
 b. all*(e) Kinder
 c. die ganzen/*allen Kinder
all the children

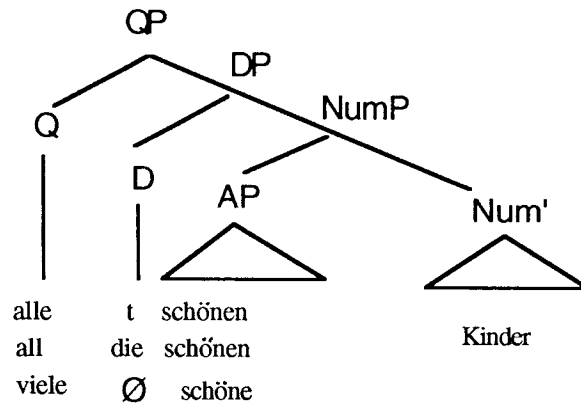
- (19) a. beide (*die) Kinder
 b. die beiden Kinder
both children

In (18), the quantifier *alle* is optionally inflected for nominal features in case the article is present (18a), and is obligatorily so in case the article is missing (18b). (18c) shows that *all* cannot have modifier status, as it cannot be preceded by a determiner. Instead, German has a separate lexical entry: *ganz*, which specializes for this function. In (19a) the quantifier *beide* appears in a construction like (18b) and (16) above), while in (19b) it is arguably a modifier. In fact, it follows the article and displays weak inflectional morphology, which is typical of adjectives in this position, cf. *ganzen* in (18c).

The weak vs. strong inflection of adjectives following the quantifiers in (20a) and (20c), respectively, supports the hypothesis that there is a D head between the quantifier and the noun, which overtly surfaces in (20b). Our analysis is that in (20a) the article *die* is "incorporated" into the Q, while in (20c) it is zero (=indefinite plural article in German). The structure is given in (21):

- (20) a. alle/beide schöne*(n) Kinder
 'all/both nice-wk/*str children'
 b. all die schöne*(n) Kinder
 c. viele schöne(*n) Kinder
 'many nice-str/*wk children'

(21)



In (21a) the trace of the incorporated article is in the same relationship to the AP as the lexical definite article in (21b). In fact, it triggers weak morphology on the A. In (21c), on the contrary, the features on the Q cannot be taken to be the result of incorporation of D into Q, since the adjective displays strong morphology as adjectives normally do when no article is present at all.⁹

It is conceivable that the incorporation in (21a) cannot take place if the DP is raised in a floating construction such as (22a), since the trace of the article in this case would not be preceded by its antecedent incorporated in the Q left *in situ*. This is why the article is obligatory. The inflectional morphology on the quantifier can be easily explained by assuming that DP has moved through SpecQP thus triggering agreement with Q. We turn to that shortly when discussing the Bulgarian data.

- (22) a. die Kinder kenne ich all*(e)/beid*(e)
 'the children know I all/both'
 b. Kinder kenne ich viele
 'boys know I many'

9. That such an incorporation of the article is possible in German is independently shown by the existence of inflected prepositions, such as *aufs* (*auf+das* = on + art(s., neut., acc.), *im* (*in+dem* = in + art(s., m./n., dat.):

- (i) a. Q+D = all-e
 b. P+D = e.g. auf-s, im, etc.

3. Quantified Noun Phrases in Bulgarian

The QP-hypothesis outlined in section 2. above incorrectly predicts that if *vsički* is a Q as in (16), it should be followed by a complete DP (Bulgarian (23)). On the contrary (24) is what we find:

- (23) a. **vsički* [knigi-te]
 b. **vsički-te* knigi-te
 c. **vsički* [xubavi-te knigi]
 'all good-the books'

- (24) a. *vsički* knigi
 'all books'
 b. *vsički-te* knigi
 'all-the books'
 c. *vsički-te* xubavi knigi
 'all-the good books'

An analysis of *vsički* as a high modifier of the noun (cf. the analysis of English *many* as in (17) above; for Bulgarian cf. Penčev 1993) could explain (24b,c), but leaves (24a) unaccounted for. In fact universal QPs are only found in definite DPs across languages, and definite DPs ordinarily display the article in Bulgarian. In 3.2. we will show that Bulgarian *vsički* does not depart dramatically from its counterparts in languages like Romance and Germanic (cf. the German examples from above). Let us first consider in 3.1. the more straightforward cases represented by *mnogo/malko/njakolko* ("many/ few/ a few") and cardinals.

3.1. '*Mnogo*'/'*malko*'/'*njakolko*' and cardinals

It appears that a quantifier vs. AP distinction can provide an account for the distribution of existential quantifiers. We suggest that *mnogo* in (25a) is parallel to *many* in (16b) and in (25b) is parallel to *many* in (17a).

- (25) a. mnogo (novi) knigi
many new books
 b. mnogo-to (novi) knigi (v bibliotekata)
 'many-the new books (in library-the)'

Notice that cardinals such as *dve/dva/dvama* ("two"), *tri/trima* ("three") apparently behave like *mnogo* in either selecting an indefinite complement or functioning as a high modifier: ¹⁰

- (26) a. dve (novi) knigi
two new books
 b. dvete (novi) knigi
 'two-the new books'

There is, however, an interesting difference between the two classes of quantifiers. Cardinals can occur lower in the structure with respect to descriptive adjectives, while other adjectival quantifiers cannot:

- (27) a. novite dve knigi
 b. *novite mnogo knigi

This can be captured under an analysis of cardinals as heads in Num. Evidence for postulating this position is the agreement for [+M, +count] features on the head noun triggered by cardinals but not by other quantifiers (cf. fn. 9). Being a head, the cardinal can be bypassed by an adjectival phrase moving to Spec DP, or move to D

10. Cardinals exhibit the peculiarity of triggering a special agreement for [count] on masculine nouns, cf. (i) and (ii). On the other hand, if the masculine noun is specified for [+human], the cardinal, instead, appears in a special form, cf. (ii) and (iii):

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (i) | a. dve/tri knigi | (two/three books) |
| | b. dve-te/tri-te knigi[-M] | (the two/three books) |
| (ii) | a. dva stola | (two[M] chairs) |
| | b. dvata stola | (the two chairs[COUNT]) |
| (iii) | a. dvama/trima muže | (two/three[hum, M.] men) |
| | b. dvamata/trimata muže | (the two/three[hum, M.] men[PL]) |

itself. On the contrary *mnogo*, being a phrase blocks the movement of a lower phrase to SpecDP.

Cardinals in Bulgarian, therefore, highlight a property of the complex syntax of quantification that was not detected in Giusti (1991).

3.2. *The universal quantifier 'vsički'*

Bulgarian behaves like Romance and Germanic with respect to quantifier floating. Furthermore floating quantifiers appear to be linked to a complete DP in higher clausal position, as is the case in Romance and Germanic and as predicted by the hypothesis.¹¹

- (28) a. knigi-te gi pročeto^x vsički-te
 'books-the them cl read1sg all-the'
 b. die Bücher habe ich all*(e) gelesen

11. Note that the construction in (28a) represents a typical topicalization configuration in Bulgarian, which involves clitic doubling of the moved constituent. It is also the exact equivalent of the German in (28b). As expected, floating quantifiers are found also in passive constructions such as the restricted (i) and the *se*-construction in (ii):

- (i) ?knigi-te bjaxa pročeteⁿi vsički-te
 'books the were read all-the'

 (ii) knigi-te se pročeto^xa vsički-te
 'books the REFL read all-the'
 the books were all read

Notice also that the quantifier is found in the basic post-verbal subject position, as in (iii):

- (iii) momčeta izjadox^a po edna jabulka vsičkite
 'boys-the ate PO one apple all-the'
 the children all ate an apple

As independently argued for in Dimitrova-Vulchanova (to appear), the landing site of topicalized constituents cannot be unambiguously analysed as either A or A'. Therefore, clitic doubling is not to be taken as a sign for dislocation. This is also true of basic vs. derived positions for subjects. Moreover, clitic doubling is related to the aspectual features of the clause, cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1992) and Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Hellan (1994).

Notice the contrast with adjectives which never appear in discontinuous constructions. Compare (28) and (29):

- (29) a. pročetox xubavi(te) knigi
'(I) read nice-the books'
b. *knigite gi pročetox xubavite
'book-the CL (I) read nice-the'

It deserves mention here that a closely related South Slavic language like Serbo-Croat, which has morphological case and no article, displays free left branch extraction of adjectives and possessives ((30)).

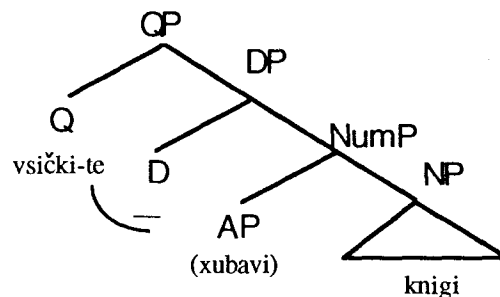
- (30) a. Ivan kupuje zeleni auto
Ivan buys green car
b. Zeleni Ivan kupuje auto
'green Ivan buys car'
c. Ivan razbija tatin auto
Ivan ruins father's car
d. Tatin Ivan razbija auto
'father's Ivan ruins car'

Since this is clearly not the case in Bulgarian, the quantifier in (28a) cannot be taken as an adjective, contrary to what is suggested by Penčev (1993).

The comparison with German, instead, gives us some insight into the Bulgarian structure. The parallelism is almost perfect under the assumption that the article *-te* on the quantifier is a type of morphological agreement, much in the same way as the morpheme *-e* on the German Q. In both cases this type of morphology is optional when the complement of the quantifier is in place and obligatory when the complement of Q is extracted. The difference with German is the possibility for Bulgarian to have an empty D in the complement of *vsički*. This can be related to the fact that *vsički*, contrary to *all* already bears some nominal features, namely Number and can therefore license an empty head and identify its features.

We propose that *vsičkite* in (24b,c) is the result of incorporation to the higher Q of the features of the DP, generated in D as in (31). We return shortly to the nature of these features.

(31)



The assumption that this incorporation is obligatory when the DP remains *in situ*, accommodates the ungrammaticality of (23). This mechanism can be reduced to some common principle of economy of derivation in that in Bulgarian, movement up to D or SpecDP is avoided whenever the article can appear on a higher element in the extended nominal structure.

Such an incorporation is impossible when the DP is extracted out of the QP, as was the case for German (22a)=(28b). The floating construction therefore highlights two important aspects of this construction which are otherwise obscured in the base construction. Namely that a) *vsički* is a head Q, and b) it selects a complete DP complement as its Germanic counterparts in (16).

Article doubling in (28a) is obligatory and can be analysed as agreement with the DP triggered by the movement of DP through SpecQP. Evidence that such movement takes place is provided by the possibility of the constituent [DP_i [Q t_i]] in (32b), which can actually move as such, as shown by (32d):

- (32) a. *pročetox* [QP *vsicki-(te)*] [DP (t_i) [NP *knigi*]]
 '(I) read all-the books'
- b. *pročetox* [QP [DP*knigite*] [Q' *vsicki-te* [DP t_i]]]
 '(I) read books-the all-(the)'
- c. [DP*knigite*]_i *gi pročetox* [QP [t'_i] [Q' *vsickite* [DP t_i]]]
 'books-the CL (I) read all-the'
- d. [QP [DP*knigite*] [Q' *vsicki-te* [DP t_i]]]_j *gi pročetox* t_j
 'books-the all-the CL (I) read'

(31) accounts for all the data presented so far. Of course, the *in situ* word order is ambiguous between the adjectival and the Q analysis. The adjectival analysis, however, does not account for the discontinuous construction.

3.2.1. *An alternative analysis*

As a matter of fact, it appears to be counterintuitive to analyse the realization of the article on *vsički* in the floating and the *in situ* construction as the result of two different processes. A possible alternative to this could be to take the article as agreement in all cases. Agreement would be obligatory in the Spec-Head configuration and in the extraction cases, and optional when the DP remains *in situ*. Optionality of agreement in the latter case could be explained in terms of the inherent definite nature of the DP selected by a universal quantifier. Optionality of agreement, however, is not enough to explain the impossibility of the examples in (23) above and (33a) below. A stipulation is needed in this analysis about the impossibility of realizing the features in DP in case the quantifier is present. Since we do not find a way of reducing this stipulation to any other more principled property of Bulgarian, we believe that the split analysis is superior to the unified one.

3.2.2. *Quantified pronouns*

Let us now substantiate the nature of the features realized by the article. In Giusti (1993) it was proposed that the article realizes Case features in German. We propose that it does so in Bulgarian as well. In fact, when the quantifier precedes a personal pronoun, which is intrinsically inflected for Case, it never displays such features. Also notice that the article is homophonous and diachronically related to the nominative form of the third person pronoun.

- | | | |
|---------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| (33) a. | [QP <i>vsički</i> (*-te) | [DP <i>nie/nas</i>]] |
| | | <i>vie/vas</i> |
| | | <i>te/tjax</i> |
| | 'all(*-the) | <i>we/us'</i> |
| | | <i>you/youA'</i> |
| | | <i>they/them'</i> |
| b. | [QP [DP <i>nie/nas</i>] | [Q' <i>vsički</i> (?-te)] |
| | <i>vie/vas</i> | <i>all(?-the)</i> |
| | <i>te/tjax</i> | |

The data in (33) empirically justifies the double analysis of the article *-te* on *vsički* in the above examples. In case it is a pronoun, the complement of *vsički* cannot possibly include an article which is expected under our incorporation proposal and would not be accounted for by a unified analysis of the article as agreement with the complement. (33b) strongly suggests that the article is an instance of agreement with the complement moved into SpecQP.

4. *The interaction of quantifiers and high modifiers of the noun*

4.1. *Demonstratives*

Following Giusti (1992), we assume that demonstratives across languages are not in D but in a high Specifier and subsequently move to SpecDP¹², contrary to what has been implied in current literature on DP-structure (cf. Longobardi (1991) among many others). We apply this proposal to Bulgarian with the addition that in this language demonstratives are always found in SpecDP (either base generated there or obligatorily moved there overtly). Being intrinsically specified for definite features, *tezi* differs from an adjective in SpecDP in that it never takes the article, cf. (34a,c). However, it may, under certain conditions, co-occur with the article, as shown in (34b):

- (34) a. *tezi novi stolove*
 these new chairs

12. Giusti's claim is based on the observation that in Romanian, the demonstrative, which appears to be base generated as the leftmost modifier of the noun (i), can be skipped by N-movement (ii), but not by AP movement (iii):

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| (i) | <i>acest frumos băiat</i> | (this nice boy) |
| (ii) | <i>băiatul acesta frumos</i> | (boy-the this nice) |
| (iii) | <i>frumosul (*acesta) băiat</i> | (nice-the this boy) |

Parallel evidence is independently provided for Kiswahili by Carstens (1991).

- b. *tezi dva-(ta) stola*
'these two-the chairs'
c. **tezi stolovete*
'these chairs-the'

In (34b), the cardinal optionally takes the article. In other words, the article is optionally inserted in D° when SpecDP is occupied by a demonstrative and a cardinal is in Num° . If the article is inserted, the shortest move is Num-to-D. The article in this case inflects for the morphological features of the cardinal. The impossibility of (34c) clearly shows that the noun does not move in Bulgarian, as we have suggested above.

If *tezi* is taken to be in SpecDP, we expect the universal quantifier to precede it, as in (35a), unfortunately, what we have said so far is not sufficient to predict the possibility of (35b):

- (35) a. *vsički tezi knigi*
b. *vsički-te tezi knigi*
'all-(the) these books'

(35b) would be expected under the unified agreement analysis in 3.2.1. above. Notice, however, that it does not contradict the incorporation analysis, if explained along one of the following lines: Either we take *tezi* in SpecDP to co-occur with the trace of *-te* in D left after incorporation, as in (36a); or we take *tezi* to be generated lower (in the Spec of a nominal functional projection that we generically label FP here) and stay there, in case DP already has a filled head, as in (36b):

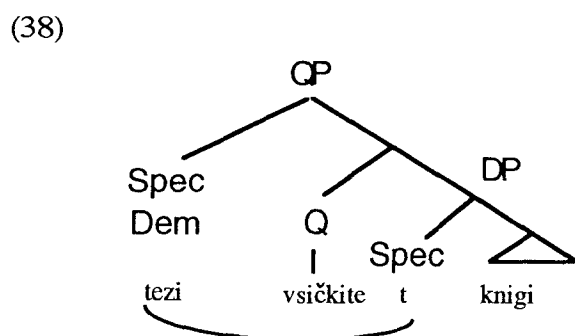
- (36) a. [Q-te_i [DP *tezi* [t_i [FP ...]]]]
b. [Q-i [DP [t_i [FP *tezi* [F' ...]]]]]

An apparent further problem to our approach is (37a). In fact, if we take the demonstrative as marking the DP-boundary, the quantifier is not expected to follow it unless it has adjectival status. However, an adjectival analysis of *vsički*, parallel to the analysis suggested above for *mного/njakolko* is contradicted by the obligatory

occurrence of the article on *vsički* in this construction, since ordinary adjectives preceded by a demonstrative never display an article, as shown in (37b):¹³

- (37) a. *tezi vsički*(-te) knigi*
 'these all*(-the) books'
 b. *tezi xubavi(*te)/njakolko(*to) knigi*
 'these good-(*the)/few-(*the) books'

In line with our analysis of demonstratives above, we propose that (37a) is derived by further movement of *tezi* from SpecDP to SpecQP. The structure is given in (38). The obligatory presence of the article on *vsički*, is Spec-head agreement for features:



In addition to being theoretically justifiable, the structure in (38) appears to provide for a Topic-Focus distinction between the quantifier and the demonstrative, depending on their respective linear order. In (35) the demonstrative has a focused reading, whereas in (37) it is the quantifier which falls under focus. This can be taken as an instance of syntactic structure independently serving discourse structure. Note that the Topic-Focus effect found in QP as part of the extended nominal projection is very similar to the same effect in Bulgarian clause structure.

13. Taking *vsički* to be in Num in this case will not be justified either, since it behaves differently from cardinals in the same position, cf.:

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| (i) | <i>novite dve knigi</i> | (new-the two books) |
| (ii) | <i>novite vsički knigi</i> | (new-the all books) |

4.2. Possessives

This analysis can also capture the data in (39)-(40). In (39a) and (40a) we see a complete DP with no quantifier. In (39b-c) and (40b-c) the presence of the quantifier blocks movement inside DP. The d-examples represent the floated construction with the complete DP extracted out of QP, and in this case the extracted constituent is identical to the non quantified DP in the a-examples.

- (39) a. *knigi-te mi*
 'books-the my Dcl'
 b. *vsički-te mi knigi*
 'all-the my Dcl books'
 c. **vsički (-te) knigi-te mi*
 d. *Knigi-te mi izgorjaxa vsički*(-te)*
 'books-the my burned all*(-the)'
- (40) a. *moi-te knigi*
 'my-the books'
 b. *vsički-te moi knigi*
 'all-the my books'
 c. **vsički moi-te knigi*
 d. *moi-te knigi zgorjaxa vsički te*
 e. *moi-te vsičkite knigi*

This shows that incorporation of the article takes place in the adjacent position regardless of what type of DP is embedded into QP. Here we will not pursue the analysis of possessive constructions in Bulgarian. We only briefly note that we consider the constructions with the possessive pronominal adjectives and the ones with a dative possessive clitic as representing two distinct types and consequently as structurally different.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have sketched some proposals for DP structure in Bulgarian. In particular, we have argued for the following points:

a) There are two necessary conditions for N-to-D movement across languages, one is the enclitic nature of the article and the other is independent N-movement to the immediately higher nominal functional head. Neither of them is sufficient on its own. It is only their interaction that appears to be able to trigger this phenomenon.

b) The article on the prenominal adjective in Bulgarian arises in a functional projection of the adjective itself and not in D. The inflected AP is moved to SpecDP and checks the features in D.

c) Quantifiers in Bulgarian have been shown to behave in a way parallel to Romance and Germanic despite appearances. In particular, Bulgarian has highlighted the existence of cardinal insertion in Num; the possibility for SpecQP to host the complement of Q or a demonstrative.

d) Finally, the distribution of the article on *vsički* was analysed as the incorporation of Case features of the DP generated in D in case the complement of Q is *in situ* and as agreement for the same features when the complement is moved to or through SpecQP.

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