Fragments of Balkan Nominal Structure

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In this paper, we discuss some properties of the syntax of noun phrases in three Balkan languages: Albanian, Bulgarian and Rumanian. In section 1, we set the general approach to noun phrase structure by reviewing and further developing a syntactic analysis of the enclitic definite article which is present in these three languages. In section 2, we present some data that suggest that these languages display a functional projection to host Focus and/or Topic movement inside the noun phrase.

1. On the syntax of enclitic articles in Balkan languages.

The presence of a postposed definite article is often considered as a characterizing property of some languages belonging to the so-called Balkan Sprachbund. Such an

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article can appear on the noun or on an adjective, and in any case in a sort of "Wackernagel position" inside the DP. In other words it is always attached to the first lexical head in the nominal string. In these languages the article bears features of number and gender. In Albanian and Rumanian it is also inflected for Case, while in Bulgarian there is no case morphology on noun phrases at all:

(1) a. zenata-ta  
    woman-the(F)  

(2) a. grua-ja  
    woman-the(F, Nom)  

(3) a. femei-a  
    woman-the(F, Nom)  

The presence of an enclitic definite article in the Balkan languages and the Germanic languages has often been interpreted as evidence that N is adjoined to D, i.e. for overt N-to-D movement. It has been further claimed that the affixal property of the definite article in these languages is actually the trigger for overt N-to-D movement (cf. Delsing 1988, Taraldsen 1990, Arnaudova 1996 for Bulgarian, and Longobardi 1996 for languages with affixal article morphology in general).

In previous work ², on the basis of Scandinavian and Bulgarian, we have argued that the enclitic nature of the article found on the noun, such as illustrated in (1) through (3) above, cannot be taken as evidence for overt N-to-D movement in a given language. In this paper we will demonstrate that the data from the order of the head noun with respect to modifiers show that N+enclitic article is in most cases not in D. Based on this evidence we will argue that the enclitic article is not a trigger for N-to-D movement.

In this section, we will review the tests developed in our previous work to detect N-to-D movement, and extend the analysis to Albanian.

We will assume, following Cinque (1994), an independent intermediate N-movement to an Agr head in the extended functional projection of the noun phrase. ³ We will propose that a language must have intermediate (N-to-Agr) movement in


some cases for longer movement to D to be possible in other cases. We will see that Bulgarian does not display intermediate N-movement and we will claim that it is for this reason that N-to-D is not present in this language. Interestingly, we will see that Albanian displays a very "long" intermediate movement but no other movement triggered by the enclitic article. Finally, we will see that only in Rumanian, and only optionally, does the enclitic article trigger N-to-D movement. Our tentative conclusion will be that N-to-D movement is never obligatory in the languages we have studied.

With respect to the syntax of the enclitic article when it is inserted on the adjectival head, we will argue that it is checked on the functional projection of the adjective itself and not in D.

1.1. N-movement

According to Cinque (1994), a reliable test to check N-movement to an intermediate functional head is provided by the position of nominal modifiers, such as adjectives of different classes. In Albanian we see that the relative order in which the noun and the adjective appear is independent of the presence of a definite enclitic article.⁴

(4) Albanian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. një djalë i mirë</th>
<th>Artindef N Artadj A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b. %një i mirë djalë</td>
<td>Artindef Artadj A N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. djal-i i mirë</td>
<td>N-Art def Artadj A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. %i mir-i djalë</td>
<td>Artadj A-Art def N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ART-good-the boy

⁴ As indicated in the examples in (4), Albanian also exhibits a morpheme which precedes the adjective, which has been referred to as "the adjectival article" (cf. Assenova (1989) for a discussion, Buchholz & Fiedler (1987) for a description) and we follow this practice in our glossing by using ART for this morpheme. Regardless of which view on its etymology is adopted (cf. Assenova (1989)), there are reasons to believe that the current status of this bound form is that of an "agreement/categorial" marker. For reasons of space we do not discuss the facts supporting this view here.
The unmarked order is when the noun precedes the adjective, as in (4a,c). The marked order, in which the adjective precedes the noun, is also possible for some speakers, as in (4b,d). This is not the case in Bulgarian, as we observe in (5):

\[(5) \text{ Bulgarian} \]
\[ \begin{aligned}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{goljamo momce} \quad \text{A N} \\
& \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{[a] big boy} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{*momce goljamo} \quad \text{*N A} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{goljamo-to momce} \quad \text{A-art N} \\
& \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{big-the boy} \\
\text{d.} & \quad \text{*momce-to goljamo} \quad \text{*N-art A} \\
\end{aligned} \]

Indefinite noun phrases in Bulgarian have no article at all, parallel to other Slavic languages. What makes Bulgarian different from the other Slavic languages is the presence of the definite (enclitic) article. In this language as well, the presence of the article does not change word order. Here, the adjective must always precede the noun.

In Rumanian (6), we see a case in all respects similar to the better known case of Italian, as studied by Cinque (1980). Descriptive adjectives, such as frumos in Rumanian and bello in Italian, may either follow the noun or precede it:

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5. The symbol % indicates that only a percentage of speakers accept the sequence. The order A > N (read: "A precedes N"), for those who accept it, is stylistically marked and gives the adjective some emphasis. In section 2., we claim that the adjective in this case is moved to a high functional specifier in the structure. But this is not important for the point we want to make now.

6. An indefinite article can be attested only for Albanian, as illustrated in (ii). The status of the Bulgarian form edin/edna is rather adjectival, as demonstrated in that it can co-occur with, and actually bear the definite article (-ta in (iii)) on a particular reading.

\[(i) \quad \text{Bulgarian} \quad \text{(edna) zena} \]
\[(ii) \quad \text{Albanian} \quad \text{një grua} \quad \text{a woman} \]
\[(iii) \quad \text{Bulgarian} \quad \text{edna-ta zena} \quad \text{one-the woman} \quad \text{"one of the women"} \]

7. Macedonian, which we do not discuss in this paper, also has a definite article.
(6) Rumanian   a. un băiat frumos      Art\textsubscript{indef} N A
b. un frumos băiat         Art\textsubscript{indef} A N
c. băiatul frumos            N-art A
d. frumosul băiat              A-art N

(7) Italian     a. un/il ragazzo bello
                a/the boy nice
b. un/il bel ragazzo
                a/the nice boy

As the Rumanian and Italian examples in (6) - (7) show, this descriptive
generalization holds regardless of the presence of the enclitic article. We take this as
strong evidence that the enclitic article as such does not force N-to-D movement
before SPELLOUT.

In Cinque's work, the hierarchy among adjectives is fixed and structurally
represented. Descriptive adjectives are intermediate in the structure. Therefore, they
do not provide the right syntactic environment to establish the exact position of the
head noun. Let us then see the case of other adjectives that are usually higher in the
structure.

1.1.1. Albanian

In Albanian, an ordinal\textsuperscript{8} adjective such as \textit{tjetër} ("other") must precede a
descriptive adjective such as \textit{e bukur} ("nice"), as shown by the contrast between (8)
and (9):

(8)     a. një grua tjetër e bukur
        a woman other ART-nice

\textsuperscript{8} Cf. also "alternative" in the terminology of Buchbolz & Fiedler (1987) p. 309-10.
b. grua-ja tjetër e bukur  
woman-the other ART-nice

(9) a. *një grua e bukur tjetër  
a woman ART-nice other
b. *grua-ja e bukur tjetër  
woman-the ART-nice other

The noun precedes both adjectives. On this evidence we propose that in Albanian the noun moves to a very high functional head in any type of noun phrase, and that the enclitic nature of the article is not a trigger for further movement of the noun.

1.1.2. Rumanian

In (10)-(12) we observe that in Rumanian some ordinal adjectives such as prim ("first") and ultim ("last") must always be prenominal both in definite and in indefinite noun phrases, just like in Italian:

(10) a. Rumanian  un prim/ultim/biet băiat  
b. Italian  un primo/ultimo/povero ragazzo  
a first/last/poor boy

(11) a. Rumanian  *un băiat prim/ultim/biet
b. Italian  *un ragazzo primo/ultimo/#povero  
a boy first/last/poor

(12) a. Rumanian  *băiatul prim/ultim/biet  
boy-the first/last/poor
b. primul/ultimul/bietul băiat  
first-the/last-the/poor-the boy

The contrast in (12) may lead us to think that in Rumanian the noun moves to the same intermediate position as in Italian and that the enclitic article never triggers further movement to D. But other ordinal numerals provide evidence to the contrary. All numerals from "second" on in Rumanian are formed by the discontinuous morphology of a preadjectival article, which consists of the root ăr- , hosting the
enclitic article (which agrees with the noun for number and gender), and the invariable suffix -lea. This set of numeral adjectives must be prenominal in an indefinite noun phrase, showing that their basic position is higher than the functional head to where the noun moves in this type of noun phrase:

(13)  
a. Rumanian  un al doilea băiat
b. Italian  un secondo ragazzo
   a second boy

(14)  
a. Rumanian  *un băiat al doilea
b. Italian  *un ragazzo secondo
   a boy second

In definite noun phrases these adjectives may optionally occur postnominally, suggesting that in the example in (16a), the noun moves one step further than in the examples in (13a), (14a):

(15)  
a. Rumanian  al doilea băiat
b. Italian  il secondo ragazzo
   the second boy

(16)  
a. Rumanian  băiatul al doilea
b. Italian  *il ragazzo secondo
   the boy second

We therefore propose that the enclitic article in Rumanian may optionally act as the trigger for N-to-D movement. This is confirmed in other cases, such as DPs modified by the quantity adjective multi ("many").

In a noun phrase introduced by a demonstrative, the Rumanian multi must precede the noun (cf. (17a) and (18a)), just as for molti in Italian (cf. (17b) and (18b)). But in the presence of the enclitic article, multi may follow the noun, contrary to what happens in Italian (cf. (19b) and (20b)):

(17)  
a. Rumanian  acesti multi băieti
b. Italian  questi molti ragazzi
   these many boys
(18) a. Rumanian  *acești băieți mulți
    b. Italian  *questi ragazzi molti
          these boys many

(19) a. Rumanian  multii băieți pe care îi cunosc ...
          many-the boys that I know ...
    b. Italian  i molti ragazzi che conosco ...
             the many boys that I know ...

(20) a. Rumanian  băieții multi pe care îi cunosc ..... 
          boys-the many that I know ...
    b. Italian  *i ragazzi molti che conosco ...
             the boys many that I know ...

The contrast with Italian is particularly telling in that Italian and Rumanian are perfectly parallel in those constructions where no enclitic article is involved and differ in those where the enclitic article appears.

Finally notice that, in Rumanian, even the demonstrative can be preceded by a noun inflected for the enclitic definite article:

(21) a. aceste două femei frumoase
       these two women beautiful
    b. femeile acestea două frumoase
       women-the these two beautiful

Given that the demonstrative must occupy the highest position among modifiers, as shown in (21a), the position of the noun in (21b) further confirms that the noun raises to the highest available head position, which we take to be D.

1.1.3. Bulgarian

There is no evidence for overt noun movement in Bulgarian. In the absence of intermediate N-movement, shown in (23b), it is difficult to maintain that N-movement
obtains exclusively in the cases when the article attaches to the noun, as in (22b). We therefore propose that the noun never moves overtly in Modern Bulgarian:

(22) a. momce
    [a] boy
b. momce-to
    boy-the

(23) a. goljamo momce
    [a] big boy
b. *momce goljamo

(24) a. *momce-to goljamo
b. goljamo-to momce
    big-the boy

(25) a. *momce-to moe
b. moe-to momce
    my-the boy

1.2. A proposal

The empirical generalization is that there is no case in the three Balkan languages examined here, in which the enclitic article triggers obligatory N-to-D movement. In Rumanian, alone, it may act as a trigger for optional N-to-D movement. In the other two languages, it does not have any influence on constituent order. This leads us to propose that all three languages may, while Albanian and Bulgarian must procrastinate movement of a noun inflected for the enclitic article to D. We assume, nevertheless, that this movement takes place at LF to check the features of the definite article in D.

If checking of the enclitic article on the noun may/must wait until LF in the cases when the noun is the only lexical element in the whole nominal phrase, we should duly ask what mechanism rules out the (a) examples in (26)-(28) in which a noun inflected for an enclitic article is preceded by an adjective:

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(26) Rumanian  a.  *frumos băiatul
     nice boy-the
b.  băiatul frumos
     boy-the nice
c.  frumosul băiat
     nice-the boy

(27) Albanian  a.  *i mirë djal-i
     ART-good boy-the
b.  djal-i i mirë
     boy-the ART-good
b.  i mir-i djalë
     ART-good-the boy

(28) Bulgarian  a.  *goljamo momceto
     big boy-the
b.  *momceto goljamo
     boy-the big
b.  goljamoto momce
     big-the boy

In our framework, there is no reason to believe that the presence of an adjective in a Specifier should block head movement of the noun at LF. The LF configurations we obtain from the (a) examples above are parallel to those reported in the (b) examples, in which the noun has moved overtly to a position higher than the adjective. Notice that in Bulgarian, this movement cannot take place before SPELLOUT, while in the other two languages, it may take place before SPELLOUT. Furthermore, we assumed

10. Of course a theory that takes adjectives to be intermediate functional heads of the kind proposed by Abney (1987, ch. 4) and further developed by Delsing (1993), among others, would be able to explain straightforwardly the fact that N-movement is blocked in the presence of an adjective. However, it would not be able to explain a whole set of data which will be discussed in section 1.3. that show that adjectives are maximal projections. More specifically they project their own functional structure, much in the same fashion as the other lexical heads.
above that at least in noun phrases that contain just the lexical head inflected with the
definite article, as in (24b) above, N-to-D takes place at LF in Bulgarian as well.

We explain the unacceptability of the (a) examples in (26)-(27) above by resorting
to a requirement on the licensing of functional specifiers, such as (29):

(29) A constituent in a functional specifier must be licensed by agreement
with the functional head.

(29) amounts to saying that a functional head must have some morphosyntactic
feature-content in order for its specifier to be filled by an AP, or better, the extended
projection of an AP. The requirement in (29) applies equally to indefinite DPs and
definite DPs. Our proposal goes along the following lines.

We know by empirical observation that the functional heads of the nominal
extended projection in the languages under examination are covert, in the sense that
there are no morphemes that can be isolated and checked in each separate functional
head. Thus, if N is to be identified with \( \alpha \), \( \alpha \) equalling the complex [R(oot) - M1 -
M2...Mn], the inflectional features M1, M2...Mn do not find exact correspondence
with the categorial features for each functional projection assumed between N and D.
This lack of correspondence makes it problematic to assume checking of the type
which "removes" features by matching an inflectional feature against a categorial
feature. Instead, we propose that the number and gender features as well as Case
and/or Definiteness are checked through sharing the same inflectional complex. This
type of checking can be made available in the chain that is formed, at the latest at LF,
by N-to-D movement, with N = \( \alpha \) successively passing through the separate
functional heads. Thus, categorial features are checked in separate heads, but are
shared in the chain formed by the raising of \( \alpha \).

If a functional head is part of the chain created by N-movement through the
functional head positions between N and D, then it shares all the features of the head
of the chain, and is able to license its specifier. On the other hand, if movement has
not taken place in overt syntax, the intermediate functional heads, are not part of that
chain at SPELLOUT. Thus, at this stage of the derivation, the specifier in which the
adjective appears is not licensed by agreement with the functional head.

Our proposal essentially assumes that, prior to N-raising, the functional heads
between N and D lack morphosyntactic feature content, i.e. they have only category
labels such as Num(ber), G(ender), etc., and are thus unable to license APs in their
specifiers. When it raises, the head noun, which is equipped with all the necessary
morphology, provides for the necessary spec-head licensing (cf. principle (42) below).

The presence of an adjective, therefore, requires head movement prior to SPELL-OUT, in those languages where this is allowed. In those languages where N-movement is not allowed, the highest position of the chain must be filled by an overt or a covert element, or must be identified in some alternative way. The former case is instantiated by the English articles which may be overt (e.g. definite the, singular indefinite a) or covert (e.g. the null articles for generics and partitives). The latter case is instantiated by demonstratives, which we take to be in SpecDP, and by adjectives inflected for the enclitic article, which we also assume are in SpecDP, as will be argued for in detail below. The principle in (29) also captures certain Scandinavian facts, for example the obligatory presence of the non-affixal article in DPs whose head noun is modified by an adjective.

To summarize, the licensing mechanisms prior to SPELL-OUT require either (i) feature-sharing in a chain created by movement of N+art. to D, or (ii) the filling of the target position with a lexical element. If neither of these conditions is met, the lower functional projections are not allowed to have a Specifier hosting an AP.

Below, we discuss a third option to satisfy the licensing requirement, whereby the specifier of the highest head of the chain is overtly filled (cf. principle (44)). This alternative to overt N-movement involves the possibility for the adjective in the highest specifier to move to SpecDP. We develop this analysis in the next section.

1.3. The enclitic article on the adjective

The examples (30)-(32) show that in all three languages under consideration, the adjective does not undergo head movement to D. If this were the case, we would expect the modifier of the adjective to follow the adjective after movement has taken place. But that is consistently ruled out, as shown in the (b) examples.\textsuperscript{11}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item This observation was put forward for Rumanian by Grosu (1988).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Having excluded A-to-D movement we have two viable analyses. In the first, the extended projection of AP moves to SpecDP and an enclitic article in D phonetically encliticizes onto the adjective, as represented in (33a). In the second, the adjective is inflected for the article before any movement takes place, and checks it in its own functional structure, as represented in (33b). Within the latter scenario the agreement with the head D is achieved through a Spec-Head configuration.
We now present evidence for (33b): In all three languages, where a noun is modified by more than one adjective, only the initial adjective carries an enclitic article. However, in Albanian and Rumanian, if the initial modifiers are coordinated, both adjectives must bear the enclitic article, as illustrated in (34)-(35):

(34) a. E gjor-a vajzë e vogël
    ART-poor-the girl ART-little
    b. E gjor-a dhe e vogl-a vajzë
    ART-poor-the and ART-little-the girl
    c. *E gjor-a dhe e vogël vajzë
    ART-poor-the and ART-little girl

(35) a. frumoasele fete bune
    nice-the girls good
    b. frumoasele si bunele fete
    nice-the and good-the girls
    c. *frumoasele si bune fete
    nice-the and good girls

In (34b) and (35b), both adjectival heads in the coordination carry the enclitic article. Note that the two articles do not have different referential indices, i.e. the two adjectives in coordination are not predicated of two independent (sets of) referents.

12. We do not take stand on the position of the preadjectival article, which is part of the adjectival root and is probably a very low functional head. It must be so low that nothing can appear between it and the noun.
Thus, we are led to interpret the enclitic article as an inflectional morpheme on the adjectival head. This is possible only if each adjective checks its morphology in its own functional structure, as in (33b). Observe that if the enclitic article was in D and attaches to the AP(s) in Spec-DP by phonological encliticization, only the second adjective would bear an article, which is counter to what we find in (34b) and (35b). Of course, the features represented by the article(s) must ultimately be checked (via Spec-Head agreement) against a functional head of the main N-D projection. For economy reasons that we will see in a moment, the head need not be filled by an overt element, since the features are already visible in the Spec.

This paradigm (34)-(35) is actually not repeated in Bulgarian, where only the first of the coordinated adjectives bears the article, as shown in (36). However, this does not weaken our argument. In a theory of coordination which presupposes binary branching, the first conjunct is higher than the second. It is plausible to suppose that the first conjunct alone raises to SpecDP in these examples.

(36)  
a. nova-ta i interesna kniga  
new-the and interesting book  
b. *nova i interesna-ta kniga  
new and interesting-the book

(37)  
```
               D'  
              /   
            D    AgrP  
          /       |   
        Spec     Agr'  
          |        /   
        ConjP      
          |        /   
        Spec     Conj'  
          |        /   
        FP1      Conj  
          |        /   
        kniga  ```

The structure corresponding to the Bulgarian example in (36a) is given in (37). We assume that it is permitted for FP1 alone to move to SpecDP. Notice also that, to the extent that it is the initial, not the final adjective which bears the article, the Bulgarian data provide independent support for our argument.
A conclusive argument which excludes the theory in which the adjectival article is generated in the D position is provided by the possibility in Bulgarian to have a head-complement configuration in a left branch. If the article were inserted in D we would expect the article to appear after the complement of the adjective in (38a), as is the case of the 's genitive in English (38b). Instead we find the article on the adjectival head in (39a). This clearly contrasts with English (39b):

(38) Bulgarian  a. *[AP (mnogo) [A' [A^vern-i][PP na zena si]]]-jat muz (very) true to wife his the man

English   b. [[NP the man I met yesterday] ['s [ .. hat]]

(39) Bulgarian  a. [AP (mnogo) [A' [A^vern-i]-jat [PP na zena si]]] muz (very) true the to wife his man
"the man very true to his wife"

English   b. *the man's I met yesterday hat

A similar situation is attested also for Albanian in the cases when the AP is focused and moves to a position preceding the head noun. The data in (40) provide an illustration of the unmarked construction with N-movement ((40a)), and the focused construction ((40b)), to be discussed in detail in 2.1 below, in which the article attaches to the adjectival head besnik (truthful) much in the same way as in the corresponding Bulgarian construction in (39a) above.\footnote{13}{Albanian also allows for an alternative construction, as in i) below:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(i)] besnik\=u burre ndaj s\=e shoq\=e
  faithful-the man to his wife
\end{itemize}

We do not find this example as supporting the contrary of what we claim for a couple of reasons briefly mentioned here. Firstly, (40b) is grammatical in Albanian, just like its Bulgarian counterpart. Secondly, the postnominal position of the PP is certainly derived by intermediate N-movement, much in line with the situation otherwise in Albanian DPs where the noun moves independently to a position higher than in e.g., Italian. Now the problem is how besnik\=u has moved without the PP. A standard solution will be that PP undergoes some kind of "heavy NP/PP" shift and that the AP moves to Spec-DP. The general problem arising with heavy-shift phenomena is to locate the exact position to which the "shifted" item moves. We leave this question open.
(40)  a.  burre-i tepër besnik ndaj së shoqës  
man-the extremely truthful to his wife  
b.  tepër besnik-u ndaj së shoqës burre  
extremely truthful-the to his wife husband

Note also that in the construction type in (40b) the AP has moved as a constituent, a  
fact which was used in (30)-(32) above to argue against an A-to-D movement  
analysis.

Up to this point, we have established that the adjectival article is not in D but in an  
adjectival functional projection. When the adjective is in SpecDP, D is thus empty.  
Now the question arises why the empty D that is licensed by the article on an adjective  
is not available to check an article on the noun. In other words we must now explain  
the impossibility of the sort of "double definiteness" illustrated in (41):14

(41)  Bulgarian  a.  *vernijat muzut  
true-the man-the  
Rumanian  b.  *frumosul bâiatul  
nice-the boy-the  
Albanian  c.  *e bukur-a vajza  
ART-nice-the girl-the

We propose a very general principle formulated as in (42):

(42)  Economize functional heads

The economy principle in (42) can be viewed as the core ground of parametric  
variation in the set of phenomena involving doubly-filled functional projections, in  
which both the head and the specifier must/may/cannot be filled. Morphological

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14. The term "double definiteness" covers a large set of phenomena, including the cooccurrence of  
demonstratives and articles, the cooccurrence of two or more nominal articles, and - as far as we know -  
has never been used for the cooccurrence of an enclitic article on the adjective and an enclitic article  
on the noun. For example, in Albanian and in Rumanian a demonstrative may cooccur with an  
article, although in very different configurations and with a different degree of acceptability. We  
believe that these are different, although related, phenomena and must be dealt with separately.
redundancy is a wide-spread phenomenon across natural languages and any economy driven theory must leave a door open to allow for it.

In the three languages studied here, it is unnecessary to make the head of D visible when its specifier morphologically realizes all the information that constitutes the head. This also appears to be the case when a demonstrative is in SpecDP:

(43) a. Bulgarian tova momce(*to)
    b. Rumanian acest bâiat(*ul)
    c. Albanian ky dialê'ì

this boy-the

Only Albanian optionally allows for the enclitic article on the noun in the presence of a demonstrative. We take this difference to be at the lexical level, and in particular, related to the lexical properties of the demonstrative. When a child learns a word that checks its features in a functional specifier (SpecDP, in this case), e.g., the demonstrative, (s)he also learns its morphological properties.

In this respect, a parameter is set with respect to the principle in (44) below, the choice being between interpreting the two clauses a. and b. either disjunctively or conjunctively.

(44) A functional projection must be visible at all levels of representation by either
    a. making the specifier visible, and/or
    b. making the head visible.

(44) accounts for the obligatory presence of the enclitic article at least on one element (the highest) in a definite DP. If no article was present, neither D nor SpecDP would be visible. As a consequence, the whole DP would not be visible and the representation of such a DP would be ruled out. (44) also interacts with (29) in the cases of APs in intermediate functional projections. In these projections the head F is visible by simply taking part in the chain built by either A-to-F movement or by heading a maximal projection FP in spec-head agreement with a functional nominal head (Agr) which is already part of a "visible" chain, namely a chain where the features are "visible" by either N-to-D movement or by making D phonologically filled. If one of these is the case, then F is able to license a Spec position to host an AP according to (29) without problems.
1.4. Summary of proposals and results

Up to this point, we have claimed that the enclitic article in Albanian, Bulgarian and Rumanian never triggers obligatory movement of N to D. Only for Rumanian do we have evidence that it may trigger this kind of movement. We have reached this conclusion by first identifying adjectives whose position is "high" in the structure, and then by observing their position relative to the noun in noun phrases with and without the enclitic article. For the cases where no difference in constituent order was observed between the two types of noun phrases, we have claimed that the enclitic article is not a trigger for N-movement.

We have shown that the head noun moves to intermediate heads in Rumanian and Albanian, but not in Bulgarian. We have also demonstrated that the intermediate heads where the noun can land are different in the former languages: in Rumanian it is the same as in Italian, while in Albanian it is higher still.

We have not tried to give any significant label to any functional projection of the noun phrase or of the adjective phrase for two related reasons: The first is that this issue was not directly relevant to our proposals. The second is that if we can construct a proposal without making recourse to labels, we have a good reason to cast doubts on their theoretical status.

The interaction of principles (29), (42), and (44), that should hold of all functional projections, has allowed us to explain the syntax of the enclitic article in the three languages in question. But we hope that it can open up the way to study a large set of phenomena that have their progenitor in the empirical domain treated by the "doubly-filled COMP Filter" of Chomsky and Lasnik (1977). We are referring here to the wide crosslinguistic variation with respect to the cooccurrence of a functional head with an element in its Specifier.

2. On the fine structure of DP

In 1.1.1 above we mentioned that in Albanian, the noun moves to a very high functional head, independently of the presence of the enclitic article. The specifier of this intermediate high position, we claim, can be the target of a certain type of A'-movement of the AP. In particular, we argue that this is an instance of Focus
movement. This operation is also found to apply to genitive noun phrases. The functional projection in question, which we will from now on call FocP, is situated immediately below DP.\textsuperscript{15} In Bulgarian, both a Topic movement and Focus movement are found, but the target projection in this case is external to DP; furthermore, Topic movement is restricted to genitive phrases. In Rumanian, on the other hand, neither extension of DP is found.

By applying the term A'-movement to movement processes inside the DP, we mean to suggest an operator-type movement which is motivated by information structure, and which gives rise to a marked word order.\textsuperscript{16}

2.1. Albanian

In section 1.1.1. above, we have seen that the relative order of adjectives in Albanian is fixed in an object-denoting noun phrase. This observation also holds for event nominals, in which, as shown in (45)-(46), the thematic adjective must be lower than the descriptive adjective. Once again, in Albanian the noun precedes both adjectives, while in Italian the noun appears between the high adjective and the low one:

(45) a. Albanian pushtimi i tmerrshëm italian i Shqipërisë
   invasion-the terrible Italian of-Albania
   b. Italian la terribile invasione italiana dell'Albania
      the terrible invasion Italian of Albania
      "the terrible Italian invasion of Albania"

(46) a. Albanian *pushtimi italian i tmerrshëm i Shqipërisë
   invasion-the Italian terrible of-Albania
   b. Italian *l'italiana invasione (terrible) dell'Albania
      the Italian terrible invasion of Albania

\textsuperscript{15} Cf. the observation made in the text above on our stand about the labelling of functional projections.

\textsuperscript{16} Crosslinguistically marked constituent orders are induced by interpretive reasons. On the relation between information structure (packaging) and syntax cf. Valdivi & Engdahl (1996).
The prenominal position of the adjective in Albanian is marked. In this position, either adjective can appear. This is the case both in object referring nominals (47) and in event nominals (48):

\[(47) \quad a. \quad \text{tjetr-a grua e bukur} \\
\text{other-the woman ART-nice} \\
b. \quad *\text{e bukur-a grua tjetër} \\
\text{ART-nice-the woman other} \]

\[(48) \quad a. \quad ?i\text{tmerrshëm pushtimi italian i Shqipërisë} \\
b. \quad ??\text{italian pushtimi i tmerrshëm i Shqipërisë} \\
\text{the Italian invasion terrible the of-Albania} \]

This suggests that the prenominal position is derived by movement of the AP. Furthermore this movement is a sort of A'-movement (if the A/A'- distinction can be shown to make sense for adjectives at all) in the sense that it serves information structure purposes.

If AP-movement is to be assumed in these cases, one should inquire what the target position is. This position follows the demonstrative, which we take, on the basis of parallelisms with other languages, to be in SpecDP (cf. Giusti (1993), Brugè and Giusti (1996)). A Focused AP cannot precede the demonstrative:

\[(49) \quad a. \quad \text{kjo (shumë) e bukur(a) grua tjetër} \\
\text{this (very) ART-nice(-the) woman other} \\
b. \quad *\text{e bukur(a) kjo grua} \\
\text{ART-nice(-the) this woman} \\
c. \quad *\text{tjetra/tjetër kjo grua} \\
\text{other(-the) this woman} \]

\[(50) \quad a. \quad \text{ky libër i Benit} \\
\text{this book ART-of-Ben} \\
b. \quad \text{ky i Benit libër} \\
\text{this ART-of-Ben book} \\
c. \quad *\text{i Benit ky libër} \]
The fact that it can host elements of various categories strongly supports the proposal that it is a derived position of the A'-type. The structure proposed for Albanian is (51):

(51) \[\text{DP D [FocP [Foc N(+Art)t] [... tj [...]]]}\]

In definite noun phrases, the article is generated directly on N. The lexical head N moves to Foc and later checks the article in D at LF.\(^{17}\) When an AP is focused, it moves to SpecFocP. In this case, the enclitic article is directly generated on the adjective. The checking will be done by movement to SpecDP at LF, a position which allows Spec-head agreement with the head D at that level of representation. If SpecDP is filled by a demonstrative, the definiteness features of DP are satisfied. The article we find in (50a) is to be taken as a (redundant) agreement morpheme which is checked in neither position of DP at LF. For the sake of clarity we now present structures for some of the examples discussed above:

\(^{17}\) Alternatively, it is possible to believe that if no FocP is needed, no FocP is projectected. In this case, the article is directly generated and checked in D triggering N-to-D movement at SPELLOUT. Another instance of minimizing the number of the projections is when no demonstrative is inserted. In this case DP and FocP may be taken to conflate in a theory à la Haider (1988). D and Foc would be one and the same position where the article is inserted in definite noun phrases. This article would not trigger N-to-D/Foc because it can encliticize onto the AP in SpecFocP/DP. If we take movement as a last resort, the possibility for the article to encliticize onto the AP would dispense with N-movement.
2.2. Bulgarian

Bulgarian also displays an A'-movement inside the noun phrase structure, but of a different kind. Firstly, it involves a complementary distribution between possessor DPs and adjectives, in that topicalization applies exclusively to possessor phrases. Secondly, the target position is higher than the position where demonstratives are found.

Both dative and genitive case in Bulgarian are expressed by the preposition na. The na-DP can either follow the head noun or be first in the sequence:

(53) a. tezi novi knigi na Ivan
    these new books to Ivan

b. ?na Ivan tezi novi knigi
   "these new books of Ivan's"
We propose to take (53a) as the basic structure and (53b) as derived via movement, on the basis not only of general theory-internal and cross-linguistic considerations, but also of language internal evidence: the structure with the preposed possessor improves - in fact, becomes perfect - if the possessor is doubled by a clitic. Notice that doubling is also possible, although not perfect, when the possessor remains in situ:

(54)  
(a) na Ivan tezi mu novi knigi  
to Ivan these CL-dat.3.s. new books  
(b) ?tezi mu novi knigi na Ivan  
these CL-Dat.3.s. new books to Ivan

The clitic is only present in definite noun phrases and follows the element with the definite article or the demonstrative:

(55)  
(a) tezi mu novi knigi  
these CL-dat.3.s. new books  
(b) novite mu knigi  
new-the CL-dat.3.s. books  
(c) knigite mu  
books-the CL-dat.3.s.

The clitic cannot appear in noun phrases containing neither a definite article nor a demonstrative:

(56)  
(a) edna (*mu) nova kniga  
a/one (CL-Dat.3.s.) new book  
(b) *vsički (*mu) novi knigi  
all (CL-dat.3.s.) new books  
(c) nova (*mu) kniga  
[a] new (CL) book  
(d) kniga (*mu)  
[a] book (CL)
A possessor *na* DP can also be fronted in indefinite noun phrases. In this case, however, it is focalized, and not doubled by the clitic, as illustrated in (57) below. We argue below that this construction type is an instance of Focus movement.

\[(57)\]

\[\begin{align*}
   &\text{a. } \text{na Ivan edna nova kniga} \\
   &\text{"a new book of Ivan's"}
   \\
   &\text{b. } \text{na Ivan mnogo novi knigi} \\
   &\text{"many new books of Ivan's"}
\end{align*}\]

Notice that the fact that the preposed possessor does not count as the first element of the noun phrase with respect to the placement of the article and to possessor cliticization confirms our hypothesis that the preposed position of the possessor is derived.

Given the relatively free word order in the Bulgarian clause, it is very difficult to establish whether the preposed possessor is actually still inside the DP or has "scrambled" out of the DP. However, the following considerations may suggest that the possessor can form a constituent with the rest of the DP.

The fronted possessor forms a continuous string with the DP from which it originates, when the latter is in object position (58a), as well as when that DP is fronted (58b), embedded under a preposition (58c), and in predicate position (58d):

\[(58)\]

\[\begin{align*}
   &\text{a. } \text{Ceta na Ivan knigata na studentite} \\
   &\text{I read to Ivan book-the to students-the}
   \\
   &\text{b. } \text{Na Ivan knigata vчera ja procetox na studentite} \\
   &\text{To Ivan book-the yesterday I read to students-the}
   \\
   &\text{"Yesterday I read a book of Ivan's to the students"}
   \\
   &\text{c. } \text{s na basta ti kurpata} \\
   &\text{with to father your(CL) towel-the}
   \\
   &\text{with your father's towel}
   \\
   &\text{d. } \text{Tova e na Ivan kniga} \\
   &\text{This is to Ivan book}
   \\
   &\text{"This is a book of Ivan's"}
\end{align*}\]

(58c) provides the strongest argument for the hypothesis that there is a landing site inside the DP for the fronted element.
Of course the *na-DP* can be extracted out of its host DP, as an instance of fronting (59a) or as WH-movement (59b):

(59)  

a. Na Ivan ja proceto knigata *(mu) na studentite  
To Ivan I read book-the *(his) to students-the  
"A book of Ivan's, I read to the students"

b. Na koj izvesten gruzki filisof kupit(a) *(mu)?  
"Of which famous Greek philisoph did you buy [a]the portrait?"

c. Na IVAN kupit portret(a) *(mu)!  
"Of IVAN I bought the/a portrait!"

If the *na* DP is fronted as a WH-element (59b), or focalized (59c), the clitic cannot appear. This accords with the facts concerning *na* DP-fronting in indefinite DPs, as illustrated in (57) above.

Only na DPs with possessor reading, hereafter dubbed possessor, can be fronted under topicalization,¹⁸ as demonstrated in the example in (60), and only possessors can be doubled or resumed by the clitic. The example in (61) further illustrates this point with an event nominal. The *na* DP lacks a possessor reading (61a,b); hence fronting is not possible, and by default, no clitic can appear in the structure:

(60)  

a. na Aristotelin portret-ut *(mu) (*theme) to A. portrait-the (CL)

b. na Rembrandt potretut *(mu) (*agent)

c. na Ivan potretut *(mu) (possessor)

(61)  

a. unistozavaneto na grada  
destruction-the to the city  
"the destruction of the city"

---

¹⁸. In nominalizations/event nominals there is a contrast between phrases realizing the possessor, and phrases which realize the external (Agent) and the internal (Theme) argument (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti, forthcoming, for a discussion). At least for internal argument expressions it can be assumed that they have to stay in their base positions for the sake of proper government. Exactly why this should be the case needs further justification.
b. unistozavaneto mu (theme/*agent/*possessor)
destruction-the CL
"its destruction"
c. *na grada unistozavaneto (mu)

With respect to the interpretation of the arguments in noun phrases, there thus seems to be an interesting asymmetry between object-denoting non-derived nominals and derived event nominals - only the former permit a possessor interpretation. While the na DP in (61) differs from the one in (60) in denoting an inanimate entity, it appears that the contrast does not have to do with animacy constraints, as illustrated in (62) below: both grad (city) and kusta (house) are [- animate]. Nor does the contrast depend on whether the argument in question is realized as a clitic (62a) or as a possessive adjective (62b). The difference is best summed up by stating that nominalizations do not allow for the realization of the possessor role, or simply do not have this role.19

(62) a. unistozavaneto mu (theme)
destruction-the CL
b. negovoto unistozavane (theme)
its destruction
c. pokrivut f (possessor)
roof CL
d. na kustata pokrivut f (possessor)
to house-the roof CL

The restriction to possessors does not hold for wh-movement and parallel focus movement outside the DP. As mentioned in connection with examples (59) and (61) above, in this case the clitic cannot appear:

(63) a. na koi grad opisa unistozavaneto (*mu)?
of which city did you describe the destruction?
b. na RIM opisax unistozavaneto (*mu)!
of ROME I described the destruction!

19. Unless "possessor" is adopted as a cover term for agent and theme, but not for a relation of "true" possession. For a discussion cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti, forthcoming.
We propose that Bulgarian noun phrase structure for topicalization constructions is as represented in (64):

(64)

The position in which the *na* DP lands is identified as SpecTopP, an analysis strongly supported by the fact that the moved possessor phrase receives a topic interpretation. We assume further that the two head positions CL and Top are coindexed due to the inherent agreement and referential properties of the possessive clitic, and that the clitic head raises to Top at LF to license the possessor phrase in SpecTopP, SpecTopP'-Top being a licensing configuration.20 The structure we have proposed for the left

20. Alternatively, it can be suggested that the possessive clitic is generated just below D (Cf the analysis by Schick, forthcoming, where the position of the clitic is adjoined to the head of a functional projection FP). However, such an analysis will not account for constructions of the type in (58c) above, unless overt N-to-D movement is assumed.

A second alternative is the analysis (Toman, p.c.) which assumes a PossP rather than TopP/CLP dominating DP, Poss being the base position for the clitic, thus granting the *na* DP and the clitic the required checking configuration. The overt order on this analysis can be derived by local lowering of the possessive clitic to a position adjoined to D. This type of analysis will depend on the general theoretical framework adopted to labelling. We remain agnostic concerning this matter. This option should be rather seen as a possible variant, not as a true alternative to our approach.

Earlier analyses of the clitic inside NP include Pencev's 1993 proposal for a rule adjoining the clitic to the word bearing the article. Of particular interest to our analysis is Pencev's observation that, unlike the article, the clitic neither forms a morphological word with the preceding form, nor do they represent a syntactic constituent.
periphery of the extended nominal projection in Bulgarian is in line with recent proposals for a Split CP analysis (cf. Rizzi (1995), Puskas (1997), among others)).

Being a typical special clitic in the sense of Zwicky (1985), the possessive clitic is not selective with respect to the category it attaches to (e.g., noun+article, adjective+article, demonstrative), neither is it related to phrasal constituents of a particular type/size. For instance the clitic can occur with coordinated DPs, DP-status being signalled by the occurrence of the article. That the clitic appears only after the second DP shows that the coordinated structure is in SpecCLP. These facts clearly indicate that the site of the coordinated DP is an A'-type position. The data supporting this line of argumentation are given in (65).

\[(65)\]
\[
a. \quad [[\text{DP [DP bratja-ta] i [DP sestri-te]] [mu]]
\quad \text{brothers-the and sisters-the CL}
\quad \text{"his brothers and sisters"},
\b. \quad [kusta-ta i kola-ta] mu
\quad \text{house-the and car-the CL}
\c. \quad %[[\text{DP kustata [mu]] i [DP kolata [mu]]]}
\quad \text{house-the CL and car-the CL}
\]

Examples like (65c), in which the possessive clitic is repeated for each of the coordinated DPs, are rather marked and emphatic. As a matter of fact, what is coordinated in (65c) are CLPs, not DPs.

If the fronted constituent is not a topic, then no doubling clitic can occur, as demonstrated in (66a) below. In (66a), the na DP in a left peripheral position is only viable if it receives contrastive focus. Thus, we claim that there is also a Focus position in the extended nominal projection in Bulgarian, to be identified with CLP. The head of this projection can only be overtly realized by the question clitic li, as in (66b,c). This type of construction represents the only instance of DP-internal A'-movement of APs or demonstratives in Bulgarian:

\[(66)\]
\[
a. \quad \text{NA IVAN knigata (*mu)}
\quad \text{to Ivan book-the (*CL)}
\b. \quad \text{na Ivan li tezi (*mu) knigi}
\quad \text{of Ivan Qcl these his(cl) books}
\quad \text{(questioning "naIvan")}
\]
c. tazi li kniga/negovata li kniga
this Qcl book / his-the Qcl book
(questioning "this"/questioning "his")

d.

Note that in the presence of the question clitic li, the possessive clitic cannot surface at all, which implies essentially that in the construction type in (66) above, no TopP is projected. It can be suggested that in focus constructions the two projections collapse into just one, e.g., FocP (cf. Kiparsky (1995) for a diachronic proposal viewing CP in Germanic as having collapsed the Proto-Indo-European [TopP [FocP ...]] into one).

2.3. Conclusions

In this section we have argued that Albanian and Bulgarian, but not Rumanian, display a finer structure in the left periphery of the extended nominal projection, thus allowing for focus and topicalization constructions inside the DP. It has been demonstrated that in Albanian, the Focus projection is located below D and provides designated landing sites for A'-movement applying to both APs and genitive phrases. In Bulgarian, both a TopP and a FocP can be assumed in a structure immediately dominating DP. Topicalization is restricted to possessor na DPs and is related to the obligatory surfacing of a doubling possessive clitic which acts as a licenser to the fronted possessor. In focus constructions, in addition to possessor phrases, demonstratives and APs may move to SpecFocP, the latter two categories only in the presence of the question clitic li.
References

-----------. in progress. "Old and Modern Bulgarian Nominal Structure".


