

## The 'Definite Article' *TA* in Colloquial Slovenian

Franc Marušič                      &      Rok Žaucer  
*Stony Brook University*              *University of Ottawa*

This paper is a preliminary study of the Slovenian article-like element *ta*, typically called the 'colloquial definite article' (Toporišič 2000, Orešnik 1994, Herrity 2000), which is associated to adjectives in noun phrases. We argue that *ta* is not comparable to polydefiniteness as known from Swedish, Greek, etc., but that it is essentially comparable to the adjectival 'long form' in Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian. We analyze *ta* as the subject of a small-clause-like pronominal modifier. Section 1 gives a description of the data, Section 2 contrasts *ta* to similar elements in other languages, and Section 3 proposes a structure for constructions with *ta*.

### 1. Description of TA and the environments it occurs in

Although the article-like *ta* seems formally equivalent to a form of the demonstrative pronoun *ta* 'this', the two differ in various respects. The demonstrative *ta* and the article-like *ta*—in main text and word-for-word glosses henceforth designated by small-caps TA—can co-occur, (1a); the demonstrative carries stress, TA does not, (1a); the demonstrative agrees in case, gender and number, TA is invariant, (1b); the demonstrative can occur with bare nouns, TA cannot, (1c-d). Its inability to occur with bare nouns, i.e., its restriction to adjectivally modified NPs, distinguishes TA from definite articles in Germanic languages, Romance languages, Bulgarian, etc.

- (1) a. *tá*            *ta*    *zelen*    *svinčnik*  
         this<sub>NOM</sub> TA green<sub>NOM</sub> pencil<sub>NOM</sub>  
         'this green pencil'
- b. *tega*    *ta*    *zelenega*    *svinčnika*  
         this<sub>GEN</sub> TA green<sub>GEN</sub> pencil<sub>GEN</sub>  
         'of this green pencil'
- c. *tá*    *svinčnik*  
         this pencil  
         'this pencil'
- d. \* *ta*    *svinčnik*  
         TA pencil  
         'the pencil'

Unlike Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian (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 AP rather than an affix, other elements can intervene between TA and the adjective (Orešnik 1994), (2).

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

Given its association to the adjective, TA can be freely repeated with stacked adjectives, (3a). Also, as long as the adjectives are prenominal, their order seems freer when they occur with TA than when they occur without it, (3)-(4). Presumably as a consequence of the universal hierarchy of different types of FPs in whose specifiers APs sit—with the FP for size dominating the FP for color (Scott 2002)—the order of TA-less APs seems rigid, (4). The order of APs with TA in (3), however, seems reversible. If adjectives indeed sit in the specifiers of FPs that come in a fixed hierarchy (Cinque 1994, Scott 2002), this suggests that TA+AP sits in a different position/FP than the corresponding TA-less AP.

- (3) a. *tá [ta zelen] [ta debeu] svinčnik*  
 this TA green TA thick pencil  
 'this thick green pencil'  
 b. *tá [ta debeu] [ta zelen] svinčnik*  
 (4) a. *debeu zelen svinčnik*  
 thick green pencil  
 'a thick green pencil'  
 b. \**zelen debeu svinčnik*

One environment TA is banned from is before some inherently definite adjectives, such as possessive and kind/classifying adjectives, (5a-b). On the other hand, TA freely combines with the inherently definite ordinals and superlatives, (5c-d). Moreover, it can apparently even occur with superlative and ordinal adverbs, (6a), though these are presumably deadjectival formations where TA attaches to the adjective which then converts into an adverb, with a structure such as *[[ta prv-]-ič]* (lit. *[[TA*

first] -time]). Further, when a TA-containing adverb is inside a complex AP, TA is preserved, and so one can get a structure with a TA+AP embedded inside another TA+AP, (6b). Finally, TA can sometimes—rather marginally—iterate inside a single AP, (7).

- (5) a. \**ta fotrov avto*                      b. \**ta javn delavc*  
       TA dad's car                              TA public worker
- c. *ta drug/zadn pir*                     d. *ta najboljši komad*  
       TA second/last beer                    TA best piece  
       'the second/ast beer'                    'the best song'
- (6) 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*] *šnicl*  
       this TA TA first-time fried steak  
       'this steak that has been fried for the first time'
- (7) *ta naj ta boljša tortica*                [cf. *ta najboljša tortica*]  
       TA mostTA better cake                TA best cake  
       'the best cake'

### 1.1 TA on (apparent) non-adjectives

We have said that TA occurs only on adjectives in noun phrases. Marginally, though, TA can be forced on apparently bare nouns and on non-adjective–modified nouns when the expression is used descriptively, that is, when it is used to pick out a referent from a set, when a particular referent differs from the others in the descriptive meaning of the expression, (8). Such cases require heavy emphasis on the contrastive-property–denoting element, such as the negative/positive prefix in (8a), the noun modifier in (8b), or even the (singly stressed) attributive-adjective–turned PP in (9) (probably comparable to English adjectivized PPs as in *under-the-counter drug*). But while TA can help turn a PP into an attributive adjective, it is disallowed with postnominal PPs, (10a-b).

- (8) a. *ta nebencinar, ne ta ja-bencinar*  
       TA non-gas-er not TA yes-gas-er  
       'the non-gas-fueled car, not the gas-fueled one'

- b. *ta človk človk*  
 TA man man  
 'the man who is a man (e.g. not the robot dressed like a man)'
- (9) a. *un ta za-okol-pasu anorak*  
 that TA for-around-belt wind-breaker  
 'the wind-breaker to put around the belt'
- b. (\**ta*) *anorak (\*ta) za okol pasu*  
 TA wind-breaker TA for around belt

Similarly to the adjectivizing role TA can play with respect to PPs, it can also—very marginally—allow a (deaccented) prenominal relative clause, as in (10a); otherwise, relative clauses are always postnominal, in which case TA is disallowed, (10b). Clearly, TA can only occur when the NP is somehow modified. If, despite appearances, we analyze the modifiers in (8)-(10) as APs, we preserve the intimate link between TA and the AP.

- (10) a. *Sreču sm \*(??ta) k-je-učiri-padu-s-kolesom fanta.*  
 met AUX TA that-AUX-yesterday-fell-with-bike boy  
 'I met the boy that fell with his bike yesterday.'
- b. *Sreču sm (\*ta) fanta, (\*ta) ki je včeri padu s kolesom*  
 met AUX TA boy TA that AUX yesterday fell with bike  
 'I met the boy that fell with his bike yesterday.'

### 1.2 Predicative uses of TA+AP?

TA only occurs with attributive adjectives. When it occurs on an adjective in predicative position, it stands next to a null noun, either on its own or in a partitive construction. One such case are structures with TA on predicative-looking superlatives and comparatives, (11a-b), where the latter are overtly partitive, (11b), and the former covertly (Matushansky 2004).

- (11) a. *Meta je ta najboljša.*  
 Meta is TA best  
 'Meta is the best.'
- 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 is also available with ordinary adjectives when picking an individual from a set (e.g. *the tall one of the boys*), as in (12). 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 later Bailyn (1994) made the same claim for an apparent predicative use of the Russian attributive-only 'long' form. We now present the arguments for our claim.

- (12) a. *Ta knjiga je ta debela.*  
 this book is TA thick  
 'This book is a thick one / one of (the) thick ones.'
- b. *Peter je tist ta visok.*  
 Peter is that TA tall  
 'Peter is that tall one [over there].'

When complex adjectives occur in attributive positions, the argument/comparison/adjunct/etc. precedes the adjective, as shown in (13), but when the same AP occurs in a predicative position, the argument/comparison/adjunct/etc. follows the adjective, as shown in (14) (cf. Larson & Marušič 2004).

- (13) a. *\*podoben fotru fantič*  
 similar dad boy
- b. *fotru podoben fantič*  
 dad similar boy  
 'a boy who is like his dad'
- (14) a. *Peter je podoben fotru.*  
 Peter is similar dad  
 'Peter is like his dad.'
- b. *\*Peter je fotru podoben.*<sup>1</sup>  
 Peter is dad similar

When TA is used with an adjective in a predicative position, the adjective has the attributive order—it precedes the argument/comparison/adjunct/

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<sup>1</sup> (14b) is bad with neutral intonation but can work when *fotru* is given contrastive emphasis (e.g. 'Peter is like his *dad*, not like his *mum*.').

etc. This suggests that the TA-modified adjective is actually an attributive adjective in a noun phrase with a null (unpronounced) N.

- (15) a. \**Peter je ta podobn fotru.*  
Peter is TA similar dad  
b. *Peter je ta fotru podobn.*  
Peter is TA dad similar  
'Peter is the one who is like his dad.'

Secondly, Babby (1975) devised a test to show the attributiveness of an apparent predicative use of the 'long' form in Russian, and we can apply the test also to the Slovenian case at hand. The polite form of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronoun *vi* 'you' triggers plural agreement, but it requires a plural NP in an equative sentence ('NP is NP'). 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural, on the other hand, requires plural NPs in such sentences. The difference observed between (16c), with plural agreement on the adjective and the obligatory plural interpretation of the pronoun, and (16d), with singular agreement on the adjective and the obligatory interpretation as the singular polite form, thus suggests that TA+AP forms a noun phrase.

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

Moreover, TA is also available in predicative constructions with 'nominalized' adjectives, (17), but such cases presumably also represent a combination of an attributive adjective and a null noun.

- (17) 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.'

### 1.3 Other elements of the DP

We have shown that TA only occurs with adjectives to its right. Now we turn to the elements preceding it. The most natural occurrences of TA are those where it follows a demonstrative, such as (1a), a possessive pronoun, (18a), or a possessive adjective, (18b). In all these three cases the preceding element makes the noun phrase definite, and the presence of TA actually seems obligatory. Although the definite noun phrase may in principle be pronounceable without TA, not using it sounds less natural and requires a pause (≠ neutral intonation).

- (18) a. *moj \*(ta) star bicikl*  
 my TA old bike  
 'my old bike'
- b. *Breceljev \*(ta) dolg komad*  
 Brecelj's TA long piece  
 'Brecelj's long song'

As shown in (19), TA can also occur—though it is not required—after numerals and quantifiers. But on the other hand, TA cannot appear on possessors, demonstratives or quantifiers.

- (19) a. *vse/tri (ta) bele knjige*  
 all /three TA white books  
 'all /three (of the) white books'
- b. *vsaka (ta) bela knjiga*  
 every TA white book  
 'each (of the) white book(s)'
- (20) a. *\*ta moj / tatov avto*  
 TA my / dad's car

- b. \* *ta tist avto*  
 TA that car
- c. \* *ta en / nek / kšn / vsak avto*  
 TA one/ some/ some/ every car
- d. \* *ta mal / neki / več avtov*  
 TA few/ some/ more cars

#### 1.4 Definiteness or Specificity?

As we pointed out above, TA is often referred to as the definite article, the noun phrase containing it is often said to be definite. We have also shown that TA can occur in some inherently definite noun phrases with a demonstrative or a possessive element preceding it. In addition, TA seems to be obligatory (provided one can shut out potential interference from their standard-Slovenian system) with the inherently definite superlatives and ordinals, as in (21).

- (21) a. *Tole je \*(ta) najglobjajama.*  
 this AUX TA deepest cave  
 'This is the deepest cave.'
- b. *Črt je spet \*(ta) prvi v gostilni.*  
 Črt AUX again TA first in pub  
 'Črt is again the first one to come to the pub.'

While we have just referred to definiteness, we have stayed away from the concept of specificity. To be able to bring the definiteness–specificity distinction into the discussion, we follow Ionin *et al.* (2005) in defining the terms in the following way. If an NP is *definite*, then both the speaker and the hearer presuppose the existence of a unique individual (in the set denoted by the NP). If an NP is *specific*, then the speaker intends to refer to a unique individual in the set denoted by the NP (and considers this individual to possess some noteworthy property). According to these definitions, definiteness involves both the speaker's and the hearer's knowledge, while specificity involves only the speaker's knowledge.

Testing TA in appropriate contexts reveals that it brings in definiteness rather than specificity. TA cannot be used in [– definite] contexts, as shown in (22c-d).



(22) a. [+ definite] [+ specific]

*Prinesi mi tistele ta zelene hlače.*  
bring<sub>IMPER</sub> I<sub>DAT</sub> those TA green pants  
'Bring me those green pants.'

b. [+ definite] [- specific]

*Kdorkoli je bil ta prvi v gostilni, naj tudi plača prvi.*  
whoever AUX was TA first in pub PTCL also pay first  
'Whoever was the first to come to the pub should also pay first.'

c. [- definite] [+ specific]

*V gostilni sem srečal enega/\*ta visokega sošolca,*  
in pub AUX met<sub>1SG</sub> one / TA tall classmate  
*VidaJuga, ki ga ti ne poznaš.*  
Vid Jug that him you not know  
'In the pub I met a tall classmate, 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 doesn't 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 (23) in a context where only the speaker knows that there is a unique pair of green pants in the washroom.

(23) *#A mi prneseš ta zelene hlače iz kopalnce?*  
Q I<sub>DAT</sub> bring TA green pants fromwashroom  
'Can you please bring me the green pants from the washroom?'

However, TA does not necessarily refer to a unique item/token, it can also refer to a definite (/unique) type or class of a noun described by the AP. So for example in (24a), 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 (24b), 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*. (Note that on a type-definiteness reading of the TA NP, (22c-d) can be acceptable.)

- (24) 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 since it brings bad luck.'  
 b. *Dejte nama prosm dva ta velka pira.*  
 give to-us please two TA large beers  
 'Bring us a couple of pints please.'

In addition to the indefinite determiner *dva* 'two' in (24b), TA can be also preceded by a number of other indefinite determiners that make the entire noun phrase indefinite, (25).

- (25) a. *kšn ta hitr avto* = some (or other) fast car  
 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* = fast cars  
 one<sub>PL</sub> TA fast cars  
 e. *kr en ta hitr avto* = any one fast car  
 any one TA fast car

It seems, then, that TA is separate from the DP's quantification. The entire noun phrase containing TA is neither necessarily definite nor necessarily specific. In addition, the actual interpretation also appears to depend on the adjective that TA precedes.

To sum up Section 1, the article-like element TA is intimately linked to the adjective, there can be several instances of it in the case of stacked adjectives, it is restricted to attributively used adjectives, and it seems to bring in (token or type) definiteness rather than specificity, though the entire NP which TA is part of can still be indefinite.

## 2. What does TA (not) look like?

In this section we contrast the Slovenian definite TA with some better-known and potentially comparable phenomena in other languages.

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, (26).

- (26) a. *hus-et*                      b. *det gamla hus-et*  
house-the                      *the old[st] house-the*  
'the house'                      'the old house'                      (Delsing 1993)

However, the Swedish facts are still different. Unlike Swedish, Slovenian has no definite article on nouns, and more importantly, while Swedish does not allow (as far as we know) the adjectival definite article with an indefinite noun, i.e., there has to be agreement in definiteness between the noun and the adjective, as in (26b), there is no such restriction in Slovenian, as we have shown in Section 1.4.

Another well-known case of an adjective-particular determiner comes from Greek, where a determiner can, but need not, reappear with every adjective, (27). This phenomenon, which has been widely discussed, also does not seem to be directly related 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 (Androutsopoulou 2001: 166). Moreover, while the otherwise prenominal Greek adjectives can appear postnominally when preceded by the definite article, (27b-c), no such restriction-suspension takes place in Slovenian when TA appears in front of an adjective, (28).

- (27) 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)
- (28) a. *zelene hlače*                      b. \* *hlače zelene*  
green pants                      pants green

- c. *ta zelene hlače*                      d. \*(\*te) *hlače ta zelene*  
 TA green pants                              these pants TA green

Similar features (no article on the noun and no article in an indefinite DP) 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).

On the other hand, TA *does* seem to be parallel both in meaning and distribution to the Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian LONG form of adjectives (most clearly present in Bosnian). The LONG form is essentially just distinct morphology for adjectives, and is typically called definiteness (e.g. Progovac 1998, Rutkowski & Progovac 2005) or specificity marking (Aljović 2002, Trenkić 2004), (29).<sup>2</sup> Just like Slovenian TA, the S/C/B LONG form cannot appear on nouns, it can be iterated on stacked adjectives, (30), and it can appear in an otherwise indefinite DP, (31).

- (29) a. *vrijedn-i student*                      b. *vrijedan student*  
 diligent<sub>LONG</sub> student                      diligent<sub>SHORT</sub> student
- (30) *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)
- (31) [in a store] *Treba mi jedan plav-i kaput.*  
 need I<sub>DAT</sub> one blue<sub>LONG</sub> coat  
 'I need a blue coat.'                      (p.c. Tanja Milićev)

The Serbian LONG form is obligatory in three functions (Rutkowski & Progovac 2005): when the NP is definite, when the AP has the classifying function, and in vocative constructions. With respect to these uses and TA, we have already seen that TA brings in definiteness and that it can turn a qualitative adjective into a classifying (kind/type-denoting) one. We should add that TA does not appear with inherently classifying

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<sup>2</sup> Standard Slovenian, but not colloquial Slovenian, has a comparable distinction between, traditionally, 'definite' and 'indefinite' adjectival suffixes; it is realized only in the nominative of the masculine singular declination and the accusative of the inanimate masculine singular declination. Note that though formally the same, the Croatian/Serbian/Bosnian (and standard Slovenian) LONG form and the Modern Russian LONG form are functionally very different (cf. Bailyn 1994).

adjectives (more on this below) 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 (32a)), in vocative constructions, (32b).

- (32) 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 1.2).

### 3. What and where is TA: a proposal

We follow Progovac (1998) in assuming that there is a DP in Slovenian (see also Aljović 2002, etc.), but go against Progovac (1998), Aljović (2002) and Rutkowski & Progovac (2005) by taking TA, the Slovenian counterpart of the Serbian LONG form, to be part of the AP rather than a head in the main N-D frame of functional projections.

A most revealing property of the TA+AP complex is its restrictive reading—the complex gets interpreted like a restrictive relative clause.

- (33) *ta plava žoga* = 'the ball that is blue'  
 TA blue ball = the unique object that is both blue and a ball

This parallelism with relative clauses suggests an adjectival analysis à la Kayne (1994), Larson (1991) or Alexiadou & Wilder (1998), and we will draw some inspiration from Campos & Stavrou (2004), who proposed a version of a relative-clause analysis for some polydefiniteness phenomena in Aromanian.

Campos & Stavrou (2004) argue that (34) is the structure of the Greek/Aromanian 'the man the good', a polydefinite construction somewhat similar to Greek. They claim that *atsel*, formally just a phonologically reduced demonstrative, in the Aromanian (35b) (contrast

it with the non-reduced *atselu* in (35a)) is actually the subject of a small clause inside the DP. (36) gives the structure they propose for (35b).

(34) [DP *the man* [FP [PredP *pro* [Pred' *the* [AP *good* ]]]]]

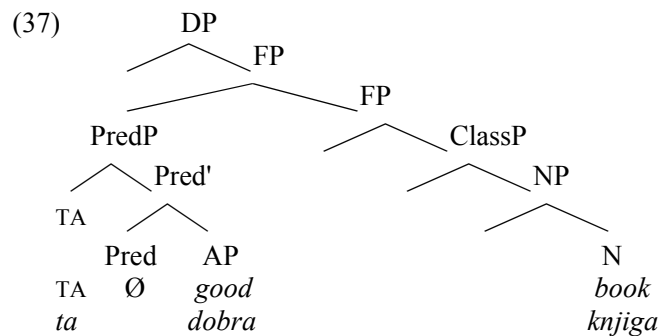
(35) a. *om-lu atselu bun-lu*  
 man-the that good-the  
 'that good man'

b. *om-lu atsel bun-lu*  
 man-the "that" good-the  
 'the good man'

(Campos & Stavrou 2004:159)

(36) [DP *man-the* [FP [PredP *atsel* [Pred' *good<sub>i</sub>-the* [AP *t<sub>i</sub>* ]]]]]

Recall from Section 1 that, in parallel with the Aromanian *atsel / atselu*, TA could formally also be seen as an invariant and phonologically reduced, clitic version of the demonstrative pronoun *ta* 'this'. What we now take from Campos & Stavrou (2004) is just the idea that the site of the phonologically reduced demonstrative is the subject position of the small clause. We propose that the entire TA+AP complex is a reduced RC in the form of a PredP adjoined to some FP (cf. Svenonius 1994).

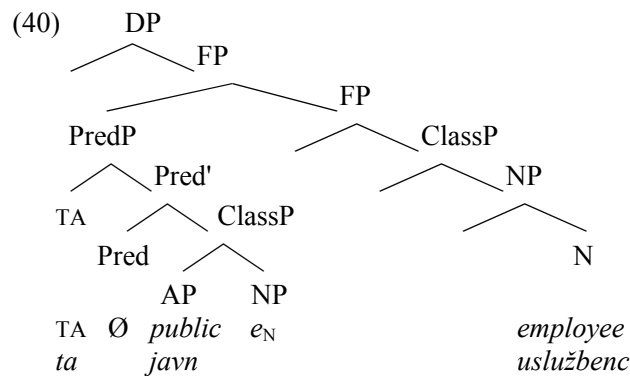


Having presented the structure for TA+AP with ordinary adjectives, we now look at a special case. We mentioned that TA+AP has also the interpretation of contrast, i.e. picking out an individual from a set (cf. Section 1.2, (12)), which is the only interpretation available with attributive-only/non-predicative APs such as 'former', as shown in (38).

*Ta bivši* in (38b) presupposes the existence of another/a current husband, and similarly, (39) presupposes the existence of another type of rescuer.

- (38) a. *Moj bivši mož je pijanc.*  
 my former husband is drunkard  
 'My former husband is a drunkard.' [no remarriage necessary]
- b. *Moj ta bivši mož je pijanc*  
 my TA former husband is drunkard  
 'My former husband is a drunkard' [I have a new husband]
- (39) *Poklical smo ta gorskega reševalca (ne ta pomorskega).*  
 called AUX TA mountain rescuer not TA coastal  
 'We called the mountain rescuer (, not the coastal one).'

This contrastive interpretation is available in a predicative structure when the adjective is actually modifying a semantically empty noun like *one* (e.g. *This book is the big one*). When a classifying adjective cooccurs with TA, the structure seems to be (40).



With the two structures, (37) and (40), we can derive the observed properties. As mentioned above, attributive-only adjectives, such as the classifying As, are possible in the TA+AP complex only with the contrastive reading, while ordinary, attributive-and-predicative adjectives get both the contrastive reading and the definite reading. Since the TA+AP complex is a small clause, classifying adjectives are possible in a TA+AP construction only when modifying a null N; that is why they obligatorily get the contrastive reading. Attributive-and-predicative

adjectives, on the other hand, are available in two constructions, they are either main predicates of the TA+AP small clause, or they modify a null N. When they are the main predicate of the PredP, they get the simple definite reading, but when they modify a null N, they get the contrastive reading. Although this might not seem so obvious, we want to equate the contrastive and the classifying reading with the same structure, i.e. (40), with the AP in Spec,ClassP inside the PredP small clause.

One characteristic of our proposal is that the LONG form of definite adjectives is different from the LONG form of classifying adjectives. Colloquial Slovenian lost the 'definite' LONG form and turned it into TA+AP, but it preserved the 'classifying' LONG form.

The proposed structure is interesting also from a historical perspective. The LONG form is historically a combination of an adjectival ending and an anaphoric pronoun (Schenker 1993). In our structure, the adjectival ending would occupy the head of the small clause, Pred<sup>0</sup>, while the anaphoric pronoun would replace TA in the subject position of the small clause, Spec,PredP. Indeed, the pronominal character of part of the LONG form justifies placing the latter in the subject position of the small clause rather than in the head position, and the same reasoning applies to TA, presumably a reduced demonstrative pronoun (cf. above).

#### 4. Conclusion

This paper provided a preliminary discussion of the colloquial Slovenian adjective-associated definite clitic TA, whose distribution and behavior led us to propose that TA, a phonologically reduced demonstrative, is in the subject position of a small clause, with the TA+AP complex being a reduced relative clause in the form of a PredP adjoined to some FP.

Finally, let us point out certain problems that our proposal faces. One prediction it makes is that if an adjective is predicative, it should in principle be available in the TA+AP construction, but this is not true for possessive adjectives. As (41) shows, the latter are predicative but cannot appear with TA. The ambiguity of (42) shows that possessive As do not modify a null N, but are truly predicative.

- (41) *Ta avto je fotrov.*      BUT: \**TA fotrov avto*  
 this car is father's      TA father's car  
 'This car is father's.'



- (42) *Vi ste pa res očetovi/fotrovi.*  
 you are PTCL really father's<sub>PL</sub>  
 'You are really like your father.' (SG<sub>POLITE</sub> or PL)

Secondly, there is nothing in our structure that could explain why the LONG form appears also in vocative constructions. And finally, when an adjective such as 'cute' is used for the contrastive reading in a TA+AP complex in predicative position, the predicted structure gets somewhat unplausibly complex, with two null Ns: *This girl is* [[TA cute e<sub>N</sub>] e<sub>N</sub>]. We have to leave these problems for future work.

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