

UNIVERSITY OF NOVA GORICA
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

THE STRUCTURE OF SERBIAN NOMINAL PHRASE

MASTER'S THESIS

Kristina Ivšić

Mentor: doc. dr. Franc Marušič

Nova Gorica, 2008

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank everybody who supported me while I was writing the thesis. Firstly, my mentor Franc Marušič with whom I had many great discussions and who made my stay in Nova Gorica possible. Also, many thanks to Tatjana Miličev whose advice gave me many interesting ideas.

Secondly, grateful thanks for patience go to all my friends in Novi Sad who participated in my linguistic inquiries. I am especially thankful to Predrag Nikolić, Svetlana Jerinić, Viktor Kerkez, Aleksandra Kurtešanin and my colleagues Ana Halas, Ivana Mihailović and Valentina Brnović for their suggestions and support. And last but not least, thanks to my mother Jelena for her love and encouragement.

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to define the structure of Serbian Noun Phrase, since it poses a number of interesting questions for the NP syntax. There is a number of interesting constructions that appear in Serbian which involve nominal elements like quantifiers, determiners, numerals and modifiers. Some of the combinations of these elements do not seem to occur, while others do. I present a detailed study of these constructions in Serbian and argue on the basis of these data for a particular structure of the noun phrase.

Povzetek

Cilj te magistrske naloge je določiti zgradbo samostalniške zveze v srbščini, saj le ta vsebuje vrsto za standardno razumevanje skladnje samostalniških zvez zanimivih vprašanj. Srbščina ima celo vrsto zanimivih konstrukcij z elementi znotraj samostalniške zveze. Predstavila bom natančen pregled vrstnih redov kvantifikatorja, kazalnega zaimka, števnik, pridevnika in samostalnika ter na podlagi tega zagovarjala določeno zgradbo samostalniške zveze.

Key words: syntax, Serbian, noun phrase, NP, DP, long/short form of adjectives

Ključne besede: skladnja, srbščina, samostalniška zveza, NP, DP, dolga oblika pridevnika/kratka oblika pridevnika

Contents:

1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Aim.....	1
1.2. Methodology.....	1
1.3. Corpus.....	2
1.4. Organization.....	2
2. DP or NP?	4
3. The Structure of the Serbian Nominal Phrase.....	15
3.1. An Overview of Prenominal Elements in Serbian Nominal Phrase.....	17
3.1.1. Quantifiers.....	17
3.1.1.1. Universal Quantifiers.....	17
3.1.1.2. Adjectival Quantifiers.....	18
3.1.1.3. Noun Quantifiers (Inflected).....	20
3.1.1.4. Noun Quantifiers (Uninflected).....	21
3.1.1.5. Note on Quantifiers.....	22
3.1.2. Determiners.....	22
3.1.3. Possessives.....	24
3.1.4. Adjectives.....	26
3.2. Postnominal Elements.....	27
3.2.1. Genitive NPs.....	27
4. Linearization.....	30
4.1. A Tree and a Table.....	36
4.2. Topic and Focus Phases in the Nominal Phrase.....	58
5. Which Elements are Adjectives in Serbian?	61
6. Two Forms of Adjectives in Serbian?	63
7. Conclusion.....	70
8. Bibliography	71

1. Introduction

1.1. Aim

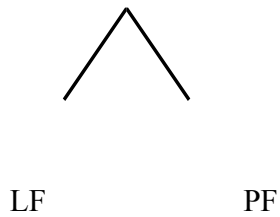
The main topic of this thesis is to give a comprehensive overview of the nominal phrase in Serbian. The aim of the thesis is primarily to give an overview of the literature on the Serbian Noun phrase and to propose an outline of the structure of Serbian noun phrase (NP).

1.2. Methodology

The theoretical framework of this thesis used in the analysis of the syntactic structure is the generative approach, or to be more precise, the Minimalist Program. The generative approach is a research programme that was initiated by Noam Chomsky in the 1950s. In theoretical linguistics, generative grammar refers to particular approach to the study of syntax. The grammar of a language attempts to give a set of rules that will correctly predict which combinations of words will form grammatical sentences. There are a number of different ways in which generative grammar developed. Common to all of them is the effort to come up with a set of rules or principles that will account for the well-formed expressions of a natural language.

The syntactic theory used assumes that language has two basic components – one that provides the elementary building blocks of the language (the mental lexicon), and the other that is a structure-building system which combines the basic elements into larger units (the syntax). This can be presented in the following diagram:

(1) Mental lexicon



(Logical Form) (Phonological Form)

Application of operations:

- ✓ Merge
- ✓ Move
- ✓ Adjoin

By selecting items from our mental lexicon and applying a number of syntactic operations, we come to a point of *Spellout* at which there are two branches. The Logical Form (LF) deals with the semantic part (i.e. the meaning), and the Phonetic Form (PF) deals with the phonological part (i.e. the overt sound realization).

1.3. Corpus

Most of the example sentences in section 4.1 are *googled* by advanced search, with the parameters: ‘language – Serbian’ and ‘exact phrase’. Attention is paid to the meaning of the sentences, because of the free word order in Serbian and the possibility of encountering homophones. Most sentences were found using the search engine on the following website:

<http://www.serbiatravelers.org/index.php/component/search/?ordering=newest&searchphrase=exact>.

The sentences are slightly adapted. In some cases I have changed the punctuation, shortened the sentence, or just deleted an occasional superfluous word, but always in such a way that the change did not affect the relevant part of the example.

1.4. Organization

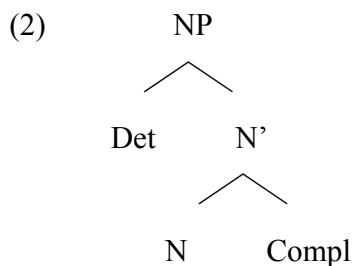
The thesis is organized as follows: section (2) is devoted to a discussion of the status of the nominal expression as DP or NP. In section (3) the structure of Serbian

nominal phrase is discussed on the basis of other linguistic work. On the basis of evidence from the informal Serbian language, in section (4), I address the linear order of elements within the Serbian nominal phrase, giving the possible explanations for binary constructions. Section (5) briefly mentions the problem of adjectival elements in Serbian. The question of whether there are two forms of adjectives in Serbian and their characteristics is dealt with in section (6). Section number (7) is the conclusion of the thesis.

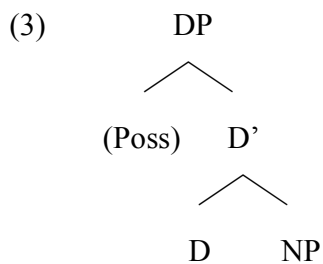
2. DP or NP?

This is one of the most crucial questions in the Slavic DP/NP syntax which has intrigued syntacticians. Since Abney (1987) introduced the notion of a functional category Determiner Phrase (DP), many papers have been written arguing for and against the presence of the DP projection in languages without determiners. Some linguists argue for the existence of DP in nominal phrases in every language (e.g. Abney, Alexiadou, Adger, Cinque, Valois, etc.), and others argue against this position (e.g. Zlatić, Bošković, etc.). I will present arguments for both sides in this thesis.

In the traditional GB model, the nominal phrases were analysed as maximal projections of a head noun (N), the tree diagram is given in (2):



However, Abney (1987) argues that the nominal phrase is actually the maximal projection of the determiner (D), hence a DP, as represented in (3):



Abney (1987) takes the fact that determiners, such as articles *the* and *a* cannot stand alone as evidence that they obligatorily take an NP complement, and therefore, head the Nominal Phrase.

There are many good reasons for adopting the Universal DP Hypothesis. One of them is certainly the analogy by which the structure of verb phrases (VPs), which have functional categories that are placed above the verb (V), and the Nominal Phrases are argued to be as complex as the VP. This is probably the main and most plausible argument for postulating functional projections above the Nominal Phrase. Furthermore, the semantic function of a DP is to specify the reference of the Noun Phrase, as the function of TP would be to give a tense reference, to specify the time of an event denoted by the predicate, i.e. by the VP. This may seem as a neat reason to pose the functional projection DP above the Noun Phrase for the sake of unity of theory. This reflects parallelism in syntax as the true head of nominal phrase is a functional category, just as T is the topmost of a series of functional categories in the verb clause. Another thing that is comparable and that could be considered parallel is the case assignment in DP and TP, i.e. the case agreement in T and in D. The similar principles are involved in case assignment – genitive in DP and nominative in TP.

Other persuasive arguments for adopting DP come from Pereltsvaig (2007) who in her paper looks at Russian noun phrases and argues that they are best analyzed under the Universal DP Hypothesis giving the following proofs.

Firstly, she claims that the order of adjectival modifiers in Russian is not freer than it is in English. In order to support her claim, Pereltsvaig (2007) conducted a survey in which both Russian and English speakers took part. The results proved that the relative order of adjectival modifiers in Russian is not freer than it is in English, which is a proof against the Parameterized DP Hypothesis, i.e. the claim that DPs exist only as an optional parameter depending on the type of language.

Pereltsvaig (2007) says that a more extended structure is necessary, and that the same structure is employed for noun phrases in English and other languages with overt articles and that the difference between languages with and without articles is purely lexical or morphophonological. Moreover, she claims that there is no syntactic distinction between languages with and without articles, such as proposed by Bošković (2005).

Other proofs for adopting the Universal DP Hypothesis concern the issue of whether other “premodifiers” – such as demonstratives, pronominal possessives and cardinality expressions - can be subsumed under other existing categories like adjectives

and nouns (as claimed by Zlatić (1997) and Bošković (2005)) or whether they must be analyzed as hosted by functional projections as assumed under the Universal DP Hypothesis. Pereltsvaig (2007) argues that cardinality expressions cannot be treated as nouns because they behave differently in several respects. First, subjects headed by cardinal numerals but not those headed by cardinal nouns can appear with the default third person singular neuter agreement on the predicate:

- (4) Na javočnuju kvartiru javilos' {desjat' / *desjatok} špionov.¹
to --safe-house----- came.NEUT ten(numeral) /ten(noun) spies
'Ten spies came to the safe house.'

Secondly, in Russian cardinal numerals and cardinal nouns trigger different patterns of gender, number and case agreement on adjectives. If an adjective modifies a cardinal numeral, it agrees with the main noun, whereas if an adjective modifies a cardinal noun, it agrees with that cardinal noun. Pereltsvaig (2007) gives two more reasons for the difference and these are that approximative inversion in Russian is possible only around a cardinal numeral, but not around a cardinal noun and that cardinal numerals but not cardinal nouns can be used as quasi-ordinals.

Pereltsvaig (2007) also argues that neither demonstratives nor prenominal possessives cannot be subsumed under the category of adjectives, but that they are functional elements hosted in DP. She gives counter arguments to Bošković (2005) claim saying that it is not true that demonstratives and possessors in Russian exhibit clear adjectival morphology and that even if that were true, morphological similarity to a given category does not mean that the item in question belongs to that category. Next, the order of demonstratives and prenominal possessives is not really free as Bošković (2005) claims. Pereltsvaig (2007) shows that the order of elements in Russian is not free which strongly suggests that they are hosted by functional projections rather than being simply adjoined to NP. Another claim is that when demonstratives and prenominal possessives occur finally in the sentences that they are with a phonologically null noun and not as

¹ The example is taken from Pereltsvaig (2007).

Bošković (2005) claims – predicative. To support her claim, Pereltsvaig (2007) gives evidence for extending the null-noun analysis comes from the agreement facts.

As the above mentioned pieces of evidence show, it is pretty straightforward that the determiner phrase is universally widespread. However, below I address the claims of the other side of the coin, which says that the determiner phrase can be found only in some languages in the world.

One question regarding the structure of the Serbian nominal phrase is whether its projection is lexical or functional. The question is whether Serbian noun phrases have an extended projection Determiner Phrase (DP). The term 'extended projection' is used to denote a functional projection of a lexical category (e.g. N, V). The main characteristic of such a projection is that "the N and D have the same categorial features, but are distinguished by their lexical versus functional status" Zlatić (1997). Zlatić (1997) claims that the Serbian noun phrase is headed by a noun rather than by a functional category D.

Zlatić (1997) shows that the determiners can occur postnominally, in the appropriate context. She says that the fact that determiners can also occur after the head noun, indicates that these elements do not have the status of a functional category, since generally, functional categories do not allow postposing. Note that in English, or any languages which are claimed to have a functional category Determiner, the postposing of determiners is not an option (**book the*).

Thus, one of the arguments that Zlatić (1997) offers against the DP in Serbian is that the noun in Serbian acts as the head of the nominal phrase. She applies Zwicky's headedness² test to prove this. Some arguments are that functional categories like determiners or quantifiers are not always obligatory (e.g. in English bare plurals or mass nouns do not have any articles; and obviously they are not obligatory in languages that

² Criteria for Headedness: As Zwicky points out, 'the intuition to be captured with the notion HEAD is that in certain syntactic constructions one constituent in some sense 'characterizes' or 'dominates' the 'whole'. Zwicky's Criteria (for determining the head of a given phrase):

1. the semantic argument
2. the subcategorizand
3. the morphosyntactic locus
4. the governor
5. the determinant of concord
6. the distributional equivalent
7. the obligatory constituent

lack articles). Applying Zwicky's headedness test to the Serbian nominal phrase, it can be easily established that the N is the morphosyntactic locus, and thus, the head of the nominal phrase. In other words, the grammatical phi-features (e.g. gender and number), as well as animacy, are lexical properties of the N and not the D, and because of that, they originate on the N. Since there is nothing inherently animate about demonstratives, they agree in the morphosyntactic features that originate on the N. Accordingly, Zlatić (1997) claims that determiners do not behave differently from regular adjectives agreeing with the N. On the basis of this, she concludes that the N is a concord determinant, and because of that, the head of the nominal expression. With respect to the obligatoriness criterion for headedness, the N is the obligatory constituent, since a determiner is always an optional element in Serbian. Moreover, the noun has the same distribution as the Determiner + Noun. Zlatić also offers some other cross-linguistic evidence against positing functional category D as the head of the nominal expression based on the Zwicky's headedness test: 1. permutation of elements within the Nominal Phrase in a language called 'Dama', and 2. verbs or any other lexical items do not generally subcategorize for a Nominal Phrase that has some specific determiner. Thus, Zlatić (1997) concludes that headedness of the Nominal Phrase is a language specific property, related to the presence/absence of definite/indefinite articles in a given language.

Furthermore, Zlatić (1997) says that if the DP hypothesis is adopted, the gerundive and word order in English can be explained (Abney, 1987), but the theory does not manage to account for co-occurrences of determiners in some other languages such as Norwegian, Hungarian, Italian, Greek, and Serbian, and since some languages seem to have double determiners in the Nominal Phrase. The main motivation for positing the functional category D in English was to account for the mixed behaviour of gerundives without violating X-bar theory. Yet, Zlatić (1997) claims that the fact that Serbian gerundive nominals, such as *pevanje* ('singing') and *opisivanje* ('describing'), have pure nominal characteristics on a par with regular Ns, adds to the argument for choosing the simpler Noun Phrase structure over the DP structure in the nominal phrase.

One problem that the DP-theory raises is related to articles positioned in D. The question is whether there are differences in the structure of nominal phrases between languages with articles and languages without articles. If the articles are positioned in the

Additionally, he shows that in Serbian possessives can occur in predicative positions (7):

- (7) Ova knjiga je moja.
*this book is my.
'This book is mine.'

Demonstratives and possessives in Serbian can be stacked, thus that they behave as adjectives (8):

- (8) ta moja slika
* this my picture
'this picture of mine'

Serbian has relatively free order (9):

- (9a) Jovanova skupa slika vs. skupa Jovanova slika
John's expensive picture *expensive John's picture
- (9b) bivša Jovanova kuća vs. Jovanova bivša kuća
*former Jovan's house 'Jovan's former house'

Although the example (9a) shows that the word order in Serbian is relatively free, still, the pair of Nominal Phrases in (9b) does not have the same interpretation.

Bošković (2007a) in his paper, examines the phenomenon of left branch extraction (LBE), focusing on adjectival LBE, and explores consequences of a proper analysis of LBE for the theory of locality, the internal structure of nominal phrase, and the phenomenon of scrambling comparing behaviour of languages with articles and those which do not have articles. He posits a correlation between the availability of scrambling

and LBE and the absence of DP in a language, where the latter is a prerequisite for the former. He gives evidence that languages that allow LBE do not have DP and that the availability of scrambling is a precondition for LBE, and based on those two generalizations he argues for the absence of DP layer in Serbian. I will present the arguments and comment on some of them.

Bošković (2007a) argues that only languages without articles may allow Left Branch Extraction [LBE] like (10):

- (10) Skupa / Ta je video kola.
expensive/that is saw car
'*Expensive / That_i he saw [_{t_i} car].'

However, in her MA thesis, Bašić (2004) gives strong argumentation that the absence of articles in Serbian does not create reliable grounds for the claim regarding the LBE.⁴ By focusing primarily on empirical data from Serbian, Bašić (2004) argues that cases of LBE are actually derived by extracting the non-focused material from the DP and that the availability of extraction does not correlate with the presence of determiners in a language. She further assumes that the structure of Serbian and English are basically the same, and that there is a DP layer in Slavic nominal phrases. Because of that, the contrast between Serbian and English cannot be in the presence of the DP. Her arguments to the existence of DP in Serbian are given below.

Her first argument and the one that I have already mentioned is that the lack of articles, which are typically seen as instantiations of D₀, is not in itself a sufficient argument for the claim that Serbian noun phrases lack the DP projection. Even when limiting ourselves to English, the language for which the DP-hypothesis was originally proposed, we have to assume the existence of null D in cases such as plurals and mass nouns do not require the presence of an overt article (*I don't like cakes*).

Her second argument concerns the observation that all prenominal elements in Serbian, including demonstratives and indefinite determiners corresponding to English *some* and *one*, as well as possessives, are indistinguishable from adjectives and should be

⁴ For details see Bašić (2004).

analyzed as such. The first piece of evidence refers to the agreement phenomena. Namely, determiners and possessives pattern with adjectives with respect to agreement that is they agree in number, gender and case with the head noun.

Finally, her strongest argument for assuming the lack of DP in article-less Slavic languages probably comes from extraction phenomena, the argument that is contra Bošković (2007a). Bašić (2004) says that Serbian allows extraction of prenominal elements out of nominal phrases in violation of Left Branch Condition. Thus, the example (7)⁵, that she gives is grammatical in Serbian, whereas the corresponding English translation is ill-formed, and the whole DP has to be moved to sentence initial position in English, as illustrated in B. Bašić (2004) further claims that Serbian allows extraction of prenominal elements out of nominal phrases in violation of Left Branch Condition.

- (11a) *Čijeg je on gosta istukao?*
 whose aux. he guest beaten
 *‘Whose has he beaten up guest?’
- (11b) *Whose guest has he beaten up?*

She argues that the possibility of extraction does not correlate with the presence of articles, and moreover that the constructions in question do not in fact involve the extraction of a prenominal element at all, thus obviating the need to eliminate the DP projection in Slavic nominal phrases. Bašić (2004) argues that a direct extraction approach cannot be maintained.

Bošković (2007a) further claims that only languages with articles may allow clitic doubling, where the dative and accusative arguments appear doubled with a dative or accusative clitic, as in Macedonian (12a) and Bulgarian (12b), but not Serbian (12c):

- (12a) Mu_i $dadov$ $cveka$ na $sefot_i$.
 him.dat give.past.1.sg flowers to boss-the
 ‘I gave flowers to the boss.’

⁵ Both of the examples A. and B. are taken from Bašić (2004).

(12b) Petūr ja_i prodade kolata_i.
 Peter it(clitic).acc sell.past.3.sg car-the
 ‘As for Peter, he has sold his car.’

(12c) *Petar ih_i prodade kola_i.
 Petar it(clitic).acc sell.past.3.sg car
 ‘Peter sold the car.’

This claim does not stand for a dialect of Serbian which also does not have articles, at least overtly (a dialect in Banat and Bačka)⁶, where examples of clitic doubling (of some kind) may be found (13). These examples of clitic doubling are not exactly the same as examples in Bulgarian and Macedonian above in (12a) and (12b), and they should be looked up in more detail.

(13a) Di ga_i je on_i?
 where he(clitic).gen is he
 ‘Where is he?’

(13b) Di je_i je ona_i?
 where she(clitic).gen is she
 ‘Where is she?’

The evidence presented offers some doubts over the validity of Bošković’s generalizations about the parallelism between the presence/absence of articles and the structure of nominal phrases in certain languages, and his generalization might not be so strong. I think this topic deserves a more detailed cross-linguistic study on articles.

In addition to bringing to further analysis of the nominal phrase cross-linguistically, the DP hypothesis also raised some questions as:

⁶ The judgements on these dialects are from a colleague linguist, Ana Halas (p.c.), and myself.

- 1) morphological, semantic and syntactic arguments for the functional nominal projection DP;
- 2) determining the number of functional categories within the Nominal Phrase, e.g. Number, Gender, Case, Quantifier, etc;
- 3) linearization and changes of meaning based on the changes in the word order.

There are number of solutions that linguists proposed in order to account for the NP/DP discussion. There seem to be two options; we can claim that NP or DP is universally the projection of the nominal phrase or else, that some languages have DPs and some Nominal Phrases. With the advance of the cartography of functional projections, DP is by far the only disputed category inside the nominal phrase. So the question could also be stated as follows: ‘Are all potential functional categories of the extended projection of the noun realized in all languages in all nominal phrases?’

Whichever path one chooses, a debate in the study of the DP structure concerns the nature of functional projections which dominate the lexical ones. Another important question about the structure of the DP is the number and nature of the (potentially universal set of) functional categories and their potentially universal relative order (Cinque, 2002).

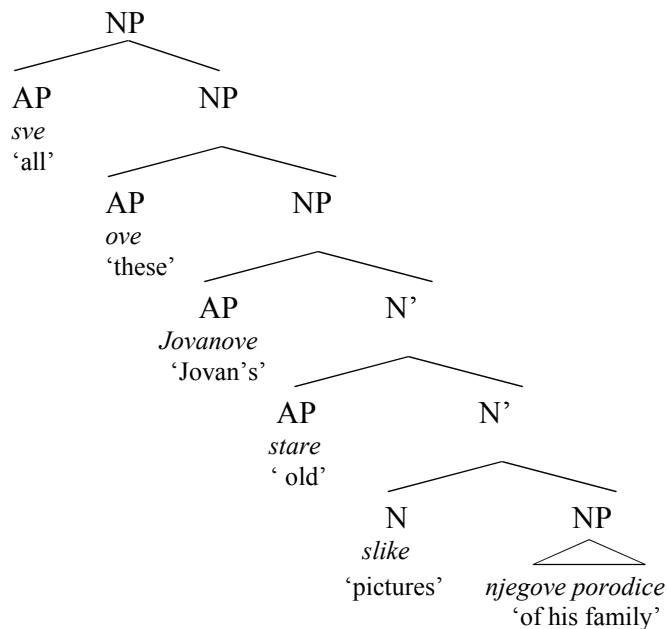
The aim of this chapter was to briefly cover some of the theories concerning the NP/DP debate. I hope I have shown what some of the main questions in DP syntax are. I will use the DP in my analysis because it clearly explains the data better. As Pereltsvaig (2007) says, and I agree, it appears that analyses that rely on the existence of the DP Parameter fail to account for many cross-linguistic variations. And as has been argued, this is because the availability of the DP projection is not a parameter but a universal property.

3. The Structure of the Serbian Nominal Phrase

Much literature has been written on the structure of noun phrases. However, theories typically account only for part of the phenomena in relation to the structure of Nominal Phrases. In this chapter, an overview of some general theories regarding the Nominal Phrases in Serbian will be given.

In her doctoral dissertation, Zlatić (1997) proposes the following Nominal Phrase structure (14):

(14)



As it can be seen from the tree, she argues that the head of the Nominal Phrase is the N *slike* 'pictures' which selects a specifier *Jovanove* and a complement NP *njegove porodice*. Moreover, she claims that determiners are always optional elements in Serbian Nominal Phrase and that they are treated as NP-adjuncts (same as quantifiers), and that adjectives are treated as N' adjuncts, which means that they select an N' level category.

One of the reasons for postulating that determiners and quantifiers are NP-adjuncts is to account for the fact that they can be freely ordered. However, they cannot

be permuted with other elements in the Nominal Phrase (regular adjectives and possessives) (15)⁷.

(15a) sve ove knjige
'all these books'

(15b) ove sve knjige
'*these all books'

(15c) ova velika kuća
'this big house'

(15d) *velika ova kuća
'*big this house'

(15e) ova Jovanova prijateljica
'this Jovan's friend'

(15f) *Jovanova ova prijateljica
'*Jovan's this friend'

Thus, based on word order patterns and on the fact that determiners are always optional elements, Zlatić (1997) proposes that they are adjuncts, adjoined to an NP level; claiming that all elements that precede the N (quantifiers, possessives, determiners, regular adjectives) are categorically adjectives.

In his work on the Slavic Nominal Phrase, Rappaport (1998) says that a Nominal Phrase is a syntactic unit, or constituent resulting from expanding a lexical N by the addition of a variety of arguments and modifiers. In this work he also proposes that the action nominals have a different structure from material nominals.

⁷ These examples are taken from Zlatić (1997).

In the next section, I will give my classification of the elements in the Serbian Nominal Phrase, similar to the one that Zlatić (1997) gives. First, I will deal with all the prenominal elements. i.e. elements that precede the N – quantifiers, determiners, possessives, and adjectives. Secondly, from the elements that can be found in the postnominal position (Genitive NPs, PPs and Relative Clauses), I will discuss only the Genitive NPs, without going into details.

3.1. An Overview of Prenominal Elements in Serbian Nominal Phrase

Zlatić (1997) gives a comprehensive classification of prenominal and postnominal elements in her dissertation. These elements that can be found in a Nominal Phrase will also be presented here.

The elements that precede Ns are the following: quantifiers, determiners, possessives, and adjectives. Firstly, each of the elements will be discussed separately.

3.1.1. Quantifiers

Zlatić (1997) divides quantifiers into universal quantifiers, adjectival quantifiers, and noun quantifiers which are further divided into two groups – *inflected* and *uninflected*.

3.1.1.1. Universal Quantifiers

Universal quantifiers are *sve* ‘all’ and *svaki* ‘each/every’. Morphologically, they pattern with determiners, and adjectives. They show agreement (gender, number and case) with the head N:

- (16a) **svaka** stara knjiga
 every old book
 ‘each old book’

- (16b) **svih** **starih** knjiga
 every.gen old.gen books
 ‘of all old books’

With respect to declension and extraction, universal quantifiers pattern with adjectives. However, as Zlatić (1997) says, when they are not in a prenominal position, universal quantifiers pattern with pronouns or Ns, occurring in prototypical NP positions:

- (17a) Svi su jeli.
 all aux ate
 ‘Everyone has eaten.’

- (17b) Pričala sam sa svima.
 Talked aux with all.instr
 ‘I talked to everyone.’

3.1.1.2. Adjectival Quantifiers

Other quantifiers such as *brojni* ‘numerous’ and *malobrojni* ‘few’ belong to the category of adjectival quantifiers. Like the universal quantifiers, these quantifiers also agree in gender, number and case with the N they quantify. And, according to Zlatić (1997), they have the categorial status of adjectives.

- (18a) brojni glumci
 ‘numerous actors’

- (18b) brojne glumice
 ‘numerous actresses’

- (18c) sa mnogobrojnim glumcima
 with numerous.instr actors.instr
 ‘with numerous actors’

In the examples above, the quantifiers precede the N in the plural. However, they can also quantify singularia tantum Ns, i.e. the Ns that have a morphosyntactic singular marking but refer to plural entities, such as *vlastela* ‘landlords’ and *publika* ‘audience’.

- (19) Mnogobrojna publika je bila zahvalna.
 numerous.nom audience.nom aux was grateful
 ‘The numerous audience was grateful.’

In the example above, the quantifier *mnogobrojna* agrees with the singularia tantum N *publika* in its morphosyntactic singular number, rather than in its semantic plural number.

Unlike universal quantifiers, which can either precede or follow demonstratives, adjectival quantifiers that agree must follow them.

- (20a) ove mnogobrojne Predragove knjige
 ‘these numerous Predrag’s books’

- (20b) *mnogobrojne ove Predragove knjige
 ‘*numerous these Predrag’s books’

In the marked word order, these quantifiers can also follow the possessive adjective, or actually any adjective:

- (21) ove Predragove mnogobrojne knjige
 these Predrag’s numerous books
 ‘these numerous Predrag’s books’

The subject-verb agreement facts show that the quantified N, rather than the adjectival quantifier, determines the agreement of the verb:

(22a) Mnogobrojne glumice su pričale.
numerous actresses aux talked
'Numerous actresses talked.'

(22b) Mnogobrojni glumci su pričali.
numerous actors aux talked
'Numerous actors talked.'

In these examples, the participial verb forms agree in gender and number with the subject NP. The gender feature comes from the N and not from the quantifiers. The quantifier simply changes its morphological form depending on the agreement features of the N it quantifies.

Zlatić (1997) fails to mention that these quantifiers behave just like the universal quantifiers when it comes to cases of these quantifiers appearing without a noun. This means that when universal quantifiers are not in a prenominal position, they pattern with pronouns or Ns, occurring in prototypical NP positions.

(23) Brojni su patili.
numerous aux suffered
'Many suffered.'

3.1.1.3. Noun Quantifiers (Inflected)

Quantifiers that behave syntactically like 'inflected' Ns, such as *većina* 'majority/most', *gomila* 'pile/crowd', *deo* 'part', *niz* 'series'⁸, all denote a quantity that is contextually determined. Just like regular Ns, they have a grammatically predetermined

⁸ Note that these quantifiers are categorically Ns in English, as well. They are syntactic heads of the quantified noun phrase.

gender. For example, quantifiers with the suffix *-a* and nominative reading (e.g. *gomila*, *većina*) decline like feminine Ns, while others (e.g. *niz*, *deo*) decline like masculine Ns. An example is given in (24):

- (24) *Gomila novosadskih glumaca je pričala.*
 pile Novi Sad.gen actors.gen aux talked
 ‘A bunch of actors from Novi Sad talked.’

With respect to subject-verb agreement, these quantifiers act as syntactic heads of the quantified Nominal Phrase. With respect to distribution, they can occur in all positions in which regular NPs occur.

3.1.1.4. Noun Quantifiers (Uninflected)

Quantifiers belonging to this group, such as *mnogo* ‘many/much’, *malo* ‘few/little’, *nekoliko* ‘several’, *puno* ‘a lot of’, *pola* ‘half’, numerals *pet* ‘five’ and higher, do not decline. The complex behaviour of these quantified phrases with respect to case and subject-verb agreement has presented a real challenge to the linguists who are investigating them, and their proper analysis continues to be controversial.

Nonetheless, with respect to subject-verb agreement, these ‘uninflected’ quantifiers trigger a default neuter singular agreement on the verb, rather than true agreement, as was the case with other inflected quantifiers.

- (25) *Mnogo/pet novosadskih glumaca je pričalo.*
 many/five Novi Sad.gen actors.gen aux talked
 ‘Many/five of actors from Novi Sad talked.’

Zlatic (1997) claims that irrespective of their syntactic position, these quantifiers do not decline for case, nor do they have their own phi-features, so they seem ‘frozen’. The nature of these types of elements should be further researched since it is not really clear what kind of categories they are. These complements of the noun are always in

genitive. However, according to the following data (26), when the entire NP is in locative, the noun takes the case.

- (26) Pričalo se o mnogim glumcima.
 talked aux about many actors
 ‘They talked about many actors.’

3.1.1.5. Note on Quantifiers

The division of Quantifiers into Universal, Adjectival and Noun Quantifiers which Zlatić (1997) gives, does not seem right because it is not clear what the division is based on. It is not based on the same criteria, since ‘Universal’ is a semantic term, and the other two are syntactic. I suggest that the Quantifiers are divided in three groups: adjectival quantifiers, nominal quantifiers and adverbial/article-like quantifiers (following Marušić 2008). And each group could be further divided into – universal Qs, numerals (1,2,3,4), numbers such as *milion* ‘a million’, *milijarda* ‘a billion’, numbers (5 and up), and other Qs such as *većina* ‘majority’, Qs such as *mnogo* ‘many’, *malo* ‘little’. This is how the division would be based on clear syntactic grounds. This can be represented as in the following table:

Quantifiers in Srb	Adjectival	Adverbial/Article-like	Nominal
Universal	svi/svaki		
Other quantifiers	mnogo/mnogi	malo	gomila/većina
Numerals	jedan, dva, tri, četiri	pet ... deset ... sto ...	milion

3.1.2. Determiners

There are two groups of determiners in Serbian: demonstratives, (*taj/ovaj* ‘this’, *onaj* ‘that’) and indefinite (*jedan* ‘one’ and *neki* ‘some/any’). Just like adjectives, they agree in gender, number and case with the head N.

(27a) jedna/ta stara knjiga
'an/that old book'

(27b) Ovo lepo dete je došlo.
this pretty child aux came
'This pretty child has come.'

They decline like adjectives rather than Ns:

(28) nom: jedan/ovaj stari glumac
gen/acc: jednog/ovog starog glumca
dat/loc: jednom/ovom starom glumcu
instr: jednim/ovim starim glumcem

With respect to their distribution, the determiners in Serbian behave just like adjectives; they can stand alone only as a result of ellipsis.

(29) (question): Zašto niste pojeli sve jabuke?
why not.aux ate all apples
'Why didn't you eat all the apples?'

(answer): Neke/te/zelene su još uvek nezrele.
some/those/green aux still always unripe
'Some/those/green are still unripe.'

With respect to extraction, demonstratives and adjectives, as well as indefinite determiners *jedan/neki*, behave alike. These elements can be extracted from within the Nominal Phrase. The examples below illustrate extraction of a demonstrative and an attributive adjective out of the Serbian Nominal Phrase (30a), and another example illustrates that the corresponding interrogative elements can be extracted as well (30b).

- (30a) Ovu_i/lepu_i sam pročitala [t_i knjigu_i].
 this/nice aux read book
 ‘*This/nice I read book.’
- (30b) Koju_i/kakvu_i si pročitala [t_i knjigu_i]?
 which/what kind aux read book
 ‘*Which/what kind did you read book?’

3.1.3. Possessives

Possessive elements are a category that comprises of possessive pronouns (*moja/tvoja/njena* ‘my/your/her’) and possessive adjectives⁹ derived from Ns (*studentov/Ljiljanin* ‘student’s/ Ljiljana’s). Both types of possessives behave like adjectives, inflecting for the case and phi-features of the N they modify.

- (31a) moji/Predragovi veliki računi
 my/Predrag’s high bills
 ‘my/Predrag’s high bills’
- (31b) moju/Predragovu knjigu
 my/Predrag’s.acc book.acc
 ‘my/Predrag’s book’

Despite the fact that the possessive adjective *Predragovu* ‘Predrag’s’ refers to a male individual, it inflects for feminine gender since it modifies the feminine gender *knjigu*.

⁹ As Zlatić (1997) notes the traditional term ‘possessive adjective’ is not quite adequate. This is because these words do not necessarily denote possession, but can function as an argument taking nominals, bearing various thematic roles.

With respect to their distribution in a clause, possessives cannot occur in the subject position nor as complements of a preposition, indicating that they are not acting as nominal phrases, and therefore, neither as Ns.

(32a) *Moj/Predragov je pričao.
my/Predrag's aux talked
'*My/Predrag's talked.'

(32b) *Čula sam to od mog/Predragovog.
heard aux it from my/Predrag's
'*I heard this from my/Predrag's.'

Just like ordinary adjectives, possessives can occur in a predicative position,¹⁰ as illustrated below:

(33) Knjiga je stara/moja.
book is old/my
'The book is old/mine.'

As is well-known, possessive nominals have considerable restrictions on their formation, including that the N from which they are derived be a) definite, b) singular, c) animate, and d) a head without arguments. Also, according to traditional grammar books (Stevanović, 1991), possessive adjectives are formed from genitive NPs carrying features animate, definite and singular.

(34) studentova knjiga
student's book
'The student's book'

¹⁰ Marušič and Žaucer (2006) and Marušič and Žaucer (2008) claim that possessives are not true predicative adjectives.

The lexical representation of proper Ns (which are inherently definite and human), personal pronouns, or typical Ns which form possessive adjectives associates such words with the feature matrix [Def, N, Sg] and indicates no arguments, which accounts for the restriction to one word. However, this thesis will not deal with the detailed analysis of possessive nominals, nor with case assignment.

3.1.4. Adjectives

Adjectives in Serbian agree in number, gender and case with the N and they immediately precede the N they modify. Bašić (2004) gives the following order of adjectives that precede the N:

(35) size>colour>referential>denominal>N

This can be seen in the following example taken from Bašić (2004):

(36) ogromna bela srpska svadbena torta
huge white Serbian wedding cake

*svadbena bela ogromna srpska torta
wedding white huge Serbian cake

Since later on, there will be more things said about the adjectives in Serbian, I will not deal with details here.

3.2. Postnominal elements

The elements that follow the head N in the Serbian Nominal Phrase are genitive NPs, PPs, nominal NPs, clausal complements, adjective phrases and relative clauses.¹¹

3.2.1. Genitive NPs

Nominal Phrases that have genitive NPs as postnominal elements are two NPs forming one complex Nominal Phrase:

- (37) sin pekara
 son baker's
 'a baker's son'

Yet, among various types of genitives in Serbian¹², there is one group of genitives which has an interesting characteristic regarding the genitive postnominal NPs and that is that some NPs which bare genitive case have to have obligatory adjectives as complements:

- (38a) glumica crvene kose
 actress red.gen hair.gen
 'an actress with red hair'

- (38b) *glumica kose
 actress hair.gen

The possible explanation for this phenomenon is that the genitive NP needs to have further modification, giving some further information about the nominal phrase.

¹¹ However, some prenominal elements also may occur after the head N in Serbian. Zlatić (1997) notes that this indicates that these elements do not have the status of a functional category, since functional categories do not allow postposing (placing a word or phrasal constituent after other constituents in a sentence).

¹² For further information about genitives in Serbian see Đurić (2005).

With respect to the obvious differences between genitive NPs and possessive adjectives in Serbian, few things will be mentioned. Zlatić (1997) argues that possessive adjectives are always interpreted as having a specific definite referent, while determinerless genitive NPs are interpreted as property denoting.

(39a) glumčeva ćerka
actor's daughter
'the/a daughter of **the** actor'

(39b) ćerka glumca
daughter actor's
'the/a daughter of **an** actor'

In addition to denoting a property, determinerless genitive NPs can also be interpreted as regular indefinites (specific or non-specific), whereas the corresponding possessive adjectives are always definite. The following example depicts this:

(40a) Čuo sam smeh devojke.
heard aux laughter girl's
'I heard the laughter of **a** girl.'

(40b) Čuo sam devojkin smeh.
heard aux girl's laughter
'I heard the laughter of **the** girl.'

Note, on the other hand, that the postnominal genitives in plural are ambiguous between definite or indefinite interpretation, because they have no competing adjectival form.

(41a) knjiga studenata
book students'
'a/the book of (the) students' '

(41b) ćerka slavnog glumca
daughter famous actor
'the daughter of a/the famous actor'

Possessive adjectives and bare genitive NPs are able to make a fine-grained distinction in definiteness.

As I have already mentioned, the analysis of PPs and relative clauses will not be addressed in this thesis.

4. Linearization

Languages rich in morphology have a much freer word order. Among the languages with freer word order are also the Slavic languages. As being one of them, Serbian is considered to have relatively free order of sentence constituents. In this chapter, I will be dealing with the linearization, i.e. the order of elements, within the Serbian Nominal Phrase.

In the traditional grammar of Serbian (Piper, 2005), the elements that have a prenominal position are divided into 3 groups. Each group has more elements that behave in a similar manner, according to the traditional grammarians. Thus, the following order of elements is listed:

(42)

- (1) Referential and quantificational expressions
- (2) Elements that have attributive function
- (3) Ns

The elements that belong to the first group are the following, ordered by the order of appearance in the neutral word order:

(43)

1. general quantifiers (e.g. *svaki* 'every', *ceo/čitav*, 'whole')
2. referential expressions, i.e. determiners and demonstratives (e.g. *taj/ovaj* 'this', *onaj* 'that', *jedan* 'one', *neki* 'some')
3. 'uninflected' quantifiers (e.g. numbers five and higher, *nekoliko* 'few', *mnogo* 'a lot', *malo* 'little', *par* 'a couple', etc.)
4. measures (e.g. *kilogrami* 'kilograms', *metri* 'metres', *komadi* 'pieces', etc.)

In the example below, all four groups are represented respectively:

- (44) svih tih dvadeset komada (nečega)
all.gen that.gen twenty.gen pieces.gen (of something)
'all these twenty pieces (of something)'

One of the characteristics that is stated in Piper (2005) is that referential expressions, (i.e. the elements from the 2. group), cannot co-occur. However, more about this issue and the current state in Serbian language will be said later on in section (4.1.).

Referential and quantificational expressions are followed by elements that have attributive function, again ordered in the following way:

(45)

1. deictic (e.g. *takav* 'this kind', *naš* 'our', etc.)
2. modal (e.g. *lažni* 'fake', *istinski* 'true', *stvarni* 'real', etc.)
3. descriptive (e.g. *nov* 'new', *dobar* 'good', *veliki* 'big', etc.)
4. relational (e.g. *gradski* 'city', *kameni* 'stone', *školski* 'school'¹³, *napisan* 'written', *pročitao* 'read', etc.).

Again, the following example illustrates the order of elements that have an attributive function:

- (46) naš istinski veliki školski san

our true big school dream
'our big true school dream'

There are no syntactic restrictions on the co-occurrence of elements from the attributive group. The only restrictions that may occur are semantic in nature, as illustrated in the example (47):

¹³ The following translation examples should refer to category of adjectives in English.

- (47) #lažna stvarna zanimljiva knjiga
fake real interesting book

Furthermore, the example below illustrates the order given above in (42):

- (48) (1) sva ta četiri (2) nova književna (3) časopisa
'all these four new literary magazines'

As far as adjectives are concerned, Mrazović and Vukadinović (1990) give the following order of various semantic classes of adjectives found in prenominal positions.

- (49)
1. quantificational
 2. referential
 3. qualitative/material
 4. classificational

- (50) mnogobrojni tadašnji dobri školski drugovi
numerous of-that-time good school friends
'numerous former good school friends'

Adjectives in Serbian can occur both prenominally and postnominally. First, the prenominal position will be addressed.

The first prenominal position in Serbian belongs to a semantic class of nongradable adjectives, i.e. adjectives which disallow comparison and modification with intensifiers. The second position is occupied by referential adjectives that denote time and location (*tadašnji*, *ovdašnji*...). Some of these Serbian referential adjectives correspond to English genitive NPs (yesterday's, today's). Thus, Serbian seems to allow a possessive to co-occur with the above referential adjectives, and English does not (51).

- (51) moj jučerašnji san
 my yesterday.adj dream
 ‘*my yesterday’s dream’

The third prenominal position is occupied by qualitative or descriptive and material adjectives, such as *velik* ‘big’, *visok* ‘tall’, *crven* ‘red’, *zlatan* ‘golden’, *gvozden* ‘iron’. Within this class, as in English and many other languages, adjectives denoting size precede adjectives denoting colour.

The fourth position is occupied by classificational adjectives which are all derived from Ns. They have the purpose to delimit the interpretation of the following head according to a particular class (e.g. *seoski život* ‘life typical of a village’).

Adjectives usually appear prenominally. However, there are two kinds of environments in which adjectives must appear postnominally. The first is when adjectives modify indefinite pronouns, as in *nešto lepo* ‘something nice’, *ništa novo* ‘nothing new’, *neko dobar* ‘somebody good’.¹⁴ The second case arises when the head adjective is followed by its own modifiers or complements. If the adjectival phrase has a modifier on the left, the whole adjectival phrase must appear postnominally, as in the example taken from Zlatić (1997):

- (52) vojnici [_{AP} teško ranjeni [_{PP} u borbi]]
 soldiers badly wounded in battle

- (53) * [_{AP} teško ranjeni [_{PP} u borbi]] vojnici
 *badly wounded in battle soldiers

Generally, the adjective’s modifier must undergo ‘scrambling’ in such a way that the head adjective be adjacent to the modified N (both in English and in Serbian).

¹⁴ For the debate on whether these adjectives are postnominal see Marušić and Žaucer (2008).

Moreover, unlike English, Serbian allows demonstratives to co-occur with possessives, indicating that these elements do not occupy the same position in the Nominal Phrase.

- (54) ova moja knjiga
this my book
'this book of mine'

Zlatić (1997) argues that the only exception to flexibility in word order occurs with demonstratives and indefinite determiners *jedan/neki* 'a/some'. She claims that the orders possessive-demonstrative and possessive-indefinite determiners *jedan/neki* are not allowed:

- (55) *moja jedna/neka knjiga
my a/some book
'a/some book of mine'
- (56) *Predragova jedna/neka knjiga
Predrag's a/some book
'a/some Predrag's book'

Nevertheless, the combination of possessives and a following determiner does appear in Serbian non-literary language. This will be discussed later in section (4.1.).

It appears that universal quantifiers pattern like determiners in not allowing the permutation with possessives and adjectives. These quantifiers are not acceptable after possessive adjectives derived from Ns (57) or after ordinary adjectives (58):

- (57) *Predragove/studentove sve knjige
Predrag's/student's all books
- (58) *zanimljivi svi glumci

interesting all actors

Furthermore, ordinary adjectives and determiners cannot exchange their usual order:

- (59) *velika ova/jedna kuća
big this/a house

All other combinations seem to be possible. For example, possessives and adjectives can switch their order with ordinary adjectives, but the focus is on the adjective.

- (60) stara Predragova/studentova kuća
old Predrag's/student's house
'Predrag's/the student's old house'

The acceptability of the sequence adjective – possessive pronoun is not due to syntactic factors; rather it depends on both the context and the choice of the head N.

There is a tendency in informal contemporary Serbian language, also present in the language of the media, to use the combination of indefinite determiner *neki* or *nekakav* with the definite determiner *taj* (61) or with possessive pronoun *naš*, or with both definite pronoun and the possessive pronoun (63).¹⁵

- (61) taj neki novi talas
'*that some new wave'

- (62) neki naš novi talas
'*some our new wave'

¹⁵ Later on, in section (4.1.), I account for the details of this structure.

- (63) taj neki naš novi talas
'*that some our new wave'

Serbian is a discourse-oriented language, i.e. a language in which the order of constituents in a sentence is driven by theme-rheme (or topic-comment) information structure, rather than syntactic relations such as subject and object (Zlatić, 1997). When looking at a sentence in a neutral context, Serbian has an SVO word order:

- (64) Predrag voli sladoled.
Predrag likes ice-cream
'Predrag likes ice-cream.'

If the subject is indefinite, however, it usually occurs after the VP:

- (65) Knjigu je napisao student.
book aux wrote student
'A student wrote the book.'

It is worth mentioning here that not all Serbian grammarians agree that word order is the most important determiner of the theme-rheme structure. Hlebec (1986) claims that stress and intonation pattern, rather than word order, determine what is new and what is old information.

4.1. A Tree and a Table

In her dissertation, Zlatić (1997) assumes that the neutral order of nominal elements is as represented in (66).

- (66) quantifiers> determiners> possessives> cardinal expressions>adjectives> N

This order of elements is similar to Cinque's generalization about the order of elements related to the Greenberg's universal 20 (Cinque, 2005). Greenberg's generalization stands as the following:

“When any or all of the items (demonstrative, numeral, and descriptive adjective) precede the noun, they are always found in that order. If they follow, the order is either the same or its exact opposite.”

(Cinque, 2005)

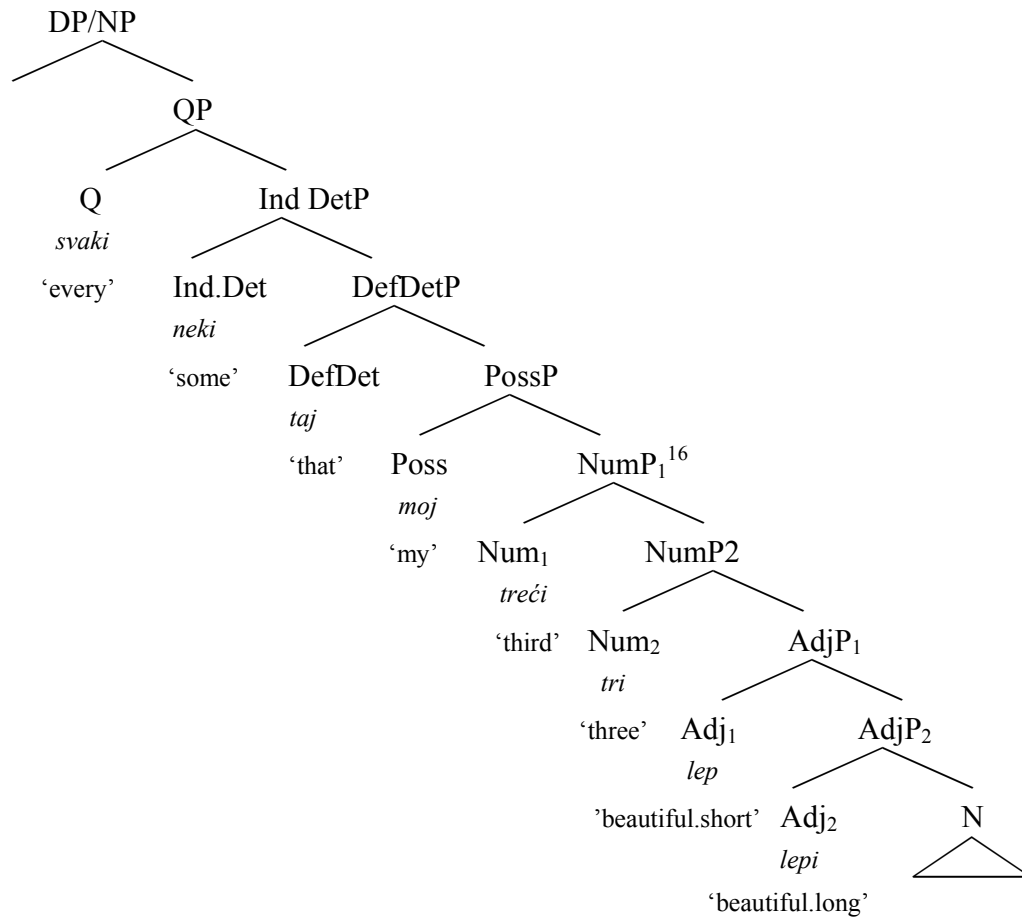
According to Cinque, there is suggestive evidence that universal quantifiers are higher than demonstratives, that ordinal numerals are positioned between demonstratives and cardinals, that numeral classifiers are between numerals and adjectives, that relative clauses may be merged between demonstratives/ordinals and cardinals, though reduced relative clauses are possibly below cardinals. This order gives the order of functional projections in (67):

(67) [Q_{univ}.. [Dem.. [Num_{ord}.. [RC.. [Num_{card}.. [Clf.. [A.. NP]]]]]]]]

The order of elements within a Serbian Nominal Phrase goes partially in accordance with Cinque's generalization.

Firstly, without going into discussion about whether the functional heads are merged into the structure only if there is a reason for that (see Bošković, 2007, 2008), I leave this aside, and give the following tree structure for the Serbian Nominal Phrase:

(68)



This tree reflects the neutral word order in Serbian nominal phrase.

The table that follows shows all the binary combinations of prenominal elements within the Serbian Nominal Phrase. The sign '+' refers to the grammatical combination of two elements, and the sign '-' refers to the opposite – ungrammaticality of the combination of the two elements. The sign '+/-' refers to the combinations that are possible in some cases which will be discussed later on.

¹⁶ NumP₁ refers to Ordinals, and NumP₂ refers to Cardinals; AdjP₁ refers to 'short' form, and AdjP₂ refers to 'long' form.

	Quant. <i>svaki, sve</i> [every/ each, all]	Indef. <i>neki, koji</i> <i>god</i> [some, which ever]	Demons. <i>taj/ ovaj/ onaj</i> [this/ that]	Possess. <i>moj, tvoj,</i> <i>etc.</i> [my, your, etc.]	Num_{ord} <i>prvi, drugi</i> ... [first, second]	Num_{card} <i>jedan, dva</i> ... [one, two ...]	Adj_{SHORT} <i>lep</i> [nice]	Adj_{LONG} <i>lepi</i> [nice]
Quant. (<i>svaki, sve</i>) [every/eac h, all]	-	-	+/-	+/-	-	-	-	-
Indef. (<i>neki, koji</i> <i>god</i>) [some, which ever]	+	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Demons. (<i>taj/ovaj/o</i> <i>naj</i>) [this/that]	+	+	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Poss. (<i>moj, tvoj,</i> <i>etc.</i>) [my, your, etc.]	+	+	+	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Num_{ord} (<i>prvi,</i> <i>drugi...</i>) [first, second]	+	+	+	+	-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Num_{card} (<i>jedan,</i> <i>dva...</i>) [one, two...]	+	+	+	+	+	-	+/-	+/-
Adj_{SHORT} (<i>lep</i>) [beautiful]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/-
Adj_{LONG} (<i>lepi</i>) [beautiful]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

As can be seen, the following neutral order of elements follows from the table:

- (69) **Q > Indef. Det. > Def. Det. > Possessive > Num. Ord. > Num. Card.**
> Adj.short > Adj. long

Normally, the neutral word order gives the next binary combinations¹⁷ which are predicted by Cinque's generalization:

1. Quantifier + Indefinite Determiner

- (70) ...Možda kao **svaki neki** aspekt ima neku drugu boju...
maybe like **every some** aspect has some different colour
'Maybe it is as if every aspect has some different colour.'

2. Quantifier + Definite Determiner

- (71) Proživljavao sam u mašti **svaki taj** savršeni trenutak koji bismo proveli zajedno.
lived out aux in imagination **every that** perfect moment which (we) would
spend together
'In my imagination, I lived out that every perfect moment which we would spend
together.'

3. Quantifier + Possessive

- (72) Evo, pratimo **svaki tvoj** korak sa našeg malog ekrana.
here follow **every your** step from our small screen
'Here, we are following your every step from our TV.'

¹⁷ The following examples are taken and adapted from the Internet web pages in Serbian, as I have already mentioned in the heading 1.1.3. *Corpus*.

4. Quantifier + Numeral (Ordinal)

- (73) U Srbiji se skoro **svaki treći** građanin plaši da će u tranziciji ostati bez posla ili novca.
in Serbia aux almost **every third** citizen afraid that aux in transition stay without job or money
'Almost every third citizen in Serbia is afraid that he or she will be left without a job or money during the process of transition.'

5. Quantifier + Numeral (Cardinal)

- (74) **Svaka dva** susedna dijalekta su međusobno razumljiva, ali dijalekti krajnjeg severa i krajnjeg juga nisu.
every two adjacent dialects are with one another comprehensible, but dialects extreme north and extreme south not
'Every two adjacent dialects are mutually understandable, but the dialects from the highest north and the lowest south are not.'

6. Quantifier + Adjective (Short)

- (75) **Svaki lep** dan je potpuno isti, svako nevreme ima svoj karakter, različitu snagu, različite posledice.
every beautiful.short day is completely same, every storm has its own character, different strength, different consequences
'Every beautiful day is completely the same, every storm has its own character, different strength and different consequences.'

7. Quantifier + Adjective (Long)

- (76) Uvek sam želeo da nekako zabeležim **svaki lepi** ćirilčni natpis.
always aux wanted that somehow note down **every beautiful.long** Cyrillic
inscription
'I always wanted somehow to note down every beautiful Cyrillic inscription.'

8. Indefinite Determiner + Definite Determiner

- (77) Kod dede je bila neka kuca, u stvari, nije to baš kuca, to je **neki taj** seoski pas koji
samo laje kada neko dođe.
at grandfather aux was some doggy, in fact, was not that really doggy, it is **some**
that rural dog which only barks when somebody arrives
'There was some doggy at grandfather's, in fact, it was not really a doggy, it was
some kind of rural dog that barks only when somebody comes in.'

9. Indefinite Determiner + Possessive

- (78) To je bio **neki moj** subjektivni utisak, naravno.
that aux was **some my** subjective impression, of course
'That was my subjective impression, of course.'

10. Indefinite Determiner + Numeral (Ordinal)

- (79) Ta tri su po meni najbolji izbor, ako neko ima na umu **neki četvrti**,
slobodno neka kaže.
those three are according to me best choice, if someone has in mind **some forth**,
freely let (him/her) say
'Those three are according to me the best choice, and if someone has some forth
in mind, let him or her freely say.'

11. Indefinite Determiner + Numeral (Cardinal)

- (80) **Neka tri** sata vožnje od grada Njujorka nalazi se mesto Nju Polc (New Paltz).
some three hours drive from city New York is aux place New Paltz.
'Around three hours drive from the New York city, there is a town New Paltz.'

12. Indefinite Determiner + Adjective (Short)

- (81) Na Tajlandu se na svakih par kilometera može uočiti po **neki zanimljiv** objekat,
hram ili ogromna bela Budina statua na vrhu brda.
in Thailand aux at every few kilometres can noticed **some interesting.short**
object, temple or huge white Buddha's statue on top (of) hill
'In Thailand, every few kilometres some interesting object, temple or huge white
Buddha's statue can be noticed on the top of a hill.'

13. Indefinite Determiner + Adjective (Long)

- (82) Gotovo ne opazismo kako zakoči **neki crveni** auto sa četvoricom veseljaka.
almost not spot how pull down **some red.long** car with four cheerful men
'We almost did not spot when some red car with four cheerful men pulled down.'

14. Definite Determiner + Possessive

- (83) **Taj moj** drug Peni je obožavao Džegera i zaista mu kod Baošića slavio rođendan
- priča Čola.
that my friend Peni aux adored Jagger and indeed him at Baošić
celebrate birthday – says Čola
'That friend of mine, Peni, adored Jagger and indeed celebrated his
birthday at Baošić – says Čola.'

15. Definite Determiner + Numeral (Ordinal)

- (84) Odakle je došao **taj treći** metak?
where from aux come **that third** bullet?
'Where did that third bullet come from?'

16. Definite Determiner + Numeral (Cardinal)

- (85) Nijedno od **ta dva** rešenja nije preporučljivo.
none from **that two** solutions are not advisable
'Neither of these two solutions is advisable.'

17. Definite Determiner + Adjective (Short)

- (86) Najvažnija stavka su ljudi koji će tu raditi, koji imaju interes za **taj zanimljiv** posao.
most important element are people who will here work, who have interest for
that interesting.short job
'The most important element are the people who will work here, who are interested in that interesting job.'

18. Definite Determiner + Adjective (Long)

- (87) **Taj zanimljivi** predlog prošao je neprimećeno u opštoj galami.
that interesting.long suggestion passed aux unnoticed in general noise
'That interesting suggestion has passed unnoticed in the background noise.'

19. Possessive + Numeral (Ordinal)

- (88) Ovo je **moj drugi** susret sa morem koje pripada Tihom okeanu.
this is **my second** encounter with sea which belongs to Pacific Ocean
'This is my second encounter with the sea which belongs to the Pacific.'

20. Possessive + Numeral (Cardinal)

- (89) **Moja dva** poznanika iz škole su oformili bend.
my two acquaintances from school are formed band
'My two acquaintances from school have formed a band.'

21. Possessive + Adjective (Short)

- (90) Tu knjigu imam, ali čitajući **tvoj zanimljiv** prikaz, nisam je se setio.
that book have, but reading **your interesting,short** review, did not aux aux
remember
'I have that book, but while reading your interesting review, I have not
remember it.'

22. Possessive + Adjective (Long)

- (91) **Tvoj smešni** komentar je najsmješniji od svih komentara koje sam pročitao.
your funny,long comment aux unniest from all comments that aux read
'Your funny comment is the funniest from all the comments that I read.'

23. Numeral (Ordinal) + Numeral (Cardinal)

- (92) **Prva dva** vagona su bila potpuno prazna.
first two coaches aux were completely empty
'The first two coaches were completely empty.'

24. Numeral (Ordinal) + Adjective (Short)

- (93) **Prvi zanimljiv** momenat bio je sudar na putu do Beograda koji je implicirao sate čekanja na auto-putu.

first interesting.short moment was aux crash on road to Belgrade which aux implicated hours of waiting at highway

‘The first interesting moment was a crash on the road to Belgrade which implicated hours of waiting at the highway.’

25. Numeral (Ordinal) + Adjective (Long)

- (94) **Prvi zanimljivi** efekti su se videli.

first interesting.long effects were aux seen

‘The first interesting effects were seen.’

26. Numeral (Cardinal) + Adjective (Short)

- (95) Posetismo **jedan lep** muzej.

visited **one nice.short** museum

‘We have visited one nice museum.’

27. Numeral (Cardinal) + Adjective (Long)

- (96) Mnogo je lepih mesta na planeti Zemlji, ali samo je **jedan lepi** beli grad Beograd.

many aux nice places on planet Earth, but only aux **one nice.long** white city Belgrade

‘There are many nice places on the planet Earth, but there is only one nice white city of Belgrade.’

28. Adjective (Short) + Adjective (Long)

- (97) Imam jedan **lep crveni** sjaj za usne.
have one **nice red.long** gloss for lips
'I have one nice red lip-gloss.'

The rest of the combinations from the table could not be accounted for by just giving the neutral word order of elements in the Nominal Phrase. The interesting thing is that some other combinations also appear in Serbian in lesser frequency. The examples of other combinations of elements are:

29. Indefinite Determiner + Quantifier

– no examples for this combination were found on the Internet.¹⁸

30. Definite Determiner + Quantifier

- (98) Tokom pet dana putovanja saznajemo priče, sudbine članova orkerstra, od kojih bi **taj svaki** život mogao biti pojedinačni roman.
during five days travelling find out stories, destinies (of) members (of) orchestra, out of which would **that every** life could be separate novel
'During five days of travelling, we find out stories, destinies of the members of the orchestra, and that every life could be a separate novel.'

¹⁸ An ungrammatical example with this order of elements would be:

(i) ***Neki svi** snovi su lepi.
some all dreams are beautiful.long
'*Some all dreams are beautiful.'

31. Definite Determiner + Indefinite Determiner

- (99) Materijalna stvar i **taj neki** novac su bitni u današnjem životu, ali nisu sve.
material thing and **that some** money are important in today's life, but are not
everything
'The material things and money are important in life today, but they are not
everything.'

32. Possessive + Quantifier

- (100) **Moj svaki** radnik je prijavljen, **moj svaki** porez je plaćen na vreme.
my every worker is registered, **my every** tax is paid on time
'All my workers are registered, all the taxes are paid on time.'

33. Possessive + Indefinite Determiner

- (101) Ovde se već četrnaest godina odvija **moj neki** život, ali sam i dalje Beograđanin.
here aux already fourteen years progresses **my some** life, but am and still
Belgrade citizen
'My so-called life takes place here already for fourteen years, but I am still a
Belgrade citizen.'

34. Possessive + Definite Determiner

- (102) **Moj taj** tekst je mešana salata od nekoliko starijih tekstova koji su ranije bili
objavljivani.
my that text is mixture salad of several older texts that aux before were
published
'That text of mine is a blend of several older texts that were published
before.'

35. Numeral (Ordinal) + Quantifier

– no example for this combination were found on the Internet.¹⁹

36. Numeral (Ordinal) + Indefinite Determiner

(103) Mi smo generacija takozvane konceptualne umetnosti, a to su bili, u stvari, **prvi neki** znaci postmoderne.

we are generation (of) so-called conceptual art, and that aux were, in fact, first some signs (of) postmodern

‘We are a generation of the so-called conceptual art, and those were, in fact, the first signs of postmodernism.’

37. Numeral (Ordinal) + Definite Determiner

(104) Gledao sam **prvi taj** klip davno, samo dužu verziju.

watched aux **first that** clip long time ago, only longer version

‘I have watched that first clip long time ago, but only the longer version.’

38. Numeral (Ordinal) + Possessive

(105) **Prvi moj** posao je bio u NIN-u.

first my job aux was in NIN

‘My first job was in NIN.’

39. Numeral (Cardinal) + Quantifier

– no example for this combination was found on the Internet.²⁰

¹⁹ An ungrammatical example with this order of elements would be:

(ii) ***Treći svi** studenti jedu.
third all students eat
‘*Third all students eat.’

40. Numeral (Cardinal) + Indefinite Determiner

- (106) Sećam se, pre par godina smo našli jedno mesto gde su bila **dva neka** slaba zvučnika.

remember aux, before couple (of) years aux found one place where aux were two
some weak loudspeakers

‘I remember, few years ago we found one place where there were two weak
loudspeakers.’

41. Numeral (Cardinal) + Definite Determiner

- (107) Konvertibilnost azbučnih sistema ćirilice i latinice još više komplikuje pitanje o tome koje je od **dva ta** pisma starije.

convertibility (of) alphabetical systems Cyrillic letters and Latin letters even more
complicates question about which is from **two that** older

‘The convertibility of the alphabetical systems of the Cyrillic and Latin letters
complicates even more the question which of the two is older.’

42. Numeral (Cardinal) + Possessive

- (108) Danas su stigla **dva tvoja** pisma.

today aux arrived **two your** letters

‘Your two letters arrived today.’

²⁰ An ungrammatical example with this order of elements would be:

(iii) ***Tri sva** studenta spavaju.
three all students sleep
’*Three all students sleep.’

43. Numeral (Cardinal) + Numeral (Ordinal)

- (109) Osnovcima su dodeljena **dva treća i dva druga** mesta.
pupils aux awarded **two third** and **two second** places
'Two third and two second places were awarded to the pupils.'

44. Adjective (Short) + Quantifier

– no example for this combination was found on the Internet.²¹

45. Adjective (Short) + Indefinite Determiner

- (110) Bio je, čini mi se, **lep neki** dan.
was aux, seems me aux, **nice.short some** day
'It seems to me, it has been a (/some) nice day.'

46. Adjective (Short) + Definite Determiner

- (111) Ništa nema posebno novo, sem **malog tog** putovanja.
nothing has not special new, except **small.short that** trip
'There is nothing especially new, except that small trip.'

47. Adjective (Short) + Possessive

- (112) Posle **malog mog** objašnjenja je shvatila o čemu se radi.
after **small.short my** explanation aux realized about what aux is
'She realized what it was about after my short explanation.'

²¹ An ungrammatical example with this order of elements would be :

(iv) ***Lepi svi** studenti pričaju.
beautiful.long all students talk
'*Beautiful all students talk.'

48. Adjective (Short) + Numeral (Ordinal)

- (113) Bez obzira da li je u pitanju ljubav na prvi pogled, **zanimljiva prva** šetnja, prvo dete, ili jednostavno dobar predosećaj, nismo u mogućnosti...
regardless if aux in question love at first sight, **interesting.short first** walk, first child, or simply good feeling, are not in possibility...
'Regardless whether it is love at first sight in question, an interesting first walk, a first child, or simply a good feeling, we are not able to...'

49. Adjective (Short) + Numeral (Cardinal)

- (114) Proveli smo **lepa dva** sata u bioskopu.
spent aux **beautiful.long two** hours in cinema
'We spent two beautiful hours in the cinema.'

50. Adjective (Long) + Quantifier

- no example for this combination was found on the Internet²²

51. Adjective (Long) + Indefinite Determiner

- (115) Jednostavno ne mogu da izađu iz klišea ovih klasičnih kalendara sa cvećem, kućićima, **lepim nekim** morskim motivima i tako dalje.
simply not can to get out from cliché this classic calendars with flowers, puppies, **nice.long some** sea motifs and so on
'They simply cannot get away from the clichés of this classic calendars with flowers, puppies, some nice sea motifs and so on.'

²² An ungrammatical example with this order of elements would be :

(v) *Po toj ideologiji, **veliki svaki** muzičar sam sebe je opravdao.
according that ideology, **big.long every** musician alone himself/herself is justified
'According to that ideology, every big musician has justified himself/herself.'

52. Adjective (Long) + Definite Determiner

- (116) Mnogi od njih ne verovahu da je pogubljen car njihov, nego mišljahu da je izbegao smrt u **velikom tom** boju.
most of them not believed that aux executed emperor theirs, but thought that aux escaped death in **great.long that** battle
'Most of them did not believe that their emperor was executed, but they thought that he escaped death in that great battle.'

53. Adjective (Long) + Possessive

- (117) U tom **lepom tvom** izlaganju, zaboravio si da kažeš ko je 'tata'.
in that **nice.long your** presentation, forgot you to say who is 'dad'
'You forgot to say who the 'dad' is in your nice presentation.'

54. Adjective (Long) + Numeral (Ordinal)

- (118) Prusi su započeli **veliki treći** napad.
Prussians aux began great third attack
'The Prussians began the great third attack.'

55. Adjective (Long) + Numeral (Cardinal)

- (119) To je postavljeno za sve one koji se zaklinju u ta **velika tri** rastavljena prsta.
that aux posted for all those who aux swear in that **great.long three** split fingers
'That was posted for all those who swear by those three great split fingers.'

56. Adjective (Long) + Adjective (Short)

(120) Tamo se nalazi **veliki lep** hram, vizantijske arhitekture, koga restauriraju već nekoliko godina.

there aux is **big.long nice.short** temple, Byzantine architecture, whom renovate already several years

‘There is a nice big temple of Byzantine architecture, which is being renovated several years.’

The combinations from number 29 until 56 are not typical combinations in Serbian. However, under certain circumstances, they appear in the language. The only exceptions from this group seem to be Quantifiers, which demand to stand in the first place. Unfortunately, I did not manage to find the reason why they are so specific to stand in the first place and what makes them special. Quantifiers seem to allow to be placed in the second position only in the case of focalization (see 30., 32. and 50.). Therefore, I failed to account for four combinations. As can be seen from the table, these combinations are *Indefinite+Quantifier*, *Numeral(Ordinal)+Quantifier*, *Numeral(Cardinal)+Quantifier*, *Adjective(SH)+Quantifier* and *Adjective (Long) + Quantifier*. I hope to leave this only to be solved in some other research.

	Quant.	Indef.	Demons.	Possess.	Num _{ord}	Num _{card}	Adj _{SHORT}	Adj _{LONG}
	<i>svaki, sve</i>	<i>neki, koji</i>	<i>taj/ ovaj/</i>	<i>moj, tvoj,</i>	<i>prvi, drugi</i>	<i>jedan, dva</i>	<i>lep [nice]</i>	<i>lepi</i>
	[every/ each, all]	<i>god</i> [some, which ever]	<i>onaj</i> [this/ that]	<i>etc.</i> [my, your, etc.]	... [first, second]	... [one, two ...]		[nice]
Quantifiers	-	-			-	-	-	-
(svaki, sve)			+	+				
[every/each, all]								

The other orders can be explained in the following way. One reason could be the existence of homonymy of elements. The Indefinite and Definite determiners, ‘*neki*’ and ‘*taj*’ respectively, seem to acquire adjectival characteristics, and in this case, they are generated in the position that is lower than their ‘original’ position. In other words, when they are interpreted as having adjectival characteristics, there is no movement in the tree

structure of the nominal phrase. Indefinite Determiners in 31., 33., 36., 40., 45., and 51. are interpreted as adjectival pronoun *nekakav* ('some kind'), and Definite Determiners are interpreted as adjectival pronoun *takav* ('that/this kind'). Both of the adjectival interpretations can be an answer to the question used for adjectives – *kakav* ('what kind?'), as it is presented in the example (99) from above, repeated here as (121a):

(121a) Sećam se, pre par godina smo našli jedno mesto gde su bila **dva neka** slaba zvučnika.

remember aux, before couple (of) years aux found one place where aux were two some weak loudspeakers

'I remember, few years ago we found one place where there were two weak loudspeakers.'

(121b)

(question)

Kakva dva zvučnika?

what kind two loudspeakers

'What kind of (two) loudspeakers?'

(121c)

(answer)

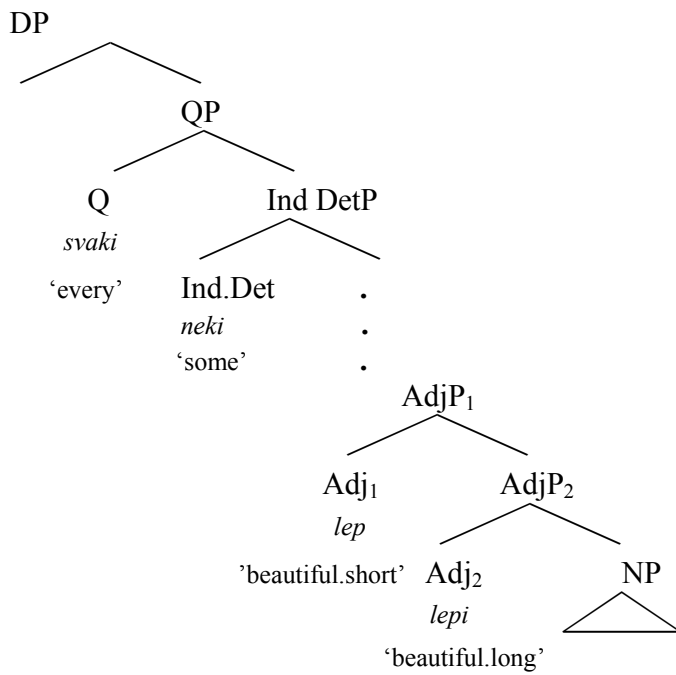
Dva neka zvučnika.

two some loudspeakers

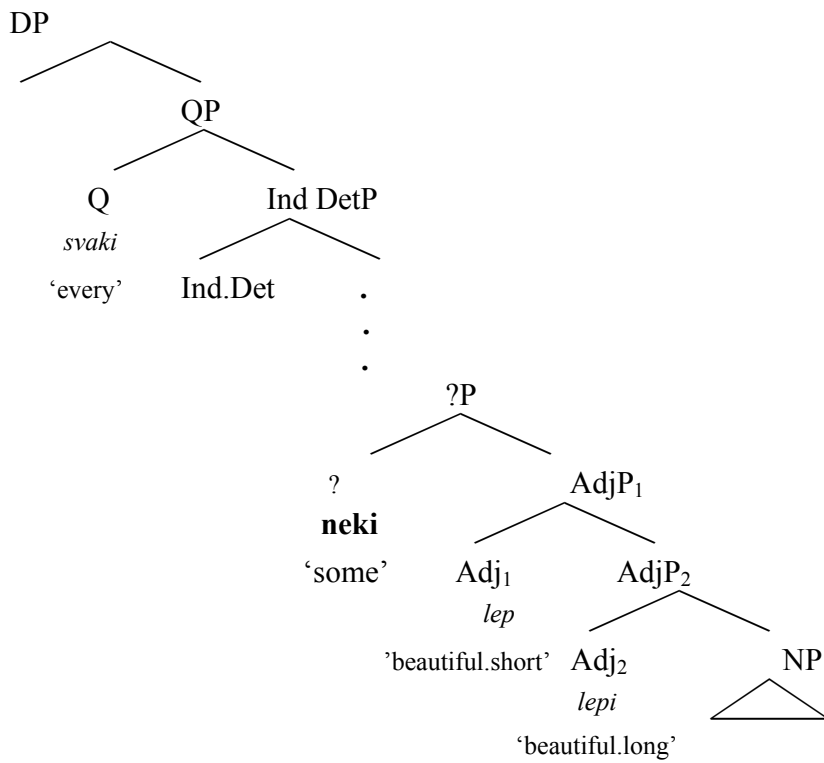
'Some two loudspeakers.'

This structure is presented in the tree diagram:

(122a)



(122b)



The tree in (122a) represents the indefinite determiner *neki* ('some') generated in its original position. The tree in (122b) represents *neki* ('some') with adjectival interpretation and it is thus generated in one position higher than the Adjectives.²³ (The same would be true for the Definite Determiner.) This is the reason why the combinations of the elements that precede the Indefinite Determiner/ Definite Determiner and the Indefinite Determiner/ Definite Determiner are acceptable in Serbian.

Secondly, by changing the order of elements within the nominal phrase, it is possible to make slight differences in semantics and pragmatics. As an example, I am giving an explanation of a Serbian native speaker²⁴ in (124) for the difference between the two nominal phrases:

(123a) dve moje olovke
 two my pencils
 ‘my two pencils’

(123b) moje dve olovke
 my two pencils
 ‘my two pencils’

(124)
 ‘...kada kažem **moje dve olovke**, to je celina, kao da su to sve, a kada kažem **dve moje olovke** onda je to particija, jedan deo od mojih olovaka... njih dve...’
 ‘...when I say ‘**moje dve olovke**’ (‘my two pencils’), that is one whole, as if those are all (that I have), and when I say ‘**dve moje olovke**’ (‘two my pencils’), that is a partition, one part of all the pencils that I possess...the two of them...’

From this example, we can see that the change in the word order brings about changes in meaning. The movement of elements within the nominal phrase can be driven

²³ The example in which *neki* follows the adjective (112) will be mentioned later on in section (4.2.).

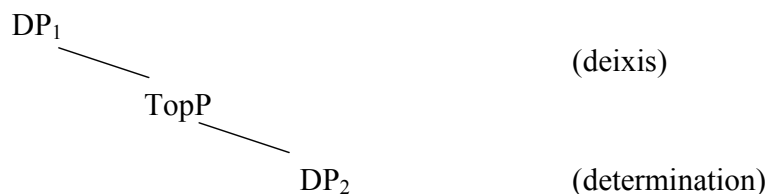
²⁴ I take this opportunity to thank my friend Viktor Kerkez for patience and help.

by information packaging. Thus, one of the reasons for the possible flexibility in linearization in Serbian is the presence of Topic and Focus phrases. On the basis of notions of Topic and Focus, Ihsane and Puskas (2001) argue that it is Topic and Focus that trigger DP-internal movement. TopP and FocP are functional projections which are related to the informational structure of constituents, i.e. they are concepts related to the information packaging.

4.2. Topic and Focus Phrases in the Nominal Phrase

The parallelism between CP and DP lies primarily in the fact that both categories turn a predicate into an argument. They further encode functions that can be characterised as discourse-oriented, namely referentiality, identifiability, deixis and the like. As a result of analogy between CP and DP, some authors, including Alexiadou et al. (2007), propose to split DP into DP₁ and DP₂. The highest DP layer (DP₁) represents the locus of that part of interpretation of the nominal projection that encodes discourse/pragmatic aspects, e.g. encoding concepts such as familiarity, referentiality and deixis. The lower DP (DP₂) expresses determination, e.g. definiteness, indefiniteness, etc. The Topic Phrase is found between DP₁ and DP₂:

(125)



Furthermore, TopPs can be recursed as it is possible that their complement is another topic-comment structure. It means that a clause can contain many topics but only one focus. This is illustrated in the Modern Greek example:

(126a) O Janis, sta pedihja tu, to spiti tha to afisi xoris epifilaksi.

The John, to-the children-his, the house will it leave without hesitation.

‘John will leave the house to his children without hesitation.’

(126b) *O Janis sta pedihja tu tha to afisi to spiti (xoris epifilaksi).

The John to-the children-his will leave the house (without hesitation).²⁵

In addition to TopP, Ihsane and Puskas (2001) propose that the left periphery of nominals includes a Focus Phrase, to which emphasised elements can move. The structure of nominal left periphery is such that TopP is placed higher in the tree than the FocP (see Ihsane and Puskas):

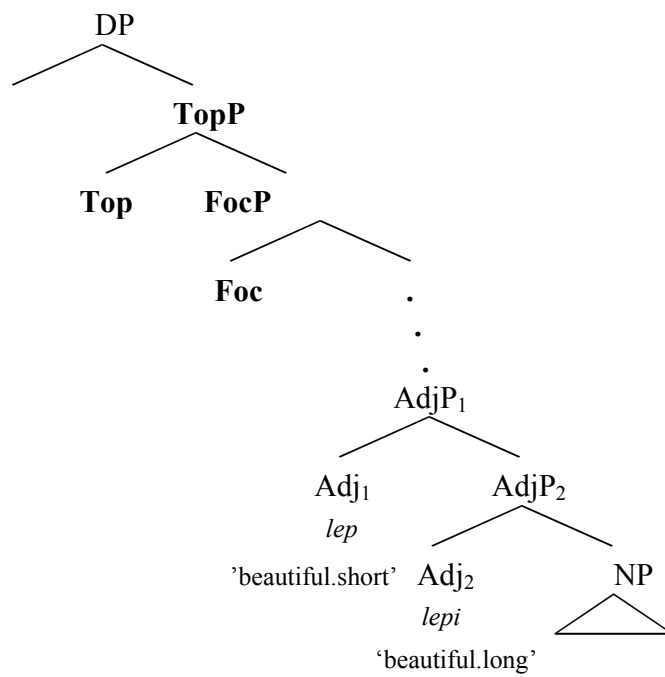
(127) ...TopP>FocP...>NP

The complement of FocP is the part of the informational structure that is presupposed, whereas its specifier is the focal part. The FocP within the nominal phrase is used for contrast and emphasis. By focus driven movement, we can account for the difference in word order in Serbian noun phrase. The examples from 29. to 54. (except the 31., 33., 36., 40., 45., and 50. that were already accounted for) can all be said to have focus driven movement of elements.²⁶ Thus, this is the second reason why it is possible that the order of elements within the Serbian nominal phrase is different than the neutral. This is presented in the tree-diagram as the following:

²⁵ The two examples are taken from Alexiadou et al. (2007, ex. (119)).

²⁶ For further information about the Focus and Topic structure, see Ihsane and Puskas (2001).

(128)



Of course, this 'nominal' focus category may further interact in rather various ways with sentential focus.

5. Which Elements Are Adjectives in Serbian?

Supported by the Zwicky's headedness test, Zlatić (1997) claims that headedness of a noun phrase is a language specific property and that semantic class of determiners employed in Serbian (demonstratives and indefinite determiners *jedan* 'one' and *neki* 'some') corresponds to a syntactic category adjective. She further argues that demonstratives and indefinite determiners *jedan* and *neki* occupy the same syntactic position in the Nominal Phrase. This conclusion was based on the fact that these determiners cannot switch their usual position with other prenominal elements except with universal quantifiers, which generally appear first in the nominal complex. Conversely, as it was already mentioned in section (4.1.) above, the combination of demonstrative followed by indefinite determiners *jedan/neki* appears in Serbian, and since it co-occurs, it cannot be generated in the same syntactic position.

Zlatić (1997) claims that demonstratives can be classified either as nouns or adjectives, and she supports that by the following morphological facts. When demonstratives inflected for masculine and neuter gender occur in certain oblique cases, a demonstrative – (pro)noun has a vowel ending (cf. *ovoga* and *ovima*) while a demonstrative – adjective has no vowel ending (cf. *ovim*).

(129a) *Ovima nikada nisam verovala.*
 these never not.aux trusted
 'I have never trusted these (people).'

(129b) *Ovim ljudima nikada nisam verovala.*
 these people never not.aux trusted
 'I have never trusted these people.'²⁷

On the basis of that evidence, Zlatić (1997) argues that demonstratives can occur in typical NP position or typical modifier position. Consequently, they can be classified either as nouns or adjectives. By classifying Serbian determiners as adjectives, she

²⁷ The examples are taken from Zlatić (1997).

implies that they have the same type of denotation as regular adjectives, i.e. they denote functions that map properties onto properties, rather than functions from properties to set of properties, or to put it in syntactic terms, a determiner combines with a common N to form another common N.

It is a fact that in Serbian determiners behave like adjectives, inflecting for the agreement features of the head N with respect to agreement. And I agree with Zlatić (1997) that determiners behave like adjectives, which is supported by the evidence from the data above (129). However, I would not argue that they are non-distinct categories, but rather that they behave **similarly** to adjectives in that respect. In section (4.1.) I gave the reasons why it may be so that *neki* ‘some’ behaves like adjectives.

6. Two forms of Adjectives in Serbian?

Serbian has two forms of adjectives, the ‘short’ and the ‘long’²⁸ form. Morphologically and phonologically, the two forms differ in suffixation and in intonation. However, this difference is displayed differently according to gender and case agreement of adjective with the N. Thus, ‘long’ masculine forms of adjectives in nominative singular have suffix *-i*, contrary to neuter and feminine ‘long’ forms which do not have morphological markers, but the difference in forms can only be seen in the length of the vowel within a word, stress and intonation.

They differ in several respects in Serbian literary language:

1. Both forms can appear on adjectives in the prenominal position:

(130a) nov auto
 new.short car
 ‘a/the new car’

(130b) novi auto
 new.long car
 ‘the/a new car’

2. However, if both forms occur together, the usual²⁹ order of the adjectives³⁰ is that the ‘short’ form adjective precedes the ‘long’ form adjective:

(131a) lep zanimljivi san
 beautiful.short interesting.long dream
 ‘a/the beautiful interesting dream’

²⁸ In the traditional Serbian grammar, the term ‘short’ is referred to as indefinite, and the term ‘long’ as definite adjective. (see Piper, 2005)

³⁰ At this point, I will not deal with the general order of adjectives within the Serbian NP.

(131b) *lepi zanimljiv san
beautiful.long interesting.short dream
'a/the beautiful interesting dream'

(131c) *zanimljivi lep san
interesting.long beautiful.short dream
'an/the interesting beautiful dream'

(131d) zanimljiv lepi san
interesting.short beautiful.long dream
'an/the interesting beautiful dream'

For Leko (1992) and Aljović (2002) this order follows from the fact that short-form adjectives are base-generated higher than long-form adjectives. For Cinque (2007) possible way of explaining this is that short-form adjectives are generated as predicates of reduced relative clauses, which are merged higher than direct modification adjectives.

3. Only the 'short' form can appear in the predicative position:

(132) Njegov san je zanimljiv/*zanimljivi.
his dream is interesting.short/*interesting.long
'His dream is interesting.'

4. Only 'long' form adjectives can appear in the idiomatic expressions and collocations, giving rise to a specific interpretation of a Nominal Phrase:

(133a) strani jezik
foreign.long language
'foreign language'

(133b) stran jezik
foreign.short language
'some unfamiliar language'

(134a) slepi miš
blind.long mouse
'a bat'

(134b) slep miš
blind.short mouse
'a blind mouse'

5. Interestingly, some adjectives have only the long form³¹. These adjectives cannot be used in predicative positions.

(135a) njen budući student
her future.long student
'her future student'

(135b) *njen buduć student
her future.short student

Adjectives that behave in a similar way in Serbian are *navodni* 'alleged.long', *polarni* 'polar.long', and *generalni* 'general.long'. Some of these adjectives are not of the same type, but they all have this similar property.

6. In Nominal Phrases with a vocative case³², only the long form seems to be acceptable:

³¹ Note here that the group of Possessive adjectives is put under a separate functional projection.

³² Franc Marušič (p.c.) argues that the long form here could be just adjectival agreement for vocative case.

(136a) Hej, smešni čoveče!
hey, funny.long man.voc
'Hey, funny man!'

(136b) *Hej, smešan čoveče!
hey, funny.short man.voc

7. As Cinque (2007) confirms, if made “heavy” (by coordination or complementation) after a pause, only short-form adjectives can appear postnominally:

(137a) *Njen san, zanimljivi, nasmejao je glumce.
her dream interesting.long made laugh aux actors
'Her dream, interesting, tickled the actors.'

(137b) *Njen san, zanimljivi i smešni, nasmejao je glumce.
Her dream interesting.long and funny.long made laugh aux actors
'Her dream, interesting and funny, tickled the actors.'

(137c) Njen san, zanimljiv, nasmejao je glumce.
her dream interesting.short made laugh aux actors
'Her dream, interesting, tickled the actors.'

(137d) Njen san, zanimljiv i smešan, nasmejao je glumce.
her dream interesting.short and funny.short made laugh aux actors
'Her dream, interesting and funny, tickled the actors.'

8. If ‘long’ and ‘short’ forms are coordinated together, the structure appears to be unacceptable:

(138a) smešan i zanimljiv san
funny.short and interesting.short dream
'a/the funny and interesting dream'

(138b) smešni i zanimljivi san
funny.long and interesting.long dream
'a/the funny and interesting dream'

(138c) * smešan i zanimljivi san
funny.short and interesting.long dream
'an/the funny and interesting dream'

(138d) *smešni i zanimljiv san
funny.long and interesting.short dream
'a/the funny and interesting dream'

9. Finally, in question formation, when questioning indefinite adjectives, the question word *kakav* 'what kind' is used, whereas when questioning definite adjectives, the question word is identical to that used by determiners, namely *koji* 'which'. In this respect, definite adjectives have function to identify.

(139a) (question) Kakav si san sanjao?
what kind aux dream dreamt
'What kind of dream did you dream?'

(answer) Smešan i zanimljiv san
funny.short and interesting.short dream
'a/the funny and interesting dream'

(139b) (question) Koji si san sanjao?
 which aux dream dreamt
 ‘Which dream did you dream?’

(answer) Smešni i zanimljivi san
 funny.long and interesting.long dream
 ‘a/the funny and interesting dream’

The distinction between the two forms of adjective in Serbian seems to be fairly obvious. However, although there clearly appear to be morphological markers of referentiality on adjectives in Serbian, its use in the language is in decay and its regularity is weakening. As mentioned in Zlatić (1997), the distinction between short and long form adjectives is disappearing, so that both forms can be used interchangeably after a demonstrative pronoun heading a definite Nominal Phrase, which is a typical environment where one would expect to find the definite form:

(140a) Uzmi onaj crven/crveni šal.
 take that red.short/red.long scarf
 ‘Take that red scarf.’

(140b) Uzmi crven/crveni šal.
 take red.short/red.long scarf
 ‘Take a/the red scarf.’

The (140a) example shows that both short and long adjective forms can occur with the demonstrative, definiteness being induced by the determiner rather than by an adjective. In the example (140b), the determiner is absent, and definiteness is determined by the context. In the end, in modern Serbian, the order of adjectives seems to be just a matter of strong preference within discourse. Thus, the distinction between long and short forms of adjectives seems to be in decay in Serbian language. The phonological, i.e. prosodic characteristics that differentiate the two forms are disappearing, whereas the

morphological markers are still present in some cases, but the two forms are more and more taken to be used interchangeably.

7. Conclusion

In this thesis, I have given an overview of the structure of Serbian nominal phrase. Also, I have mentioned the problem regarding the status of the nominal phrase, and I have dealt with the order of elements within the noun phrase, where it is shown that the order of prenominal elements can depend on information packaging and on different interpretation of some elements within the nominal phrase.

It is typical of linguistic variation that a standard language imposes more rigorous restrictions. The data in Serbian used in this thesis were concentrating more on the non-literal/informal language. Normally, there are some differences between formal and informal language, but the informal/colloquial language is slowly entering the formal language sphere (e.g. the language of media in Serbia nowadays). That is why some of the debates regarding the linearization and the difference in the two forms of adjectives in Serbian can be seen as evidence of language change. But the author was dealing with the questions and problems related to the structure of nominal phrase in Serbian paying attention to what is the situation in the language today, setting aside the possible changes in language diachronically, dealing with the language synchronically.

Moreover, languages do not necessarily have to be logical and do not care so much about the reality (e.g. the expression *to walk through the door*). Thus, if a construction does not seem logical according to some more traditional approach, it does not mean that it is not grammatical or that it is not used in a language.

In the end, there are many detailed questions left open for further discussion, and this topic needs further investigation. After all, it would be advisable to try to find answers also in other linguistic branches – e.g. phonology and semantics.

8. Bibliography:

- Abney, S. 1987. The English Noun Phrase and its Sentential Aspect. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT
- Abels, Klaus and Neeleman, Ad. 2006. Universal 20 without the LCA
- Adger, David. 2003. Core Syntax, Minimalist Approach. OUP, New York
- Alexiadou, Artemis et al. 2007. Noun Phrase in Generative Perspective. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin
- Aljović, Nadira. 2002. Long Adjectival Inflection and Specificity in Serbo-Croatian. In *Recherches linguistiques de Vincennes* 31 – 2002 – p. 27-42
- Arsenijević, Boban. 2007. The Syntactic triangle: phases, categories and reference. Novi Sad Generative Workshop, January 8-10, 2007
- Bašić, Monika. 2004. Nominal subextractions and the Structure of NPs in Serbian and English. MA Thesis, Det humanistike fakultet, Universitetet i Tromsø
- Bosković, Željko. 2007a. What will you have, DP or NP? [to appear in *Proceedings of NELS 37*]
- Bosković, Željko. 2007b. On the Clausal and NP Structure of Serbo/Croatian. [to appear in *Proceedings of FASL 15*]
- Bošković, Željko. in press. Left branch extraction, structure of NP, and scrambling. In Sabel&Saito, eds. *Scrambling*
- Cinque, Guglielmo. Deriving Greenberg's Universals and its Exceptions. *Linguistic Inquiry*, Vol. 36, No. 3. (2005), pp. 315-332
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2007. The Syntax of Adjectives. [to appear]
- Đurić, Radmila. 2005. Genitiv u engleskom i njegovi ekvivalenti u srpskom jeziku – generativni pristup. Magistarski rad. Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Filozofski fakultet
- Franks, Steven and Perelsvaig, Asya. 2004. Functional Categories in the Nominal Domain. In *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The Ottawa Meeting*, ed. by O. Arnaudova et al, 109-128
- Hlebec, Boris. 1986. Serbo-Croatian Correspondents of the articles in English. *Folia Slavica* 8/1, 29-53

- Ishane T. and Puskas, G. 2001. Specific is not definite. In *Generative Grammar in Geneva 2*: 39-54
- Laskova, Vesselina. 2007. Double Definiteness Constructions in Colloquial Bulgarian. In Franc Marušič and Rok Žaucer (eds.) *Studies in Formal Slavic Linguistics*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang
- Leko, Nedžad. 1992. Restrictive and appositive forms of Serbo-Croatian descriptive adjectives. *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 37, 621-629
- Marušič, Franc. 2008. Class lecture notes. University of Nova Gorica
- Marušič, Franc and Žaucer, Rok. to appear. Two Strategies for Combining Adjectives with Indefinite Pronouns. [To appear in Proceedings of NELS 38]
- Marušič, Franc and Žaucer, Rok. 2008. On the Adjectival Definite Article in Slovenian. *Pismo* 5/1: 102-124
- Marušič, Franc and Žaucer, Rok. 2007. O določnem ta v pogovorni slovenščini (z navezavo na določno obliko pridevnika), *Slavistična revija* 55.1-2: 223-247
- Marušič, Franc and Žaucer, Rok. 2006. The definite article in colloquial Slovenian and an AP related DP position. In J. E. Lavine et al. (eds.) *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics 14 (The Princeton Meeting)*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications. 189-204
- Mrazović, P. i Z. Vukadinović. 1990. *Gramatika srpskohrvatskog jezika za strance*, Sremski Karlovci: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića
- Nthelios, D. 2003. The Syntax of Emphasis: Ellipsis and Discontinuity in the DP. In Proceedings of the 6th International Conference of Greek Linguistics, Rethymno
- Pereltsvaig, Asya. 2007. *On the Universality of DP: A View from Russian*. *Studia Linguistica* 61(1): 59-94.
- Piper, P. et al. 2005. *Sintaksa savremenog srpskog jezika: prosta rečenica*. SANU, Beogradska knjiga, Matica srpska, Beograd
- Progovac, Ljiljana. 1998. Determiner Phrase in a Language without Determiners. *J. Linguistics* 34 (1998) 165- 179
- Rappaport, Gilbert. 1998. The Slavic Noun Phrase. Position paper, Spencer, Indiana

- Rutkowski, P. and Progovac, Lj. 2004. Classification Projection in Polish and Serbian. FASL (Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics) 13, University of South Carolina
- Stevanović, Mihailo. 1991. Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik. Naučna knjiga, Beograd
- Trenkić, Danijela. 2004. Definiteness in Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian and some implications for the general structure of the nominal phrase. *Lingua* 114 (2004) 1401–1427
- Valois, Daniel. 2006. Adjectives: Order within DP and Attributive APs. *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax, Volume I*, Blackwell Publishing, ed. by Martin Everaert and Henk van Rijemsdijk, 61 - 82
- Zlatic, Larisa. 1998. Slavic Noun Phrases are NPs not DPs. Presented at the Workshop on Comparative Slavic Morphosyntax, Bloomington, Indiana
- Zlatic, Larisa. 1997. The Structure of the Serbian Noun Phrase. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin