

The co-occurrence of the demonstrative and the definite article in colloquial Bulgarian

The object of this survey is a peculiar co-occurrence of the demonstrative and the definite article or of two elements holding the definite article, in colloquial Bulgarian.

Bulgarian makes use of an enclitic definite article.

1. zelenite obuvki
green-the shoes

Normally, the definite article occurs once in the DP, on the first element (possessive, numeral, adjective, or noun) and cannot co-occur with the demonstrative.

In colloquial speech, however, the demonstrative and the article *do* occur together.

2. onia kafiavite obuvki
those brown-the shoes

The repetition of the article is also possible:

3. neinite starite obuvki
her-the old-the shoes

In this paper I would like to account for this phenomenon arguing that the co-occurrence of the demonstrative and the definite article is not an instance of a mere repetition of two definite determiners but a mode of introducing a reduced relative clause in prenominal position.

As suggested in Cinque (2005), languages use different strategies to distinguish between attributive-only adjectives and adjectives exploiting a predicative clause source. Serbian/Croatian distinguishes between a short form and a long form of the adjectives, the former being a predicative form, the latter – ambiguous. Russian exhibits similar characteristics, having the short form as unambiguously predicative, the long form being again ambiguous. Greek Determiner Spreading is shown to serve the same distinction as well (Cinque, 2005, Campos and Stavrou 2004).

Bulgarian, also, seems to offer a possibility for distinguishing between attributive-only adjectives and adjectives exploiting a relative clause source.

In Bulgarian, the adjective holding the definite article exhibits the properties of a reduced relative clause in prenominal position. It is interpreted restrictively, it picks up an individual form a set or anaphorically refers to an entity isolating it from all other entities.

Moreover, whenever we add a postnominal relative clause to a DP containing the Dem+Art construction the relative clause can only be appositive and never restrictive.

4. Onaia zelenata bluza, koiato prodavachkata izvadi ot shkafa ne bashe lohsa.
That green-the blouse that shop assistant-the took out of the wardrobe was not bad.

The adjective holding the article, in the Dem+Art construction, does not contribute much to the meaning of the phrase, in the way an adjective without the article does. The quality the adjective denotes serves only to identify the entity, to isolate it from the others and not to characterize it in terms of that quality.

5. Onaia visokata zhenia imashe mnogo krasivi rakavitsi.

That tall-the woman had very beautiful gloves

6. ?? Onaia visoka zhen a imashe mnogo krasivi rakavitsi.
That tall woman had very beautiful gloves

In (5) the woman is simply identified by her quality of being tall. In (6), the Dem+Art construction is not used and the meaning of the adjective contributes to the sense of the phrase. Since the quality of being tall is not related to the fact that the woman has beautiful gloves, the sentence sounds odd.

We will argue that the adjective holding the article in the Dem+Art construction, or the second adjective in the construction with two articles is a DP predicate of a reduced relative clause, containing the articulated adjective and an empty noun. An interesting piece of evidence is the fact that the articulated adjective can be used not only in predicative position but also in other positions in the clause, not adjacent to the main DP, thus showing that it is a whole DP and not a simple adjective.

7. Novite obuvki imah pred vid, **zelenite**.
new-the shoes I had in mind **green-the**

Why do we need the Demonstrative or another articulated adjective to precede the DP predicate adjective when it is found inside the DP? We will follow Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1996), who argue that the definite article in Bulgarian is not generated/merged under D but in the specifier of an FP, together with the adjective. The whole complex moves to Spec, DP in syntax to check features with D. Thus the element holding the article in the Bulgarian DP is to be found in Spec, DP. Once the Spec, DP position is filled, we know that the article on the adjective coming next is not the article of the whole DP but a different occurrence.

There is one important requirement the articulated adjectives, which can become DP predicates of a reduced relative clause, must meet, namely, to allow for an empty N. In Bulgarian these are the adjectives which have a predicative use, as well as a few attributive only adjectives, which, when articulated, allow for an empty category.

We argue that Cinque's (2005) theory offers a more unified approach to the phenomenon of predicative modification in prenominal position, thus providing the same account for several, at first sight, not so similar phenomena like Determiner Spreading, the Bulgarian double definiteness phenomenon, the long vs. short form distinction. The prenominal position of the predicative element follows from universal principles of phrase structure, thus we do not need to postulate a PredP in prenominal position.

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