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### The Syntax of Quantified Phrases in some modern and ancient Balkan languages (Romanian, Serbo Croatian, Bulgarian and Old Bulgarian).

#### 1. Quantity items across categories

- (1) a. (\*the) all (the) children  
b. (the) many (\*the) children  
(the)three (\*the) children  
c. (\*the) some (\*the) children  
(\*the) each/every (\*the)child
- (2) a. (\*i) tutti \*(i) bambini  
b. (i) molti \*(i) bambini  
(i) tre \*(i) bambini  
c. (\*gli) alcuni \*(i) bambini  
(\*il) ciascun (\*il) bambino / (\*l') ogni (\*il) bambino
- (3) a. toți băieții / \*toții băieți / \*cei toți băieți  
b. \*mulți băieții / mulți(i) băieți / \*cei mulți băieți  
/ (cei) trei băieți  
c. vreuni(\*i) băieți / vreunii (\*băieți)  
fiecare, oricare, etc.
- (4) a. tutte le squadre (“all the teams”)  
b. molte squadre (“many teams”) / una squadra (“one team”)  
c. øna na skwadra (Badiot Ladin, cf. Benincà and Haiman 1992)  
one a team  
d. many a good student (cf. Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, Svartvik 1985:263)

Quantity items belong to more than one syntactic categories

- (5) a. [QP [Q tutte] [DP [D le] [ ... [NP squadre]]]]  
b. [QP [Q molte] [DP [D Ø] [ ... [NP squadre]]]]  
b' [QP [Q una] [DP [D Ø] [ ... [NP squadra]]]]  
c. [QP [Q øna] [DP [D na] [ ... [NP skwadra]]]]  
d. [QP [Q many] [DP [D a] [good [NP student]]]]
- (6) a. [DP [D i] [ [AP molti] [NP bambini]]]]

Diagnostics:

Qs cooccur with pronouns, other determiners do not, adjectives do so in particular contexts

- (7) a. tutti loro / loro tutti  
b. eux tous /\*tous eux  
c. they all / all \*(of) them  
d. noi toți / toți \*(dintre) noi
- (8) a. \*\*questi noi /\*\* noi questi / **questi/quelli tra noi**  
b. \*\* they these / \*\*these them / **these/those among them / of them**  
c. \*\*acești noi / \*\*noi aceștia / **\*acești dintre noi / aceia dintre noi**
- (9) a. \*\*sfortunati noi / **noi sfortunati / noi docenti siamo ....**  
b. \*\*nenorociți(i) noi / noi nenorociți\*(i) / noi profesori\*(i)

Qs allow for extraction (remain stranded) other determiners do not

- (10) a. Gli studenti sono {tutti/\*questi/\*simpatici} stati {tutti/\*questi} promossi {tutti/\*questi}  
Studentii au fost {toți/\*acești} promovați {toți/\*acești}  
b. Maria li ha {tutti/\*questi}promossi {tutti/\*questi}  
Maria i-a {\*toți/\*acești} promovat (pe) {toți/\*acești} .  
c. Ich habe die Studenten gestern alle/\*diese kennengelernt (German)

Giusti and Leko (1994, 2005:138-140).

Qs agree with the predicate independently of the features of the DP, adjectives concord with N

- (31) Multe studenata/ studentica/ goveda je došla  
 many students-GEN M/ students-GEN F/ cattle-GEN N arrived-N SG
- (32) a. Multe studenata su došli.  
 many-NOM M PL students-NOM M PL arrived-M PL  
 b. Multe studentice su došli.  
 many-NOM FEM PL students-NOM FEM PL arrived-FEM PL  
 c. Multe goveda su došli.  
 many-NOM N PL cattle-NOM N PL arrived-N PL
- (34) a. Vidio sam multe studenata/ njih.  
 (I) saw many students-GEN PL/ them-GEN PL  
 b. Vidio sam ih mnogo.  
 (I) saw them-CL GEN PL many  
 'I saw a lot of them.'
- (35) a. Vidio sam multe studente/ \*njih.  
 (I) saw many-ACC PL students-ACC PL/ them-ACC PL  
 b. Vidio sam (\*ih) multe.  
 (I) saw them-CL ACC PL many-ACC PL

Stranding of A is independently allowed in S-C

- (36) a. Vidio sam dobre studente/ \*njih.  
 (I) saw good-ACC PL students-ACC PL them-ACC PL  
 b. \*Vidio sam studente dobre/ ih dobre.
- (37) a. Dobri studenata su stigli.  
 good students-NOM MASC PL arrived-MASC PL  
 b. ?Studenata su dobri stigli.
- (38) a. Svi/ multi/ neki studenata su stigli.  
 all/ many/ some students-NOM PL arrived-MASC PL  
 b. Studenata su svi/ multi/ neki stigli.
- (39) a. Multe studenata je stiglo.  
 many students-GEN PL arrived-NEUT SG  
 b. Studenata je multe stiglo.

### 1.1. Dual universal quantifiers in Romanian

- (11) a. Au venit amândoi băieții frumoși / amândouă fetele frumoase.  
 b. Au venit amândoi bieții băieți / amândouă biete fete.  
 c. \*Au venit amândoi băieți
- (12) a. Au venit ambii băieți(\*i) frumoși / ambele fete(\*le) frumoase.  
 b. Au venit ambii bieți(\*i) băieți / ambele biete(\*le) fete.  
 c. \*Au venit ambi băieții
- (13) a. Vecinii au venit amândoi/\*ambii.  
 b. Vecinele au venit amândouă /\*ambele.
- (14) a. I-am văzut pe amândoi/\*ambii.  
 b. Le-am văzut pe amândouă /\*ambele.

### 1.2. Reversed orders with Qs

- (15) Florea (1983)  
 a. atâtea visuri toate (p34)  
 so-many dreams all  
 b. averea lor toată (p69)  
 c. dragostea toată a mamei (p42)  
 d. toată dragostea mamei (p42) cf dragostea mamei toată

- (16) Lombard (1978)  
 a. Le-am văzut pe vecinele mele amîndouă (p.158)  
 b. vecinele acestea amîndouă (p167)

Giusti (1991b)

- (17) a. averea Mariei toată  
 b. averea lor imensă toată  
 c. I-am văzut pe copiii Mariei toți.  
 d. I-am examinat pe copiii aceia toți.  
 (18) a. toate soluțiile interesante  
 b. \*soluțiile interesante toate  
 c. \*\*soluțiile toate interesante  
 (19) a. toate rochiile roșii ale Mariei  
 b. \*\*rochiile toate roșii ale Mariei  
 c. \*\*rochiile roșii toate ale Mariei  
 d. \*rochiile roșii ale Mariei toate

## 2. A developing quantifier: *vs* in Old Bulgarian

Vulchanov & Dimitrova-Vulchanova 2005, electronic corpus of around 10.000 nominal expressions from Codex Suprasliensis (11<sup>th</sup> c.), <http://www.hf.ntnu.no/hf/adm/forskning/prosjekter/balkansim/databases.html>

- |        |                              |                        |                        |              |                  |
|--------|------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| (1) a. | при                          | народъ                 | въсѣмъ                 | сѣмъ         | <b>N Q Dem</b>   |
|        | P (in the presence)          | multitude, LOC,m.      | all, LOC,m.            | this, LOC,m. | (CS 149, 15)     |
|        | “in this whole multitude”    |                        |                        |              |                  |
| b.     | въсѣ                         | линожество             | сѣ                     |              | <b>Q N Dem</b>   |
|        | all, ACC,n.                  | multitude, ACC,n.      | this, ACC,n.           |              | (S 31, 18)       |
|        | “all this multitude”         |                        |                        |              |                  |
| c.     | та                           | вѣса                   | вина                   |              | <b>Dem Q N</b>   |
|        | this, N,f.                   | all, N,f.              | guilt, N,f.            |              | (S 415, 28)      |
|        | “all this guilt”             |                        |                        |              |                  |
| d.     | ношть                        | онъ                    | вѣсѣ                   |              | <b>N Dem Q</b>   |
|        | night, ACC,f.                | that, ACC,f.           | all, ACC,f.            |              | (S 265, 5)       |
|        | “all that night”             |                        |                        |              |                  |
| e.     | сѣдъ                         | въсѣ                   | свои                   |              | <b>N Q PossA</b> |
|        | trial (judging), ACC,m.      | all, ACC,m.            | own, PAan,ACC,m.       |              | (S 257, 22)      |
|        | “all of one’s/his own trial” |                        |                        |              |                  |
| f.     | плѣти                        | твоѣ                   | вѣса                   |              | <b>N PossA Q</b> |
|        | flesh, Pl,N,f.               | your, PA,Pl,N,f.       | all, Pl,N,f.           |              | (S 233, 23)      |
|        | “all your flesh”             |                        |                        |              |                  |
| g.     | въсѣго                       | житиѣ                  | ѹловѣѹьска             |              | <b>Q N A</b>     |
|        | all, GEN,n.                  | life, Nominaliz,GEN,n. | man, DA,GEN,n.         |              | (S 288, 29-30)   |
| h.     | въсѣ                         | ѹлвѣѹьско              | житиѣ                  |              | <b>Q A N</b>     |
|        | all, ACC,n. (of)             | man, DA,ACC,n.         | life, Nominaliz,ACC,n. |              | (S 253, 14-15)   |
|        | “all human life”             |                        |                        |              |                  |
| i.     | прѣлъсть                     | въсѣ                   | сѣтонинъ               |              | <b>N Q A</b>     |
|        | seduction, ACC,f.            | all, ACC,f.            | (of) devil, DA,ACC,f.  |              | (S 525, 8)       |
|        | “all the devil seduction”    |                        |                        |              |                  |

Old Bulgarian is developing a left peripheral area inside the Nominal Expression around a functional head (Cl) which can host nominal clitics in Wackernagel position, parallel to what happens in the clause. The structures in (2) depict the current language for the clause as analysed by Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan (1999), and for the DP by Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1999).

- (2) a. (Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan 1999)
- |                                  |                      |                   |                    |                   |                      |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| [ <sub>ClP2</sub> Cl             | [ <sub>ClP1</sub> Cl |                   |                    |                   | [ <sub>CP</sub> C ]] |
| Knigata                          | dadoxte              | li                | mu                 | ja                | na Ivan?             |
| Book-the                         | gave.2pl             | Cl. <sub>wh</sub> | Cl. <sub>him</sub> | Cl. <sub>it</sub> | to Ivan              |
| “Did you give the book to Ivan?” |                      |                   |                    |                   |                      |

- b. (Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti 1999)  
 [CIP2 Cl [CIP1 Cl [DP D [NP]]]  
 [Na Ivan [xubavite mu [ knigi]]]  
 To Ivan good-the Cl<sub>his</sub> books  
 “Ivan’s good books”
- c. [Na Ivan [CIP1 [Cl knigite mu] [ knigi]]]  
 To Ivan book-the Cl<sub>his</sub>  
 “Ivan’s books”

Our second claim regards the syntactic label of **Бѣкъ** which we claim to be ambiguous: Q or A. At this stage the very same morphological form **Бѣкъ** can be syntactically labelled Q (a quantifier heading its own projection and selecting DP as its complement (3a), or labelled QAP (a high adjective inserted in the intermediate functional layer of the DP (3b). Since D in Old Bulgarian can be empty, the two structures often give rise to the same word orders. As a consequence word orders can only rarely disambiguate between the two structures:

- (3) a. [Q [D [NP]]]  
 b. [D [QAP [NP]]]

Being that D is not necessarily filled at this stage, the linear orders enhanced by the two structures are in most cases the same. It is interesting to notice that at this same stage the enclitic demonstrative is developing into an affixal morpheme, which will have the distribution of a definite article. This property interacts with our third claim.

**Бѣкъ** is specializing for the Q status and losing the QA status

- (4) Old Bulgarian → Modern Bulgarian  
 a. [CIP1 QAP [Cl dem] [DP dem D [ AP [NP]]] → [DP AP+art [NP]]  
 b. [CIP1 Q [Cl dem] [DP dem D [ AP [NP]]] → [QP Q+agr [D [NP]]]

#### Criteria

- We use patterns of relative ordering of pairs cf. Cinque (1994, 1999).
- We derive statistically marked orders from discourse driven displacements to left peripheral positions. We apply to Old Bulgarian the analyses of the categories under discussion in modern Bulgarian and in general to languages that present the same word orders.
- The previous three procedures will allow us to establish diagnostics for the categories under discussion relevant to Old Bulgarian and exclude those that can be used for other languages but are not relevant to Old Bulgarian for independent properties of this language.
- Following the hypothesis that an unstable system is characterised by the coexistence of competing grammars (cf. Kroch 1989, 1994), we provide competing analyses for a given word order which may have coexisted in the speakers’ minds at this stage of the language. As argued by Roberts (2007), orders that suggest parameter ambiguity tend to be resolved by the next generation of speakers by re-setting the parameter (a re-analysis).
- Finally we try to formulate some hypotheses for why certain syntactically ambiguous orders have later turned to be analysed unambiguously.

### 3. A comparison between Modern Bulgarian and Old Bulgarian

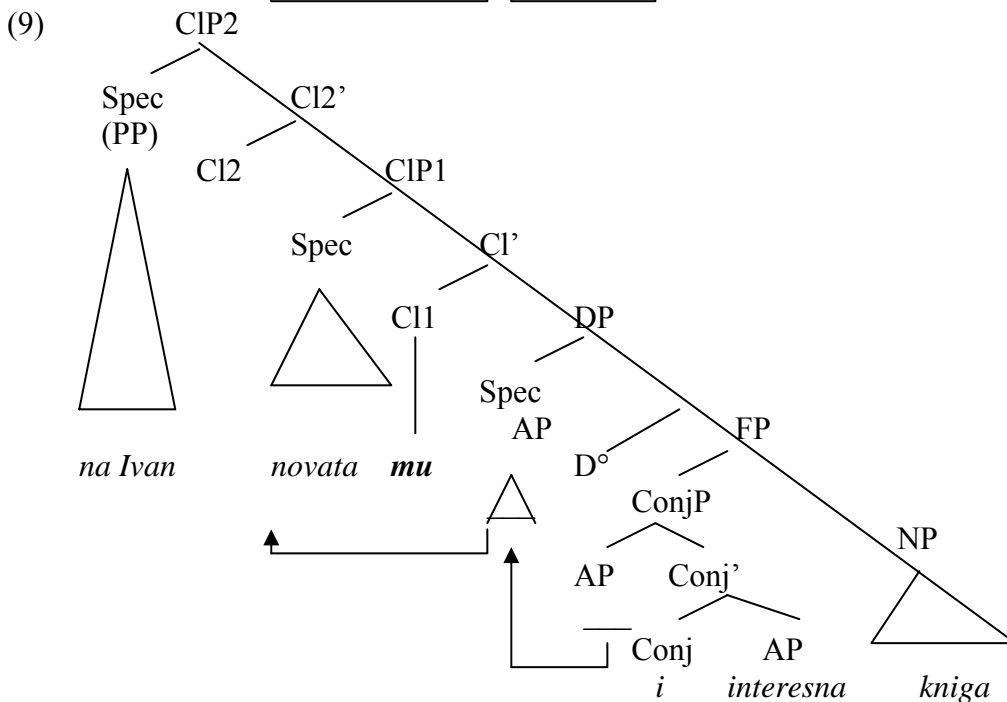
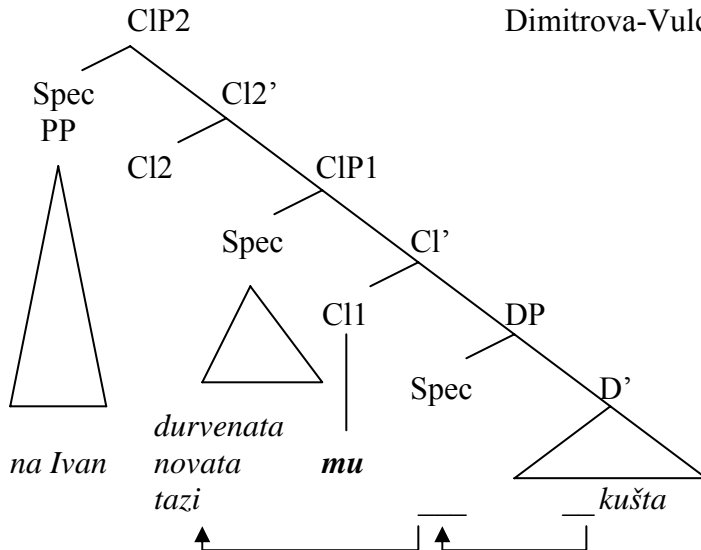
#### 3.1. Modern Bulgarian

- (5) a. goljamoto momče A+art N (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1998)  
 big-the boy  
 b. \*momčeto goljamo \*N+art A b’. momčeto N+art  
 boy-the big boy-the (“the boy”)  
 c. goljamo momče A N  
 [a] big boy  
 d. \*momče goljamo \*N A d’. momče N  
 “a boy

- (6) a. *novata Ivanova durvena kusta*  
 new-the Ivan.Gen.AP wooden house

- b. *durvenata* (\*Ivanova) *kusta*  
 c. *Ivanovata* (\*nova) *kusta*  
 d. *kustata* (\*nova/ \*Ivanova/ \*durvena)  
 (7) a. *tazi nova durvena kušta na Ivan*  
 this new wooden house  
 b. *na Ivan tazi mu nova durvena kušta*  
 c. *na Ivan novata mu durvena kušta*  
 d. *na Ivan durvenata mu kušta*  
 e. *na Ivan kuštata mu*

(8) Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1999)



**Vsički** in Modern Bulgarian

- (10) a. *vsički(te) xubavi knigi* a'. [DP QAP+art [AP [NP]]]  
 b. \**vsički(te) knjigite* b'. [DP [D°Q(+art)] [...[NP]]]  
 c. \**vsički(te) xubavite knigi*  
 (11) a. *vsički(te) tezi knigi* a'. [QP Q(+art) [DP Dem [NP]]]  
 b. *tezi knigi vsički\*(te)* b'. [QP [DP] [Q(+art) [DP Dem [NP]]]  
 c. *knigite vsički\*(te)*  
 d. *tezi vsički\*(te) knigi* d'. [QP Dem [Q(+art) [DP Dem [NP]]]

- (12) a. \*xubavite vsički(te) knigi  
 b. \*negovite vsički(te) knigi  
 c. \*Ivanovite vsički(te) knigi
- (13) a. na Ivan vsičkrite mu tezi novi knigi  
 to Ivan all-the his.CL these new books  
 b. vsički (\*mu) knigi  
 all (\*his.CL) books
- c. na Ivan vsički tezi mu novi knigi  
 to Ivan all these his.CL new books  
 d. \*vsički novite mu knigi  
 e. knigite mu vsičkrite

### Old Bulgarian

Old Bulgarian displays a number of determiners **тъ**, **съ**, **онъ** which can appear as strong independent pronouns or inside the nominal expression, both in demonstrative uses and as the evolving article.

- (14) **аште то вѣштаемъ** [ср ѣже онъ хоштетъ]  
 if this say, 1,pl what, ACC,n. he, N,m. want, 3,sg (CS 380, 1-2)  
 “If what we say is what he wants...”
- (15) a. **всѣ то село** (OB, CS 207, 4)  
 all, ACC,n. det, ACC,n. place (village), ACC,n.  
 b. **духа сего нечистаго** (OB, CS 173, 11)  
 spirit, GEN,m. det, GEN,m. impure, GEN,m.  
 c. **оного огнѣ**  
 that, GEN,m. fire, GEN,m.

### The demonstrative in Old Bulgarian

- (16) a. **ѣмоу же естъ слава и дръжава**  
 (of) he, D,m is glory, N,f. and power, N,f. (S 81, 25-26)  
 b. **ѡ ѣ доѡа каѡ тоу крѡтоу**  
 (of) who, D,m. Art,N,f. glory, N and Art, N,n. power, N,n.  
 “whose is the glory and the power”
- (17) a. **владѣка тъ**  
 lord, N,m. that, Art,N,m. (S 86, 23)  
 b. **ѡ крѡтѡв**  
 Art, N,m. might  
 “the lord”
- (18) a. **ѡ боу боуѡрѣни тои боуи ереси**  
 about God-fighting, LOC,f. this, LOC,f. foolish, LOC,f. heresy, LOC,f. (S 188, 28-29)  
 b. **тѣс θεομαχου ταύτης νεωτέρα αιρέσεωс**  
 Art, GEN,f. God-opposing this, GEN,f. youthful heresy
- (19) a. **слова си ваша**  
 word, Pl,N,n. this, Art,Pl,N,n. your, PA,Pl,N,n. (S 130, 27)  
 b. **тѡв λόγων ѡμѡв тѡутѡв**  
 Art, N,m. words you, Pl,GEN these, Pl,GEN

Its clitic vs strong status appears to co-relate with interpretation: The strong position in (20a) corresponds to deictic first mention interpretation, while the clitic in (20b) corresponds to anaphoric second mention:

- (20) a. **сиѡ дивѡѡ козѡ** **Dem A N**  
 these, Pl,N,f. wild, Pl,N,f. goat, Pl,N,f. (S 224, 2)  
 “these (deictic/first mention) wild goats”  
 b. **дивѡѡѡ сиѡ козѡ** **N Dem A**  
 wild, Pl,ACC,f. these, Pl,ACC,f. goat, Pl,ACC,f. (S 224, 17)  
 “the wild goats (second mention of same referent)”
- (21) **всѣ дѡнѡ тъ и тѡ нѡштѡ** **Q N Dem & Dem N**  
 all, ACC,m. day, ACC,m. that, Art,ACC,m. and that, ACC,f. night, ACC,f. (S 32, 1-2)  
**пѡсѡв тѣв ѣмѣрав каѡ тѣв нѡкта ѣкеѡвнѣ** **Q art N & art N Dem**  
 all Art day, ACC,f. and Art night that, ACC,f.

- (22) a. БЕЗБОЖНОЮ оно и НЕУСТЬИВОЮ повѣданию **A Dem and A PossA N**  
 godless, ACC,n. that, ACC,n. and evil, ACC,n. proclamation, Nominaliz,ACC,n.  
 (S 85, 5-7)  
 “the godless and evil proclamation”
- b. малааго того ради данна **Ord A N Dem**  
 little, GEN,n. that, GEN,n. P (because of) giving, Nominaliz,GEN,n. (S 123, 5-6)  
 “because of the little contribution”

To summarize: the demonstrative in second position is a clitic in Wackernagel position, very similar to the position of the clitic possessive observed in (8)-(9) above. If this is the case, we expect the demonstrative to immediately follow both a Q and a QA. In fact we know that the Wackernagel position dominates the whole nominal expression including QP, and we have no reason to believe that at this stage the Old Bulgarian DP could have a left periphery dominated by Q (an element which is on its way to acquiring this syntactic status, but is still ambiguously adjectival in nature).

### Strong demonstratives

- (23) a. сихъ малыихъ братиа моеа **Dem A N PossA**  
 this, Pl,GEN,m. young, Pl,GEN,m. brother, Pl,GEN,m. my, PA,Pl,GEN,m.  
 (S 341, 15-16), “these young brothers of mine”
- b. прѣвѣтими стѣтими мѣжи онѣми **Ord A N Dem**  
 first, Ordin,Pl,INST,m. holy, Pl,INST,m. man, Pl,INST,m. that, Pl,INST,m. (S 371, 8-9)  
 “these primary holy men”
- c. тоа бо просиша отъ владѣкы благодѣти **Dem ... V [P DP.gen N]**  
 that, GEN,f.ask, Pl,3. from Lord, GEN,m. blessing, GEN,f. (S 54, 25-26)  
 “because (they) asked this blessing from (the) lord”

### The position of the head noun in Bg

The word order is much freer than it is in MB, an in particular, definiteness seems to be expressed by N-movement (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov 2008). Out of 10.000 nominal expressions present in the corpus 4.820 (48%) are N-initial, to these we must add 640 expressions (6%), which display partial N-movement, as shown in (35a) above. **This is in fact the most reliable diagnostics to show that the presence of Q influences the word order greatly in an interesting way.**

#### 4. The ambiguous syntactic nature of **вѣсь**

##### 4.1. Statistical (un)markedness

In the whole corpus of around 10 000 expressions we found 386 occurrences of **вѣсь** co-occurring with nominals (in this figure occurrences in isolation are not included). 369 are prenominal and only 27 are postnominal. This suggests that the head noun or the whole nominal constituent rarely moves to the left of **вѣсь**. Since, definite nominal expressions otherwise display partial, but predominantly full N-to-D movement, we take this as evidence of the emerging QP layer of the NE with **вѣсь** as a lexical head. We address this further below. The table in (36) below lists all prenominal occurrences of **вѣсь** with frequencies and a possible underlying structure.

#### (24) Prenominal occurrences of **вѣсь**

a.	<b>вѣсь</b> > N	234	Q DP	QAP N
b.	<b>вѣсь</b> > Pers.Pron.	14	Q DP	*
c.	<b>вѣсь</b> > Dem > N	4	Q DP	QAP Dem N
d.	<b>вѣсь</b> > N > Dem	9	Q DP	QAP N Dem
e.	<b>вѣсь</b> > A > N	16	Q DP	QAP AP N
f.	A > <b>вѣсь</b> > N	4	AP Q DP	AP QAP N

g.	вѣсь > (Part) > N > A	12	Q DP	QAP (Part) N AP
h.	вѣсь > A.part > N	8	Q DP	QAP PartAP N
i.	A.part > вѣсь > N	1	AP Q DP	AP QAP N
l.	вѣсь > (A) > PA > N	3	Q DP	QAP (AP) PossAP N
m.	вѣсь > N > PA > (Part)	26	Q DP	QAP N PossAP (Part)
n.	вѣсь > N > Part	1	Q DP	QAP N Part
o.	вѣсь > (Rel.CL) > (A) > (DP.gen) > N	6	Q DP	QAP (Rel.CL AP) DP.gen N
p.	вѣсь > A > A > N > AdnGEN	1	Q DP	QAP AP AP N DP.gen
q.	вѣсь > N > AdnGEN > (Part)	22	Q DP	QAP AP AP N DP.gen
r.	вѣсь > AdnINST > N	1	Q DP	QAP DP.instr N
s.	вѣсь > N > DP.dat	3	Q DP	QAP N DP.dat
t.	DP.dat > вѣсь > N	4	DP.dat Q DP	DP.dat QAP N
u.	Total prenominal вѣсь	369		

(25) Postnominal occurrences of вѣсь

a. N > вѣсь	15	DP Q	N QAP
животъ вѣсѣхъ animal, Pl,GEN,m. all, Pl,GEN,m. (S 429, 13)			
b. Pers.Pron > вѣсь	2	DPQ	*
васъ же вѣсѣхъ you, Pl,ACC/GEN,m. all, Pl,ACC/GEN,m. (S 154, 11-12)			
c. N > Dem > вѣсь	1	DPQ	N Dem QAP
ношть онъ вѣсѣхъ (вѣсь) night, ACC,f. that, ACC,f. all, ACC,f. (S 265, 5)			
d. N > PA > вѣсь	1	DPQ	N PossAP QAP
плѣти твоѣ вѣсѣхъ flesh, Pl,N,f. your, PA,Pl,N,f. all, Pl,N,f. (S 233, 23)			
e. N > вѣсь > PA	1	*	N PossAP QAP
сѣдѣ вѣсь свои trial (judging), ACC,m. all, ACC,m. own, PAan,ACC,m. (S 257, 22)			
f. N > вѣсь > Dem	1	*	N QAP Dem
при народѣ вѣсѣхъ сѣмъ P(in the presence) multitude, LOC,m. all, LOC,m. this, LOC,m. (S 149, 15)			
g. N > вѣсь > A	2	*	N QAP AP
чръноризѣцѣхъ вѣсѣхъ monk, Pl,D,m. all, Pl,D,m. neighbouring, Pl,D,m. (S 548, 25-26)			
h. N > вѣсь > AdnGEN	1	DP Q + extraposed DPgen?	N QAP DPgen
миръ вѣсь оучитѣля AdnGEN world, ACC,m. all, ACC,m. (of) teacher, GEN,m. (S 427, 8)			
i. N > AdnGEN > вѣсь	1	DP Q	*
кости юго AdnGEN вѣсѣхъ bone, Pl,N,f. (of) he, GEN,m. all, Pl,N,f. (S 269, 5)			
l. N > AdnD > вѣсь	2	DPQ	*
тѣло юмѣ AdnD вѣсѣхъ body, N,n. (of) he, D,m. all, N,n. (S 410, 30 – 411, 1)			
Total postnominal вѣсь	27		

- (26) a. **всѣ** **то** **село** [DP QAP+art [N]] / [QP Q [DP Dem N]]  
 all, ACC,n. that, Art,ACC,n. place (village), ACC,n.  
 τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ παντός τόπου [DP art [QAP [N]]]  
 Art. possession rights Art. all place, (S 207, 4)
- b. **всѣ** **то** **мѣсто** [DP QAP+art [N]] / [QP Q [DP Dem N]]  
 all, N,m. that, Art,N,m. place, N,m. (S 125, 28)  
 πᾶσα ἡ ἀγορὰ [QP Q [DP Dem N]]  
 All Art, N,f. market place
- (27) **сѣхъ** **дѣльма** **всѣхъ** **винъ**  
 these, Pl,GEN,f. P (because of) all, Pl,GEN,f. accusation, Pl,GEN,f. (S 402, 28-29)  
 “because of all these accusations”
- (40) a. **многочестъныихъ бжстѣвныихъ кннигъ всѣхъ** (SM, 2v, 18-20)  
 all-honoured, Pl,GEN,f. God, DA,Pl,GEN,f. book, Pl,GEN all, Pl,GEN,f.
- b. **страстноє** **зязорство** **всѣ** (SM, 5c, 7-8)  
 passionate, N,n. accusation, N,n. all, N,n.
- (41) **всѣхъ** **зълъихъ** **твоихъ** **оумышлан**  
 all, Pl,GEN,m. evil, Pl,GEN,m. your, PA,Pl,GEN,m. plans, Pl,GEN,m. (S 4, 21-22)
- (42) **отъ** **многъ** **и** **различенъ** **градъ**  
 from many, Pl,GEN,m. and various, Pl,GEN,m. town, Pl,GEN,m.  
 (S 97, 26)
- (43) **маса** **юмоу AdnD** **падоша** **вса**  
 flesh, Pl,N,n. (of) he, D,m. fall, Aor,Sg,3. all, Pl,N,n. (S 149, 21-22)

(43) At this stage the Old Bulgarian NE displays the following properties:

- The demonstrative is ambiguously strong or deficient, and the deficient version is developing into a clitic, which will later turn into a definite article (an inflectional morpheme with no deictic features).
- The deficient status of the demonstrative is related to the existence of a Wackernagel position inside the NE, which at the moment can only host discourse particles, the still rare occurrences of the emerging dative possessive clitic, and the clitic demonstrative.
- What we call “Wackernagel position” is a restructuring of the left peripheral area of the DP projection which allows for re-ordering of words due to discourse features. The Wackernagel effect of “second position” is obtained when this area can/must only have a single specifier position filled and a single functional head attracting a head-like element. In this scenario, the quantifier **всѣ** has already developed its quantifier status, however still coexisting with its adjectival status. This gives rise to a high number of possible word orders, some of which are compatible with more than one structural analyses and converge in maintaining its ambiguous status.
- Being a lexical head, the quantifier **всѣ** can either select a DP complement with its left periphery, or can have its own left periphery projected. This further increases the possible word orders, as we have observed.

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