

Serbo-Croatian Long Form Adjectives - An Alternative Perspective
Miloje Despić – University of Connecticut

Introduction. This paper challenges analyses of Serbo-Croatian (SC) long form adjectives (LFA) that rely mainly on proliferation of functional projections in the nominal domain (e.g., Cinque 2007). By taking seriously the historical fact that LFA were formed by adding the pronoun to short form adjectives (SHA), I derive complex morpho-phonological properties of LFA that are unaccounted for by dominating analyses. As the suggested model is sufficient to explain LFA's distribution and interpretation too, I argue that the analyses in question become redundant on multiple levels.

Morpho-Syntax. A commonly ignored fact about LFA is that they were historically "formed by adding the anaphoric pronoun *j-* to the forms of the indefinite adjective/SFA. The coalescence of these forms yielded the definite or pronominal inflection of the adjective" Schenker (1993:91) (1). This is morphologically clearly evident in modern SC (2): whereas endings on LFA (almost entirely) correspond to clitics/endings on the strong pronouns (*Pronominal Set* (PS)), endings on SHA correspond to the ones found on nouns (*Nominal Set* (NS)) (e.g., Stevanović, 1962). I adopt *Distributed Morphology* and assume complex head structures for Ns and As, as in (3) where *n* and *a* are category generator heads (e.g., Embick and Noyer 2006). I argue that (i) Ns and As have the same Infl, and (ii) there is an additional functional projection XP for As which may host a pronoun, i.e., a bundle of ϕ -features. The observation I aim to derive is that only Ns and predicative As have NS endings; non-predicative As (e.g., strictly non-intersective (NI) and idiomatic), quantifiers and pronouns obligatorily have PS endings (4)-(5). I argue that the NS endings distribution is sensitive to whether the preceding structure denotes a set or not: since only Ns and predicative As denote sets only they surface with NS endings. I posit a diacritic ET (corresponding to the <e,t> type) on all *n* heads and predicative *a* heads which percolates up, as e.g., in (6a) (see Lieber 1992). When the *a* head in question is not of <e,t> type, or when a pronoun (type e, marked with E) intervenes (6b), the less specified PS ending is inserted (7). The following facts directly support the 'elsewhere' status of PS endings: (i) many speakers use only LFAs in all [-nom] cases, (ii) instrumental SHAs have the PS ending (2), and (iii) some predicative adjectives (e.g., *mali* 'small') lack the short form. The system I propose principally accounts for these as instances of *Impoverishment* (8): when the ET diacritic is deleted at PF the PS ending insertion is forced via (7).

Phonology. In contrast to masculine As, feminine PS and NS endings are almost identical, which makes feminine LFA morphologically indistinguishable from SHA. However, all feminine LFA end with a long vowel, and some of them exhibit accent readjustments on the stem (9) (Stevanović 1962). I interpret the final vowel length as an indication of the pronoun's presence: this is an effect of historical assimilation of two morphologically identical endings (10). I assume Inkelas and Zec's (1988) standard analysis of SC accents and adopt their proposal that H spreads only to the left (11a) and only across a syllable boundary (11b), and that remaining moras are assigned L by default. The final vowel length of LFA, however, disrupts tone assignment in certain cases since H cannot be assigned to the final vowel if that vowel is long: this either violates (11b), or it creates a word final HL sequence, phonotactically disallowed in SC (11c). Consequently, H is assigned to the first syllable to the left correctly deriving the accent readjustment facts (9), entirely mysterious for the dominating analyses of SC LFA/SFA. Since in this model the feminine final long vowel is a PS ending and hence an elsewhere item, I correctly predict that, for instance, feminine NI adjectives and quantifiers must end with long vowels (12).

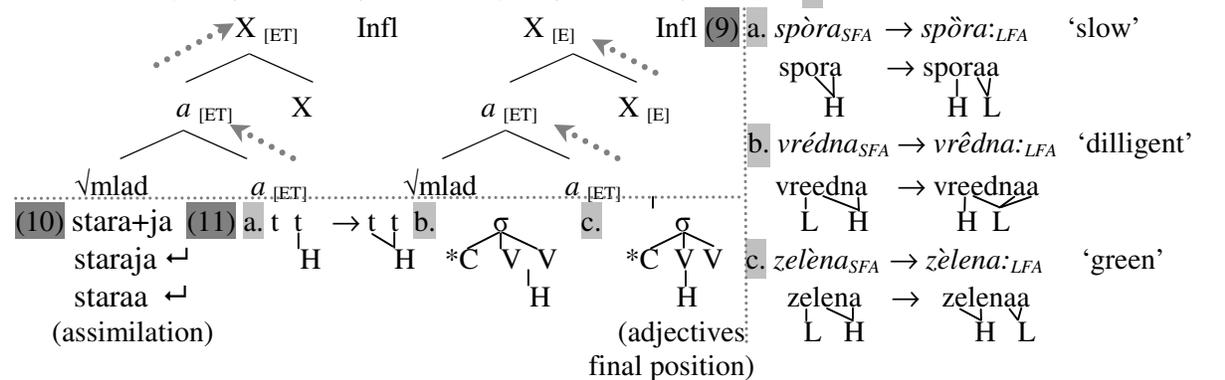
Semantics. I assume Partee's (1987) type-shifting rules in (13) which operate with e and <e,t> types. Combined with a predicative root (=SFA) the pronoun type-shifts at LF to a singleton set by (13a) making way for *Predicate Modification* (PM) (14). After PM applies the higher node may either combine with a noun (<e,t> type) also by PM yielding the [AP NP] complex, or it may shift back to the type e by (13b), creating an individual (15). This directly accounts for the fact that only LFA may denote individuals. Furthermore, this analysis, among other things, derives the fact that strictly NI adjectives (<<s,<e,t>>,<e,t>> e.g., Siegel 1976) cannot semantically combine with a pronoun (at least) due to a type mismatch, explaining in a principal way why these adjectives are ambiguous with respect to (in)definiteness even though they obligatorily have long forms.

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|---------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| (1) | | | Late Proto-Slavonic | Old Church Slavonic | | |
| Nom Sg | M | starъ+jь | starъjь | staryi/starъi [starъjь] | | |
| | F | stara+ja | staraja | staraja | | |
| (2) Pronominal Declension | | | | Nominal Declension | | |
| SG | Adj _{DEF} | Noun _{MASC} | Pronoun _{3P-SG-M} | Clitic _{3P-SG-M} | Adj _{INDEF} | Noun _{MASC} |
| Nom | lep-i | dečak | on | pro | lep | dečak |
| Gen | lep-o-g(a) | dečak-a | nje-ga | ga | lep-a | dečak-a |
| Dat | lep-o-m(u) | dečak-u | nje-mu | mu | lep-u | dečak-u |
| Acc | lep-o-g(a) | dečak-a | nje-ga | ga | lep-a | dečak-a |
| Ins | lep-im | dečak-om | nj-im | - | lep-im | dečak-om |
| Loc | lep-o-m(u) | dečak-u | nje-mu | - | lep-u | dečak-u |

- (3) a. N: *mladić* ‘youngster’ $\sqrt{mlad-n}$ -Infl ($n = \text{‘ic’}$)
 b. A: *mlad*_{SFA} ‘young’ $\sqrt{mlad-a-X}$ -Infl ($a = \emptyset$) ($X = \emptyset$)
- (4) a. Mlad-i /Mlad- \emptyset čovek
 Young_{LFA}/Young_{SFA} man
 ‘The/a young man’
 b. Slep- \emptyset miš
 Blind_{SFA} mouse
 ‘A blind mouse’/*‘The/a bat’
- b. Slep-i miš
 Blind_{LFA} mouse
 ‘The/a bat’ (or, lit. ‘The blind mouse’)
- d. bivši/ *bivš predsednik
 former_{LFA}/*_{SFA} president
 ‘The/a former president’
- e. svaki /*svak doktor. ‘every doctor’
 every_{LFA}/*_{SFA} doctor.
 neki /*nek doktor. ‘some doctor’
 some_{LFA}/*_{SFA} doctor.

| | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (5) | PS | NS |
| Nouns | * | ✓ |
| Predicative As | ✓ (definite interpretation) | ✓ (indefinite interpretation) |
| Non-predicative As | ✓ (definiteness not entailed!) | * |
| Quantifiers | ✓ | * |
| Pronouns | ✓ | * |

- (6) a. Mlad- \emptyset Infl
 Young_{SFA}
- b. Mlad-i Infl
 Young_{LFA}

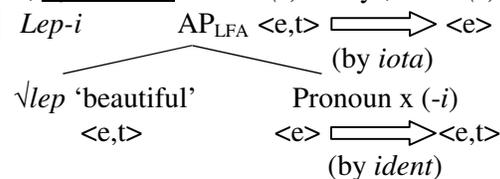


(12) NI-adjectives: *bivša**(:) ‘former’, *buduća**(:) ‘future’; Quantifiers: *svaka**(:) ‘every’, *neka**(:) ‘some’

(13) a. *ident*: $j \rightarrow \lambda x [x=j]$ b. *iota*: $P \rightarrow \iota x [P(x)]$

(14) *Lep-i* AP_{LFA} $\langle e, t \rangle \xrightarrow{\text{(by } iota \text{)}} \langle e \rangle$

- (15) As nicknames: a. \checkmark *Lepi*_{LFA} - **Lep*_{SFA}
 ‘Beautiful one’
 b. \checkmark *Beli*_{LFA} - **Beo*_{SFA}
 ‘Whitey – white one’



Selected references: [1] Cinque, G. 2007. *The Syntax of Adjectives: A Comparative Study*. Ms. University of Venice. [2] Embick, D & R. Noyer. 2006. Distributed Morphology and the Syntax/Morphology Interface. *Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Interfaces*. [3] Lieber, R. 1992. *Deconstructing morphology*. University of Chicago Press. [4] Schenker, A. 1993. Proto-Slavonic. *The Slavonic Languages*.