

Nominal Expressions in Flux: The status of the universal quantifier in Old Bulgarian

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In this paper we address the status of the universal quantifier **вѣсь** (all) in Old Bulgarian and provide a parallel between the structure of the left periphery of nominal expressions and the left periphery of clauses claiming that both are in the process of being re-analyzed giving rise to a structure very similar to Modern Bulgarian and other daughter Indo-European languages (cf. Kiparsky 1995 on the evolvement of CP in Indo-European, and Giusti 2005, 2006 on the parallels between DP and the clause). Our analysis is based on data from the electronic corpus of nominal expressions from Codex Suprasliensis (11th c.), one of the earliest written Slavic manuscripts (Vulchanov & Dimitrova-Vulchanova 2005).

Our main claim is that at this stage the very same morphological form **вѣсь** (all) can either be a Q, a quantifier heading its own projection which takes DP as its complement or an AP, a high modifier between the head noun and the D layer. This state of affairs is by no means exceptional and has been observed for many older and modern languages (cf. e.g. Classical Greek (Manolessou 2000), Hebrew (Shlonsky 2004), Serbo-Croatian and other Slavic languages (Giusti and Leko 1996)). We show that as an adjective, **вѣсь** is part of a definite DP, where definiteness is related to partial or total N-movement, an across-the-board phenomenon at this stage in Old Bulgarian (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov, forthcoming). This is demonstrated in the example in (1) below, whereby the head noun **народѣ** (multitude) has raised all the way to D, thus preceding the demonstrative **сѣмъ** (this) and the adjectival quantifier **вѣсемѣ** (all).

(1)	при	народѣ	вѣсемѣ	сѣмъ	
	P (in the presence)	multitude, LOC,m.	all, LOC,m.	this, LOC,m.	(CS 149, 15)

Our second and related claim is that **вѣсь** (all) as a universal quantifier licences the definiteness of the whole nominal expression thereby pre-empting N-movement, as exemplified in the example in (2) below where the quantifier occurs in the phrase initial position and the head noun occurs in its base position, a restriction which is later generalized to all noun phrases in the history of the language.

(2)	вѣсе	ѣже	о христосѣ	доуховьноіе	ѣго AdnGEN	стадо
	all,ACC,n.(which,ACC,n. is in Christ)		(of) spirit, DA,ACC,n.		(of) he, GEN,m.	flock, ACC,n. (CS 208, 4-6)

Furthermore, we demonstrate that the evolvement of **вѣсь** (all) as universal quantifier is paralleled by the evolvement of the article in Old Bulgarian which can be described as a process of re-analysis of the functional layer of the nominal expression (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov, forthcoming).

We propose some diagnostics for quantifier status, among which co-occurrence with pronouns in the order Q > pronoun and occurrence in phrase-initial position in definite nominal expressions, as in (2) above appear most reliable. Quantifier-floating contexts which are standardly used to establish quantifier status in the modern languages cannot be used for Old Bulgarian due to the possibility for stranding both **вѣсь** (all) and

APs, and likewise the possibility for discontinuous expressions and fronting DP-fragments in the clause.

We further make the following methodological points:

With languages which no more have native speakers, it is particularly difficult to find evidence for the hypotheses suggested by the data in the corpus, especially if they concern quite delicate matters such as the positioning of adjectives/DP-constituents. Thus

- we use patterns of relative ordering of pairs of items to establish the position in the hierarchy of each element.
- we also use what we already know of modern Bulgarian and in general of languages that present the same parameters.
- we present possible competing analyses for one and the same word order not only to show the difficulty of describing a language with no living native speakers, but also to provide all the possible analyses for a given word order available to the speakers at that stage in view of the competing grammars hypothesis and envisage the possible changes derived by syntactically ambiguous orders.

Finally we show that the Old Bulgarian nominal expression is evolving in a way parallel to changes in the clause, and, in particular, its left periphery (the CP layer). Thus, the first position in the sentence is often the landing site of movements of fronted nominal (sub-) constituents (DPs or APs) (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov 2007), while in nominal expressions it is the evolving QP-layer that provides a similar landing site (i.e. Spec-QP) where full DPs can be moved (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1996 for Modern Bulgarian). In addition, there are other discourse related movements inside the noun phrase in the layer between D and dP sub-serving Information Structure distinctions and interpretations (cf. Giusti 2006).

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