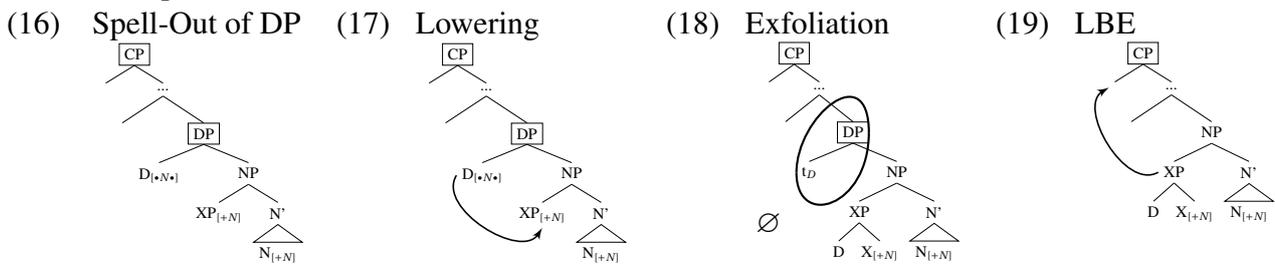
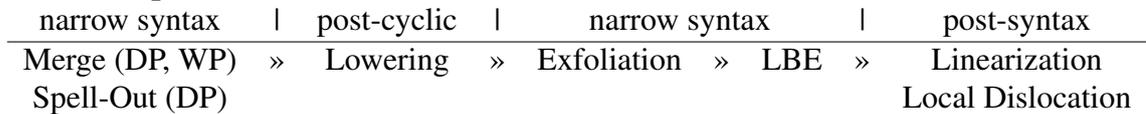


- (14) tija mnogo hubavi dve momičeta [D Adv Adj Q N]
 th(es)e very beautiful two girls

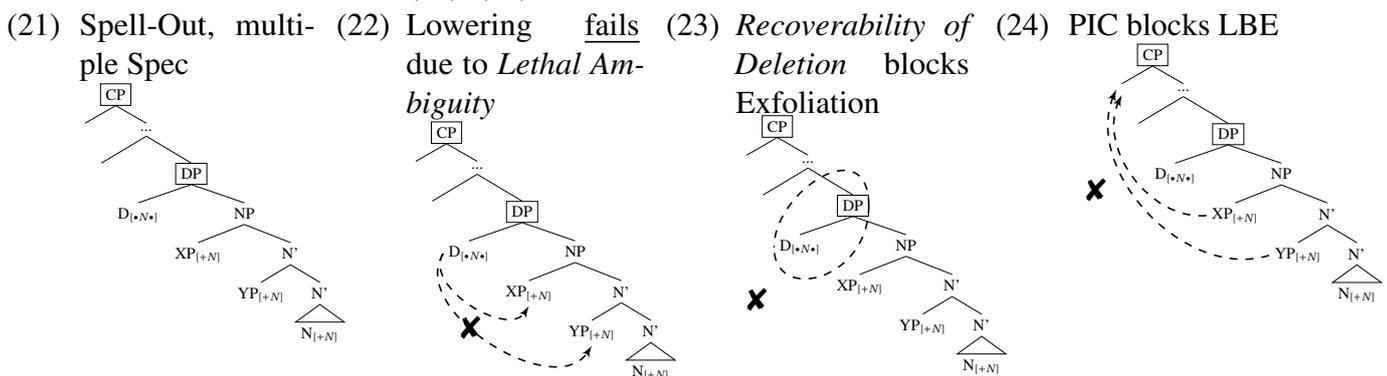
I propose the following order of operations: Lowering applies when DP is spelled out, and the structure is fed back into Narrow Syntax (Calabrese & Pescarini 2014; Martinović 2016; 2017). Exfoliation (Pesetsky 2016) applies as a Last-Resort operation, by removing the blocking phase layer in order to make a higher operation (in this case LBE) possible, as in (16)–(20).

(15) **Order of operations**



(20) post-syntax: Vocabulary Insertion & Linearization [X+D C ... N]

In the case with equidistant specifiers, as mentioned, Lowering fails to apply due to D failing to locate a single [+N] goal. When the structure is fed back into narrow syntax, Exfoliation is blocked by the constraint on *Recoverability of Deletion* (Chomsky 1981; Chomsky & Lasnik 1977), since the information cannot be recovered from the rest of the structure. Blocking of Exfoliation subsequently renders LBE unavailable, as in (21)–(25).



(25) post-syntax: Vocabulary Insertion, Linearization, **Local Dislocation** [C ... D X Y N]

Summary and outlook. Taking from the novel data, I argue that the availability of LBE in BLG and MKD depends on the presence/absence of DP, which can be syntactically removed via Exfoliation (Pesetsky 2016), but not if the information is not recoverable. Following (Martinović 2016; 2017) that post-syntactic operations which refer to the hierarchical structure could interleave narrow syntax, I have shown that Exfoliation (and subseq. LBE) is fed by Lowering in the cases with one modifier. With two modifiers the article is placed via late Local Dislocation, which in turn counter-feeds Exfoliation and LBE. This proposal does not over-generalise to other DP languages, where LBE is strictly prohibited, since, e.g. the article in English does not lower, thus Exfoliation cannot apply as in (23). Scandinavian languages have an affixal article, but no LBE, which follows from Martinović’s (2017) claim that interleaving post-syntax is language-specific: in a language which does not have the interleaving post-syntax DP-Exfoliation, and LBE, would not apply.

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