**Multiple Determination in a Balkan Sprachbund Context: Albanian and Balkan Slavic**

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**MULTIPLE DETERMINATION (MD)** (aka Double Determination)

More than one indicator of definiteness within DP.

Many types; see e.g. Alexiadou (2014). We concentrate on one:

DEM + DEF (demonstrative + definite article/inflection)

... IN A BALKAN SPRACHBUND CONTEXT

Intensive language contact area in the Balkan peninsula, known for numerous shared grammatical features (as well as lexical borrowing) – affecting:

- Balkan Slavic (Bulgarian, Macedonian & Torlak [=southeastern] BCMS)
- Balkan Romance (Romanian, Aromanian, Meglenoromanian)
- Romani in the Balkans (Vlax & Balkan Romani)
- Albanian
- Balkan Judezmo
- Greek
- West Rumelian Turkish & Gagauz

SYNTACTIC “BALKANISMS” INCLUDE: (among many others....)

- replacement of infinitive (finite verb with modal/subjunctive particle)
- postposed definite article (Albanian, Romance, Slavic)
- **Multiple Determination constructions** (e.g. Friedman 2006, Joseph 2019)

The convergence of the Balkan languages is striking – but the view of the Balkan Sprachbund as “one grammar with several lexicons” (Kopitar 1829:86) requires nuancing. As demonstrated in Joseph (1983), even core Balkanisms like infinitive replacement show varying manifestations in the different languages. True for MD as well: **All Balkan languages have some form of MD, but realization and place in the grammar varies.**

The Balkan MD continuum: (Friedman & Rudin 2019)

*most pervasive/grammatically integrated* > **GREEK** > ROMANI > **BALKAN ROMANCE** > **ALBANIAN** > **MACEDONIAN** > BULGARIAN > *least pervasive/most pragmatically conditioned*

Within this overall trend there are

- varying details of structure & usage in individual languages
- a split into (at least) two distinct types of constructions

**The facts in a nutshell:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MD with initial DEM</th>
<th>MD with Adj/DEF / NDEF</th>
<th>MD with postposed DEM</th>
<th>DEM can move?</th>
<th>Affective semantics/pragmatics</th>
<th>style</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>obligatory</td>
<td>(both – but note article is not DEF inflection)</td>
<td>oblig.</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romani</td>
<td>optional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balkan Romance</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>both</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albanian</td>
<td>optional</td>
<td>both</td>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Colloq. only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonian</td>
<td>optional</td>
<td>both (limited)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
<td>optional</td>
<td>Adj only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We briefly sketch the top half of the chart before looking in more detail at the bottom three.
GREEK: DEM can postpose; MD obligatory
1. a. *aftos o anthropos
   DEM DEF person
b. o anthropos aftos
   DEF person DEM
   ‘this person’
c. *aftos anthropos

with adjective:
2. to puli (afto) to mikro
   the bird DEM the small
   ‘the/this small bird’

ROMANI (Agia Varvara): DEM can postpose; MD obligatory when postposed, optional otherwise
3. a. kadava (o) manuš
   DEM DEF person
b. o manuš kadava
   DEF person DEM
   ‘this person’

Kosovo Burgudži: MD optional
4. a. kada phuro
   DEM old
   ‘this old man’ (“normal”)
b. kada (o) phuro
   DEM DEF old
   ‘this old man’ (“possible”)

BALKAN ROMANCE: DEM can postpose; MD iff postposed
Aromanian          Romanian
5. a. aist om       6. a. acel om
   DEM person
b. omul aistu      b. omul acela
   person.DEF DEM
   ‘this person’

Definite adjective also possible (multiple DEF inflection):
5. c. omul aistu bun(lu)
   person.DEF DEM good.DEF
   ‘this good person’
6. c. omul acela bun(al)
   person.DEF DEM good.DEF
   ‘this good person’

(Note also “strong” vs. “weak” form of DEM aist(u)/acel(a); also constructions like omul cel bun, with “adj. article” etc. – there’s a lot more to say here!! Cf. e.g. Nicolae 2015)

SUMMARY: All of these (Greek, Romani, Balkan Romance varieties) are characterized by mobile DEM.

Obligatory MD in Greek strongly suggests an appositive construction with DEM as separate DP:
\[
[\text{DP N.DEF}] \left[ \text{DP DEM} \right]
\] (Greek, possibly also Romani)

In Balkan Romance, MD is likewise obligatory but only when DEM is postnominal. Various complications (e.g. DEM adjacent to N) make an appositive analysis less likely. Nicolae suggests N raises to D over DEM:
\[
[\text{DP N.DEF} \left[ \text{DemP DEM \ldots} \right]]
\] (Romanian?)

Pursuing this is beyond scope of this paper – but it is clear Balkan Romance MD as well as that of Greek & Romani is different from the Balkan Slavic & Albanian type ... to which we now turn.
Albanian/Macedonian/Bulgarian -- unlike Greek, Balkan Romance, & Romani:
• word order is fixed (DEM must be initial)
• article is optional

**ALBANIAN**
7. ky njeriu ★ njeriu ky ✓ ky njeri
   DEM person.DEF 'this person'

**MACEDONIAN**
8. ovoj čovekov ★ čovekov ovoj ✓ ovoj čovek
   DEM person.DEF 'this person'

**BULGARIAN**
9. tija bogatite ★ bogatite tija ✓ tija bogati
   DEM rich.DEF 'these rich folks'

Conclusion: MD in these languages is a single phrase [DP DEM N.DEF ...] or [DP DEM N.DEF ...]. Rudin (2018, to appear) argues for a structure with demonstrative in DemP or SpecDP... either will do for our purposes today.

• “Normal DP” word order: DEM N Adj (Alb) or DEM Adj N (Bulg/Mac)
• DEF inflection suffixes to head of projection following the demonstrative

10. a. ky djali im
    this boy.DEF my
    (Albanian)

b. tova moeto momče
    this my.DEF boy
    (Bulgarian)

c. ova moevo momče
    this my.DEF boy
    ‘this boy of mine’

• Single-phrase intonation [cf. appendix]
• Special semantics

**SEMANTICS/PRAGMATICS:** Bulg/Mac/Alb MD has a specific function: **necessarily affective** (emphasize speaker’s evaluation or involvement; subjective.)

Affective reading is possible with DEM across languages:
11. that boy (the one over there, pointing) = canonical demonstrative
   that boy! (he’s driving me crazy!) = affective demonstrative

In, e.g., Bulgarian, affective reading is possible with any DEM but required in MD construction. This is predicted as a result of combined semantics of DEF and DEM within DP (Šimík 2016, Rudin to appear).

12. a. tozi naš prijatel
    DEM our friend
    ‘that friend of ours’
    =canonical or affective

b. tozi našija prijatel
    DEM our.DEF friend
    ‘that friend of ours!’
    =affective only

The affectivity of MD often manifests as deprecation, negative affect, but can also be positive.
MACEDONIAN examples from the “Bombi” (Vistinata za Makedonija ‘The Truth About Macedonia’ = Prizma 2015) – discussed in detail in Friedman 2019, Friedman&Rudin 2019. Almost all pejorative (14) but can express pure personal involvement:

14. Zamisliluštemenamačestitantoj idiot, čoveče. think still meneg.have congratulated that idiot.DEF person.VOC ‘Just think, that idiot still hasn’t congratulated me, man!’ (MR, 17.7)

15. Ovoj našiov čovek e tuka. this our.DEF person is here ’Our guy is [the one who is] here.’ (NTT, 22a.2)

Note: Macedonian DEM and DEF have 3-way proximity distinction.

- v- proximal / - t- neutral / - n- distal Proximal is most frequent in MD

● Of 101 MD constructions in (most of) the Bombi, only 3 are distal:

16. I go barav i ona kopīleno Artan Grubi, drugar ti. and him sought.1SG and that bastard.DEF.DS A. G. friend your ‘And I also tried to get hold of that bastard, your friend Artan Grubi.’ (ZS, 22b.14)

● 27 (less than 30%) are neutral:

17. Upis kje napraime kaj šo se tie našite profesori registration FUT do.1PL.PRS where that are those our.DEF.NL professors ‘We’ll do the [university] registration where our professors are [in control].’ (NTT, 22a.2)

● More than 2/3 are proximal: (prox. = personal evaluation/involvement)

A slušaj, ovie našive polupismeniše to gledaát denes much listen these our.DEF.PX semiliterates.DEF.PX that watch.3PL today him.DAT where that are those our.DEF.PX professors ‘Well, listen, those semiliterates of ours who are watching [the news] today apparently called Martin.’ (DPL, 24.11)

(Note: two definite suffixes in (18) – unique example in the Bombi, most consultants do not accept, though K. Čašule from Ohrid has a similar example.)

BULGARIAN (examples from social media) .... positive or negative affect, like Macedonian:

19. Tazi nejnata banica e straxotna! that her.DEF banica is awesome ‘That banica of hers is awesome.’

20. Offf, toja novija ajfon ne e ništo osobeno. oof this new.DEF iPhone NEG is nothing special ‘Oof, this new iPhone isn’t anything special.’

ALBANIAN MD generally seems to have affective function as well; a nuance of emphasis or emotion (Turano & Rrokaj 2000, Rexhina Ndoci p.c.; data from Buchholtz & Fiedler)

21. Po s’ē kritikovat këtē mëshunesën në mes të fshatit, mos if neg.him criticize.1SG DEM teacher.DEF.ACC in middle PC village.GEN.DEF don’t me thënchin Rremē Osmani. me.ACC call.OPT.2PL R. O. ‘If I don’t criticize that teacher in front of the whole village, then my name isn’t R. O.’

22. Ky dervishi duhet të ketë ndonjë hall. this dervish.DEF must DMS have.3SG.SBJV some trouble ‘This dervish must have some kind of problem.’
The three languages (Mac/Bulg/Alb) are thus very similar. However, there exist differences among them as well.

**DIFFERENCE 1: basic word order**
We’ve already seen ((10) repeated here) that word order difference in Albanian vs Slavic results in article on NOUN in Albanian but usually ADJECTIVE (prenominal modifier, including possessive) in Bulg/Mac.

10. a. \( \text{ky} \ \text{djali} \ \text{im} \)
    \( \text{this} \ \text{boy-DEF} \ \text{my} \)
    \text{NOUN}  
  (Albanian)

  b. \( \text{tova} \ \text{moeto} \ \text{momče} \)
    \( \text{this} \ \text{my-DEF} \ \text{boy} \)
    \text{ADJ}  
  (Bulgarian)

  c. \( \text{ova} \ \text{moeto} \ \text{momče} \)
    \( \text{this} \ \text{my-DEF} \ \text{boy} \)
    \text{ADJ}  
  (Macedonian)

  ‘this boy of mine’

**DIFFERENCE 2: definite noun and/or modifier?**
In fact, there are further differences in whether N or Adj can be articulated, beyond those induced by word order.

**Albanian** has the freest distribution of definite article suffix with demonstrative: can occur on N and also adjective (MD with multiple articles).

23. \( \text{ky} \ \text{djali im i zgjuar} \)
    \( \text{this boy my PC clever} \)
    \( \text{OR} \)
    \( \text{ky} \ \text{djali im i zgjuari} \)
    \( \text{this boy my PC clever.DEF} \)
    ‘this clever boy of mine’  
        (where the adjective is optionally marked for definiteness)

**Macedonian** allows N.DEF as well as Adj.DEF – but generally not both at once.

24. \( \text{ovie našive profesori} \)
    \( \text{ovie profesorive} \)
    ‘These professors of ours’

**Bulgarian** allows ONLY Adj.DEF

25. \( \text{tezi našite profesori} \)
    \( *\text{tezi profesorite} \)
    ‘these professors of ours’

**DIFFERENCE 3: register**
Balkan Slavic MD is colloquial
Albanian MD is standard, not marked as colloquial

**Albanian** thus has the widest occurrence of MD of the 3 languages, both grammatically and contextually.

**AN AREAL CONCLUSION:**
Both the unity and diversity of the non-appositive, affective MD construction shared by Balkan Slavic and Albanian have a clear areal basis:

**UNITY:** it occupies a continuous territory across the Balkans, while Romanian to the north and Greek to the south (as well as other Balkan Romance varieties and Romani) have different types of MD constructions.

**DIVERSITY:** Macedonian is geographically and grammatically intermediate; shares some features with Albanian (DEM N-DEF), some with Bulgarian (position of adjective), and is intermediate in terms of context of use as well. Macedonian dialects near Albania may be most like Albanian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek, Romani, Balkan Romance</th>
<th>Albanian, Macedonian, Bulgarian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Syntactically conditioned</strong>: obligatory either in general (Greek) or when Dem is postposed. Required by appositive structure or by processes like raising of N to D.</td>
<td><strong>Pragmatically conditioned</strong>: grammatically optional but used for a specific pragmatic effect (affective).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Works Cited:

Additional sources:
Markovkij, Marjan. 2007. *Aromanskiot i makedonskiot govor od ohridsko-struškiot region (vo balkanski kontekst)* Skopje: MANU.

***APPENDIX***
Appositive constructions do occur in Alb/Mac/Bulg. **FOR INSTANCE:**

**BULGARIAN**

| tozi | profesora | tozi |
| DEM | professor.DEF | professor.DEF | DEM |

‘that guy, the professor’ / ‘the professor, that guy’

These resemble other Balkan languages but differ from the MD construction of interest in Alb/Mac/Bulg, in several ways:

- WORD ORDER VARIABLE
- REQUIRE COMMA INTONATION — TRUE MD HAS NO INTONATION BREAK
- DIFFERENT SYNTACTIC DETAILS, E.G. BULGARIAN CAN HAVE DEF NOUN
- INTERPRETATION IS CLARIFYING OR HESITATION, RATHER THAN AFFECTIVE