

Multiple Determination in Bulgarian and Macedonian: An Exploration of Structure, Usage, and Meaning¹

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Abstract. This article explores the structure, usage, and meaning of Balkan Slavic (Bulgarian and Macedonian) nominal expressions which include an article as well as a demonstrative, both elements traditionally considered definite determiners. Two distinct types of multiple determination constructions exist, one literary/standard and one colloquial, with different characteristics. The standard type always involves a quantifier and sometimes arguably consists of two phrases in apposition. The colloquial, non-quantifier type is not appositive but a single DP which optionally exhibits extended definiteness agreement and has a particular semantic and pragmatic profile. The Bulgarian and Macedonian constructions differ in their repertoire of demonstratives and articles as well as in some syntactic characteristics which hint at different DP structures in the two languages.

1. Introduction

This study of some aspects of Bulgarian and Macedonian nominal phrases is dedicated to my dear friend Marc Greenberg, who appreciates South Slavic languages and enjoys a good colloquial construction. The problem under consideration is the structure and function of nominal phrases (DPs) with more than one determiner, a little-studied and rather unusual construction for a Slavic language.

Bulgarian and Macedonian nominal phrases normally contain no more than one definite determiner, either an article or a demonstrative but not both; as in (1) (Bulgarian) and (2) (Macedonian). The definite article in both languages is suffixed to the first element of the phrase, roughly speaking; the status and position of the article is among the puzzles discussed below. In (1–2) it follows an adjective and is glossed *DEF*. Demonstratives and articles are boldfaced throughout the paper.

¹ Thanks are due to Elena Dimova, Victor Friedman, Boris Harizanov, Brian Joseph, Christina Kramer, Vesela Simeonova, and Steven Franks for helpful discussion and for assistance with the data.

- (1) a. **tezi** hubavi snimki
 these pretty photos
 ‘these pretty photos’
 b. hubavite snimki
 pretty_{def} photos
 ‘the pretty photos’
- (2) a. **tie** ubavi sliki
 these pretty photos
 ‘these pretty photos’
 b. ubavite sliki
 pretty_{def} photos
 ‘the pretty photos’

However, it is possible in both languages for an article and a demonstrative to cooccur in some circumstances. Such MULTIPLE DETERMINATION² (MD) exists to a very limited extent in the standard literary languages, appearing only with certain adjectival quantifiers, with meanings like ‘all,’ ‘whole,’ ‘same’. An example is Bulgarian *sâšt-* and Macedonian *ist-* in (3).

- (3) a. **tazi** sâštata kâšta
 this same_{def} house
 ‘this very same house’
 b. **taa** istata kuća
 this same_{def} house
 ‘this very same house’

In non-standard/colloquial usage determiner + article constructions are more widespread, though subject to both syntactic and pragmatic constraints. A Bulgarian example is given in (4) and a Macedonian one in (5).

- (4) **tazi** nejnata banica
 this her_{def} banica
 ‘that banica (pastry) of hers’

² Other terms for this and similar phenomena include polydefiniteness and double determination. MD constructions are found in other Balkan languages including Greek, Balkan Romance, and Albanian and Romany (Friedman 2006, Joseph (To appear), Friedman and Joseph (To appear)), suggesting a possible Sprachbund connection. But they also occur in various other languages worldwide; for instance, see Rudin (1993, 2017) for discussion of some Native American languages.

- (5) **ovie** vrabotenive
 those employees_{def}
 ‘those employees’

The goal of the present paper is to explore the meaning, usage, and structure of MD constructions in Balkan Slavic, including differences between Bulgarian and Macedonian. Standard-language MD with quantifiers, as in (3), has very different properties from colloquial MD constructions like (4–5). Semantically/pragmatically the colloquial type has an emotive flavor lacking in the quantifier type in the standard language, and they differ in structure as well. Syntactically MD raises numerous issues. Tentative conclusions at this stage of research include that the cooccurrence of demonstrative with article argues for an elaborated structure of nominals with demonstratives as either a separate DP or occupying a specifier position; the possibility of repeated articles supports analysis of definiteness as morphological agreement; and other aspects of these constructions suggest that the colloquial type generally constitutes a single nominal phrase while the quantifier type at least sometimes consists of two separate phrases. Though very similar overall, Bulgarian and Macedonian MD constructions differ in some significant details, suggesting differences in the structure of nominal phrases in the two languages.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes MD in quantifier constructions of the type seen in (3), where the article is generally obligatory and the meaning one of uniqueness, while sections 3 through 6 present aspects of the colloquial MD constructions like (4–5). Section 3 discusses their pragmatic function of signaling speaker involvement and evaluative attitude. Section 4 discusses the choice of demonstrative and article, from among the differing menu of determiners available in each language. Section 5 introduces differences between Macedonian and Bulgarian regarding which lexical categories can be articulated in MD constructions. Section 6 looks at the occurrence of multiple articles. Section 7 briefly addresses some issues in the syntax of both types of MD constructions, section 8 makes some observations about the semantics of MD, and section 9 is the conclusion.

2. MD with Universal Quantifiers

In standard Bulgarian a demonstrative and a definite article regularly cooccur with certain adjectival quantifiers; roughly ones with universal or identity meaning. This is also true in standard Macedonian, though with some differences, as discussed below. We have already seen one Bulgarian example in (3); more are given in (6):

- (6) a. **tezi** vsički(**te**) činii
 these all_{def} dishes
 'all of these dishes'
- b. **tova** cjaloto čakane
 this whole_{def} waiting
 'all this waiting'
- c. **onazi** sâštata kniga
 that same_{def} book
 'that same book'

With some quantifiers (*cjal* 'whole', *sâšt* 'same') the definite article is required, while with *vsički* 'all' it is optional, at least for some speakers.³ These universal quantifier elements differ from ordinary adjectives in being able to occur before the demonstrative as well, as in (7); in fact, this is the more usual order.⁴ Adjectives in general must follow the demonstrative; see (8).

- (7) a. vsički(**te**) **tezi** činii
 all_{def} these dishes
 'all of these dishes'
- b. cjaloto **tova** čakane
 whole_{def} this waiting
 'all this waiting'
- c. sâštata **onazi** kniga
 same_{def} that book
 'that same book'
- (8) a. **tezi** malki(**te**)⁵ činii
 these small_{def} dishes
 'these small dishes'
- b. *malki(**te**) **tezi** činii

³ Tasseva-Kurktchieva (2006) finds the article *-te* to be optional in both (6a) and (7a), while Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Tomić claim it is optional in (7a) but required in (6a).

⁴ Hauge (1999), for instance, discusses examples of the type in (7) without mentioning the possibility of the order in (6). Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Tomić (2009) consider quantifier > demonstrative "the default order" and suggest demonstrative > quantifier is derived from it by movement.

⁵ As already noted, the article *-te* here is nonstandard, possible only in colloquial language.

In Macedonian as well, the same group of quantifiers occurs with a definite article and a demonstrative. Phrases corresponding to Bulgarian (7) are grammatical (with the slight difference that the article in (9a) is obligatory).

- (9) a. **site tie** knigi
 all_{def} these books
 'all of these books'
- b. **celoto toa** čekanje
 whole_{def} this waiting
 'all this waiting'
- c. **istite tie** knigi
 same_{def} these books
 'these same books'

Demonstratives normally precede adjectives, as in Bulgarian. However, the order demonstrative > quantifier is impossible in Macedonian, unlike in Bulgarian; compare (10) to (6).

- (10) a. ***tie** site knigi
 these all_{def} books
- b. ***toa** celoto čekanje
 this whole_{def} waiting
- c. * **tie** istite knigi
 these same_{def} books

Constructions with an article and a demonstrative have been noted by several authors, for Bulgarian and/or Macedonian: Giusti and Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1994), Arnaudova (1998), Tasseva-Kurktchieva (2006), Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Tomić (2009), Franks (2001). But though the data are well established, it is less clear what to make of them. As mentioned above, the quantifiers involved are a limited group, generally identified as universal in some sense. The use of an article on these quantifiers probably has to do with their semantics; Boris Harizanov (pc) suggests that the required article with *sâšt-* 'same' is related to its "uniqueness" meaning, which is inherently specific. This does not explain, however, why a demonstrative alone is not sufficient marking of definiteness/specificity/uniqueness—that is, why MD is not only licensed here but actually required.

A likely partial explanation is that a string like Bulgarian *osičkite tezi činii* is in fact not a single nominal phrase but two separate nominals; an appositive construction. Franks (2001), citing data from Giusti & Dimitrova-Vulchanova

(1994), suggests that several lines of evidence show *vsički(te)* is a separate DP in Bulgarian in situations like the following:

- (11) a. *knigite gi pročetox vsičkite*
 books_{def} them read_{1sg} all_{def}
 'the books I read them all'
- b. **knigite gi pročetox xubavite*
 books_{def} them read_{1sg} nice_{def}
 '*the books I read them nice'
- c. *vsički nas/nie*
 all us/we
 'all of us/we all'
- d. *moite vsičkite knigi*
 my_{def} all_{def} books
 'all my books'

Comparing (11a–b) shows that Bulgarian *vsičkite*, unlike ordinary adjectives, can occur separated from *knigite* as a clearly independent phrase. The fact that it can occur with a pronoun in (11c), again unlike ordinary adjectives, also suggests that it is outside DP. The occurrence of two articles in (11d) also seems to suggest two DPs (though see section 6 below for a different view of repeated articles). Given all this, it seems reasonable to conclude that *vsičkite* is also a separate DP in a string like *vsičkite tezi činii*. Similar facts could be adduced for the other quantifiers and for Macedonian.

I take it, then, that at least some MD constructions with quantifiers are appositive, in both languages, and that this is probably the correct analysis of (7) and (9), with quantifier > demonstrative order; this preserves the generalization that a demonstrative is normally the leftmost element in DP. It remains an open question whether the Bulgarian structure with demonstrative > quantifier as in (6) is also an appositive structure. If anything, the demonstrative here might be a separate constituent: [*tezi*][*vsičkite činii*]. More likely it is a single DP, as I argue for the colloquial MD construction below.

3. A First Look at Colloquial MD: Usage

MD constructions without universal quantifiers differ from those discussed in the previous section in several ways. Their usage is colloquial and the definite article in them is optional. The semantic and pragmatic contribution of the article differs from that with quantifiers. Syntactically, the order of elements is different and more rigid, with the demonstrative always first, and ev-

idence for appositive structure is lacking. In this section I present some initial data on colloquial MD. The following several sections refine and expand on these facts, highlighting some differences between the two languages. Examples (12a–b) are typical of the construction under discussion. A demonstrative is followed by an artimed word, in this case an adjective.

- (12) a. **tija** novite telefoni (Bulgarian)
 b. **ovie** novive telefoni (Macedonian)
 these new_{def} telephones
 ‘these new phones’

Although such phrases are colloquial, they are readily accepted by speakers in both languages and have been recognized to some extent in the linguistic literature. For Macedonian they are discussed by Ugrinova-Skalovska (1960/61), Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Tomić (2009), and most extensively by Friedman (2016). Ugrinova-Skalovska bases her discussion on examples found in literary fictional dialogue, while Friedman (2016) analyzes numerous examples of MD from the “*Bombi*” (Prizma 2015), a corpus of recorded phone conversations.⁶ For Bulgarian they are noted by Tasseva-Kurktchieva (2006), Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Tomić (2009), and in passing by Hauge (1999). Mladenova (2007) discusses the existence of MD constructions in Old Bulgarian manuscripts as well as in modern dialects and colloquial language. Examples can easily be found in social media and other informal writing as well as in speech. Unless otherwise noted, in this paper Macedonian examples are from the *Bombi*, while Bulgarian examples are from online sources, confirmed by speakers.

One characteristic of MD constructions is their pragmatic function of heightened personal involvement. Friedman (2016) finds 101 examples of MD in the first 14 hours of the Macedonian *Bombi*, and analyzes them with particular attention to the emotive tone they add to the utterance. Often, this is a negative flavor, as in (13a), but it can also signal a positive affect. The same is true in Bulgarian: MD constructions tend to have an emotive, non-neutral nuance, ranging from sneering to gushing, as in (13b). (For ease of reading, in longer examples the relevant nominal phrase is enclosed in square brackets.]

⁶ These recordings, which reveal widespread corruption in the Macedonian government, caused a major scandal. Heartfelt thanks to Victor Friedman for making me aware of the *Bombi*, checking my translation of some examples, and soliciting judgments on modified versions of other examples from Macedonian colleagues. Friedman’s article is not concerned with the political content of the recordings, but simply takes them as a corpus of “real, colloquial,” even “street language” Macedonian as actually spoken in the 21st century.

- (13) a. Da vidime so [ovie drugive goveda] šo ke
 to see_{1pl} with those other_{def} cattle what will
 se prai. (Macedonian)
 REFL do
 'Let's see what to do about those other dumb animals.'
- b. Ej [tazi našata prijatelka] napravo ni ostavi bez
 hey this our_{def} friend straight us left_{3sg} without
 dumi. (Bulgarian)
 words
 'Wow, this friend of ours simply left us speechless.'

It is very common for the MD construction to include a first person possessive (*moj* 'my'/*naš* 'our'), or less commonly second person; this seems to align with its function of expressing personal involvement. Several Macedonian examples are given in (14), and some Bulgarian ones in (15) as well as (13b).

- (14) a. [Ovoj našiov čovek] e tuka znači.
 that our_{def} person is here means
 'So, this guy of ours is here.'
- b. [Tie tvoite] od lista te cinkarat.
 these your_{def} from list_{def} you squeal_{3pl}
 'These guys of yours from the [electoral] list are squealing on you.'
- c. Taka mi pišaa [ovie moive].
 thus me wrote those my_{def}
 'That's what those guys of mine wrote me.'
- (15) a. [Tija moite voltaži] normalni li sa?
 these my_{def} voltages normal Q are
 'Are these voltages of mine normal?'
- b. Samo šte razpâneš [onaja tvoja čarovna usmivka]
 only will stretch that your_{def} charming smile
 'You'll only stretch out that charming smile of yours.'

4. Which Demonstrative and Which Article?

Bulgarian and Macedonian each have more than one set of demonstratives and/or articles, and these interact in subtle ways with each other and with the MD construction. In Bulgarian the facts are very simple. There are two sets

of demonstratives, which differ stylistically. Those in (16a) are more formal, while those in (16b) are informal, more colloquial:

- (16) a. *tozi/tazi/tova/tezi* ‘this m/f/n/pl’
onzi/onazi/onova/onezi ‘that m/f/n/pl’
 b. *toja/taja/tuj/tija* ‘this m/f/n/pl’
onja/onaja/onuj/onija ‘that m/f/n/pl’

Both types do occur with MD constructions. The *toja* set is seen in (17a) and the *tozi* set in (17b) in a very similar context. However, not surprisingly, given their informal and emotionally-tinged flavor, MD constructions much more commonly occur with the more colloquial set, and some speakers find them more natural with this group of demonstratives.

- (17) a. 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.’
 b. Iskam da se maxna [**tozi** novija profil].
 want_{1SG} to REFL remove this new_{DEF} profile
 I want to get rid of this new profile.

Macedonian has a more complex and interesting story. Unlike Bulgarian,⁷ Macedonian boasts a three-way proximity distinction in both demonstratives and articles: neutral forms with *-t-*, proximal forms in *-v-* and distal forms in *-n-*. More than two-thirds of the MD constructions in the *Bombi* corpus use the proximal *-v-* article and demonstrative forms, as in (18) as well as (12a, 13a, 14a,c); Friedman (2016) suggests this reflects a shift in meaning of *-v-* forms from representing physical proximity to instead carrying an affective meaning of personal involvement, expressivity, or subjectivity, exactly the semantic nuances characteristic of MD.

- (18) a. [**Ovie** kartive] site se ispečateni.⁸
 those ballots_{DEF} all are printed
 ‘Those ballots are all printed up.’

⁷ Some dialects of Bulgarian do have a 2- or 3-way system of articles marked for proximate vs. distal deixis, but the standard language has only the *-t-* based article.

⁸ This example is slightly modified from the *Bombi*; the original had a false start.

- (18) b. [Ovie moronive] od A1 me prašuvaa za ova.
 those morons_{DEF} from A1 me asked about that
 ‘Those morons from A1 were asking me about that.’

Most of the remaining third have the neutral *-t-* article and demonstrative forms, as in (19). Far fewer (only 3% in the portion of the *Bombi* analyzed by Friedman 2016) have the distal *-n-* forms; one example is given in (20). All of Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Tomić’s examples of Macedonian MD have proximate (*-v-*) determiners, supporting Friedman’s observation that this is the usual case.⁹

- (19) a. Sega odime na [toj pomalio]t objekt]
 now go_{1PL} to that smaller_{DEF} structure
 ‘Now we’re going to that smaller structure.’
- b. Vidi, mene ne mi se dopaĝa [toa našeto],
 look me NEG me REFL like that our_{DEF}
 iskreno da kaŝam.
 truthfully to say_{1SG}
 ‘Look, I don’t like that guy of ours, to tell the truth.’
- (20) More, ke ja preselam [onaa zgradana] što e kaj
 well will it move_{1SG} that building_{DEF} that is near
 Bristol.
 Bristol
 ‘Well, I’ll move that building that’s near [the Hotel] Bristol.’

5. MD with Nouns

A distinct difference exists between Macedonian and Bulgarian in what articulated lexical categories are possible following the demonstrative. In both languages a nominal modifier (adjective or possessive) can bear the article, whether it occurs before a noun (possibly with further modifiers) or stands alone as in (21c).

⁹ Though the demonstrative and article usually agree in deixis, certain types of deixis mismatch do occur, namely a demonstrative in *-v-* or *-n-* with an article in *-t-*. See discussion of example (34) below.

- (21) a. Ax, [**tezi** tvoite krasivi oči]!
 ah these your_{DEF} beautiful eyes
 'Ah, those beautiful eyes of yours!'
- b. [**Tija** bogatite xlapeta] imali po dva roleksa
 those rich_{DEF} kids have_{EVID} apiece two rolexes
 'Those rich kids supposedly have two rolexes each.'
- c. [**Tija** bogatite] samo za pari misljat.
 these rich_{DEF} only of money think
 'These rich people only think about money.'

These examples are Bulgarian, but exactly parallel ones could be given for Macedonian; in fact we have already seen a number of similar cases. The interesting difference occurs in phrases with a true noun (as opposed to a "nominalized adjective" like *bogati* 'rich (people)' in (21c), which is presumably just an adjective accompanied by a null noun: *bogatite [N]* with meaning equivalent to *bogatite hora* 'the rich people'). In Macedonian a noun can unproblematically bear the article, as in (22); cf. also (18a-b; 20) above.

- (22) a. **taa** tetratkata¹⁰
 this notebook_{DEF}
 'this notebook'
- b. **ovie** decava
 those children_{DEF}
 'those children'
- c. **toj** čovekot
 this person_{DEF}
 'this person'

On the other hand, in Bulgarian this is impossible; the MD construction in Bulgarian always contains the definite form of an adjective or other modifier, not a definite noun. Examples like those in (23), the counterparts of the Macedonian phrases in (22), are rejected by speakers who otherwise readily accept MD constructions.

¹⁰ Thanks to Christina Kramer for providing this example, which she noticed on an old postcard; one of the few pre-internet written examples I have seen.

- (23) a. *[tazi tetradkata]
 this notebook_{DEF}
 b. *[onija decata]
 those children_{DEF}
 c. *[toja čoveka]
 this person_{DEF}

I return to this difference in the conditions on MD in Bulgarian vs. Macedonian below, in section 7.

6. Multiple Articles

Up to this point, MD constructions seems to follow the normal rule of placement of the article within the nominal phrase, if we just ignore the demonstrative. That is, there is a single article, appearing suffixed to the first nominal element of the phrase. However, this is not entirely true. In fact, it is also possible to find repeated articles, in both Macedonian and Bulgarian. In Macedonian an article can appear on both adjective and noun. Franks (2001) gives the example (24a), citing Koneski; (24b–c) are from the *Bombi*:

- (24) a. **onoj** mojot najmaliot
 that my_{DEF} smallest_{DEF}
 ‘that youngest (one) of mine’
 b. [**ovie** našive polupismenive] što gledaat denes ...
 those our semiliterates_{DEF} that watch_{3PL} today
 ‘those semiliterates of ours who are watching [tv] today ...’
 c. Neka mu se javam na Slave, na [**ovoj**
 let him REFL call_{1SG} to Slave to that
 koordinatorov našiov].
 coordinator_{DEF} our_{DEF}
 ‘Let me call Slave, that coordinator of ours.’

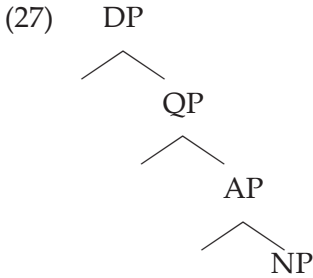
In Bulgarian as well repeated articles occur, but, in keeping with the general Bulgarian prohibition on articted nouns in MD constructions, only if the second articted word is another adjective, either a second prenominal adjective, as in (25a) or one without a following noun, as in (25b). Similar to *bogati* discussed above, *polugramotni* ‘semiliterates’ presumably modifies a null NP here, as does the Macedonian equivalent *polupismeni* in (24b); it could be rephrased as *polugramotni hora* ‘semiliterate people’.

- (25) a. **tija** vašite interesnite knigi
 these your_{DEF} interesting_{DEF} books
 'these interesting books of yours'
- b. **onija** našite polugramotnite
 those our_{DEF} semiliterates_{DEF}
 'those semiliterates of ours'

This contrasts with non-adjectival nouns like *banica* 'savory pastry' in (26), which cannot have the article suffixed to it in the same configuration as (25b).

- (26) a. [**Tazi** nejnata banica] e straxotna.
 this her_{DEF} banica is great
 'That banica of hers is great.'
- b. * [**Tazi** nejnata banicata] e straxotna.
 this her_{DEF} banica_{DEF} is great

This double-article phenomenon is highly problematic for the usual syntactic analysis of the definite article in Balkan Slavic languages as a clitic, presumably in D, which either attracts the first nominal element of DP to raise to D to support it or in some analyses undergoes some type of movement onto the following constituent at PF. It is less problematic for an account which treats what is traditionally called the "postposed article" as an inflectional affix, a morphological form of nouns and adjectives inflected for definiteness. There are good reasons to prefer such an account independent of MD constructions. Franks (2001) argues convincingly for treating the Bulgarian article as inflection, noting that the form of the article depends on the phonological form of the host word, that articles are phonologically more closely integrated in the host word than clitics, blocking final devoicing and metathesis from occurring in the host, and that some intrinsically definite nouns cannot take an article -- that is, they have an idiosyncratic zero definiteness inflection. He concludes that definiteness is a feature associated with the XP below DP, in a structure like (27) and is realized as an affix on the head X of that XP: Q, A, or N depending on which of these categories are projected.



To account for multiple articles in MD constructions, it appears necessary to tweak this only slightly. The [+definite] feature could optionally be realized on the head of more than one projection—for instance on both AP and NP heads; that is, it is a case of definiteness agreement spreading within the nominal phrase.¹¹

Note, however, that this definiteness agreement requires the presence of a demonstrative, in both Balkan Slavic languages. It is not possible for two adjectives or adjective plus noun to be articed without an accompanying demonstrative. Examples (28) and (29) show that although phrases of the form [Dem *X+definite* Y+*definite*] occur naturally in Macedonian (in the *Bombi*, in this case) and are readily accepted by native Macedonian speakers, the same phrases without the demonstrative are judged ungrammatical. Example (29a) (=24c) has the rather marked order of possessive adjective following rather than preceding the noun, but is perfectly grammatical. The same sequence of articed adjective and noun is not possible without the demonstrative, in either Adj > N or N > Adj order.

(28) a. **ovie** našive polupismenive
 those our semiliterates_{DEF}
 ‘those semiliterates of ours’

b. *našive polupismenive

(29) a. **ovoj** koordinatorov našiov
 that coordinator_{DEF} our_{DEF}
 ‘that coordinator of ours.’

b. *koordinatorov našiov

¹¹ A reviewer suggests that definite adjectives in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian provide a parallel to and circumstantial support for the agreement analysis, even in a language without articles. BCS definite adjectival endings occur after demonstratives and possessives: *ovaj/moj novi* (*nov) *kompjuter* ‘this/my new computer’ and can be seen as agreeing in definiteness with the demonstrative/possessive.

(29) c. *našiov koordinatorov

The same is true in Bulgarian. For instance, though (30a) with repeated articles is fine, the same sequence of two definite constituents is ungrammatical without the determiner *onija*.

(30) a. **onija našite polugramotnite**
 those our_{DEF} semiliterates_{DEF}
 ‘those semiliterates of ours’

b. *našite polugramotnite

Thus, if double articulation is an agreement phenomenon, it must be licensed by the presence of a higher demonstrative. I suggest that the D head receives an additional feature—call it [+dem]—by Spec-Head agreement with the demonstrative, and it is this feature which is then passed down the chain of heads and realized as an article/definiteness suffix. The fact that this agreement can reach into NP in Macedonian but stops above NP in Bulgarian is probably related to an independently proposed difference in the structure of DP in the two Balkan Slavic languages (Franks 2015); see section 7.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that repeated articles can also occur in the quantifier type of MD construction discussed in section 2. The Bulgarian example in (31a)¹² has both an articulated quantifier and an articulated adjective; (31b) shows that this is no longer grammatical without the demonstrative *tija*.

(31) a. **vâv suštite tija vinenite**
 in same_{DEF} these wine_{DEF}
 ‘in these same wine (glasses)’

b. *vâv sâštite vinenite

c. **vâv sâštite, vinenite**
 ‘in the same ones, the wine (glasses)’

The final example in this set, (31c) shows that separating the two articulated constituents with a pause, indicated by the comma, gives an acceptable result but with a different meaning and structure: here “the same ones” and “the wine

¹² This example, the answer to a question of which glasses to serve the whiskey in, is from a transcribed conversation in Angelova (1994). In addition to showing double articulation in a quantifier-type MD construction, it could also be seen as simultaneously exemplifying both the quantifier type (with *sâštite* plus a demonstrative) and the colloquial type of MD construction (with the more colloquial demonstrative *tija* instead of *tezi*, followed by an articulated adjective).

glasses” are two separate phrases, clearly in apposition. This leads us naturally into the next section, where I consider the structure of MD constructions including the question of whether they are appositives.

7. Structure of MD Constructions

Both types of MD constructions (the quantifier type discussed in section 2 and the colloquial type discussed in sections 3-6) raise questions of syntactic analysis. If MD constructions constitute a single phrase, they require a structure that can accommodate both a demonstrative and one or more articles (or definiteness agreement) in a single DP. On the other hand, it is likely that the universal quantifier type of MD is at least sometimes an appositive construction consisting of two separate DPs (see section 2), and it is worth asking whether the colloquial type of MD could also be appositive.

As hinted in (31c), one of the clearest diagnostics for appositive structure is comma intonation or pause. By this diagnostic none of the MD constructions considered in this paper appear appositive. They are not written with commas, in general (though punctuation in social media should perhaps not be taken too seriously as a criterion). And at least in the *Bombi* recordings, they are spoken smoothly, without a pause.¹³ Word-order shifting is another characteristic of classic appositives. We saw in section 2 that the possibility of separating the articulated quantifier from the demonstrative + noun is an argument in favor of treating (some) quantifier-type MD constructions as appositive. The postposing of *vsičkite* in (32c) is a fairly strong indication that (32b) (though perhaps not (32a)) consists of two separate DPs.

- (32) a. **tezi** vsičkite činii
 these all_{DEF} dishes
 ‘all these dishes’
- b. vsičkite **tezi** činii
- c. **tezi** činii gi izmixme vsičkite
 these dishes them washed_{1PL} all_{DEF}
 ‘We washed all those dishes / Those dishes, we washed them all’

¹³ This observation is due to Victor Friedman (pc). After listening to clips he provided I agree that phrases like *ovie našive polupismenive* ‘those semiliterates of ours’ (= (24b/28) above) are pronounced as single intonational phrases.

This argument does not extend to the colloquial type of MD, however. In (33), the demonstrative must be the leftmost element, and cannot occur separated from the rest of the phrase, nor can the phrase be otherwise broken up.

- (33) a. **tazi** našata prijatelka
 this our_{DEF} friend
 'this friend of ours'
- b. *našata **tazi** prijatelka
- c. *našata prijatelka ja posreštnah **tazi**
 our_{DEF} friend her met_{1SG} this
 (Intended: 'I met our friend, this one.')
- d. ***tazi** prijatelka ja posreštnah našata
 this friend her met_{1SG} our_{DEF}
 (Intended: 'I met this friend, our one.')

Another potential argument also does not go through. Deixis mismatches, though fairly rare, do occur in Macedonian MD; for instance, in (34) the proximal demonstrative *ovaa* agrees with the neutral *-ta* article in number and gender but not in proximity marking.

- (34) [**Ovaa** celata rabota] ke se istera kako što treba.
 this whole matter will REFL turn.out how that should
 'This whole thing will turn out as it should.'

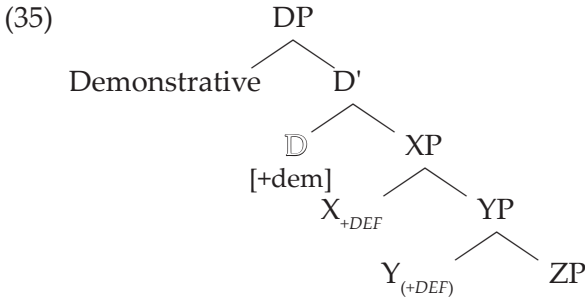
This could be taken as evidence that the demonstrative is a separate phrase, but this would be a mistake. Mismatches are limited to a demonstrative in *-v-* (proximal) or *-n-* (distal)¹⁴ cooccurring with an article in *-t-*. As argued by Franks (2001), the neutral *-t-* is less specified and thus an article in *-t-* is formally non-distinct from and compatible with any type of demonstrative governing it within DP.

Further investigation is needed. Appositives are not well understood theoretically or cross-linguistically, and the question of whether any MD constructions are appositive is not resolved here. It is clear, however, that not all MD are appositive, and in particular I know of no reason not to consider the colloquial MD type a single DP.

Given the arguments above for treating the articles as definiteness inflection, I assume that definiteness in fact is a morphological marking in Bulgarian, not a syntactic process of moving and attaching a clitic. Adopting Franks'

¹⁴ See (24) above for an example of the *-n-* > *-t-* type.

(2001) analysis of demonstratives as specifier of DP, I suggest the following structure for the colloquial MD construction in both Macedonian and Bulgarian, as well as MD with demonstrative > universal quantifier order in Bulgarian (recall that Macedonian allows only quantifier > demonstrative).



The DP has a demonstrative in its specifier position and a null head, indicated by outline font D. Definiteness is realized as an affix on the highest phrase under DP (here “XP”) and, in the presence of the feature [+dem] on D, this affix optionally instantiates definiteness agreement on heads of lower phrase(s)¹⁵ as well, as indicated by +def in parentheses on Y. Other analyses are possible, particularly for the demonstrative. Tasseva-Kurktchieva (2006) argues that Bulgarian demonstratives head their own projection, a DemP above DP. Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Tomić (2009) claim that the demonstrative sits in a left-peripheral “topic” position within the nominal phrase. The exact status of demonstratives requires deeper investigation, as does their role in licensing multiple definiteness agreement.

As previously noted, a fact needing explanation is the difference between Macedonian and Bulgarian in whether definiteness can be marked on a noun in MD constructions, including whether agreement can extend into NP in cases of multiple articles. There are other differences in nominal structure between the two Balkan Slavic languages as well, especially in the acceptability of possessive (oblique) clitics within DP. In Bulgarian these are normal in all types of DP, including MD constructions with two possible word orders (36b-c), but in Macedonian clitics are allowed only with a small group of kinship terms, and even there cannot occur in MD, nor with a definite article. In (37) the only grammatical use of the clitic *mi* is in a simple phrase with the kinship noun *tatko*.

¹⁵ I have no examples of more than two +def phrases (two articles), but in principle it should be possible.

(36) Bulgarian

- a. obuvkite **mi**
 shoes_{DEF} my
 'my shoes'
- b. **tija mi** novite obuvki
 these my new_{DEF} shoes
 'these new shoes of mine'
- c. **tija novite mi** obuvki

(37) Macedonian

- a. *banica(ta) **mi**
 banica_{DEF} my
- b. tatko **mi**
 dad my
 'my dad'
- c. *toj **mi** tatko
 this my dad
- d. *toj tatko **mi**

Franks (2015) suggests that Macedonian DP cannot accommodate the possessive clitic because it has a less elaborated structure than Bulgarian DP; specifically, it lacks the KP projection. It is possible that the KP layer above NP in Bulgarian blocks spreading of definiteness agreement, accounting for the lack of participation of N in MD definiteness marking. Exploring this idea here would lead us too far afield;¹⁶ suffice it to say that there are clearly differences in the structure of DP between the two languages which are deserving of deeper study and which correlate with the difference in marking of N in MD constructions.

8. A Few Words on Semantics

In addition to raising syntactic issues, MD constructions also bring up questions of meaning. Although the intuitions are subtle, several Bulgarian speak-

¹⁶ Rudin (2018) develops this idea somewhat further. An obvious problem with KP blocking definiteness marking is that nouns do routinely take the definite article suffix in "ordinary" DPs: *knigata* 'the book'. The article as instantiation of definiteness agreement in MD behaves differently from the single article in non-MD phrases in ways which suggest they are actually distinct phenomena.

ers have commented that the meaning of MD constructions is not quite the same as those with just a demonstrative and certainly not the same as a phrase with just an article.

- (37) a. **taja** interesnata kniga
 this interesting_{DEF} book
 ‘this interesting book (!)’
- b. **taja** interesna kniga
 this interesting book
 ‘this interesting book’
- c. interesnata kniga
 interesting_{DEF} book
 ‘the interesting book’

While (38c) is simply definite or “old information” and (38b) is “pointing” to a certain specific book, (38a) has a sense that is not simply a combination of definite and specific, indicated clumsily in the gloss with an exclamation point. It is difficult to pin down exactly what the difference in meaning is, especially between (38a) and (38b). One speaker comments “comparing examples with both DEM and DEF to examples with just DEM, I have the intuition that DEF makes some sort of uniqueness contribution;” that is, (38a) is more “unique” than (38b); perhaps more strongly focused on unique aspects of this particular book. Another speaker suggests that the non-MD *tezi naši prijatelji* ‘these friends of ours’ can be used “to pick out a subset of the set of our friends: these friends of ours as opposed to those friends of ours,” while the MD *tezi našite prijatelji* does not have this sense, but would always be used to make some evaluative statement about (perhaps all of) our friends. These two apparently divergent insights can be combined into a statement that MD highlights some salient aspect of a unique item or set; the demonstrative focuses attention on an already definite entity. As noted several times above, this focus tends to have affective overtones, either positive or negative.

It may not be too far-fetched to suggest a link between this and some uses of demonstratives with inherently or situationally definite nouns in English:

- (38) a. **That** Alfred! What a character!
 b. I’m fed up with **that** husband of yours.
 c. Come on, lift **those** knees!

Here the demonstrative *that* or *those* does not pick out a certain item, but rather focuses attention and expresses the speaker's attitude. *That Alfred* is not opposed to other people named Alfred, but admired. *That husband* is not contrasted with "your" other husbands, but denigrated. If the exercise leader tells me to *lift those knees*, I am not, unless wilfully uncooperative, going to ask "which knees"? *Knees* in this context is a specific, definite set, the only two knees I possess. The demonstrative does not encode definiteness or specificity here, but gives the exhortation more energy. *Lift your knees* might be said by a nurse trying to smooth the sheet beneath them, but not by someone motivating you to work harder in aerobics class. The details are not the same as in Balkan Slavic—there is no article in these English examples—but the phenomenon is similar.¹⁷

The semantic contribution of the demonstrative and of the article (definiteness suffix) in Bulgarian and Macedonian MD is among the many aspects of the construction needing further work.¹⁸ As a first approximation it seems promising to posit that the attention-focusing meaning of the demonstrative combines with the definiteness of the article to produce a vivid comment on some aspect of a given item. Pragmatically, this comment tends to be taken as affective/emotive, expressing the speaker's evaluation of the item.

9. Conclusions

This paper describes the MD constructions of Bulgarian and Macedonian, takes some steps towards a syntactic and semantic analysis of them, and raises a number of issues to address in future work.

Two types of MD constructions with quite different characteristics are found in both languages. In the standard literary languages MD occurs only with certain universal-quantifier adjectives. In both languages an article quantifier can be followed by a demonstrative; in this case the quantifier is arguably a separate DP and the MD construction is appositive, with each determiner (demonstrative and article) in its own DP. In Bulgarian but not Mace-

¹⁷ English also has another use of demonstratives: *this* and *these* in storytelling contexts where they invoke vividness and immediacy. *This guy walks in; there's this one lady sitting there with these gloves on...* These are not definite (*this/these* could be replaced by *a/some* but not *the*) and typically introduce new discourse participants. Though quite different from the usage in (38) and from Balkan Slavic MD, this is another instance of demonstratives providing affective focus.

¹⁸ Very little attention has been paid to this, to my knowledge. Tasseva-Kurktchieva (2006) makes passing reference to "a semantic restriction" on positioning of the demonstrative in MD constructions, but does not specify what this restriction is. Friedman (2016) calls attention to the affective quality of MD. I know of no deeper semantic analyses of MD.

donian, the order demonstrative > quantifier is also possible; this more closely aligns with the second type of MD construction and is probably a single DP.

The second type of MD is found only in colloquial, informal usage in both languages and differs both syntactically and semantically from the first type. In addition to always placing the demonstrative first, it has no evidence of appositive structure and its meaning involves subjective attitude of the speaker instead of quantification. I speculated that this affective meaning is produced by the combination of definiteness (the article) and focus on an already specified individual or group (the demonstrative).

All MD constructions raise similar questions for the analysis of DP structure across languages, namely what kind of structure can accommodate both demonstrative and definite article (and in some cases in Balkan Slavic, repeated articles). My answer is that the demonstrative and the articles occupy different positions and fill different functions, so they do not interfere with each other. The demonstrative is higher (probably in SpecDP), while the articles are the manifestation of a definiteness feature on the head of projections below DP. They each contribute some meaning to the construction.

Repeating articles occur only in MD and not in ordinary DPs without a demonstrative. The “attention focusing” demonstrative (as opposed to contrastive/pointing demonstrative in non-MD nominals) both cooccurs with an article and enables definiteness agreement to reach further down into lower projections within DP. I suggested that this is due to a [+dem] feature on D.

As is so often the case in these very closely related languages, Bulgarian and Macedonian MD constructions are extremely similar but not quite identical. The main differences, aside from the issue of different repertoires of lexical demonstratives and presence or absence of a proximity distinction, are the almost complete impossibility of possessive clitics in Macedonian and the resistance in Bulgarian to definite marking (article) on nouns as opposed to adjectives and other categories within DP. These suggest a different structure of DP in the two languages, likely involving different projections, though details are left for further research.

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