

# Chapter 12

## Demonstratives and definiteness: Multiple determination in Balkan Slavic

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Colloquial Bulgarian and Macedonian possess a nominal construction containing both a demonstrative and a definite article. This multiple determination (MD) structure is a single phrase with demonstrative heading DemP (spelling out features of the Dem head) and the article spelling out features of D, realized as a suffix on the next phrasal head: PossP, QP, AP, or in Macedonian NP. The affective interpretation of MD phrases derives from the interaction of demonstratives and the definite article: since the D head is independently spelled out by the article, the demonstrative spells out only relational features of Dem and has no definiteness features. Independent spell-out of D alongside Dem is made possible by the non-adjacency of the article suffix and the demonstrative. The emotive quality of MD accounts for its preference for colloquial and proximate demonstratives and articles.

**Keywords:** definite article, demonstrative, multiple determination, double definiteness, affective, definiteness agreement

### 1 Introduction to multiple determination

This paper deals with a specific type of MULTIPLE DETERMINATION (MD) found in the Balkan Slavic languages Bulgarian and Macedonian. Multiple determination is a cover term for various constructions in which a nominal phrase contains more than one marker of definiteness: two definite articles, or a demonstrative and a definite article, or a demonstrative or article plus a definiteness inflection.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Other terms are found in the literature for the same phenomena, or a subset of them: POLY-DEFINITENESS, DOUBLE DEFINITENESS, and DEFINITENESS AGREEMENT among them. I follow Joseph (2019) in choosing to refer to all constructions of this type as multiple determination.



Balkan Slavic MD involves a demonstrative and one or more definite article suffixes, see (1) and throughout the paper.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) *tija novite koli*  
these new.DEF cars  
'these new cars' (Bulgarian)

Not all languages have MD constructions; English, for example, lacks phrases like *\*the big the book* or *\*this the book*. In languages which lack definite articles (including all Slavic languages other than Bulgarian and Macedonian) the issue simply does not arise. But MD is quite common and appears in languages worldwide. For instance, multiple definite articles are found in Hebrew and Arabic (Doron & Khan 2015), as well as Greek (Alexiadou & Wilder 1998). Swedish exemplifies cooccurrence of a definite article with a definiteness suffix (Alexiadou 2014). Demonstrative plus article combinations occur in languages ranging from Hungarian to Spanish (Giusti 2002) to Omaha-Ponca (Rudin 1993). The Balkan Slavic constructions which will be our main concern here are also of the demonstrative-plus-article type.

Regardless of their type, all MD constructions raise similar issues for the structure and interpretation of nominal phrases. Are MD constructions single DPs or are they perhaps some kind of appositive or nested construction with more than one DP? If the MD string is a single DP, does each of the definiteness elements (demonstrative, article, and/or inflection) make a separate contribution to the meaning of the phrase, or does one or more of them simply constitute definiteness agreement? What is the syntactic position of each of these elements, and what is the overall structure of the nominal phrase, i.e. what categories are projected and how? The answers to these questions vary; in fact, it is clear that MD constructions are far from homogeneous.<sup>3</sup> A case of likely definiteness agreement is Hungarian, where a demonstrative is always accompanied by a single definite article following it, as in (2). The article is obligatory and does not contribute any special semantics; the interpretation is that of a normal deictic demonstrative.

- (2) *ez \*(a) lány*  
this the girl  
'this girl' (Hungarian)

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<sup>2</sup>Balkan Slavic includes Macedonian, Bulgarian, and the transitional Torlak dialects of East Serbia. I unfortunately lack sufficient Torlak data to include it in this paper. The other South Slavic languages, BCMS and Slovenian, do not participate in the Balkan Sprachbund and are not considered Balkan Slavic.

<sup>3</sup>For a more extensive overview than I can give here, see Alexiadou (2014).



- (6) a. thé ak<sup>h</sup>á  
this the  
'this guy, this one'
- b. thé ak<sup>h</sup>á níkashi<sup>n</sup>ga ak<sup>h</sup>á nó<sup>n</sup>ba ak<sup>h</sup>á  
this the person the two the  
'these two people'
- c. níkashi<sup>n</sup>ga ak<sup>h</sup>á nó<sup>n</sup>ba ak<sup>h</sup>á thé ak<sup>h</sup>á  
person the two the this the  
'these two people'
- d. níkashi<sup>n</sup>ga ak<sup>h</sup>á winégi akhá Marvin ak<sup>h</sup>á  
person the my.uncle the Marvin the  
'that person, my uncle Marvin' (Omaha-Ponca; Rudin field tapes<sup>4</sup>)

Although in Greek, Spanish, and Omaha-Ponca a demonstrative with an articulated noun or adjective arguably has some special status, as a separate (pronominal) DP and/or located outside the left periphery of DP, none of the indications leading to such conclusions are present in Balkan Slavic. Bulgarian and Macedonian MD constructions are not appositive.<sup>5</sup> Nor is the Balkan Slavic construction a simple case of definiteness agreement. I argue below that MD phrases in Bulgarian and Macedonian are single DPs, with demonstrative and article in their normal syntactic positions, and with special semantics produced by the combination of demonstrative + definite article.

## 2 Balkan Slavic MD: The data

Before proposing an analysis, in this section I present an overview of the Balkan Slavic MD construction of interest for this paper, including its basic form, meaning, and usage (§2.1), the article and demonstrative morphemes involved (§2.2), its syntactic characteristics (§2.3), and the role of intonation (§2.4).

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<sup>4</sup>The Omaha-Ponca examples are from my own fieldwork on this language in the 1980s–1990s, partially supported by National Science Foundation grant #BNS-890283.

<sup>5</sup>One exception to this generalization should be mentioned, a separate construction involving demonstratives with articulated forms of a small group of quantificational or identity adjectives with meanings like 'all' or 'same', in both Bulgarian and Macedonian. This construction behaves quite differently from the one discussed here, both syntactically and semantically, and probably is an appositive structure. See Rudin (2018) for details.

## 2.1 The object of study, its usage, and its semantic characteristics

In standard, literary Macedonian and Bulgarian, demonstratives and articles do not cooccur; a nominal phrase can contain either a demonstrative or a definite article (the suffix glossed DEF) but not both, regardless of word order.

- (7) a. tozi čovek  
this person  
'this person'
- b. čovekăt  
person.DEF  
'the person'
- c. \* tozi čovekăt / \* čovekăt tozi (literary Bulgarian)  
this person.DEF person.DEF this
- (8) a. ovoj čovek  
this person  
'this person'
- b. čovekov  
person.DEF  
'the person'
- c. \* ovoj čovekov / \* čovekov ovoj (literary Macedonian)  
this person.DEF person.DEF this

However, in colloquial usage, both languages do combine a demonstrative with a definite article. MD constructions are quite common in speech and in informal written contexts such as social media. Their association with more personal registers is no accident, as they tend to express “emotivity” or “subjective affect” (Friedman 2019), either positive or negative. To give a sense of typical MD usage, (9–10) present attested examples with a bit of context; the MD phrase is bracketed for ease of reading:

- (9) a. [toja otvratitelnija navik kojto imaš da pljunčiš prăsta si] ...  
that disgusting.DEF habit which have.2SG to spit.2SG finger REFL  
'that disgusting habit you have of licking your finger' (makes me not want to touch your books) (Bulgarian; social media)
- b. Ej, [tezi našite prijатели] napravo ni ostavixa bez dumi.  
wow those our.DEF friends straight us left.3PL without words  
'Wow, those friends of ours simply left us speechless.' (they served such great food) (social media)

- (10) a. Da vidime so [ovie drugive goveda] šo ke se prai.  
to see.1PL with those other.DEF cattle what will REFL do  
'Let's see what to do about those other dumb animals.' (politician  
referring to voters) (Macedonian; Prizma 2015)
- b. Super se [ovie novive mastiki od Španija].  
super are these new.DEF mastikas from Spain  
'These new mastikas (liquors) from Spain are great.' (with photo of a  
pack of chewing gum called "mastiki") (social media)

These are taken from Facebook, blogs, and transcribed conversation.<sup>6</sup> The (a) examples are deprecating: (9a) expresses dislike of a particular habit, and (10a) sneers at a group of people, calling them "cattle". The (b) examples project positive affect: (9b) gushes about what good cooks "our" friends are, and (10b) shows enthusiasm for a new chewing gum whose name sounds like a traditional Balkan alcoholic drink. This characteristic affectivity will be the focus of §3.2 and §3.4 below. The MD phrases in this example set all consist of a demonstrative, an adjective (which carries the definite article suffix), and a noun, but this is not necessary; other types of DPs including a definite article can also occur with a demonstrative, as we will see.

MD phrases with demonstrative + definite article are fully acceptable in colloquial usage, sometimes even preferred by speakers as being more natural than a DP with a demonstrative alone. They have been noted in the linguistic literature; see for example Ugrinova-Skalovska (1960/61), Arnaudova (1998), Tasseva-Kurktchieva (2006), Hauge (1999), Mladenova (2007), Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Mišeska Tomić (2009), Friedman (2019).<sup>7</sup> However, no consensus about a formal analysis emerges from these sources. Some are purely descriptive or historical, some merely mention MD constructions in making a point about some other topic, and some confuse the issue by conflating the MD construction addressed here with superficially similar data involving demonstratives and articles, including the quantifier construction described in Footnote 5 and various appositive constructions.

The most detailed formal treatment is Laskova (2006), which proposes a reduced relative clause analysis of some Bulgarian "double definiteness" constructions. These however are rather different from those of interest here. Much of her

<sup>6</sup>The extensive set of recorded and transcribed Macedonian phone conversations known as the "Bombi" for their explosive political content are available as Prizma (2015) and described in Friedman (2016), Friedman (2019).

<sup>7</sup>Earlier versions of my own work on this topic are also available: Rudin (2018), Rudin (to appear). These are partially though not completely superseded by the present paper.

data does not involve a demonstrative, instead consisting of two-word phrases of which the second is always an adjective, and which always have comma intonation.<sup>8</sup> As I show in §2.4, comma intonation indicates a different structure, not the MD construction of interest here. Laskova's main claim, that the second element of the construction is always a predicative adjective with restrictive semantics, does not hold for the true MD construction, whose second element is often not an adjective at all, but a quantifier, possessive, or (in Macedonian) a noun. In short, the Balkan Slavic MD construction I am interested in has not previously received a full analysis. This, of course, is the goal of the present paper.

## 2.2 Morpho-lexical characteristics: The articles and the demonstratives

As already noted, the MD construction in Bulgarian and Macedonian contains two components usually considered indicators of definiteness: a demonstrative and a suffixal definite article. Before delving into their syntax, it will be useful to take a look at these components. Bulgarian and Macedonian each possess a number of lexical items in the relevant categories, but their inventories of demonstratives and articles are rather different. Bulgarian has the inventory in Table 1, with four sets of demonstratives, differing in stylistic level (neutral vs. informal/colloquial) and perceived distance. There is only one set of articles.<sup>9</sup>

Macedonian, as shown in Table 2, lacks the stylistic difference between colloquial and more formal demonstratives, but makes another distinction: a three-way deictic split between proximal, neutral, and distal series with roots *-v-*, *-t-*, and *-n-*, respectively, not only in the demonstratives but also in the articles.

<sup>8</sup>Laskova examines three "double definiteness" structures: [demonstrative adjective + DEF], [possessive + DEF adjective + DEF], and [numeral + DEF adjective + DEF]. Only the first of these is our MD construction. The cases without demonstrative have obligatory comma intonation indicating appositive structure. Laskova does not recognize MD constructions with anything other than a single adjective, for example those with a demonstrative plus more than one definite adjective, a demonstrative plus a definite numeral or possessive (or both), possibly also followed by one or more adjectives, or in Macedonian, a demonstrative followed by a definite noun. All of these not only exist, but have the same semantic and other characteristics as her [demonstrative adjective + DEF] type and should be treated under a single analysis.

<sup>9</sup>The gloss of the articles as masculine, feminine, neuter, and plural forms is oversimplified. In fact, choice of article depends in part on the phonological shape of the host word. For instance, neuter plural nouns ending in *a* take the *-ta* article, not *-te*: *teletata* 'the calves', and masculine singulars ending in *o* take the *-to* article instead of *-ǎ(t)*: *djadoto* 'the grandfather'. Similar facts obtain in Macedonian, so the glosses in Table 2 are equally oversimplified. This will be relevant in discussion of the articles' status, below. The Bulgarian masculine article has several different forms depending on phonological environment and (in normative usage) also case: *-(j)ăt* is nominative, while *-(j)a* is objective.

Table 1: Bulgarian demonstratives and articles

	neutral demonstrative	colloquial demonstrative	article
proximal	tozi/tazi/tova/tezi 'this.M/F/N/PL'	toja/taja/tuj/tija 'this.M/F/N/PL'	-(j)ă(t)/-ta/-to/-te
distal	onzi/onazi/onova/onezi 'that.M/F/N/PL'	onja/onaja/onuj/onija 'that.M/F/N/PL'	'the.M/F/N/PL'

Table 2: Macedonian demonstratives and articles

	demonstrative	article
proximal	ovoj/ovaa/ova/ovie 'this.M/F/N/PL'	-ov/-va/-vo/-ve 'the.M/F/N/PL'
neutral	toj/taa/toa/tie 'that.M/F/N/PL'	-ot/-ta/-to/-te 'the.M/F/N/PL'
distal	onoj/onaa/ona/onie 'that.M/F/N/PL'	-on/-na/-no/-ne 'the.M/F/N/PL'

MD occurs with all demonstratives and all articles, in both languages, but is more natural for some speakers and probably more common with the less formal demonstrative series in Bulgarian, and far more frequent with the proximate demonstrative and article series in Macedonian. This relates to their colloquial nature and their function of expressing emotional reaction or personal involvement. Demonstrative and article in MD agree in all features: gender, number, and also deixis in Macedonian.

The Macedonian *-v-*, *-t-*, and *-n-* series, both articles and demonstratives, can denote physical distance, but can also indicate metaphorical or psychological distance, i.e. speaker's attitude. The articles are worth noting in particular, given that deixis is not usually marked on articles. Victor Friedman (p.c.) gives the following example of affective use of the articles: A native of Ohrid is likely to refer to Lake Ohrid, on whose shores she has grown up, with the proximal *-v-* article as in (11a), in speaking to another Ohrid native, but more apt to use the neutral *-t-* article as in (11b) in speaking to someone from a different area.

- (11) a. ezerovo  
lake.DEF.PROX  
'the lake (which you and I both feel connected to)'



b. ezeroto

lake.DEF.NEUT

‘the lake (no special connotations)’ (Macedonian)

Although contrastive spatial deixis is more commonly expressed by means of demonstratives (Karapejovski 2017), the articles can also be used in this way. If two people are standing in a parking lot deciding who will drive which car, they can say (12), distinguishing two cars just by choice of article.<sup>10</sup>

- (12) Ti vozi ja kolava, a jas ke ja vozam kolana.  
 you drive it car.DEF.PROX and I will it drive car.DEF.DIST  
 ‘You drive the (closer) car, and I’ll drive the (farther) car.’ (Macedonian)

It is worth asking whether the Macedonian articles are actually definite articles at all, or instead some type of demonstrative. This is less an issue for Bulgarian, with its single set of articles. However, even in Bulgarian there are hints of deictic function in the definite article system (Mladenova 2007). The Rhodope mountain dialects have a similar phenomenon to that in Macedonian, with three sets of articles differing in their consonantal root, in this case with *-s-* said to mean ‘near the speaker’ and *-t-* ‘near the hearer’. The Torlak dialects of East Serbia, on the Bulgarian border, also have suffixal definite articles with deictic features. In fact, there appears to be a tendency across the Balkan Slavic dialect continuum for deictic articles to crop up, in separate areas: the Western Macedonian dialects which are the source of the standard Macedonian article system are not contiguous to the Bulgarian dialects with similar distinctions. The Balkan Slavic definite articles, like articles in many languages, derive diachronically from demonstratives (see Mladenova 2007 for a detailed history), so it is not surprising that they retain some demonstrative-like functions while transitioning to article status.<sup>11</sup>

Nonetheless, the Balkan Slavic definite articles do differ semantically as well as syntactically from demonstratives. In standard Bulgarian they are simply definiteness inflections, with no deictic or affective meaning. Even in Macedonian

<sup>10</sup>I owe this example to Marjan Marković (p.c.), who adds that in this case “there is no emotivity or sense of affiliation, here there is only closer and farther” (my translation). That is, just like the demonstratives (see §3.2), the different article series can express either deictic or affective meaning.

<sup>11</sup>In various languages items classified as articles can have a range of features beyond pure definiteness, often connected to their historical origin. For instance, in Omaha-Ponca (Siouan) the definite articles, some of which derive from positional verbs, distinguish animacy, position for inanimates (vertical/horizontal/round), and discourse centrality or agency for animates. *Ak<sup>h</sup>á* in (6) is the proximate (agentive, center-stage) animate article (Eschenberg 2005).

their primary function is marking definiteness. Karapejovski (2017) shows that the Macedonian articles diverge significantly from demonstratives in usage, particularly in the case of the neutral *-t-* article, which occurs in several situations which do not admit canonical deictic demonstratives: with generics (13), situationally definite nouns (14), possessives (15), nominalized adjectives (16), and occupations (17). Examples (13) through (17) are all from Karapejovski's article.

- (13) a. Lekarite sekogaš postapuvaat etički. (generic)  
doctors.DEF always act ethically  
'Doctors always behave ethically.'
- b. Tie lekari sekogaš postapuvaat etički. (certain, specific)  
those doctors always act ethically  
'These doctors always behave ethically.' (Macedonian)
- (14) a. Sonceto izgrea vo 7 časot.  
sun.DEF rises at 7 hour.DEF  
'The sun comes up at 7 o'clock.'
- b. ?Toa sonce izgrea vo 7 časot. (Macedonian)  
that sun rises at 7 hour.DEF
- (15) a. Ja vidov kućata na Racin.  
it saw.1PL house.DEF of Racin  
'I saw Racin's house.'
- b. ?Ja vidov taa kuća na Racin. (Macedonian)  
it saw.1PL that house of Racin
- (16) a. Dojde dežurniot.  
came.3SG on-duty.DEF  
'The duty-officer came.'
- b. ?Dojde toj dežuren. (Macedonian)  
came.3SG that on-duty
- (17) a. Go vidov profesorot Petkovski.  
him saw.1SG professor.DEF P.  
'I saw Professor Petkovski.'
- b. ?Go vidov toj profesor Petkovski. (Macedonian)  
him saw.1SG that professor P.

The grammaticality judgment of "?" instead of "\*" given by Karapejovski presumably reflects the fact that the (b) versions of these sentences (and a generic reading in 13b) are possible with a different reading of the demonstrative: affective

rather than canonical deictic. Thus (14b) might mean something like ‘That sun rises at 7:00! It’s so early!’ conveying an evaluative attitude toward the sun rather than (implausibly) specifying which of a set of suns. See §3.2 for further discussion of noncanonical demonstratives. The affective reading is often expressed by the MD construction but is also possible with a demonstrative alone.

Arnaudova (1998) provides somewhat similar facts for Bulgarian, pointing out that there are situations in which demonstrative and article are not equally acceptable. These include occurrence with non-predicative and “modal” adjectives (18), possible for article but not demonstrative, and in existential constructions (19), possible for demonstrative but not article. The examples are Arnaudova’s.

- (18) a. Drazni me samoto prisăstvie na Ivan.  
bothers me mere.DEF presence of Ivan  
‘Ivan’s mere presence annoys me.’
- b. \*Drazni me tova samo prisăstvie na Ivan.  
bothers me that mere presence of Ivan  
intended: ‘That mere presence of Ivan annoys me.’ (Bulgarian)
- (19) a. \*Ima knjigite v bibliotekata.  
there’s books.DEF in library.DEF  
intended: ‘There’s the books in the library.’
- b. Ima tezi knigi v bibliotekata.  
there’s these books in library.DEF  
‘There’s these books in the library.’ (Bulgarian)

The Macedonian *-v-* and *-n-* articles, as might be expected given their deictic meaning, are more likely to occur in situations where a demonstrative could also be found, though unlike demonstratives they usually lack focusing or contrastive function. Karapejovski suggests that the *-t-* suffixes are true definite articles, while the *-v-* and *-n-* ones are semantically closer to demonstratives.

All of the articles, regardless of deictic features, behave alike syntactically (and are equally unlike the demonstratives in this regard). I consider all of the articles to have the same syntactic status, namely that of inflectional definiteness markers spelling out features of D, as will be fleshed out in §3.1. First, however, an overview of the behavior of both articles and demonstratives within the MD construction will be useful.

### 2.3 Syntactic characteristics

In the Balkan Slavic MD construction the demonstrative must be initial. Word order is identical to that of a “normal” DP, with demonstrative followed by modifiers (quantifiers, possessives, adjectives) and eventually a noun. No other order is possible, in either Bulgarian or Macedonian, strongly indicating that this type of MD is a single DP. Note the ungrammatical (b) and (c) examples in (20) and (21).

- (20) a. *tija hubavite rokli*  
 these pretty.DEF dresses  
 ‘these pretty dresses’
- b. \**hubavite tija rokli*  
 pretty.DEF these dresses
- c. \**hubavite rokli tija* (Bulgarian)  
 pretty.DEF dresses these
- (21) a. *tie ubavite fustani*  
 these pretty.DEF dresses  
 ‘these pretty dresses’
- b. \**ubavite tie fustani*  
 pretty.DEF these dresses
- c. \**ubavite fustani tie* (Macedonian)  
 pretty.DEF dresses these

It is possible for more than one definite article suffix to appear in the MD construction. The additional article(s) are in parentheses in (22).

- (22) a. *tija tvoite hubavi(te) rokli*  
 these your.DEF pretty.DEF dresses  
 ‘those pretty dresses of yours’ (Bulgarian)
- b. *tie tvoite ubavi(te) fustani(te)*  
 those your.DEF pretty.DEF dresses.DEF  
 ‘those pretty dresses’ (Macedonian)

The slight failure of parallelism between the Bulgarian and Macedonian examples (lack of an article on *rokli* ‘dresses’ in (22a)) will be addressed below. There is some speaker variation in acceptability of multiple articles; in particular some

Bulgarian speakers find (22a) marginal.<sup>12</sup> However, they are clearly better than repeated articles outside of the demonstrative + article MD construction. When no demonstrative is present, only one article can occur, when the string of words is spoken as a single phrase, i.e. without comma intonation.

- (23) a. *tvoite hubavi(\*te) rokli*  
           your.DEF pretty.DEF dresses  
           ‘your pretty dresses’ (Bulgarian)
- b. *ubavite fustani(\*te)*  
           pretty.DEF dresses.DEF  
           ‘the pretty dresses’ (Macedonian)

The normal position for the definite article suffix in Balkan Slavic languages is roughly speaking on the first word of the DP; see below for a more detailed formulation. In an MD phrase, a single article occurs suffixed to the first word after the demonstrative. When there is more than one article, the suffix must attach to a series of adjacent items following the demonstrative. It is not possible to skip a link in the “chain” of articles. In (24–25) if the first modifier, *tvoi* ‘your’ is not articulated, no later element can have an article.

- (24) a. *tija tvoite novi(te) telefoni*  
           these your.DEF new.DEF phones  
           ‘those new phones of yours’
- b. \* *tija tvoi novite telefoni* (Bulgarian)  
           these your new.DEF phones
- (25) a. *ovie tvoive novi(ve) telefoni(ve)*  
           those your.DEF new.DEF phones.DEF  
           ‘those new phones of yours’
- b. \* *ovie tvoi novive telefoni(ve)*  
           those your new.DEF phones.DEF
- c. \* *ovie tvoi novi telefonive* (Macedonian)  
           those your new phones.DEF

Macedonian and Bulgarian MD constructions are almost identical syntactically, but they do differ in one important respect, namely in the behavior of nouns. We

<sup>12</sup>It is not clear whether this variation is purely idiolectal or has a broader geographical or other dialectal basis. Macedonian speakers, to the best of my knowledge, uniformly accept examples like (22b), though repeating articles are rather uncommon.

have already seen a definite article on a noun rather than (or in addition to) an adjective or other modifier in some of the Macedonian examples above, but not in the Bulgarian ones. In Macedonian, lexical nouns freely participate in the MD construction, occurring with a preceding demonstrative and an article suffix:

- (26) *taa tetratkata / ovie decava / onoj čovekon*  
this notebook.DEF these children.DEF that person.DEF  
'this notebook / these children / that person' (Macedonian)

In Bulgarian, however, the equivalent phrases are ungrammatical when pronounced as a single phrase.

- (27) \**taja tetratkata / \*onija decata / \*tozi čoveka* (Bulgarian)  
this notebook.DEF those children.DEF that person.DEF

Some apparent nouns do take articles in Bulgarian MD phrases (as well as in Macedonian); however, these are not true nouns but other categories: the articed words in (28) and (29) presumably modify a null N head. So for example *bogative/bogatite* 'the rich' is equivalent to *bogative luže/bogatite xora* 'the rich people').

- (28) *ovie bogative / ovoj mojov / ovie naševe polupismenive*  
these rich.DEF this my.DEF these our.DEF semiliterates.DEF  
'these rich folks / this guy of mine / those semiliterates of ours'  
(Macedonian)

- (29) *tija bogatite / tija četirimata / onija naševe polugramotnite*  
these rich.DEF these four.DEF those our.DEF semiliterates.DEF  
'these rich folks / those four (people) / those semiliterates of ours'  
(Bulgarian)

Summing up, the syntactic characteristics of Balkan Slavic MD are as follows:

1. it necessarily includes an initial demonstrative;
2. it contains at least one definite article suffix, on the first element following the demonstrative;
3. it can also contain multiple articles on subsequent constituent(s);
4. the two Balkan Slavic languages differ in whether lexical nouns can be articed in MD: yes in Macedonian; no in Bulgarian.

## 2.4 Intonational characteristics

It has already been noted several times that the construction under consideration here is pronounced as a single intonational phrase, without a heavy pause or comma intonation. This turns out to be crucial. Many of the characteristics noted in the preceding section do not apply to similar-looking strings with an intonation break.

For instance, the judgment in Bulgarian that nouns do not participate in MD holds only with smooth intonation. We have seen that single phrases like (30), with demonstrative followed by an artimed noun, are ungrammatical, but with comma intonation indicating appositive structure it becomes perfectly possible to say (31a). This has the same structure as (31b), with a clearly separate, non-agreeing demonstrative (neuter instead of feminine).

(30) \* taja tetratkata  
 that notebook.DEF  
 intended: 'that notebook' (Bulgarian)

(31) a. Daj mi taja, tetratkata!  
 give me that notebook.DEF  
 'Give me that one, the notebook!'  
 b. Daj mi tova, tetratkata!  
 give me that.N.SG notebook.DEF  
 'Give me that (thing), the notebook!' (Bulgarian)

Sequences including two definite articles without a demonstrative are also acceptable with comma intonation, in both Macedonian and Bulgarian. Speakers of both languages reject examples like (32) but often add that they would be possible if pronounced with a pause, as in (33). This, like (31a), is clearly an appositive construction, not the same structure as MD spoken with smooth intonation.

(32) \* tvojata starata kola  
 your.DEF old.DEF car  
 intended: 'your old car' (Bulgarian)

(33) Da vzemem tvojata, starata kola!  
 to take.1PL your.DEF old.DEF car  
 'Let's take yours, the old car!' (Bulgarian)

Furthermore, word order, which is invariable in the MD construction, becomes quite free with comma intonation (appositive structure), as can be seen in (35) as opposed to (34). Once again, Macedonian examples would look similar.

- (34) *taja novata kăšta*  
this new.DEF house  
'this new house' (only possible order) (Bulgarian)
- (35) a. *taja, novata kăšta*  
this new.DEF house  
'this one, the new house'
- b. *novata, taja kăšta*  
new.DEF this house  
'the new one, this house'
- c. *taja kăšta, novata*  
this house new.DEF  
'this house, the new one'
- d. *kăštata, taja novata*  
house.DEF this new.DEF  
'the house, this new one' (Bulgarian)

Angelova (1994) gives attested spoken examples with articulated nouns and N-Adj order, both impossible in true MD; for instance (36). Though she does not always spell such examples with a comma, pause intonation is required.

- (36) *mebelite, porăčanite*  
furnishings.DEF ordered.DEF  
'the furniture, the (stuff that was) ordered' (Bulgarian)

Failure to take intonation into account has been a source of confusion in earlier works, as disagreements on data acceptability may often trace back to imagining printed words with different intonations. Arnaudova (1998), to give just one example, presents *tazi ženata* 'this woman.DEF' as grammatical in Bulgarian, while speakers I consulted reject phrases like this, with demonstrative + articulated noun, unless pronounced with comma intonation (see (30) and (31a) above). She also states that some speakers accept MD only with a pause. Presumably what this means is that some prescriptively-inclined speakers reject the colloquial MD construction altogether and only allow multiple definiteness marking when there is more than one DP, that is, in appositives. In this paper I deal only with the single-phrase, no-comma MD construction.



### 3 Analysis

Up to this point, we have simply surveyed the facts of the Balkan Slavic MD construction. Namely, it is a single phrase (pronounced as an unbroken prosodic unit), which begins with a demonstrative, has at least one definite article suffix, on the following constituent, with the possibility of repeating article(s) on subsequent elements, and is affective in its meaning. These facts hold for both Bulgarian and Macedonian. The two languages differ in their lexical repertoire of articles and demonstratives, and in the participation of nouns in the MD construction. To account for the syntactic and semantic/pragmatic characteristics of MD phrases we need to specify the location and behavior of two elements, the demonstrative and the definite article, and explain how these two items together produce the appropriate meaning. The following subsections present an analysis of articles first (§3.1), then demonstratives (§3.2, §3.3), and finally their interaction (§3.4).

#### 3.1 Balkan Slavic “articles” are definiteness inflection

Let us start with the article. I propose the structure in Figure 1 for a Balkan Slavic definite DP with article only (no demonstrative). The D head itself is phonologically null, but its [+def] feature is spelled out as the definite article suffix, on the head of the next phrase after D. The article is thus essentially an agreement affix, agreeing with a definite D. The phrase whose head hosts the article/definiteness agreement can be NP or a modifier phrase such as AP or QP.

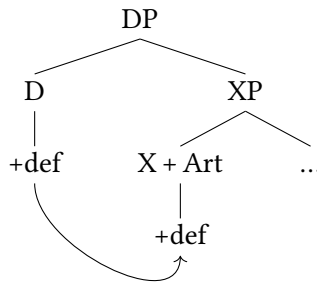


Figure 1: DP with DEF article

Treating the definite article as an inflection is not a novel proposal. Figure 1 follows Franks’s (2001) analysis, in which an Abney-type DP structure with AP over NP ensures that the first head to the right of D is also the highest head. For

simplicity I assume this type of DP structure here: roughly [DP [PossP [QP [AP [NP]]]]]. However, the analysis can easily be adapted to a structure with AP as an adjunct within NP rather than dominating NP. Under one such scenario, definiteness agreement within NP would extend not only to the head N but also to any adjoined modifiers, including AP, and their heads, and would be overtly realized on the highest (leftmost) of these. Regardless of the structure assumed, a rich literature exists showing that the suffixed elements traditionally called definite articles in Balkan Slavic (the items glossed DEF in this paper) are an inflectional manifestation of definiteness, marked on the head of the first phrasal projection after D. In simple cases this means DEF appears on the first word of the DP:

- (37) a. kolite  
cars.DEF  
'the cars'
- b. belite koli  
white.DEF cars  
'the white cars'
- c. trite beli koli  
three.DEF white cars  
'the three white cars'
- d. našite tri beli koli  
our.DEF three white cars  
'our three white cars' (Bulgarian)

This looks like a second-position clitic phenomenon and in fact numerous accounts have treated it as such, deriving the article's position by movement – either raising the host to D (e.g. Arnaudova 1998, Mišeska Tomić 1996) or lowering the article (e.g. Embick & Noyer 2001). But any movement account runs into difficulty with more complex examples like (38), where DEF follows neither the first prosodic word nor the first phrase but instead marks the head of AP with both pre- and post-modifiers. An inflectional account in which definiteness is manifested on the head of the projection immediately below DP accounts for the position of the article in all cases.

- (38) mnogo gordija ot bašta si sin  
very proud.DEF of father REFL son  
'the son who is very proud of his father' (Bulgarian)

Furthermore the definite article behaves like an inflectional suffix, not like the numerous, mostly Wackernagel-type clitics of Bulgarian and Macedonian, in several ways:

1. Unlike clitics, the article counts as part of the word for phonological processes such as final devoicing and liquid-schwa metathesis;
2. Unlike clitics, which are invariant in form, the article's form depends on the phonological form of the host word (see Footnote 9);
3. Unlike clitics, the articles exceptionally fail to occur with certain hosts.

Some nouns, including *majka* 'mother' and certain other relationship terms, essentially have a zero definite form; they are interpreted as definite but take no overt article. Bulgarian proper name diminutives similarly differ in whether they allow a definite article or not (Nicolova 2017). Examples of these clitic vs. article differences can be found in Rudin (to appear), as well as earlier sources including Elson (1976), Halpern (1995), Franks (2001), and Koev (2011). These works all focus on Bulgarian, but the arguments are valid for Macedonian as well. The inflectional status of Balkan Slavic articles seems indisputable. The MD construction adds yet another argument for this well-established conclusion, namely the possibility of more than one definite article suffix, as in examples (22) through (25). A textual example of multiple articles is (39).

- (39) ovie našive polupismenive što gledaat denes  
 these our.DEF semiliterates.DEF who watch.3SG today  
 'those semiliterates of ours who are watching today'

(Macedonian; Prizma 2015)

Multiple articles would be extremely problematic for any movement account of the definiteness suffix. If the article was a D head to which a host raised and adjoined, presumably multiple articles would require multiple D heads and thus multiple DPs. Similar problems arise for an account of D lowering or prosodic inversion. Under an inflectional account we simply allow definiteness agreement optionally to spread to subsequent (lower) heads as well as the one immediately below D; Figure 2 represents the relevant portion of (39).

### 3.2 Balkan Slavic demonstratives spell out DemP head

Demonstratives are a surprisingly slippery and variable category crosslinguistically. Coniglio et al. (2018) point out that demonstratives as a class are difficult

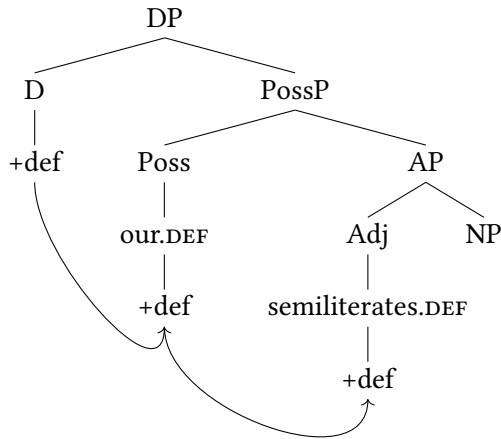


Figure 2: DP with multiple definiteness agreement

to define morphologically or syntactically; in various languages lexical items described as demonstratives can be instantiated as different categories, including pronouns, determiners, and adjectives among others, and exhibit a range of morphosyntactic behavior. Canonical demonstratives share the semantic property of expressing some type of deixis, but even here there is variability: demonstratives in many – perhaps all – languages can also convey a range of pragmatic meanings, particularly affective, discourse relational, or focusing; I return to the semantics of demonstratives below.

In Macedonian and to an extent also in Bulgarian dialects, as we have seen, the articles share both deictic and pragmatic/affective properties normally associated with demonstratives (but with some distinctions as shown in §3.1). However, syntactically there can be no doubt that the Balkan Slavic demonstratives and articles are distinct from each other. They occupy different positions, and of course they also differ in their morphological status as full words vs. affixes. In this section I consider the syntax of the full-word demonstratives.

Demonstratives like those we are concerned with in this paper, which modify nouns, are surely located somewhere high up within the nominal projection. In early transformational grammar demonstratives were treated as determiners, that is, they occupied the same position as articles, the D head in modern parlance. This is no longer a common assumption even for English, and is clearly wrong for Bulgarian and Macedonian, whose demonstratives are visibly located above D. As early as Arnaudova (1998) it was pointed out that demonstratives

not only cooccur with definite article in the MD construction, they must appear above the word to which definiteness inflection attaches (40), and cannot follow a definite article (41a), (41b) or host one themselves (41c):

- (40) *tija knjigite*  
 these books.DEF  
 ‘these books’ (Bulgarian)
- (41) a. \* *te tija knigi*  
 DEF these books  
 b. \* *knigite tija*  
 books.DEF these  
 c. \* *tijate knigi*  
 these.DEF books (Bulgarian)

In short, Bulgarian and Macedonian demonstratives occupy a left-peripheral position higher than the definite article within the nominal phrase. The exact identity of this position is not settled, however. It has been claimed to be SpecDP (Franks 2001, Arnaudova 1998); either SpecDP or the specifier of some higher projection, clitic phrase or a focus projection (Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1998); the head of a demonstrative phrase above DP (Tasseva-Kurktchieva 2006); or a topic position within DP (Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Mišeska Tomić 2009), with arguments for each location at least partially dependent upon each author’s theoretical assumptions. Arnaudova (1998) argues that demonstratives in Bulgarian must raise to SpecDP from a lower position, to check referential and deictic features of D by Spec-Head agreement. A more recent treatment of demonstratives crosslinguistically, Šimík (2016), proposes that the features instantiated by demonstratives are instead split between two separate heads, Dem and D. Demonstratives always spell out the head of the DemP projection, which comprises features of relation to the context; deixis or discourse relevance. In addition, the demonstrative can also optionally spell out the D-head definiteness feature (uniqueness presupposition). I adopt the basic outlines of this proposal here,<sup>13</sup> that is, I assume that in Balkan Slavic as in the languages Šimík investigates, a non-MD phrase with a demonstrative (demonstrative alone, with no article) has the structure in Figure 3. The demonstrative’s basic location and function is spelling out the Dem head, as indicated by the solid line; the dotted line indicates optionality of the demonstrative’s link to D, spelling out D features.

<sup>13</sup>Šimík’s proposal is framed within the theory of nanosyntax, which I do not necessarily adopt, and his focus is on the semantics of a certain pragmatic demonstrative usage in Czech.

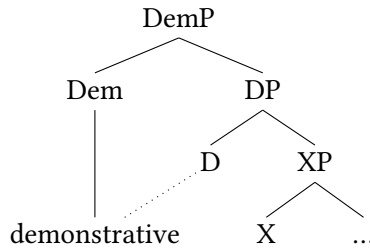


Figure 3: DP with demonstrative

This structure allows us to account for the semantics of different uses of demonstratives crosslinguistically, as Šimik demonstrates. I believe it can also capture crucial aspects of the usage of Balkan Slavic MD constructions. Before considering how MD fits into this model, a brief introduction to types of demonstratives is in order.

### 3.3 Canonical and pragmatic demonstratives

A canonical demonstrative includes definiteness in its meaning; it essentially has the semantics of a definite article plus some deictic, attention-focusing, or discourse-relational features. The article in (42b) makes a generic bicycle into a specific, known one. The demonstrative in (42c) does the same, but adds some additional meaning too, what Šimik defines as “establishing a relation between the denotation of the demonstrative description and an entity being pointed at (in a literal or metaphorical sense).”

- (42) a. bicycle = class, indefinite  
 b. the bicycle = individuated, definite  
 c. that bicycle (vs. this one) = individuated/definite but also deictic

This is captured in our analysis by the demonstrative spelling out two sets of features, those of D and those of Dem (see Šimik 2016 for fully worked-out semantics).

However, as has long been noted, many uses of demonstratives do not have the individuating function. Unlike canonical demonstratives, they can be used with proper names and other types of nouns without changing their degree of definiteness or uniqueness. They have various pragmatic functions, most commonly an affective sense, as in the following examples. Unlike (42c), (43a) does not pick out a certain bicycle but instead highlights one’s attitude toward an already-known

bicycle. In (43b) *that* does not specify ‘which’ Denise, but emphasizes some quality of this intrinsically-definite proper noun. (43c) does not identify a subset of ‘your’ kids, but rather compliments all members of a situationally-definite, known group of children. The politicians in (43d) remain a generic class.

- (43) a. That bicycle is such a pain!  
 b. That Denise really knows her stuff.  
 c. Those kids of yours are so talented!  
 d. These politicians are all liars.

In the analysis adopted here, non-canonical (pragmatic) demonstratives are those which spell out only the Dem head and not D. As Šimík (2016) states, the two semantic components which the demonstrative can spell out, the uniqueness presupposition associated with D and the relational features associated with Dem “are in principle independent of one another, making it possible for the demonstrative to spell-out either both at once (canonical use) or the relational component only (pragmatic use).”

In Bulgarian and Macedonian, as in other languages, demonstratives can be canonical or noncanonical (often affective). Unlike other languages, however, Balkan Slavic boasts a morphosyntactic correlate of affectivity, namely the MD construction. In (44a) *tozi* in a contrastive context is interpreted as a canonical demonstrative. In (44b) the meaning can be that of a canonical demonstrative (this phone as opposed to other new iPhones) but can also be affective, commenting on a generic type of phone without further individuating it. But in (44c), with article suffix as well as demonstrative, the interpretation is necessarily affective. I suggest that this is because the demonstrative is unable to spell out the definiteness features of D, which are independently spelled out by the definite article.

- (44) a. Tozi nov ajfon e po-skäp ot onzi. (canonical)  
 this new iPhone is more-expensive than that  
 ‘This new iPhone is more expensive than that one.’  
 b. Tozi nov ajfon ne e ništo osobeno. (canonical or affective)  
 this new iPhone NEG is nothing special  
 ‘This new iPhone is nothing special.’  
 c. Tozi novija ajfon ne e ništo osobeno. (affective only)  
 this new.DEF iPhone NEG is nothing special  
 ‘This new iPhone (i.e. new iPhones in general) is nothing special.’  
 (Bulgarian)

To summarize, the analysis I adopt for Balkan Slavic demonstratives comprises the following main points: the demonstrative heads DemP (spells out features of Dem head), and can optionally also spell out features of the D head. When a demonstrative simultaneously spells out both Dem and D heads this gives the canonical demonstrative reading in which the demonstrative expresses features of definiteness. When only the Dem head is spelled out, the resulting reading is one of a non-canonical demonstrative, specifically affective. The latter reading is obligatory when the D head is spelled out separately as the definite article suffix.

### 3.4 Putting it together: Interaction of demonstrative and article

If the conclusions of the previous section are correct, demonstratives in Balkan Slavic interact with the D head in several different ways. These interactions are shown in the following three trees, which correspond to the examples in (44).

Figure 4 represents the phrase *tozi nov ajfon* ‘this new iPhone’ in (44a), with canonical demonstrative spelling out features of both Dem and D heads.

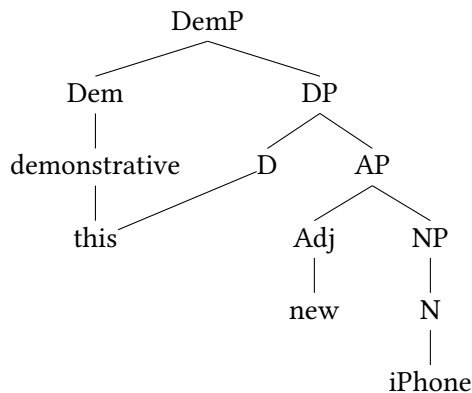


Figure 4: Canonical demonstrative

Figure 5 represents the phrase *tozi nov ajfon* ‘this new iPhone’ in (44b), where the demonstrative spells out only Dem features, not D, resulting in affective interpretation. The D head here is represented as null, but could also simply be absent; i.e. DP might not be projected.

Figure 6 represents the phrase *tozi novija ajfon* ‘this new.DEF iPhone’ in (44c), the MD construction. As in Figure 5, the demonstrative spells out only Dem features, not D and is affective. The difference is that the D head in Figure 6 is not null but spelled out as the article (definiteness inflection).



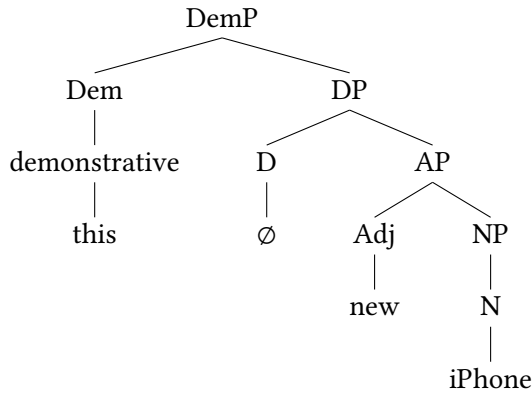


Figure 5: Affective demonstrative

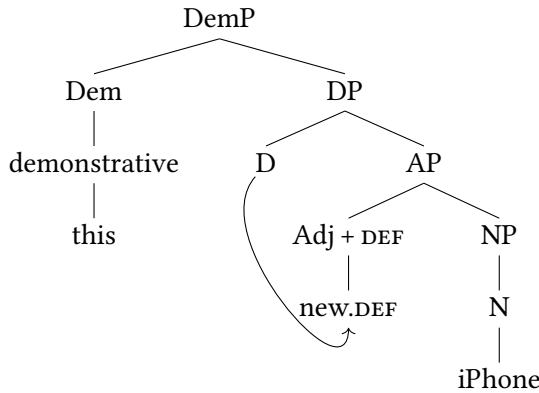


Figure 6: (Affective) demonstrative in MD phrase

The structure of the Balkan Slavic MD construction in general is then Figure 7. Both demonstrative and article appear as overt lexical material. The demonstrative spells out only the relational features located in the Dem head, not any features related to D. The D features are spelled out separately, as the definite article suffix on the following head, and definiteness agreement can spread optionally to the following head(s).

Šimík (2016) suggests that demonstrative and article should not both be able to be spelled out, clearly counter to the Balkan Slavic facts. In footnote 9 of his article he speculates that something like *that the* could be blocked by general principles which require the fewest possible spellouts: since *that* can spell out features of both heads, *the* cannot be spelled out. Deeper investigation is required,

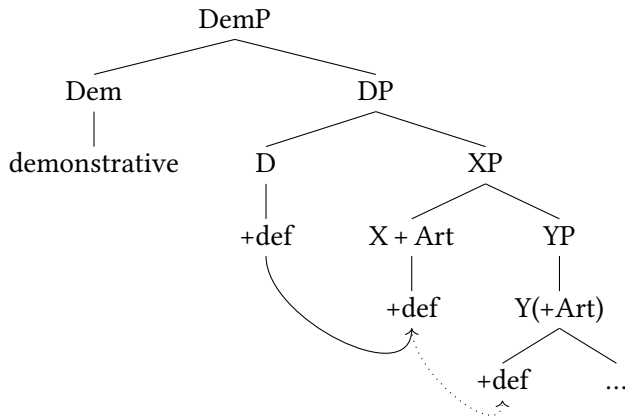


Figure 7: MD construction: DP with demonstrative and DEF

obviously, to make any sweeping claims about what makes MD constructions with demonstrative + article possible crosslinguistically. But it is at least a plausible conjecture that the reason Balkan Slavic languages are able to spell out both demonstrative and article is precisely that the article is realized as a suffix on a later word, that is, that the demonstrative and article are nonadjacent and thus cannot be spelled out as a single lexical item.

Within the system of Šimik (2016), nominals with affective (and other non-canonical) demonstratives have no D and thus none of the definiteness or uniqueness features associated with D. This does not seem to be the case in the Balkan Slavic MD construction, however. In fact, I suggest the characteristic meaning of the MD construction derives from a combination of the semantics of demonstratives with that of definiteness (or perhaps specificity or uniqueness).<sup>14</sup> In Bulgarian and Macedonian a phrase with only a demonstrative, as in (45a), usually has the canonical, deictic demonstrative sense, including of course a presumption of uniqueness (definiteness): this particular cake as opposed to others. In the MD construction (45b), with demonstrative and definite article, the demonstrative is affective, contributing subjective, evaluative focus on some qualities of the cake. However, there is still a presumption of uniqueness; the “awesome” cake is a particular, situationally definite cake, a meaning underlined by the definite article.

<sup>14</sup>This may in fact be true of affectives in general. Definiteness is not morphologically overt in the English examples in (43) but is nonetheless present: the bicycle, the kids, and Denise are situationally definite, known, and specific in the discourse context. We might speculate that this type of definiteness in English inheres in the NP itself or is pragmatically inferred, rather than being marked by D features, whereas in Bulgarian and Macedonian it is overtly marked.

- (45) a. Tazi nejna torta e naj-vkusnata.  
 this her cake is most-delicious.DEF  
 ‘This cake of hers is the most delicious one.’
- b. Tazi nejnata torta e straxotna!  
 this her.DEF cake is awesome  
 ‘That cake of hers is awesome!’ (Bulgarian)

In attested MD examples the nominals are similarly individuated: (46) comments on specific known “morons”, with *ovie* adding evaluative nuance; (47) pokes fun at four known, definite robbers. *Onija četirima*, with no article, could mean ‘those four’ as opposed to other people, but the MD construction *onija četirimata* means four already identified people, with the demonstrative adding affectivity rather than specifying which four.

- (46) Ovie moronive me prašuvaa za ova.  
 those morons.DEF me asked about that  
 ‘Those morons were asking me about that.’ (Macedonian; Prizma 2015)
- (47) onija četirimata šašavi razbojnici  
 those four.DEF foolish robbers  
 ‘those four foolish robbers’ (Bulgarian; Roman Dimitrov *Decata na Perun*)

Demonstratives always have an attention-focusing function, pointing or marking as discourse-relevant. With an otherwise non-definite nominal, this attention-focusing takes the form of specifying: picking out a specific item or subset. When paired with an already-specific, definite nominal, this specifying focus would make no sense; when the demonstrative occurs with a proper name or other intrinsically definite noun, or with a definite article, it must spell out only relational features (features of Dem), not definiteness. In this situation, the demonstrative focuses attention on something like unique qualities of the individual or group. Thus the MD construction in Balkan Slavic is not mere definiteness agreement. The demonstrative and the definite article each make a separate semantic contribution. The demonstrative spells out relational features, and the +definite feature of D is manifested as overt definiteness agreement; the combination gives the characteristic affective reading of MD. The association is not limited to Balkan Slavic: affective or otherwise pragmatic interpretation of demonstrative with a (situationally or morphologically) definite or specific nominal, including proper names, is extremely robust crosslinguistically.

### 3.5 How is Bulgarian different from Macedonian?

One remaining loose end is the fact, noted in §2.3, that the two Balkan Slavic languages' MD constructions differ in whether nouns can carry the definite article, with or without a preceding adjective or other modifier. 'Book' can have definite inflection in Macedonian (48) but not Bulgarian (49).

- (48) a. ova knigava  
       this book.DEF  
       'this book'
- b. ova tvojava / interesnava knigava  
       this your.DEF interesting.DEF book.DEF  
       'this book of yours / this interesting book' (Macedonian)
- (49) a. taja kniga(\*ta)  
       this book.DEF  
       'this book'
- b. taja tvojata / interesnata kniga(\*ta)  
       this your.DEF interesting.DEF book.DEF  
       'this book of yours / this interesting book' (Bulgarian)

Given the analysis of the definite article suffix as agreement, the difference is how far down into the nominal phrase definiteness agreement is able to penetrate: in both Bulgarian and Macedonian the heads of QP, PossP, and one or more AP can take the definite article suffix in MD constructions, but only in Macedonian can agreement reach into NP and mark the head N. One possible explanation could involve a difference in nominal structure posited by Franks (2015) for independent reasons; an additional Agr<sup>15</sup> layer in Bulgarian but not Macedonian:

- (50) a. Macedonian DP: [DP [QP [PossP [AP [NP ]]]]]  
       b. Bulgarian DP: [DP [QP [PossP [AP [AgrP [NP ]]]]]]

This additional projection allows for a possessive (dative) clitic within the nominal phrase. Both Bulgarian and Macedonian allow possessive adjectives with the definite article suffix, including in the MD construction with a demonstrative (51). In Bulgarian the possessive can be a clitic (Agr head), including in MD (52). In Macedonian, which lacks AgrP, a possessive clitic is impossible (53).

<sup>15</sup>In some versions of his work on this topic Franks calls this projection KP, in others AgrP. Agr seems like a better label, given that the items which head it are pronominal clitics with person and number features.

- (51) a. *moite knigi / tija moite knigi*  
 my.DEF books these my.DEF books  
 ‘my books / these books of mine’ (Bulgarian)
- b. *moive knigi / ovie moive knigi*  
 my.DEF books these my.DEF books  
 ‘my books / these books of mine’ (Macedonian)
- (52) a. *knigite mi*  
 books.DEF my  
 ‘my books’
- b. *tija novite mi knigi*  
 these new.DEF my books  
 ‘these new books of mine’ (Bulgarian)
- (53) a. \**knigive mi*  
 books.DEF my
- b. \**ovie novive mi knigi* (Macedonian)  
 these new.DEF my books

It is tempting to suggest that the AgrP layer also insulates NP from agreement-spreading in MD, as the head of Agr constitutes a non-agreeing, intervening head between N and the preceding definite-marked element. The correlation of possessive clitic and ability for nouns to be articulated in MD construction is supported by facts of another Balkan language, Albanian, whose MD constructions share nearly all the properties of MD in Balkan Slavic. Like Macedonian, Albanian allows a definite article suffix on nouns in MD phrases, as in (54), and lacks DP-internal possessive clitic, suggesting that it, like Macedonian, has no AgrP projection above NP.

- (54) *ky djali*  
 this boy.DEF  
 ‘this boy’ (Albanian)

However, there is one major problem with idea of AgrP blocking definiteness agreement into NP in Bulgarian. Outside of the MD construction, Bulgarian nouns do of course allow the definite article suffix; simple nouns like *knigite* ‘the book’ are found in many examples in this paper. Blocking definite inflection on simple nouns is clearly not a desirable result. It remains to be seen whether a more nuanced treatment of the structure of NP and Agr in Bulgarian vs. Macedonian (and Albanian) can account for the difference in definiteness marking in nouns inside and outside MD constructions.

## 4 Conclusions and remaining problems

This paper investigates the colloquial Bulgarian and Macedonian multiple determination construction containing both a demonstrative and a definite article. The construction is a single nominal phrase with demonstrative heading DemP (spelling out features of the Dem head) and the article spelling out features of D, realized as a suffix on the next phrasal head: PossP, QP, AP, or in Macedonian NP. Semantically, the Balkan Slavic MD construction has an affective interpretation. This meaning is derived from the interaction of demonstratives and the definite article in these languages: since the D head is independently spelled out by the article, the demonstrative spells out only the relational features associated with Dem and has no definiteness features. Independent spell-out of D in addition to Dem is, I suggest, made possible by the non-adjacency of the article suffix and the demonstrative. The emotive quality of MD accounts for its preference for colloquial and proximate demonstratives and articles.

Problems remain, obviously. One mystery already discussed is how to account for the failure of nouns to take a definite article in Bulgarian MD, unlike in normal DPs. In fact, definiteness inflection in MD differs in two ways from that in definite DP with no demonstrative: in addition to the inability to reach N in Bulgarian, there is also the phenomenon of multiple agreement. It is not very clear why agreement spreading (multiple articles) occurs only in the MD construction and not in other DPs. There are several possible lines of attack on this problem. One is conditioned agreement: it could be the demonstrative's feature that probes and the definiteness feature is valued as a free-rider. Another is conditioned realization of overt agreement by the presence of an additional feature, perhaps formalized through an agree-link account following Arregi & Nevins (2012, 2013). A third is an association with focus; agreement spreading only to focused items could account for the multiple agreement facts if more projections can be focused in MD. Finally, it is possible that the multiple-article cases actually contain multiple DPs. I leave sorting out the solution for future research.

Balkan Slavic MD constructions provide insight into several aspects of the structure of DP in these languages. They provide support for treating demonstratives as specifiers of DemP, for the inflectional status of the Balkan definite articles, and for a more elaborated DP structure in Bulgarian than Macedonian, perhaps involving an extra projection above NP. The semantic effect of combining a demonstrative with a definite DP, namely an affective focus on qualities of an already-specified individual or group, may hold across languages, even universally. Overt realization of the article along with the demonstrative is likely to depend on their being non-adjacent, preventing the demonstrative from simply

spelling out the features of both Dem and D. All of these results (and questions) provide a basis for further cross-linguistic investigation of MD constructions.

## Abbreviations

1	first person	N	neuter
2	second person	NEUT	neutral
3	third person	PL	plural
DEF	definite	PROX	proximal
DIST	distal	REFL	reflexive
F	feminine	SG	singular
M	masculine		

## Acknowledgements

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