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On DP Structure in Balkan Slavic: Evidence from Multiple Determination*

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This paper investigates the structure of nominal phrases in the Balkan Slavic languages, Bulgarian and Macedonian, focusing on the relatively little-studied phenomenon of MULTIPLE DETERMINATION (MD). MD constructions, following Joseph (2019), are nominal phrases which contain more than one marker of definiteness: multiple articles and/or other definite determiners. In Balkan Slavic MD constructions a demonstrative occurs with one or more of what are traditionally called postposed "definite articles". I use this traditional term through most of the paper but argue that the "article" is actually an inflectional affix. As usual in these very closely related languages, the constructions under discussion are nearly identical in Macedonian and Bulgarian, but not quite. I suggest discrepancies reflect differences between Bulgarian and Macedonian DPs in the number and type of projections they include, with Bulgarian DP structure more elaborated than that of Macedonian. The similar usage of MD constructions across Balkan Slavic is due in part to the semantics of demonstratives and definiteness and the ramifications of combining the two.

The paper begins with an introduction to the morphology and meaning of Balkan Slavic MD constructions, in section 1, and their syntactic characteristics, in section 2. Section 3 compares Balkan Slavic MD to similar phenomena in other languages. Section 4 presents a

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structure for DPs with MD. Section 5 deals with differences between Macedonian and Bulgarian, and Section 6 is the conclusion.

1 The Basic Data: Formation and Usage

In standard Bulgarian and Macedonian, DPs contain no more than one definite determiner: either a demonstrative as in (1a-2a) or a definite article, as in (1b-2b), where it occurs suffixed to the adjective and is glossed as DEF. Demonstratives and articles are boldfaced.

(1) a. **tazi** nova kola. Bulg
that new car
'that new car'
b. nova**ta** kola
new$_{DEF}$ car
'the new car'

(2) a. **tie** ubavi fustani Mac
those pretty dresses
'those pretty dresses'
b. ubavi**te** fustani
pretty$_{DEF}$ dresses
'the pretty dresses

However, in colloquial Bulgarian and Macedonian it is possible for an article and a demonstrative to cooccur as well, as in (3); there can even be more than one article, as shown in (3b-c).

(3) a. **tazi** nova**ta** kola Bulg
that new$_{DEF}$ car
'that new car'
b. **tazi** tvoja**ta** nova(**ta**) kola Bulg
that your$_{DEF}$ new$_{DEF}$ car
'that new car of yours'
c. **tie** ubavi**te** fustani(**te**) Mac
those pretty$_{DEF}$ dresses$_{DEF}$
'those pretty dresses'

MD phrases like those in (3) are not standard literary language, but they abound in social media and other informal contexts,[1] and are readily accepted by most speakers. In Macedonian, a large number of instances taken from a corpus of politicians' recorded phone conversations have been described by Friedman (2016), and other examples from fictional dialogue have been catalogued by Ugrinova-Skalovska (1960/61). MD has received less attention in Bulgarian, but has been at least noted by several linguists (Arnaudova 1998, Tasseva-Kurktchieva 2006, Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Tomić 2009, Mladenova 2007.)

Bulgarian and Madedonian differ somewhat in their inventories of demonstratives and articles. Macedonian has three sets of demonstratives and corresponding sets of definite articles, with different consonant bases: proximal *-v-*, neutral *-t-*, and distal *-n-*. Bulgarian lacks any distinction in the article, having only the *-t-* set, and has only a two-way demonstrative deixis distinction; however, it has an additional split between a more formal/literary and a more colloquial set of demonstratives. MD occurs with all demonstratives and all articles, in both languages. But it is much more common, and for some speakers more natural, with the less formal demonstrative series in Bulgarian and the proximate demonstrative and article series in Macedonian, boldfaced in tables (4)-(5). The demonstrative and article agree in number and gender in both languages, and also in deixis in Macedonian.

(4)

Macedonian	Demonstratives	Articles
Proximal	**ovoj/ovaa/ova/ovie** 'this m/f/n/pl'	**-ov/-va/-vo/-ve**
Neutral	toj/taa/toa/tie 'that m/f/n/pl'	-ot/-ta/-to/-te
Distal	onoj/onaa/ona/onie 'that m/f/n/pl'	-on/-na/-no/-ne

[1] Macedonian examples in this paper are mostly from the *Bombi* recorded phone conversations (Prizma 2015), while Bulgarian examples are mostly from social media; constructed examples have been confirmed by speakers.

(5)

Bulgarian	Demonstratives: more formal // less formal	Articles
Proximal	tozi/tazi/tova/tezi // **toja/taja/tuj/tija** 'this m/f/n/pl'	**-â(t)/-ta/ -to/-te**
Distal	onzi/onazi/onova/onezi // **onja/onaja/onuj/onija** 'that m/f/n/pl'	

This preference for informal and proximal forms relates to the colloquial nature of MD and to its function of expressing emotional reaction or personal involvement. Unlike DPs with a demonstrative but no article, MD constructions typically convey the speaker's attitude toward the item under discussion, often deprecating, but sometimes warmly positive. Consider these Bulgarian examples:

(6) a. **Taja** nova kola e nemska. Bulg
this new car is German
'This new car is German.'

b. **Taja** nova**ta** kola napravo me omrâzna.
this new$_{DEF}$ car simply me annoyed
'I'm absolutely fed up with that new car.'

c. **Taja** nova**ta** kola e otlična!
this new$_{DEF}$ car is great
'That new car is great!'

The non-MD construction in (6a) picks out a certain new car, possibly as opposed to other cars, and makes a neutral statement about it. The MD construction in (6b-c), on the other hand, does not pick out one car from a set, but rather expresses the speaker's frustration with or admiration of an already-known car. Friedman's (2016) corpus study reveals subjective evaluation semantics as a central feature of MD in Macedonian as well. This characteristic meaning/usage is discussed in more detail in section 4.3 below.

2 Syntactic Characteristics of Balkan Slavic MD

The word order of MD constructions is identical to that of a "normal" DP; in particular the demonstrative is always initial, as it would be if there was no article present. For instance, in (7) the demonstrative cannot follow an adjective, regardless of the presence or absence of a definite article suffix on the adjective.

(7) a. *nova **tazi** kola Bulg
new this car
b. *nova**ta** **tazi** kola Bulg
new$_{DEF}$ this car
c. *ubavi **tie** fustani Mac
pretty those dresses
d. *ubavi**te** **tie** fustani Mac
pretty$_{DEF}$ those dresses

This contrasts with the behavior of a superficially similar construction found in standard literary Bulgarian and Macedonian with certain adjectival quantifiers, roughly ones with universal or identity meaning, like *sâšt-/ist-* 'same' in (8).[2] Here an articled adjective can, or in Macedonian must precede the demonstrative; this has been taken as evidence that the construction is not a single nominal but two separate, appositive DPs (see Giusti and Dimitrova-Vulchanova 1994, Arnaudova 1998, Franks 2001, Tasseva-Kurktchieva 2006, Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Tomić 2009). Conversely, the set Dem > Adj > N word order of the construction under discussion in the present paper indicates that it is in fact a single DP.

[2] This quantifier construction has quite distinct properties from the colloquial MD construction, not only in word order, but in stylistic level, semantics/pragmatics (lacking the emotive flavor of colloquial MD), and in allowing only a single article, not repeated articles. See Rudin (2018) for further discussion.

(8) a. **tazi** sâšta**ta** kniga / sâšta**ta tazi** kniga Bulg
that same$_{DEF}$ book
b. ista**ta** **taa** kniga Mac
same$_{DEF}$ that book
'that same book'

In the examples given so far, the definite article always occurs on a modifier (adjective or possessive). In Macedonian the article can also occur on a noun; several attested examples are given in (9a), with one full-sentence example from the *Bombi* in (9b):

(9) a. **ovie** kartiv**e** / **taa** tetratka**ta** / **ovie** deca**va** /
those ballots$_{DEF}$ this notebook$_{DEF}$ these children$_{DEF}$
toj čovek**ot** Mac
this person$_{DEF}$
b. **Ovie** moroni**ve** od A1 me prašuvaa za ova.
those morons$_{DEF}$ from A1 me asked about that
'Those morons from A1 were asking me about that.'

In Bulgarian, however, non-adjectival nouns cannot be articled; translations of (9) are ungrammatical.

(10) a. ***onezi** karti**te** / ***taja** tetradka**ta** / ***onija** deca**ta** /
those ballots$_{DEF}$ this notebook$_{DEF}$ these children$_{DEF}$
***toja** čoveka Bulg
this person$_{DEF}$
b. ***Onija** idioti**te** ot A1 me pitaha za tova.
those idiots$_{DEF}$ from A1 me asked about that
'Those idiots from A1 were asking me about that.'

The article can occur on adjectival nouns/nominalized adjectives in both Bulgarian and Macedonian. Presumably these are simply adjectives with a null noun: *bogative (luǵe)*/*bogatite (xora)* 'the rich (people)'.

(11) a. **ovie** bogati**ve** Mac
those rich$_{DEF}$
'those rich folks'

b. **ovoj** moj**ov**
that my$_{DEF}$
'that guy of mine'
c. **ovie** naši**ve** polupismeni**ve**
those our semiliterates$_{DEF}$
'those semiliterates of ours'

(12) a. **tija** bogati**te** Bulg
these rich$_{DEF}$
'these rich folks'
b. **taja** nejna**ta**
that her$_{DEF}$
'that one of hers'
c. **onija** naši**te** polugramotni**te**
those our$_{DEF}$ semiliterates$_{DEF}$
those semiliterates of ours'

Articles can repeat on stacked modifiers,[3] or on modifier(s) plus noun in Macedonian, but an article cannot appear on later modifiers or noun unless there is also an article on all preceding modifiers.

(13) a. **tija** tvoi**te** novi(**te**) telefoni Bulg
these your$_{DEF}$ new$_{DEF}$ phones
'those new phones of yours'
b. ***tija** tvoi novi**te** telefoni

(14) a. **ovie** tvoi**ve** novi(**ve**) telefoni Mac
these your$_{DEF}$ new$_{DEF}$ phones
'those new phones of yours'
b. **ovie** tvoi**ve** novi**ve** telefoni(**ve**)
c. ***ovie** tvoi novi**ve** telefoni(**ve**)
d. ***ovie** tvoi novi telefoni**ve**

Note that repeated articles are not possible outside the MD construction, i.e. without a demonstrative. Compare (15) to (13-14) and (16) to (11c-12c). Strings like (15-16) are possible if spoken with a pause, that is, as two separate phrases, but not as a single DP.

[3] There is considerable speaker variation in the acceptability of repeated articles in Bulgarian: some speakers fully accept (13a) while others find it marginal. Macedonians as far as I am aware all accept (14a-b).

(15) a. *tvoi**te** novi**te** telefoni Bulg
your$_{DEF}$ new$_{DEF}$ phones
b. *tvoi**ve** novi**ve** telefoni Mac
(16) a. *naši**te** polugramotni**te** Bulg
our$_{DEF}$ semiliterates$_{DEF}$
b. *naši**ve** polupismeni**ve** Mac

To sum up: the Balkan Slavic MD construction necessarily includes an initial demonstrative; contains at least one definite article, on the first element following the demonstrative, and can also contain multiple articles on subsequent constituent(s). Any analysis must account for these facts, as well as for the difference between Macedonian and Bulgarian in whether lexical nouns participate in MD and of course also for the semantics of the construction.

3 Multiple Determination across Languages

Before presenting an analysis of Balkan Slavic MD, I briefly consider how these properties compare to similar phenomena in other languages. Numerous languages exhibit some type of multiple marking of definiteness, involving either multiple articles or demonstrative plus article. Alexiadou (2014) surveys a number of these. One type is the repetition of articles, sometimes called polydefiniteness, found for example in Omaha-Ponca (Rudin 1993), and Greek (Alexiadou & Wilder 1998), in which an article follows (Omaha-Ponca) or precedes (Greek) a noun and each of its modifiers:

(17) a. níkashi^{n}ga **ak^{h}a** nó^{n}ba **ak^{h}á** thé **ak^{h}á** Omaha-Ponca
person the two the this the
'these two people'
b. thé **ak^{h}á** níkashi^{n}ga **ak^{h}a** nó^{n}ba **ak^{h}á**
this the person the two the
(18) a. **to** me*γ*alo **to** kokkino **to** vivlio Greek
the big the red the book
'the big red book'
b. **to** vivlio **to** me*γ*alo **to** kokkino
the book the big the red

These are quite different from the Balkan Slavic MD construction. Not only can they lack the demonstrative required in Balkan Slavic, they are arguably appositive constructions rather than single DPs: notice the variable constituent order. Balkan Slavic MD differs in having fixed word order, and also lacks other indications of appositive status such as comma intonation.

Repeating articles are not necessarily an indication of appositive structure. There exist cases of multiple articles within what is clearly a single DP, for instance obligatory definiteness agreement in Scandinavian (Alexiadou 2014) and Hebrew/Arabic (Doron & Khan 2015):

(19) **det** store hus**et** Swedish
the big house$_{DEF}$
'the big house'

(20) **ha**-sefer **ha**-gadol Hebrew
the-book the-big
'the big book'

(21) ʔ**al**-ʔard ʔ**al**-muqaddasa Classical Arabic
the-land the-holy
'the holy land'

Other languages are more like Balkan Slavic MD in involving a demonstrative: for example demonstrative + article definiteness agreement in Hungarian. However, the article in Hungarian is obligatory, and the construction lacks the special semantics of the optional Balkan Slavic MD. Only a single article is possible, as shown in (22b).

(22) a. **ez** **a** lány Hungarian
this the girl
'this girl'

b. **ez** **a** magas (***a**) szőke (***a**) amerikai (***a**) lány
this the tall the blond the American the girl
'this tall blond American girl'

Several varieties of Balkan Romance (Joseph 2019) have multiple definiteness marking mediated by a demonstrative-like element which I

label "adjectival article" in (23) following Joseph; Alexiadou (2014) refers to this as a "demonstrative article". This looks rather similar to the Balkan Slavic construction, but once again at least one article is obligatory and special semantics appears to be lacking.

(23) om**lu** **atsel** bun(**lu**) Aromanian
man$_{DEF}$ AdjArt good$_{DEF}$
'the good man'

Within Slavic, MD is reminiscent of the Slovenian "adjectival article" *ta* (Marušič & Žaucer 2014), which cooccurs with demonstratives and can repeat on stacked modifiers. It occurs only with adjectives, not nouns, like MD in Bulgarian (though not Macedonian). However, *ta* is unlike MD in showing no number/gender agreement, occurring in some indefinite NPs, and not requiring a demonstrative. Marušič and Žaucer analyze *ta* as a marker of "type definiteness" affecting only the adjective and not the whole NP, which is not true of the articles in Bulgarian.

(24) tá **ta** debel **ta** zelen svinčnik Slovenian
this *ta* thick *ta* green pencil
'this thick green pencil'

In short, multiple definiteness marking of one sort or another is fairly widespread cross-linguistically. The constructions involved are quite heterogeneous and unlikely to be amenable to a unified analysis. Nonetheless all MD constructions raise similar issues. Is the MD string one phrase or two (appositive)? Does it involve morphological agreement? Where are demonstrative and articles located in the syntactic structure, and what is their semantic contribution? In this paper I deal only with the Balkan Slavic demonstrative + article DP, which is not exactly identical to MD in any other language I know of,[4] leaving an account of MD constructions across languages for further research.

[4] A very similar system is found in Albanian, which I describe in joint work in progress with Victor Friedman; however even this MD construction differs from Balkan Slavic in word order and in the complicating factor of an additional concord particle with most adjectives.

4 Structure of MD Phrases (and Other DPs) in Balkan Slavic

Turning back to Bulgarian and Macedonian, I propose a structure like (25) for a DP with only a demonstrative, (26) for a DP with only a definite article, and (27) for the MD construction.

(25) [$_{DP}$ demonstrative [[$_{D}$Ø] [$_{AP}$ [A] [$_{AP}$ [A] [$_{NP}$ [N]]]]]

(26) [$_{DP}$ [$_{D}$Ø] [$_{AP}$ [A] [$_{AP}$ [A] [$_{NP}$ [N]]]]]
DEF *DEF*

(27) [$_{DP}$ demonstrative [[$_{D}$Ø] [$_{AP}$ [A] [$_{AP}$ [A] [$_{NP}$ [N]]]]]
QF *DEF.QF* *DEF.QF* *(DEF.QF)* *(DEF.QF)*

Demonstratives are specifiers of DP. The D head in Balkan Slavic is always null, but can bear a [DEF] feature which induces inflectional definiteness marking (definiteness agreement) on the next highest head. When a [DEF] D head cooccurs with a demonstrative, Spec-Head agreement results in a specific interpretation which I've represented here as involving a feature QF ("Quality Focus"), contributed by the demonstrative, in addition to definiteness. This DEF.QF feature bundle induces definiteness marking not only on the next highest head, but potentially also on subsequent, lower heads**.** In this Abney-type structure, the highest head is A (or other modifiers – quantifier, numeral, possessive – which I've omitted for simplicity) so definiteness inflection shows up on N only if there is no modifier in (22).[5]

There are three parts to this analysis: the position of demonstratives, the inflectional status of the "definite article", and the QF feature. The following subsections elaborate on each in turn.

[5] I assume an Abney-style DP structure here, but the analysis is actually neutral between this and a more traditional structure with AP within 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. There may well be reasons to treat AP as an adjunct rather than dominating NP, but discussing this issue would take us too far afield for the present paper.

4.1 Demonstratives

This portion of the analysis is the most straightforward. Previous works have established that demonstratives and articles in Balkan Slavic differ in both function and syntactic position (Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998), Tasseva-Kurktchieva (2006), Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Tomić (2009), Karapejovski (2017), among others, as well as much work on other languages). Demonstratives clearly are not simply determiners, and are located higher than D, in some left-peripheral position within the nominal phrase.[6] Following Franks (2001) I assume this position is SpecDP. The demonstrative is then in a Spec-head relation and shares features with D, including number/gender, spatial deixis (in Macedonian), and definiteness as well as the QF feature. Suggestions other than SpecDP for the position of demonstratives include head of a DemP above DP (Tasseva-Kurktchieva 2006) or a "topic" position (Divitrova-Vulchanova and Tomić 2009); agreement would presumably be possible in these configurations as well, but it is most clearly applicable to SpecDP.

4.2 "Articles": The Status of DEF

The suffixed elements traditionally called definite articles in Balkan Slavic (glossed DEF in this paper) are in fact not full-fledged articles/determiners but instead inflectional definiteness markers, specifically an inflectional manifestation of definiteness on the head of the highest projection below DP in normal (non-MD cases). In simple cases this means DEF appears on the first word of the DP:

(28)	kniga**ta**	'the book'	Bulg
	frenska**ta** kniga	'the French book'	
	nova**ta** frenska kniga	'the new French book'	
	moja**ta** nova frenska kniga	'my new French book'	

Numerous accounts have treated this as a 2P clitic phenomenon, derived by movement – either fronting of a host (e.g. Arnaudova 1998, Tomić 1996) or lowering of the "clitic article" (e.g. Embick & Noyer 2001). But this cannot account for more complex examples like (29), where *DEF* follows neither the first prosodic word nor the first phrase but instead marks the head of AP with pre- and/or post-modifiers.

[6] Demonstratives can of course also function as separate, pronominal DPs.

(29) [$_{AP}$ mnogo gorda**ta** ot studentite si] prepodavatelka
very proud$_{DEF}$ of students$_{DEF}$ REFL teacher
'the teacher who is very proud of her students'

An inflectional account in which definiteness is manifested on the head of the projection immediately below DP correctly accounts for the position of the article in all cases,[7] and also accounts for other aspects of the behavior of DEF: First, the article behaves like a suffix, not a clitic, with respect to phonological processes such as final devoicing and liquid-schwa metathesis, as seen in (30); note that with the clitic auxiliary *e* 'is' the base word has the same form as it does in isolation, while the definite suffix blocks both devoicing and methathesis. Second, its form is dependent on the phonological form of the host word: for instance, the neuter plural article in (31) is *-ta* or *-te* depending on the final *-a* vs. *-i* vowel of the N or A it is suffixed to. Third, some nouns, like *majka* 'mother' in (32a) are intrinsically definite and take no overt definite marker (or have an exceptional zero form of the definite); compare *majka* to an ordinary noun in (32b). An adjective accompanying a 'mother'-type noun can be articled.

(30) a. grâb /grəp/ 'back' Bulg
b. grâb e /grəp e/ '(it) is (a) back'
c. gârb**ât** /gərbət/ 'the back'

(31) a. deca**ta**
children$_{DEF}$
'the children'
b. mladi**te** deca
young$_{DEF}$ children
'the young children'

[7] A reviewer asks whether the coordinated adjectives support a second-position clitic approach. The article occurs on the first of two coordinated adjectives, as in (i).

(i) nova**ta** i interesna kniga 'the new and interesting book'

Depending on one's view of the structure of coordinated phrases, this is the head of the highest phrase below D, the higher AP of [AP [& AP]]; thus the generalization that DEF agreement surfaces on the head of the phrase below D accounts also for this case. Coordinated APs, as well as adjectives with complements like that in (29), do raise issues for the Abney-type DP structure assumed below; see footnote 5.

(32) a. majka(***ta**) mu / negova**ta** majka
mother$_{DEF}$ his his$_{DEF}$ mother
'his mother'
b. kniga**ta** mu / negova**ta** kniga
book$_{DEF}$ his his$_{DEF}$ book
'his book'

The inflectional analysis has been defended in detail by Franks (2001), based on arguments put forth by Halpern (1995) and even earlier by Elson (1976); it has also been proposed apparently independently by Koev (2011). I take it as fully established. Though I do not go into the data here, all the arguments for inflectional status of the "article" apply equally in Macedonian.

MD extends definiteness inflection to marking not only the highest projection under DP, but optionally lower ones as well. The appearance of multiple "articles" (multiple DEF inflection) poses yet another problem for any account of DEF as a D head which ends up attached to a host by any type of movement: it is hard to imagine how either raising of a host to D or lowering (prosodic inversion?) of a clitic could result in multiple copies of the D head attached to heads of different projections.

4.3 Quality Focus

The demonstrative in MD constructions has a particular flavor, different from a purely "pointing" demonstrative. The difference is somewhat similar to the difference in English between *that* in (33a), where *that* and *this* indicate different chairs and (33b), where *that* doesn't specify a particular chair so much as emphasize qualities of an already-specific chair and the speaker's attitude toward it. Similarly a demonstrative with an intrinsically definite noun like a name, in (33c), doesn't pick out one particular Marcus but emphasizes some quality of this person.

(33) a. That chair is more comfortable than this one.
b. That horrible chair! We should have thrown it out years ago!
c. That Marcus! What a character.

I argue that this meaning derives from a combination of the semantics of demonstratives with that of definiteness (or perhaps specificity). The element of definiteness is not morphologically overt in the English

examples (33b-c), but is nonetheless present: the chair and the person are situationally definite, known and specific in the discourse context. In Bulgarian and Macedonian this situational definiteness is overtly marked with the definite "article" suffix, in the case of a common noun; (34) corresponds to (33b).

(34) **Toja** otvratitelni**ja** stol! Bulg
that disgusting$_{DEF}$ chair
'That disgusting chair!'

In Bulgarian and Macedonian a demonstrative in a non-MD construction (without DEF suffix on the following element) has the normal pointing-demostrative sense: this *banica* (pastry) as opposed to a different one in (35a). With DEF, however, as in (35b), it takes on the meaning of subjective focus on good (in this case) qualities of a certain specific pastry.

(35) a. **Tazi** nejna banica e po-vkusna ot onazi.' Bulg
this her banica is more-tasty than that
'This (one) banica of hers is tastier than that one.'
b. **Tazi** nejna**ta** banica e straxotna!
this her$_{DEF}$ banica is super
'That banica of hers is super!'

Demonstratives always have an attention-focusing function. With an otherwise non-definite nominal, this attention-focusing takes the form of specifying: picking out a specific one or specific subset. When paired with an already-specific, definite nominal, this specifying focus would make no sense; instead, the demonstrative focuses attention on something like unique qualities of the individual.[8] 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 Q[uality]F[ocus] feature in (27) is a shorthand way of capturing the attention-focusing function of the combination of demonstrative and definiteness. Like the phi features, QF is shared by the demonstrative in SpecDP and the null D head. The DEF feature of D is manifested as overt

[8] This interpretation of demonstrative with a (situationally or morphologically) definite or specific nominal seems quite robust crosslinguistically. The semantic effect seen in the English examples in (33) is found also in German, for example.

definiteness agreement; QF-marked D optionally induces agreement on subsequent heads as well. I leave a detailed account of how QF licenses this multiple agreement for future research. One possibility is conditioned agreement: it is the QF 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 and Nevins (2012, 2013).[9]

5 Macedonian vs. Bulgarian

Recall that the two Balkan Slavic languages differ in how far down into the nominal phrase definiteness agreement is able to penetrate: in both Bulgarian and Macedonian the head of QP, PossP and one or more APs can be articled, but only in Macedonian can agreement reach into NP and mark the head N. I suggest that this is due to a difference in NP structure between the two languages; specifically the difference in accessibility of N provides further support for the additional projection posited for Bulgarian but not Macedonian by Franks (2015), labeled AgrP[10] in (36a-b).

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

Franks' main justification for this extra structural layer is that it allows for a possessive (dative) clitic within the nominal phrase, in the position of the Agr head. Both Bulgarian and Macedonian allow possessive adjectives with a definite article, including in the MD construction with a demonstrative, as in (37). In Bulgarian a possessive clitic is also possible, both in simple DPs and in MD constructions like (38b). In Macedonian, which lacks the AgrP layer, equivalents of these are ungrammatical.

(37) (**tija**) moi**te** knigi / (**ovie**) moi**ve** knigi Bulg / Mac
these my$_{DEF}$ books these my$_{DEF}$ books
'my books, these books of mine'

[9] Thanks to the anonymous referees for these suggestions.
[10] Franks (2015) calls the posited projection KP, but suggests it might be AgrP. Given that KP is normally higher (above DP) and that this projection houses clitics which agree in person, gender, and number features, AgrP seems preferable.

(38) a. knigi**te** **mi** Bulg
books$_{DEF}$ my
'my books'
b. **tija** novi**te** **mi** knigi
these new$_{DEF}$ my books
'these new books of mine'

(39) a. *knigi**ve** **mi** Mac
books$_{DEF}$ my
b. *(**ovie**) novi**ve** mi knigi
these new$_{DEF}$ my books

I suggest that the AgrP layer also insulates NP from agreement-spreading in MD, that is, it blocks the realization of QF+DEF as a definiteness suffix on N. Somewhat problematically, it does not prevent normal, non-MD definiteness inflection on N, as simple nouns like *kniga* in (40a) do take a definite article suffix.

(40) a. kniga**ta** [$_D$ *DEF*] [$_{KP}$ [$_{NP}$ kniga$_{DEF}$]]
book$_{DEF}$
'the book'
b. ***tazi** kniga**ta** *[$_D$ *DEF.QF*] [$_{KP}$ [$_{NP}$ kniga$_{DEF}$]]
this book$_{DEF}$

Apparently assignment of definiteness inflection by a DEF.QF D works differently from definiteness inflection by a DEF D, not only in allowing multiple articles (agreement chain) but also in being blocked by AgrP. It is not clear how to formalize this difference in the two types of definiteness inflection; I leave this as a problem for further research.[11]

6 Conclusions

Although MD constructions in Balkan Slavic may seem like a somewhat marginal part of the grammar, being found only in colloquial usage, they

[11] DEF.QF definiteness inflection on nouns is impossible also with a possessive clitic:
i. ***tazi** kniga**ta** **mi** / ***tazi** **mi** kniga**ta**
this book$_{DEF}$ my this mi book$_{DEF}$
(intended: 'this book of mine')

give insight into several aspects of the structure of DP in these languages. They provide support for locating demonstratives in SpecDP, for the inflectional status of articles, and at least hint at a more elaborated DP structure in Bulgarian than Macedonian, perhaps involving an extra AgrP layer above NP. They raise questions of how to formalize definiteness agreement spreading vs. single definiteness inflection. The affective meaning associated with MD is produced by the combination of definiteness (the article) and focus on qualities of an already specified individual or group (the demonstrative). All of these results (and questions) provide a basis for further cross-linguistic investigation of MD constructions.

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