

On DP structure in Balkan Slavic: evidence from multiple determination

Catherine Rudin

The structure of nominal phrases is a longstanding problem in Slavic linguistics, comprising issues of DP vs. NP/KP status, possibility of clitics within NP, the role of adjective projections, demonstratives and other kinds of determiners, and so on. In this presentation I consider some little-studied data which bears on several of these issues in the two Balkan Slavic languages, Bulgarian and Macedonian. These are the two undoubted DP languages in the family, possessing overt definite articles. However, in addition to appearing as suffixes instead of as independent words, the Balkan Slavic definite articles have some other characteristics which make them different from the articles in English or Romance languages, for example. In particular, in certain cases the articles cooccur with demonstratives and can appear on more than one word of the DP.

In the standard languages this is possible (and in fact required) only with certain adjectival quantifiers, as in (1). In colloquial usage it is more widespread, though subject to both syntactic and semantic/pragmatic constraints; some examples are given in (2)-(4); (4) shows repeating articles.

- (1) **tazi** sâšta-**ta** kniga
this same-the book
'this same book' (Bulgarian)
- (2) **taja** nejna-**ta** kniga
this her-the book
'that book of hers' (Bulgarian)
- (3) **ovie** vraboteni-**ve**
these employees-the
'these employees' (Macedonian)
- (4) **ovie** novi-**ve** vraboteni-**ve**
those new-the employees-the
'those new employees' (Macedonian)

The articles in these multiple-determination constructions are reminiscent in some ways of the Slovenian adjectival article *ta* (Marušič & Žaucer 2014), which cooccurs with demonstratives and can repeat on stacked modifiers. In Bulgarian (though not Macedonian) such articles occur only on modifiers, as is also the case with Slovenian *ta*. However, unlike *ta* they are always definite and repeated articles require rather than simply allow an accompanying demonstrative.

Previous works have established that demonstratives and articles in Balkan Slavic differ in both function and syntactic position (Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1998), Tasseva-Kurktchieva (2006), Karapejovski (2017), etc.) Following Franks (2001) I locate the demonstrative in SpecDP, where it shares features of number/gender, spatial deixis (in Macedonian), and definiteness with a null D head. The article, on the other hand, is an inflectional manifestation of definiteness on the head of the highest projection below DP in standard Bulgarian and Macedonian, as also argued by Franks (2001). New here is the analysis of multiple articles in the colloquial multiple-determination construction as definiteness agreement, always spelled out as a suffix on the head of the highest projection below D, but optionally also on the head(s) of lower projections as well. This appears similar to definiteness agreement of the well-known Hebrew or Hungarian type but differs in that it appears to be licensed by the presence of a demonstrative (since multiple articles never appear without a demonstrative); I argue that the demonstrative adds an additional semantic feature of focus on unique qualities of an individual to the [+def] D, and it is this feature which is expressed by overt definiteness agreement.

Multiple determination in Balkan Slavic differs from polydefiniteness of the type found in Greek (Alexiadou & Wilder 1998) and in some Native American languages (Rudin 1993) in showing no evidence of separate, appositive DPs; for instance, the word order is fixed exactly as in any other DP. This is clearly definiteness agreement within a single DP.

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 AP can be articulated, but only in Macedonian can agreement reach into NP and mark the head N, in a structure of the form [DP [D +def] [QP [PossP [AP [NP]]]]]. I suggest that this is due to a difference in NP structure between the two languages; specifically it provides further support for the additional KP layer posited for Bulgarian but not Macedonian by Franks (2014). This KP layer insulates NP from agreement-spreading, and also allows for a possessive (dative) clitic within the nominal phrase. Both Bulgarian and Macedonian allow possessive adjectives with a definite article, including in the multiple determination construction with a demonstrative (5). In Bulgarian a possessive clitic is also possible, including in multiple determination constructions with an adjective, like (6b). In Macedonian, which lacks the KP layer, equivalents of (6a-b) are ungrammatical.

- (5) (**tija**) moi-**te** knigi (Bulgarian) / (**ovie**) moi-**ve** knigi (Macedonian)
 these my-the books these my-the books
 ‘my books, these books of mine’
- (6) a. knigi-**te** **mi**
 books-the my
 ‘my books’ (Bulgarian)
- b. **tija** novi-**te** **mi** knigi
 these new-the my books
 ‘these new books of mine’

Multiple determination constructions provide support for a more elaborated DP structure in Bulgarian than Macedonian and clarify the relation of demonstratives and articles – while raising new questions along the way.

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