

## **Demonstratives and Definiteness: Multiple Determination in Balkan Slavic**

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Multiple Determination constructions — nominal phrases with more than one marker of definiteness — raise numerous questions about the morphology, syntax, and semantics of definite DPs within and across languages. This talk focuses in particular on one instance of Multiple Determination, DPs containing a demonstrative plus one or more definite articles in colloquial Bulgarian and Macedonian, with implications for the study of Multiple Determination more generally. This type of Multiple Determination is not mere definiteness agreement; rather, the demonstrative and article each constitute an independent semantic and syntactic element. The distinctive meaning and usage of these constructions suggests a possibly-universal semantics for Demonstrative + Definite phrases. Multiple Determination constructions in the two Balkan Slavic languages are extremely similar, but differ in crucial details. In Bulgarian but not Macedonian a “doubling” article is limited to adjectives and other modifiers; in Macedonian nouns can also host the article. This distinction in which lexical categories can be definite-marked supports a more elaborated syntactic structure of DP in Bulgarian, containing an additional projection not present in Macedonian. Finally, a glance at other types of Multiple Determination in the Balkan languages (including Balkan Slavic) indicates a patchwork of appositive and non-appositive constructions; the existence of Multiple Determination has been considered a Balkanism, but the constructions involved are far from uniform.