

**Linear order of adjectival modifiers (AM)
in the Macedonian and Bulgarian
noun phrase (NP)
(based on the analysis of standard Macedonian texts)**

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Abstract

A noun phrase embraces two main components: (1) the nuclear noun phrase (NNP) which is a name of the concept whose denotata is/are referred to, and (2) referential and quantitative determiners actualizing the NNP. The NNP is constituted by a substantival head (the constitutive member) and its modifiers which take form of adjectives, dependent NPs and/or relative clauses. The paper focusses on the semantics of adjectival determiners and modifiers as reflected in their linear order.

Two independent universal hierarchies determine the linear order of adjectival modifiers in the noun phrase as I know it in Indo-European languages: one with pragmatic-semantic basis, and the other with purely semantic basis. The first hierarchy is based on the general need to adequately convey the information. It is responsible for the order of the components on the level of the noun phrase as a whole: from left to right come exponents of the referential and quantitative quantification (i.e. R and Q), followed by exponents of the nuclear noun phrase (NNP), i.e. R + Q + NNP. At the level of the NNP most prominent is the second hierarchy, where the order of attributes follows the order of the semantic derivation of the concept-referent of the noun phrase. In the Macedonian and/or Bulgarian noun phrase from right to left first come the attributes which are “semantically closest” to the constitutive member (CM) – from the set of denotata of the notion named by the CM they separate the sub-set referred to. The same operation is repeated at the insertion of each attribute.

In the modern standard languages, Macedonian and Bulgarian, in non-marked linear order, the attributes are placed to the left of the constitutive member of the noun phrase.

The findings presented here are based on the analysis of a Macedonian linguistic corpus and are illustrated with Macedonian examples. It is assumed that the general pragmatic and semantic principles of the linear order of the adjectival determiners and modifiers have universal character. For areas where we anticipate differences between Macedonian and Bulgarian linear order, a series of individual studies is included in this volume.

In general, the pattern of linear order of adjectival modifiers in the NNP, from left to right (i.e. from the modifiers motivated by the discourse situation towards those that ascribe additional characteristics of the named notion) is as follows:

- attributes that are based on similarity of the referent with other entities, such as *sličan* ‘similar’, *takov* ‘such’, *tolkav* ‘of that size’, *(po)inakov* ‘different’, *nekaov* ‘some, some kind of...’, *drug* ‘other’...
- pronominal possessives, such as *moj* ‘my’, *naš* ‘our’, *negov* ‘his’, *nečij* ‘somebody’s’, *ničij* ‘nobody’s’..., and – in some contexts only, cf. below Third position – substantival possessives, such as *Petrov* ‘Peter’s’, *Radin* ‘Rada’s’, *učitelov* ‘the teacher’s’... ; the referent of the NP is determined on the basis of its relation to another entity, most often a personal one, i.e. on the basis of the widely understood relation: *possessum* ~ *possessor* (cf. the paper by Lj. Mitkovska in this volume);
- attributes that characterize the referent by its place in the spatial and/or temporal sequence, such as *prv* ‘first’, *vtor* ‘second’..., *iljaditi* ‘thousandth’, *(pret)posleden* ‘(pen)ultimate’, *prethoden* ‘previous’, *nareden* ‘next’, *paralelen* ‘parallel’...; or relate it to other entities in space and time: *preden* ‘front’, *zaden* ‘back’, *leviot* ‘the left’, *desniot* ‘the right’, *gorniot* ‘the upper’, *dolniot* ‘the lower’..., *minat* ‘past’, *iden* ‘future’, *denešen* ‘today’s / of today’, *včerašen* ‘yesterday’s / of yesterday’, *ovogodišen* ‘this year’s / of this year’, *moderen* ‘modern’, *srednovekoven* ‘medieval’..., *skopski* ‘Skopje’s / of Skopje’, *makedonski* ‘Macedonian’, *evropski* ‘European’...

- attributes – most often “genuine”, formally unmotivated adjectives – that enrich the connotation of the named concept; more than one attribute of this type can appear in a given NP, their basic (unmarked) order, statistically determined, being: attributes that indicate a subjective evaluation / opinion of the speaker, such as *ubav* ‘beautiful’, *dobar (za nešto)* ‘good (at something)’, *adekvaten* ‘adequate’, *soodveten* ‘appropriate’, *praktičen* ‘practical’, *efikasen* ‘efficient’..., *grd* ‘ugly’, *loš (za nešto)* ‘bad (for something)’, *nezgoden* ‘awkward’; follow and (in case of human referent) psychological parameters, such as *visok / nizok* ‘tall / short’, *slab / debel* ‘slim / fat’, *širok / tesen* ‘wide / narrow’, *težok* ‘heavy’, *lesen* ‘lightweight’, *dobar* ‘good’, *strog* ‘strict’, *toleranten* ‘tolerant’, *ljubezen* ‘kind’, *strpliv* ‘patient’...; here belong also attributes referring to colour: *bel* ‘white’, *crn* ‘black’, *siv* ‘gray’, *sin* ‘blue’, *zelen* ‘green’...
- closest to the CM are the so called relational attributes, i.e. attributes that provide information on the relation between the named concept and some related concepts (specifying function, origin, conditions / context of occurrence), such as *domašen / kupečki (leb)* ‘home-made / commercial (bought in the store) (bread)’, *istoriski, kriminalen... (roman)* ‘historical, criminal... (novel)’, *gradski / selski (običaj)* ‘urban / rural (custom)’, *običajno, semejno... (pravo)* ‘common, family (law)’, *semejna, profesionalna (vrska)* ‘family(kinship), professional (ties), etc.

The above order is a result of a complex partial reconstruction, because in the existing texts there are no adjectival sequences with more than four segments, and a large majority of them are sequences of two components. The segments represent semantic (and syntactic) positions, and not specific adjectives. Within a position, sequences of two or more adjectives can appear as arguments of connective predicates such as *i* ‘and’, *ili* ‘or’, *no* ‘but’, etc.

The number and selection of components of the existing strings is restricted by the second of the hierarchy mentioned above, which is determined by the meaning of the CM of the noun phrase. It is the result of a stochastic process. The constitutive noun is a name of a concept which can be argument of a certain selection of adjectival predicates; for example, if we exclude new unconventional metaphors, only the material objects can

be modified by colour, only the aurally perceived phenomena can differ in intensity of sound, only people and some secondary personified beings possess certain psychological features, etc. On the other hand, the first restrictive attribute (the one that is closest to the constitutive noun) additionally enriches the meaning of the concept named by the NP as a whole and consequently narrows down the selection of possible attributes. The next attribute in the string functions in the same way, etc. Analogically, the selection of adjectival attributes is restricted by other members of the noun phrase, i.e. by members representing syntactic, and not only morphological structures, by dependent noun phrases or relative clauses.

All the regularities listed so far, generally speaking, are of universal character. The idiosyncratic characteristics or features of individual languages should be sought in the context of the derivational possibilities and the syntactic rules of a given language. As a potential area of differences between Macedonian and Bulgarian we should enlist primarily the following:

- The inventory and productivity of the individual patterns of morphological derivation of adjectival condensers (AMc). The condensers include not only the so-called relational adjectives (i.e. desubstantive adjectives that fill, as mentioned above, the last position, the one which is in direct contact with the CM of the noun phrase), but practically all categories of the AMs, except the unmotivated “genuine” adjectives. Namely, under the term “condenser” we mean a derived adjective whose lexical meaning can be more explicitly realised as a syntactic construction, a noun phrase or a clause. Cf. *takov kako...* ‘such as...’ ~ *koj liči na...* ‘who looks like...’, *koj e kako...* ‘who is such as...’; *preden* ‘front’ ~ *koj se naog’a pred...* ‘who is in the front of...’; *posleden* ‘last’ ~ *koj ja završuva nizata* ‘who is the last in the row / line...’; *tukašen* ‘local’ ~ *koj živee tuka* ‘who lives here’; *soodveten* ‘appropriate’ ~ *koj odgovara na...* ‘who is adequate for...’ ...
- Another area where differences can be expected between the analysed languages is the possible inversion between individual positions. Both the conditions of inversion and its function – communicative (less frequent) or expressive (more frequent) – should be analyzed. Among the different types of inversion, most interesting is the one which moves the adjectival modifiers from “left” to “right”

- side of the CM (i.e. from pre-position to post-position in relation to the CM). In this of issues specific rules define: (a) the syntactic status of indefinite pronouns, as in: *nekoj mil* ‘someone dear’, *nešto novo* ‘something new’, *eden drug* ‘another / someone else / someone different’, etc., (b) linear order of vocative noun phrases, such as *kutra jas!* ‘poor me!’, *idiote (ni)eden!* ‘You idiot! (literally: Idiot one!)’, *sine moj!* ‘you my son!’ but *dragi moj sine!* ‘my dear son!’ (lit. dear my son!), *sine moj dragi!* – lit. ‘son my dear!’, etc. It can be expected that the linear order of modifiers in postposition repeats the order that is typical in preposition, or represents its inverted reflection.
- Attention should be paid to the order of adjectives in strings that function in predicate position. The statistics shows that in that position the strings are often longer than in the (attributive position in the) noun phrase, and so they carry more complete information on the rules of semantically motivated linear order.
 - A separate problem (cf. the paper by M. Markovik’ in this volume) presents the linear order of the adjectival modifiers (most often deverbal ones) which have inherited from corresponding finite verbal constructions the ability to govern dependent noun phrases. The process of adjectivization of deverbal adjectives in individual languages develops with different pace and each system resolves the problems of linear order of such constructions in its own way. The differences relate to the inventory of the patterns as well as to their productivity. Cf. *frlenata na tepih topka* ‘the thrown on the carpet ball’ / *frlenata topka na tepih* ‘the thrown ball on the carpet’ / *topkata frlena na tepih* ‘the ball thrown on the carpet’, etc.
 - Differences between the analysed languages can also be expected in the filling of particular positions with strings consisting of several adjectives, connected by appropriate conjunctions or simply separated by commas, that in the printed text reflect the intonation of enumeration. In particular, an area that should be further studied is the extent of possibility to connect in this way modifiers that belong to different semantic (and linear) classes. It is worth emphasizing that in the strings that are connected by *i* ‘and’ we are faced with two different types of situations: (i) Two or more attributes refer to one referent (a group of referents), for example: *ubavo i vkusno jabolko* ‘a nice and delicious apple’, *teški, no interesni vežbi*

- ‘difficult, but interesting exercises’, etc., and (ii) The noun phrases are elliptical with individual attributes referring to different referents, for example: *moi i tvoi knigi* (i.e. *moi knigi i tvoi knigi*) ‘my and your books’ (‘my books and your books’), *prvata i petтата pesna* (i.e. *prvata pesna i petтата pesna*) ‘the first and the fifth song’ (‘the first song and the fifth song’) etc.
- Particularly sensitive in the linear order of AMs is the borderline between the determiners and modifiers, i.e. the quantitative determiner and the attribute that follows it. There is often a possibility for the string in the scope of the quantitative determiner to be realized as a separate subordinate noun phrase. Cf. *pet deca / grupa deca / edna grupa od decata...* ‘five children / a group of children / a group of the children’, *petmina službenici / petmina od službenicite* ‘five officers / five of the officers’, etc. The model with the preposition *od* ‘of / from’ enables reference to a definite sub-set of the named general set; we interpret this as resulting from obligatory conventional contextual ellipsis: **edna grupa deca od decata...* ‘one group of children from the children...’, **petmina službenici od službenicite...* ‘five officers from the officers...’, where the definiteness of the sub-set is usually a result of anaphora. A related issue is the opposition between constructions of the type *čaša voda* ‘a glass of water’ vs *čaša so voda* ‘a glass with water’. In the construction with the preposition *so* ‘with’ we are faced with two hierarchically ordered noun phrases, i.e. with a hierarchy where the noun *čaša* ‘a glass’ functions as a CM and is connected to a modifier formalized as a dependent noun phrase.

In the following text I will examine the “adjectival” positions in a linear string which represents a noun phrase. I will first try (a) to define the sets of adjectives capable of filling individual positions and (b) to present the possible overlaps and inverted sequences in each pair of neighboring positions. Due to the “fuzzy” semantic borderlines between individual positions, I have decided to consider **all** elements of the string that precedes the CM, as well as the contexts in which the adjectival attributes can be placed to the right of the CM. In other words, I will discuss not only AMs, but also Rs and Qs.

My findings are based on a corpus of examples collected from texts of Macedonian fiction, memoirs and scientific literature, as well as from radio and TV

programs and colloquial language. In the presentation of the collected material, I will localize only such adjectival strings that require interpretation in the sentence as a whole, and not only in the given noun phrase.

I start with the first position in the string, because the zero position (if we agree to accept it, which can be subject of discussion) is determined exactly in relation to the initial, first, position (cf. the paper by Z.Topolinjska in this volume)

1. First position

The first, initial position is reserved for the referential pragmatic quantifiers (Rs), i.e. determiners, exponents of the so-called category of definiteness. Their task is to enable the identification of the referent of the noun phrase. They *ex definitione* open the string. Considering the fact that the Macedonian definite article is a post-positive morpheme, we will have to distinguish two types of word forms: (1) articulated elements of the string and (2) elements inherently marked for definiteness. The first group includes nouns and/or adjectives that open the string, and are not inherently marked as /+ definite/. Cf. *knigata...* / *novata kniga...* / *mojata nova kniga* ‘the book... / the new book... / my new book...’, *sorabotnikot...* / *mladiot sorabotnik...* / *novodojdeniot mlad sorabotnik...* ‘the associate... / the young associate... / the newly arrived young associate...’ etc. In addition to word forms with definite articles, this group includes word forms with post-positive demonstrative morphemes of the series *-ov, -on*. The second group includes (2a) CMs inherently marked for definiteness such as proper names or personal pronouns and other pronouns with the status of CM of the noun phrase (such as *nešto dobro* ‘something good’, *nekoj mil* ‘someone dear’ etc.) as well as (2b) attributes inherently marked as /+ definite/ or /- definite/ (i.e. attributes able to identify or specify the referent of the given NP), such as demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns and the indefinite article. Group (2b), which is in the focus of our attention, is an enumerable list: *toj* ‘this’, *ovoj* ‘this here’, *onoj* ‘that’; *nekoj* ‘some’; *koj* ‘which’, *nikoj, nieden* ‘none’, *sekoj* ‘each’, *eden* ‘one, a’. A separate case, as we have mentioned above, are the complex markers for definiteness that occur when reference is made to a sub-set of certain definite sets. These markers include *nekoj od...* ‘one of...’, *sekoj od...* ‘each of...’ and operate on noun phrases

with markers of the types (1) or (2b). Cf. below parallel complex markers of the category of number.

The CMs inherently marked for definiteness for obvious semantic reasons do not usually accept restrictive attributes. However, in the following cases that principle is overruled:

- Proper names accompanied with possessive attributes, which in Macedonian appear in pre- or post-position. Cf. *Pelagijo moja!* ‘My Pelagia!’ (lit. ‘Pelagia mine’), *tvoja Angelina* ‘your Angelina’, etc.
- Proper names with the restrictive modifier can be encountered in fiction, when the author emphasises a previously presented characteristic of one of his heroes and attaches corresponding epithet / attribute to his/her name. Cf. ...*osobeno se plašeše od podmolniot Midin* PGZ388 ‘.. was rather afraid of the treacherous Midin’; *Starecot Kostadin i crniot Dine slegoa...* TGRZ14 ‘the old man Kostadin and the black Dine descended...’ We are faced here with a specific literary trope.
- Determined proper names that do not refer to persons, but by way of metonymy name some creation of that person or his/her “icon” – portrait, sculpture etc. E.g. ...*ušte pri vlezot vo parkot go sretnuvame robustniot, impresiven Balzak, kako da e izdelkan od stamena karpa...* PGN125 ‘at the entrance in the park, we meet the sturdy, impressive Balzak, like being carved from a hard stone’. This is a universal convention.
- Expressively marked inverted constructions in which the attribute accompanying a proper name or a pronoun carries a feature of assessment (or self-assessment) of the situation in which the given individual / person finds him/herself. Cf. *kutra jas!* ‘poor me!’, *pusta Pelagijo!* ‘poor Pelagija!’ etc. Sequences of this type are analysed below together with other examples of inversion.

The initial position of the referential quantifiers allows for two types of inversion:

- A. When the CMs are inherently marked for definiteness, the determiner can be placed before and not after the CM. The inversion here is at the semantic level. The string is opened by another member of the noun phrase, not by the member that carries the information for definiteness. Here belong the above quoted

examples *Pusta jas!* ‘poor me!’, *mori Pelafijo... TGRZ150* ‘poor me Pelagija!’, *pusta Pelagijo!* (*ibid.*) ‘poor Pelagia!’, *Eh, pusti nie! TGVM51* ‘poor us!’... These are exclamatory and/or vocative phrases usually used in the folk stylized discourse. A possible interpretation is that these NPs are expressive transformations of constructions of the type **Pusti / nesrek’ni sme nie!* ‘Poor / unlucky we are!’, etc., which can be paraphrased as *‘kolku sme nesrek’ni!’* – ‘how unlucky we are!’ etc. That is the constructions in which the attribute (of a short and closed list) functions as part of the predicative expression. It would be interesting to search for Balkan parallels. From Polish I can mention the type *Ja nieszczęśliwa!* ‘poor me!’, ‘unlucky me!’ (lit. ‘me unlucky!’), without inversion. It seems that both in the Macedonian inverted and the Polish non-inverted strings, we have absolute constructions (i.e. specific, elliptical sentence patterns), and not monolithic noun phrases. As mentioned earlier, sequences of the type *tvoja Angelina* ‘your Angelina’, *naš Done* ‘our Done’ will be discussed below, in connection with the possessive modifiers. Here we can conclude that the corresponding modifiers have a genuine restrictive function, among many holders of the given name it is pointed at the one that “belongs” to one (i.e. is connected with one) of the protagonists of the speech event. As in the previous series, they are also typical colloquial constructions.

- B. The formal inversion can be found in constructions with inherently defined lexemes, that *ex definitione* accept only postpositive attributes. Here belong the following noun phrases: *nešto značajno, važno* ‘something significant, important’; *nešto nepoznato* ‘something unknown’; *nešto toplo i vkusno* ‘something hot and delicious’; *nekoj blizok* ‘someone close’; *nekoj nepoznat* ‘someone unknown’, etc. These phrases should not be confused with noun phrases where *nešto* ‘something’ has the meaning *‘(nekoja) rabota*’ ‘(some) thing’, as in: *smetaše deka kažuva najobično nešto TGRZ159* ‘he thought he was talking about something ordinary’, or *...slasta od tie zabraneti nešto ja vkusija nekoj od vratenite borci TGRZ162* ‘the delight of those forbidden things was tasted by some of the returning soldiers’ etc. It is interesting to note that *eden* and *edna*, when used as pronouns, CMs of noun phrase, do mean *‘(eden) čovek*’ – ‘a man’, *‘(edna) žena*’ – ‘a

woman' and behave in the same way as *nekoj* 'someone' and *nešto* 'something'. In order to assess this function properly, a wider context is needed. Cf. *Nadvor drugite marširaa postroeni vo vojnički redovi, udiraa silno so nozete vo pravta. Eden odeše kraj niv i vikaše kolku što go drži glas: "Gledaj pravo leva leva... TGVM159* 'Outside the others marched lined up like soldiers, and stamped their feet hard in the dust. A man was walking by them and shouted as loudly as he could: "Look straight, left, left..."', or *...zaedno so agronomite rabotnicite gi obikoluvaše eden nov kačen na bel konj TGRZI154* 'Together with the agronomists the workers were surveyed by a man / someone new on a white horse', or *Togaš se pojavu i Madžirkata, od nekoe meglensko selo, Poleni ili Dragomanci, edna krupna, visoka, optegnata vopartizanska bluza i pantaloni... TGRZI152* 'Then appeared the Madzir woman, from some Meglen village, Poleni or Dragomanci, a large, tall woman, clad on a partisan blouse and trousers' etc. The word *drug* 'other' can function in the same way: *...što moželo da znači...deka ima drug predvid za edna takva važna i odgovorna pozicija. TGR154* '...which could mean...tht he is considering someone else for such an important and responsible position.'

From a functional point of view in the Macedonian text we should differentiate three homonymous lexemes with the form *eden*: (a) *eden* 'one' – numeral, accentogenous form; (b) *eden* 'a/an' – indefinite pronoun which appears in the pair: *eden ~ drug* 'one ~ another', has plural form and can be stressed; and (c) *eden* 'a/an' – indefinite article: has plural form and cannot be stressed.

Particularly rich series of semantic inverted constructions are expressively marked exclamative phrases where the modifier expresses the negative feelings of the speaker. The following are examples from the texts by Taško Georgievski: *Kade sme, bre pesu nizaeden? TGRZI109* "Where are we, you son of a bitch?, *Kopile edno! TGRZI109* 'You bastard!', *Orospijo edna! TGRZI165* 'You whore!', *Vampiru eden! TGVM39* 'You vampire!' ...

In expressively marked texts the markers for definiteness can be doubled. This occurs most often in noun phrases with human referents, in which the CM is a pronoun (usually personal pronoun for the third person), substantivized adjective or numeral, as in *toj mojt*, lit. 'he, the mine', *onoj mojon*, lit. 'this one/that one, the mine', *tie dvajcata* 'those two' or *ovoj noviot* lit. 'this the new', *tie novodojdenite* 'those that have just come

/ they, the newcomers. In text with more abstract topics, and speeches with expressive wording, we will find noun phrases such as *ona vtoroto* ‘that one, the second’, *toa novoto* ‘that one, the new one’, etc. In all noun phrases of this type we have anaphora or *deixis in absentia*. The character of constructions with obviously expressive repeated marker for definiteness, such as ...*širokata, edrata žena...vikaše. A visokata, slabata žena, krotka i molčaliva, ne krena raka da se odbrani... TGVM42* ‘...the large, the sturdy woman...was screaming...while the tall, the slim woman, placid and silent, did not even raise her arm to defend herself...’ is different.

The markers of the category of definiteness usually remain in complementary distribution. In elliptical constructions the markers can form alternative strings of the type *toj ili nekoj drug...* ‘...he or someone else’ etc.

1.1. Zero position

The demonstrative pronouns in initial position can be preceded with expressive determiners of the extension, the use of which implies a complete coverage of the named set of referents or emphasize the identity of the referents of the NP. We label the position of these types of pre-determiners as zero. (Cf. the paper by Z.Topolinjska in this volume)

Most frequent expressive determiners are the so called generalizing pronouns *siot* ‘the whole (masc.)’, *seta* ‘the whole (fem.)’, *seto* ‘the whole (neutr.)’, *site* ‘all’. They form initial strings as: *siot toj, seta taa, seto toa* ‘all this’, *site tie* ‘all these’. The forms *siot, seta, seto* compete with the articulated forms of the determiner *cel* ‘whole / entire’: *cel* (masc.), *cela* (fem.) *celo* (neutr.): *celiot toj, celata taa, celoto toa*. That competition is limited to contexts in which the demonstrative pronouns function as such, and not as personal pronoun for third person. The aim of the forms *siot.../celiot...* in the above sequences is to emphasize that the referent as a whole or all elements of the set without exception function as an argument of the given relation (= of the corresponding predicate). As a paraphrase we can suggest: ‘**p** (*site tie a*) = ‘all elements of the set **a** enter the relation **p** and it is not true that there is an element of the set **a** which does not enter the relation **p**’; of interest are structures of the type *site nie* ‘all of us’, lit. ‘all we’) with the personal pronoun in post-position – a type of word order which I have not met in texts of other languages. Cf. ...*samo najnakraj site nie poinaku gledame na isti nešta*

TGVM144 ‘...only in the end we all see the same things differently’. When the CM of the noun phrase is a name for some type of a container, the adjective *poln* ‘full’ is in competition with *siot* and *celiot*. While *siot* has a permanently built in marker for definiteness (definite article), *cel* and *poln* accept such a marker only in certain contexts.

Another series of expressive determiners are *istiot* ‘the same (masc.)’, *istata* ‘the same (fem.)’, *istoto* (the same (neutr.)’, *istite tie* ‘the same (pl.)’, as in: *istiot toj* (lit. ‘the same he / the same this’, *istata taa*, *istoto toa*, *istite tie*. The elements *istiot*, *istata*... have anaphoric character. They underline the co-reference with the referent(s) of some preceding noun phrase and could be paraphrased as follows: *istiot toj a* ‘a was previously referred to and it is not true that reference is made to some other a’.

A third series of expressive pre-determiners are: *samiot toj* ‘he himself’ (lit. ‘himself he’) *samata taa* ‘she herself’, *samoto toa* ‘it itself’, *samite tie* ‘they themselves’. Here we underline the identity of the referent and the paraphrase would be: *samiot toj a* ‘a and it is not true that we refer to someone else / something else’.

The expressive determiners can appear in zero position even when the first position is filled with the CMs of the corresponding noun phrases, but on condition that these CMs are positively inherently marked for definiteness. For instance: *Seto Skopje zboruva za toa* ‘the whole Skopje is talking about that’; *Istiot Jane včera mi go reče toa* ‘The same Jane said that to me yesterday’; *Samiot Kole se koleba* ‘Kole himself is hesitating’, or – without the demonstrative – *Site deca dojdoo* ‘All the children arrived’; *Istite knigi gi vidov včera kaj tebe* ‘I saw these same books yesterday in your house’; *Dojdovme do samiot vrv na planinata* ‘We have reached the very summit of the mountain’...

2. Second position

The second position in the string is reserved for quantitative determiners. The most typical among them are the cardinal numerals, whose presence with nouns of masculine gender can imply a specific morphological form of the CM (cf. *pet snopa*, *tri leba*, etc.). In addition to the members of the arithmetical string (including complex structures such as *pet iljadi sto dvadeset i pet* ‘five thousand, one hundred and twenty five’ and the like, that have their own grammar), here belong petrified structures

expressing approximate quantity, such as *dva-tri* ‘two or three’, *pet-šest* ‘five or six’, as well as paranumerals, such as *nekolku* ‘several’, *mnogu* ‘many’, *bezbroj* ‘countless number/ multitude’, etc. Instead of or next to the numeral conventional units of measurement such as *kilo* ‘kilo’, *metar* ‘metre’, *saat/čas* ‘hour’, *godina* ‘year’ can appear.

Very often, the non-conventional units of measurement function as determiners of quantity. They are usually substantives, names for collectives, collective nouns such as *roj* ‘swarm’, *stado* ‘herd’, *jato* ‘flock’, or containers such as *čaša* ‘glass’, *korpa* ‘basket’, *vrek’a* ‘sack / bag’, whose selection depends directly on the entity measured or counted. Here are several characteristic examples: *Posegna po komatče leb... TGRZ50* ‘He reached out to take a slice of bread’, *Vo agolot na odajkata kup slama pokriena so kuverta TGRZ50* ‘...in the corner of the room (there was) a heap of straw covered with an envelope’, *...pokažuva dva reda beli zabi... TGRZ129* ‘...shows two rows of white teeth’, *...si napravi eden takam obleka... TGRZ146* ‘...he made himself a gear/kit of clothes’, *...dva odžaka ljubenic i eden dinji... TGRZ158* ‘two hearths of watermelons and one of melon’, *...edno čudo svet .. TGVM50* ‘a lot of people’, etc. *Mutatis mutandis* the same method can be used to “measure” by metaphor denotata of the abstract notions. Cf. *Tie dve dolgo bile...gramada bolka, planina ljubov, nešto što ne može da se opišuva so zborovi. TGRZ173* ‘These two were for a long time...a mass of pain, mountain of love, something which is impossible to explain in words’, *Sonceto se isturi vnatre, misliš cela topka ogan vlez. TGRZ261* ‘The sun poured inside, as if a whole ball of fire had entered’.

In the case of the above quoted examples, the identification of the CM of the noun phrase does not present a problem – that is a noun that names the entity that is counted or measured. Next to the noun – unit of measurement, as well as next to the CM, a separate specific attribute may appear, and as a result of this we obtain two adjectival-nominal strings, e.g. *mala korpa ubavi višnji* ‘a small basket of nice cherries’, etc.

When the focus of the semantic structure is shifted, a specific construction appears, most often a prepositional construction. As a result, we have two hierarchically arranged NPs with the NP specifying quantity in the dominant position. Cf. *čaša voda / čaj* ‘a glass of water / tea’ vs *čaša so voda / so čaj* ‘a glass with water / with tea’. The criterion by which we can assess whether we are referring to one or two hierarchically

arranged noun phrases is the ability of the second nucleus (the name of the thing that is measured and/or counted) to accept independent referential quantification. In other words, if the name of the entity measured can have its own positive marker for definiteness, we have two hierarchical noun phrases, i.e. a compound construction where a noun phrase (name of a non-conventional unit of measurement) dominates a modifier in the form of a dependent/subordinate noun phrase (name of the thing measured).

I have already mentioned indefinite constructions with complex exponents of reference, of the type *eden od...* ‘one of...’, *neкои od...* ‘some of...’, which specify a subset of a defined set of denotata of a named concept. The same syntactic pattern have numerous partitive constructions in which a superior syntagmatic string is created not by exponents of indefiniteness but by quantitative modifiers able to accept their “own” referential markers. Cf. *Prednite redovi od vojskata se ušte stoeja vkopani vo zemjata...TGRZ36* ‘The first rows of the army were still dug in the soil...’, *...pogolemiot del od vozasnite im bea blagodarni na decata... TGRZ58* ‘the majority of the adults were grateful to the children’, *...go digna gorniot del od teloto... TGRZ144* ‘he raised the upper part of his body’. We also have some examples from weaklies (L.Mitkovska 2003): *Prekrijte ja korata so felii od mladoto sirenje* ‘Cover the crust with slices of the new (not mature) cheese’, *K’e odam da kupam ušte edno snopče od lamperijata* ‘I will go to buy one more bunch of the wooden panelling’... Like *eden of...*, *neкои of...*, the above constructions may appear in an elliptic version, but here the ellipsis can be even more radical, the whole dominant noun phrase can be elided, as the colloquial expressions: *Dajte mi (kilo) od višnjite!* ‘Can you give me (a kilo) of the(se) cherries!’, or *Moram da kupam (ušte malku) od ova brašno* ‘I have to buy a little more of this flour’. These are interesting partitive constructions that have parallels in other Balkan languages (Petroska 1994).

Unlike the markers of definiteness, the markers of quantity can create strings of several elements in the second position, linked with an alternative connective. Cf. *pokrieni so dve ili tri dipli koža TGVM60* ‘...covered with two or three layers of laether’...

3. Third position

The third position is occupied by attributes that characterized the referent of the noun phrase in relation to other entities, without explicitly naming the parameters responsible for the similarity or difference. They often directly precede the attributes that explicate these parameters. These are lexemes such as *sličan* 'similar', *takov* 'such', *nekakov* 'some kind of', *različen* 'different', *drug* 'other', etc. Cf. ...*vleguvaat vo nekakva nepoznata stapica...* TGRZ39 'they enter in some unknown trap', *Na pretsedatelot ne mu odgovaraše takov naluničav mesec.* TGRZ43 'Such a lunatic month did not suit the President', ...*k'e moraat da živeat nekoj drug život...* TGRZ49 'they will have to live some other life', ...*doag'aše vetre i noseše nekoj podrug mirizbi otkolku onie...* TGRZ1 'a wind was coming and bringing some smells different from those...', ...*nekakvi malečki dupki, koj znae zošto iskopani...* TGRZ132 'some small holes; who knows why they were dug...', *Vo prikaznite ima eden takov kilim...* TGRZ139 'In folk stories there is one such carpet', ...*možeše da vlezje koj bilo drug...* TGRZ151 'anyone else could enter', *Nemaše li i taa ista takva gordost?* TGRZ223 'Didn't she also have such dignity?', *Znaeja deka tuka se sobrani od kakvi ti ne mesta od Egejska Makedonija...* TGRZ225 'They knew that they had come from who knows what kind of places from Aegean Macedonia', *Što tlee vo tie...monista...strav što vetuva kakva takva gozba?* TGVM9 'What is glimmering in those pearls...a fear which promises any kind of feast?', ...*sekoj starec beše svoevidna obrazovna institucija...* MJOD33 'each old man was a kind of unique educational institution', ...*se afirmira kako poseben kulturni činitel...* BKLT8 'it got established as a particular cultural factor', ...*se osloboduva od ramkite na dadena istoriska situacija.* BKLT12 '...is freed from the framework of a given historical situation', ...*se oformuvaat...so soodvetni završi akordi.* BKLT205 '...they are being shaped with appropriate, final chords' ... Modifiers of this kind can appear in a sequence of two elements, e.g. ...*ostana zbuneta,...ama toa go frli na novata obleka, a ne na nekakov podrug odnos kon životot...* TGRZ147 '...she remained puzzled / confused,...but she ascribed it to the new clothes, and not to some new attitude towards life'... Sporadically, an expressive inversion is possible between the first and the third position, as in: *Ima takvo nekoe vreme, gluvo vreme.* TGVM5 'There is such a time, deaf time'. Cf. also a concatenation of attributes of these two positions: *Ovie i slični slučai bile posledni*

pojavi na žiznenosta na starata struktura. BK1158 ‘These and similar situations had been the last manifestations of the vitality of the old structure’.

Finally, it should be noted that the attributes of the third position could appear in noun phrases constituted by a proper name, cf. *Sega edna druga Marija pojavi vidovitost. MJOD25* ‘Now, a new Marija...showed clairvoyance’. Also possible are elliptical strings of the type: *takov ili nekakov drug / poinakov* ‘such or one of a different kind’, etc.

Both the semantics and the linear order show that attributes of the third position stand in between the genuine determiners (quantifiers) and modifiers.

4. Fourth position

In the fourth position, from left to right, are the exponents of the category of possession. It is not by chance that they are located close to the borderline between the attributes interpreted as determiners (quantifiers, markers for strictly grammaticalized pragmatic and/or semantic categories) and the modifiers that express ungrammaticalised or only partially grammaticalised semantic categories. There are languages where the possessive attributes cannot be combined in one string with the markers for definiteness, but are in complementary distribution with them. Such is the case in English, French and in numerous other languages belonging to different families. This demonstrates that the possessive attributes (markers of possession/belonging/affiliation) can be interpreted as markers of definiteness *per se* (cf. e.g. Haspelmath 1999). Certainly, this all refers only to the adjectival possessive determiners that express genitive case relation in the paradigms of personal pronouns, proper names, some kinship terms or professional names, i.e. lexemes with unique, contextually identified referents, e.g. *moj* ‘my’, *tvoj* ‘your’, *naš* ‘our’, *Petrov* ‘Peter’s’, *Radin* ‘Rada’s’, *majčin* ‘mother’s’, *učitelov* ‘the teacher’s’... Possessive attributes derived from nouns have also syntagmatic variants, e.g. *Petrova(ta) kniga ~ knjigata na Petre* ‘Peter’s book’, *majčina(ta) raka ~ raka(ta) na majka (mi)* ‘(my) mother’s arm’. The distribution of the two variants depends primarily on the functional perspective of the text. Adjectival possessive attributes derived from nouns, depending on the context, may be functionally ambivalent, which reflects on their linear order. They can function as determiners, but also they can appear in the function of plain relational

modifiers, cf. *Ja vidov onaa poznata Rembrandtova slika* 'I have seen the well known picture by Rembrandt'.

The morphology and linear order of the pronominal possessive modifiers requires a separate analysis of the Macedonian and Bulgarian situation. Namely, the pronominal attributes have clitic variants, which rank lower in the communicative hierarchy than the adjectives. In Bulgarian, the occurrence of the clitic does not depend on the lexical meaning of the CM of the noun phrase, while in Macedonian the clitic accompanies only kinship terms, as in *majka mi ~ moja(ta) majka* 'my mother', *sestra mu ~ negova(ta) sestra* 'his sister'. In more expanded Macedonian noun phrases an adjectival modifier appears, while in Bulgarian even in the so-called Wackernagel position (i.e. after the first accentogenous word form opening a noun phrase) the possessive clitic can occur.

Since the adjectival possessive modifiers functionally belong to the case paradigm of lexemes inherently marked for definiteness, they are in some languages legitimately interpreted as categorial markers for definiteness. We should add that we understand the category of possession conventionally as a sum of relations expressed by respective morphological and/or syntactic constructions, out of which only one expresses the relation of real possession of material objects. (Cf. the paper by L.Mitkovska in this volume)

Possessives are capable of several types of inversion. Below is a brief outline of the types encountered in Macedonian.

Let us begin with some typical examples of Macedonian strings with possessive modifiers: *Pelagija beše vo nejinata topla, silna pregratka TGRZ7* 'Pelagija was in her warm, strong embrace...', *...go vlečeše zad sebe svojot debel i zapolten glas... TGRZ12* '...he dragged behind his thick and hoarse voice', *Pelagija go svrte kon nea svojot prekoren pogled... TGRZ16* 'Pelagija looked at her with a reproachful look', lit. 'Pelagija turned to her her reproachful look', *...k'e se vrati kaj vnučinjata i kaj svojata debela Petra TGRZ25* '...he will return to his grandchildren and to his fat Petra', *Kutriot nejin Done! TGRZ53* 'Poor Done!', lit. 'Poor her Done!' As can be seen, possessive modifiers can occur with proper names. Cf. also: *...reši da pojde da go vidi svoeto prvo krstenče. TGRZ97* '...he decided to go to see his first godchild', *...nejziniot čist i prodoren glas*

begaše nagore... TGRZ38/9 ‘...her clear and penetrating voice was escalating’, ...*ja naog’a svojata pobuda vo tug’oto jazično vlijanie BKI156* ‘...finds its motivation in foreign linguistic influence...’, ...*se gordeše so svoeto selsko planinsko poteklo. MGO18* ‘...was proud of his peasant origin’, ...*slušajk’i go glasot na krvta, pomešana so klokotot na tatkovata krv... PGZ85* ‘hearing the voice of blood, mixed with the gurgle of his father’s blood’...

In the texts from my corpus articulated pronominal possessives prevail, while strings with lexical determiners, such as *tie moi prijateli* ‘those friends of mine’, *nekolku moi prijateli* ‘several friends of mine’ are rare. Cf. also (from conversation) *Nekoi moi ostanale kaj nego...* ‘Some books of mine remained with him’ or *Tie tri negovi posledni nastupi navistina ne zadovoluvaat* ‘These three latest performances of his were really not satisfactory’, etc.

The inversion can be of two types: it can relate (a) to the CM of the noun phrase, or (b) to the neighboring adjectival modifiers in the sequence. Most frequent among type (a) are conventionalized inversions in vocative noun phrases, but there are also other contexts, always expressively marked; cf. ...*daleku od koskite pradedovi... TGRZ26* ‘...far from the bones of the ancestors’, *Ženo mori, kotleto moe bega po lug’eto! TGRZ28* ‘Look, woman, my pot is running among the folk’, *Ovoj nema jajca kako Dimosten naš! TGRZI09* ‘This one doesn’t have eggs like our Dimosten!’, *Po što ima naseteno Čana moja deka e daruvan so dobra duša? TGRZI33* ‘I wonder why my Cana has felt that he has been endowed with a good soul’, *Mila moja, zošto begaš tolku dlaboko? TGRZ224* ‘My dear, why are you running away that deep?’, *Lug’e, lug’e moi...što storiv! TGVM42* ‘Folks, my folks, what have I done?’, *Čedo majkino od srce mi te skinaa... TGVM91* ‘My dear child, they have torn you out of my heart’...

More interesting, since they are less conventionalized, are the inversions between the second and the fourth positions, i.e. between quantitative and possessive attributes. It seems that such a type of inversion has not so much expressive, but rather direct communicative function. The difference between constructions such as *dve(te) moi prijatelki* ‘my two friends’, *pet(te) negovi knigi* ‘his five books’ on the one hand and *moi(te) dve prijatelki* ‘(the) two friends of mine’, *negovi(te) pet knigi* ‘(the) five books of his’ is very subtle, but still the latter seem to refer to a closed set of elements and suggest

that I have only two friends, that he has only five books... Cf. also: *Rosa go raširi srceto i Pelagija uspea da vlezje vo nego ne istisnuvajk'i niedno od nejinite pet devojčinja...* TGRZ48 'Rosa opened her heart and Pelagija managed to enter in it, not forcing out any of her five girls', ...*od četiriesette godini, kolku što mislea deka ima, se simnuvaše na svoite dvaeset i nekolku, kolku što navistina imaše...* TGRZ147 'from the 40 years, they thought she had, she was coming down to just over the twenty, that she really had'...

In the fourth position, elliptic strings of several components are possible, linked with a connective or not. For instance, *moi i tvoji knigi* 'my and your books', *moi, tvoji i negovi knigi* 'my, your and his books', *moj ili tvoj telefon* 'my or your telephone', etc.

5. Fifth position

In the fifth position, we find adjectives that contain information about the relative (in relation to the speaker) place of the referent of the noun phrase in space and/or time, or in the spatial or temporal sequence, cf. adjectives such as *preden* 'front', *zaden* 'back', *goren* 'upper', *dolen* 'lower'..., *večeren* 'evening (adj.)', *utrinski* 'morning (adj.)', *proleten* 'spring (adj.)'...; *prv* 'first', *vtor* 'second', *desetti* 'tenth'...; *prethoden* 'previous', *nareden* 'next', *(pret)posleden* '(pen)ultimate'... They often appear in strings, cf. *leva gorna fioka* 'left upper drawer', *včerašen utrinski gostin* 'a guest of yesterday morning'. Cf. also elliptic sequences such as *gornata i sredna polica* 'the upper and middle shelf', *včerašniot i denešniot dnevnik* 'yesterday's and today's newspaper'. Here are some examples from my corpus: *reši da pojde da go vidi svoeto prvo krstenče...* TGRZ148 '...he decided to go and see his first godchild', *taa trgna vtora, treta ili četvrta* TGRZ39 'she started to go second, third or fourth', ...*gi poednostavija svoite obleki do krajna možna granica...* MJOD20 'they simplified their clothes to the greatest possible extent', ...*vo prilozite "denes(ka) ~ letoska" se sodrži nekogašnata pokazna zamenka...* BKII50 'the adverbs "today ~ last summer" contain a former demonstrative pronoun', *Morfemata "ot" ...pretstavuva eden poinakov element otkolku postarata pokazna zamenska forma...* BKII52 'the morpheme "ot" ...represents an element different from the older/previous demonstrative pronominal form', ...*se zafati so poslednite svoi sili da go zakrepi deloto na slovenskata prosveta* BKLT7 'he devoted all his energy to strengthen the cause of Slavic education', *Dalečnata i severna zemja...* MGO14 'the far and

northern country...’, *po okolnite rasfrlani sela potrepuvaše ponekoja blede svetilka PGZ76* ‘in the neighboring dispersed villages some lights glimmered’, *Pominaa docnite esenski doždovi.. PGZ88* ‘The late autumn rain falls were over’, *zaita kaj seloto...odejk’i po dolniot zaobikolen pat.PG167* ‘...he hurried towards the village...following the lower roundabout way’, *...gi sakav delata na spomenatite poseriozni klasičari.. PGNZ11* ‘I liked the works of the mentioned serious classicists’... Inversions are also possible. Cf. *Na slednite dve fotelji sedeae ušte dvajca andartski oficeri. PGZ70* ‘On the next two armchairs were seated other two officers’. From the examples it can be seen that some temporal and/or spatial determiners are functionally (and also with respect to their linear order) ambiguous. Thus *star* ‘old’ in terms of age of an animate being is an attribute of the next, sixth position; *večeren* ‘evening (adj.)’ and *selski* ‘village (adj.)’ can either determine the location of the referent or have a generic meaning and belong to our seventh position.

Attributes from the fifth position are able to create conjunctive and/or alternative strings. Cf. *posleden i pretposleden* ‘ultimate and penultimate’, *prv ili vtor* ‘first or second’.

In the fifth and subsequent position, we notice a growing dependence between the choice of the modifier and the lexical meaning of the CM of the phrase.

6. Sixth and Seventh position

The final two positions, the sixth and the seventh, cover over 80% of the examples in my corpus. If we counted the dictionary entries, i.e. lexemes that can appear in particular positions, the percentage of those connected with the sixth and seventh position would be even higher.

As mentioned earlier, in the sixth position we find almost all basic, unmotivated, “genuine” adjectives, but they neither exhaust the inventory of that position, nor are limited to it, so that the morphological criterion cannot help in determining the class of lexemes able to be placed in this position. There is a rich homonymy in the class of unmotivated adjectives, so that some of the corresponding lexemes can be found in neighboring functional and linear positions. Such is the case of the above-mentioned form *star* ‘old’, which represents two different modifiers: one from the fifth and one from

the sixth position. The processes of metaphorisation and semantic derivation are permanently active in the language and the homonymy continually expands. The reverse is also true, a part of the motivated adjectives semantically belong to the sixth position, as e.g. *interesen* 'interesting', *gneven* 'furious', *mok'en* 'powerful', etc. Moreover, the inversions connected with the sixth position are very subtle and can be defined only on the basis of a very rich corpus of examples. Here belong the so called parametric adjectives, such as *dolg* 'long', *širok* 'wide / large', *visok* 'tall', *težok* 'heavy'..., determiners of colour, terms for psychological features that can not be measured, such as *dobar* 'good / lenient', *strog* 'adamant', *toleranten* 'tolerant', *energičen* 'energetic'..., which are sometimes difficult to separate from adjectives used to assess of someone's appearance and/or behaviour, such as *simpaticen* 'nice / likable', *korisen* 'useful', *ljubezen* 'kind', etc. The statistics shows that the modifiers in the sixth position most often appear in a definite (unmarked?) order, with the attributes of assessment in the first place, those describing physical or psychological features in the second place, and attributes indicating colour after the parametric modifiers; e.g. *simpaticna, visoka, crnooka devojka* 'a nice tall blackeyed girl', *ljubezen mlad kelner* 'a kind young waiter', etc. There are, however, a great number of different examples, and it is hard to determine the exact unmarked ordering.

In the seventh position appear, often in strings of several elements, the so-called relational adjectives. They give information on the relation between the referent of the noun phrase and the notion from whose name the adjective is derived. For example, *domašni patiki* 'slippers', lit. 'homesnikers', *trpezariska masa* 'dinner table', *ministerijalen službenik* 'ministry officer', *univerzitetски profesor* 'university professor', *spalna soba* 'bedroom', etc. Such modifiers often characterize the named entities in accordance with the same parameters as the modifiers in the sixth position described above. Cf. e.g. the modifiers *sladok ~ meden (glas)* 'sweet ~ mellifluous (voice)', *golem ~ džinovski (zid)* 'big ~ gigantic (wall)', *brz ~ molskavičen (poteg)* 'fast ~ fast as a lightning (act)', etc.

One of the characteristics of the modifiers from the seventh position, those closest to the CM, is their ability for terminologization, i.e. the ability together with the CM to form a term for a complex notion, cf. *istoriski roman* 'historical novel', *etnička zaednica*

‘ethnic community’, *kulturna sredina* ‘cultural milieu’, *sredozemnomorska klima* ‘Mediterranean climate’. Sometimes, such permanent compounds (“two-component lexemes”) can also be created by the modifiers from the sixth position, as in *mlad čovek* ‘youth, young man’, *zlo delo* ‘crime, evil deed’, etc. Noun phrases of that type most often appear in specific glossaries but transcend the scientific / professional circles that use them and become part of the common lexical stock of the language community. They can be easily separated from the other, “open” noun phrases, but represent only a small part of the noun phrases that comprise modifiers from our sixth and seventh position.

The seventh position holds the majority of adjectivized participles, although some have shifted semantically to the sixth position. Items of that type appear as a central link between adjectival modifiers without government, on the one hand, and relative clauses, on the other hand (cf. the paper by M.Markovik’ in this volume).

It seems that one of the most promising methods to identify the “micro-order” within the framework of the sixth and seventh position is to analyse successively the pairs of modifiers in the noun phrases of our corpus – those that follow one after another without any additional signals of their inter-connection, as well as those linked with connectives. One of the methods to identify semantic micro classes is to test whether the corresponding modifiers are able to stand in a simple concatenation or require a conjunctive connective. The fact that we are unable to draw a clear-cut borderline between the sixth and the seventh position, or define the internal order of the attributes within each of these positions, fortunately has no great signification for my task, because it involves universal, semantically based regularities. To conclude this presentation I will provide a series of examples that contain more than one attribute from positions 6. and 7.

BASIC STRINGS: *Pelagija vek’e beše vo nejzinata **topla, silna** pregratka TGRZ7 (6+6)* ‘Pelagija was already in her warm, strong embrace’, *...mu natežnuvat gradite...od eden **prietaen, skrišen** gnev... (6/7+6/7), ...beše piknat vo **široka vojnička šinela**... (6+7) TGRZ27* ‘his chest is becoming heavier...from a hidden secret anger..., he was pushed in a loose military overcoat’, *glavata mu ja pokriva **crna kadrava** kosa ...TGRS32 (6+6)* ‘his head was covered with black curly hair’, *...k’e imame **topol pčenkaren** leb! TGRZ35 (6+7)* ‘...we will have fresh maize bread’, *...od nea se šireše **majčinska zakrilnička***

toplina... TGRZ162 (6+7) 'she radiated motherly protective warmth', ...ja otvori golemata drvena porta... TGRZ259 (6+7) '...he opened the big wooden door', ...se najde baba Petra...kolnejk' go so teški maški zborovi...TGRZ262 (6+7) 'grandma Petra appeared...cursing him with hard manly words...', ...go lovea retkite sončevi zraci...TGVM13 (6+7) 'he was hunted by the rre sun rays', ...predvodeni od eden golem edor mačor...TGVM16 (6+6) '...led by a big sturdy cat...', Prijatnostite nadoag'aa vo mali beznačajni dozi... MJOD (6+6) 'the pleasant things were coming in small insignificant quantities', ...mesečevata studena svetlina predizvikuva potreba od toplina... MJOD30 (7+6) 'the moon's cold light invites a need for warmth', ...složnite pridavski formi ja zagubile svojata opredelivačka funkcija... BKI150 (7+7) '...the complex adjectival forms have lost their determining function...', ...formi od ženski lični iminja...BKI151 (7+7) 'forms of the feminine proper names', ...členovanite grčki imenki BKI152 (7+7) '...the articulated Greek substantives', ...se izrazuvaat preku edna nova predložka kombinacija... BKI159 (6+7) '...are expressed through a new prepositional cobnination', ...izgraduvanjetu na pismeniot slovenski jazik BKLT10 (7+7) 'the development of the written Slavic language...', ...ima založbi za edna rezultatna kulturna akcija BKLT131 (7+7) '...there are efforts for a fruitful cultural action...', ...ja odkriva izrazitata simetrična postrojka na pesnata... BKLT204 (6+7) 'reveals the notably symmetric arrangement of the song', ...se gordeše so svoeto selsko, planinasko poteklo. MG18 (7+7) '...he was proud of his paesant origin...', ...ni prak'aše topli, prečuvstvitelni roditelski pisma MGO20 (6+6+7) '...used to send us warm, oversensitive parental letters', ...da mu odmazdiš na onoj neprokopsan setomski psalt... PGZ74 (6+7) '...to revenge yourself on that rotten Setom chorister', taka gi imaat naučeno prokletite egzarthiski propagandisti...PGZ79 (6+7) 'they wer taught so by the wretched exarcg propagandists', Eden drozd pee od bela jorgovanova vejka PGZ139 (6+7) 'A thrush is singing from a white lilac twig', Vo eden takov žežok, suv i vetrovit den...Done...zabeleža malečko kamionče... TGVM161 (6+6+7) 'On such a hot, dry and windy day...Done...noticed a small lorry' ...

STRINGS WITH CONNECTIVES: A i eden zasipnat i debel glas vikaše niz maglata...TGRZ11 (6+6) 'Also a hoarse and thick voice was screaming through the fog', Go pušti svojot otvoren i predizvikovački glas...TGRZ12 (6+6) 'He let go his open

challenging voice...’, *Silnata i jadra Dobra ja oslobodi račkata...TGRZ12* (6+6) ‘The strong and big Dobra...let go the handle...’, ...*se zatrese...od čisto i glasno smeenje...TGRZ12* (6+6) ‘...he started shaking from clear and loud laughter’, ...*gi propušti vo nepoznat i tug’ dvor...TGRZ12* (7+6) ‘...let them in an unknown, foreign garden...’, ...*fativ po edna golema i široka ulica...TGRZ25* (6+6) ‘I started to go along a big and wide road...’, ...*se približi do edno bušavo i namovnato momčence...TGRZ36* (6+6/7) ‘...approached a shaggy and hairy little boy...’, *so izliveni i zakrpeni paltenca...TGRZ44* (7+7) ‘...with worn-out and patched-up jackets’, ...*ima drug predvid za edna takva važna i odgovorna pozicija...TRGRZ154* (6+6/7) ‘...is considering someone else for such an important and responsible position’, *Dali poradi tie golemi i crni oči? TGRZ165* (6+6) ‘Is it because of those big and black eyes?’, ...*pobrza prepoznavajk’i vo nego blizok i poznat selanec... TGRZ18* (6/7+6/7) ‘...he hurried up recognizing in him a close and familiar villager’, ...*tegnea inatliivi i preplašeni živinčinja...TGVM’27* (6+6/7) ‘...they dragged stubborn and fearful cattle’, ...*mu se čini deka e samo žolta,suva i grda koža...TGRZ144* (6+6+6) ‘...it seemed to him that it was only a yellow, dry and ugly skin...’, *Onoj tvrd i zapovednički glas ušte ednaš reče...TGVM 136* (6+6/7) ‘That hard and peremptory voice said again...’, ...*tolku go bea ištipkale tažnite i gladni majki...TGRZ104* (6+6) ‘...he was so much pinched up by the sad and hungry mothers...’, ...*ne veruvam....smetajk’i deka i najdobroto, najkrupnoto i najizvesnoto ostvaruvanje može...da se upropasti. MGO15* (6+6+6/7) ‘I can’t believe, cosidering that even the best, the greatest and the most certain achievement can be spoilt’, *Istiot jadar, tažoven i privlekliv pogled...PGNZLJ17* (6+6+7) ‘The same large, sad and captivating look...’, *Od taa arija se lee...edna trogatelna, srcelomna i nervozna zvučnost...PGNZLJ19* (6/7+6/7+6) ‘That aria spreads a touching, heart-breaking and tense tune’, ...*gi držev na svoite dlanki kako dva mali beli i mazni, čudesno oblikuvani krajrečni kamenja...PGK253* (6+6+6/7+7) ‘...I kept them on my hands, like two small white and smooth, marvelously shaped riverside stones...’ ...

ELLIPTICAL STRINGS: ...*kuk’ite bea malku neobično varosani so edni beli, sini, žolti ili kafeavi boi... TGRZ19* ‘...the houses wre a bit unusually painted with white, blue, yellow or brown paints’, *bea nekade od ploodnite kotlini i polinja... TGRZ89* ‘...they

were from some fertile vallies and fields’, ...*oči što ja razbiraa čovečkata maka i bolka...TGRZ43* ‘...eyes which understood human suffering and pain’.

The analysis of the above small but representative selection of examples leads to somewhat trivial and predictable conclusions:

- The strings developed as a result of a simple concatenation are dominants in cases where the neighboring attributes are of two different semantic (and linear) positions. That is, they appear in cases where there are sequences of modifiers of sixth position plus modifiers of sevenths position (less frequently the other way around). The strings with connectives represent a form of “enlargement of one and the same position”, i.e. they appear in cases when we have strings of several modifiers of sixth position or of several modifiers of seventh position. Of course, this conclusion represents idealization. There are numerous situations when the distinction between the two positions is not clear or when within the same position there are attributes from different semantic sub-classes. Elliptical strings in the NNP are rather uncommon.
- Deverbal adjectives cause greatest classification problems. The reason for this is their being at different stages of the process of (semantic and syntactic) adjectivisation.
- The nature and length of adjectival strings depend on the nature or style of the text and, finally, on the individual predilections of the author. The examples show that the rich sequences in the sixth position are characteristic of fiction and texts marked for expressiveness, while rich sequences in the seventh position can be found in intellectualised and/or scientific text.

In addition to the numerous inversions mentioned above – mutual inversions or inversions with the previous position, the attributes of the sixth and/or seventh position can also appear in post-position in respect to the CM of the noun phrase. Most often this happens with deverbal adjectives. Cf. ...*se pojavija edni čovečinja oblečeni vo milicionerski obleki... TGRZ26* ‘...some creatures appeared, clad in policeman’s uniforms...’, *od drugite zapregi se dotrkala...eden ogromen čovek nametnat so kozji kožuf... TGRZ183* ‘from the other teams of oxen an enormous man covered with goatskin

coat rolled over’, ...*fati niz drugite gradini...preskoknuvajk’i gi pletištata isprepleteni so kapini... TGVM19* ‘...started to go through the other gardens...jumping over the wicker fences interwoven with blackberries...’, ...*dušata ja vardeše...so kosteni preležani vo šušlikot... TGVM34* ‘...he took care of himself...with chestnuts kept in dry leaves...’, ...*stol i čovek sednat na stolot so eden golem tefter vo racete. TGRZ13* ‘...a chair, and a man sitting in the chair with a big notebook in his hands’, etc. Clearly, we are facing *sui generis* transformations of restrictive relative clauses. There are examples with other, non-verbal modifiers in post-position; cf. ...*ja zdogleduva negovata slika - ...na sinorot kroncelevsko-sarakinski, stoi vrz snopot...TGRZ123* ‘...he is noticing his picture - ...on the precincts of Kroncelevo-Sarakino, standing on a bunch...’

I have mentioned above that the adjectival attributes, functioning as part of the predicative expression as well as those functioning as appositions, create longer strings than attributes with restrictive function, which are directly included in the NNP. The following examples illustrate this: *Toj si ostanuva nem, ubav i strašen. TGRZ32* ‘He remains mute, beautiful and horrifying...’, *takva vsušnost i si beše – jadra, visoka, stegnata... TGRZ38* ‘In fact, she was like that – large, tall, groomed...’, *ne saka da kaže ni kolku sum topla, meka poželna... TGRZ169* ‘...doesn’t want to say how warm, soft and desirable I am’, *Togaš se pojavi i Madžarkata...edna krupna, visoka, optegnata vo partizanska bluza... TGRZ152* ‘Then the Madžar women appeared...a large, tall woman wearing a partisan blouse’, ...*taa go zema liceto na majka mu, blago, krotko, nemo i dobro... TGVM10* ‘she has taken the face of his mother, soft and mild, mute and good-hearted’, ...*eden od niv, visok i beležit, pribran i pritegnat, im se izvinuvaže...TGVM51* ‘...one of them, tall and important, composed and disciplined was apologising to them...’...

To sum up, it should be emphasized again that this review has been based on a fragmentary, limited corpus of examples. Many conclusions should be checked and verified on a much richer corpus. Besides, a pattern should be created for semantic classification of the motivated adjectives (those from the seventh position in the linear order) and the borders of their morphological productivity should be specified. An in-depth analysis should also be conducted of patterns of linear order of deverbal and other

adjectives that enter the NNP together with (dependent on them) subordinate noun phrases; adjectival comparative and superlative forms belong here, among others. Finally, one should take into account the fact that the closer the given position to the CM of the noun phrase, the stronger the dependence between the selection of attributes able to fill that position and the lexical meaning of the CM.

Considering that almost all regularities mentioned have a universal nature, I hope that the above outline of the semantic and syntactic strings of restrictive adjectival modifiers in Macedonian standard noun phrase would not change drastically when verified on the basis of a richer corpus. Such a corpus would primarily provide a possibility to specify the idiosyncratic differences between individual standard systems of particular Slavic and Balkan languages.

SYMBOLS OF THE GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES: AM = adjectival modifiers; AMc = adjectival condensers; CM = constitutive member (head) of the noun phrase; NNP = nuclear noun phrase; Q = quantitative determiners; R = referential determiners.

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BKI – Koneski Blaže, *Istorija na makedonskiot jazik*, Skopje: Kultura. 1986

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MGO – G'určinov Milan, *Osvojuvanje na realnosta*, Skopje: Zumpres. 2000

MJOD – Jovanovski Meto, *Orlova dolina*, Skopje: Misl. 1979

PGZ – Gilevski Paskal, *Zoja*, Skopje: Matica makedonska. 2002

PGNZ/K – Gilevski Paskal, *Nebesna i zemna ljubov / K'orsokak*, Skopje: Matica makedonska. 2002

TGVM – Georgievski Taško, *Vreme na molčenje*, Skopje: Misl. 1981

TGRZ – Georgievski Taško, *Ramna zemja*, Skopje: Misl. 1981

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