

# On pronominal markers of noun phrase extension in Macedonian and Bulgarian

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## Abstract

This paper analyzes the syntax and semantics of several Macedonian and Bulgarian lexemes functioning as expressive predicates which emphasize the extension of noun phrases. These lexemes are functionally equivalent to the English (a) *all, whole*, (b) *the same*, (c) *my-/ your-/ him-/ her-self...* They insist on (a) the wholeness of the extension, (b) the identity of the items named in the noun phrase with the previously mentioned items, (c) the referential identity and uniqueness of the items named in the given NP, respectively. What makes them a class is their syntactic behaviour.

## 1. Introduction of notional and terminological network

Let me begin with some definitions of the terms I shall use in my text. I understand **noun phrases** (NPs) as syntactic units whose constitutive members (heads) are **nouns** (*nomina substantiva*). On the semantic plane prototypical NPs are names of concepts denoting material objects - among others: people and other living organisms.

Used in the text, NPs can refer to particular denotates / groups of denotates of the concept in question or to the concept itself, its whole extension and/or intension. In the latter case we are faced with so called **generic** noun phrases, which are only of marginal interest here.

NPs referring to particular denotates of a concept can be used **referentially** (i.e. can **identify** and/or **specify** these denotates) or without reference (as free **predicates** ascribing some characteristics to these denotates). All the information concerning the above referential characteristics (variants of use) of the NPs in the text are known as the **semantic** category of definiteness. If a language has regular, predictable formal exponents for these variants, we would say that it has **grammatical** (grammaticalized) category of definiteness.

The **basic nominal string** is composed of the head, its **determiners** and its adjectival **modifiers**. The head can itself function as a determiner or of a substantivized modifier. Appositions don't belong to the basic string. I refer to the segment composed of the head and its modifiers (= the segment on which the determiners operate) as the **nuclear nominal string**.

On the functional plane, the determiners have a pragmatic function - they help to identify and/or to individualize (to specify) the entities referred to in the NP; the modifiers have a semantic function - they enrich the intension and restrict the extension of the concept whose denotates are referred to in the NP. It is not always possible to define a clear-cut border-line between the determiners and the modifiers.

There exist universal, semantically (and pragmatically) motivated rules for linearization of NPs. One of the basic rules says that the exponents of the category of definiteness always stay at the very beginning of the string: if they are autonomous lexemes, they open the string, and if they are bound morphemes, they are glued to the first lexeme opening the string.

In this paper I am interested in some pronominal lexemes that function primarily as expressive predicates that emphasize some facts about the extension of NPs. There are two types of such lexemes: a) those which emphasize the fact that the dominating predicate refers to all the objects denoted by an NP functioning as argument to that predicate, and b) those which emphasize the identity of the object(s) denoted by an NP. I shall examine the semantic and syntactic functions and the rules for the linear ordering of the pronominal lexemes of these two types in Macedonian and in Bulgarian; also, I will focus on their combinability with the primary exponents of the identifying reference, such as demonstratives and definite article. My sources are Macedonian and Bulgarian prose literary texts.

## **2. Common characteristics of the lexemes under examination**

The pronominal markers of the NP extension (MEs in the following text) have referential ability similar to that of the definite article. They have no ability for deictic identification of entities referred to in a given NP, but are able of situational and contextual identification: they can take the anaphoric and/or cataphoric function.

As mentioned above, there are two types of MEs. On the semantic plane the English equivalents for the first group are, generally speaking, 'all; whole; complete', and for the second group 'alone; (the) same; identical; similar' or 'personally, -self', as in *He said it himself ...* They operate as expressive predicates dominating the basic nominal string, primary markers for definiteness (MDs) included. As such they can appear in several syntactic positions and functions, namely as (a) mobile appositive attributes (which is their most frequent syntactic function), (b) parts of compound predicative expressions, (c) as autonomous NPs, (d) - as adjectival determiners in the basic nominal string – in the absence of primary MDs, (e) - finally - they can also appear before the primary markers for definiteness (zero position in the nominal string).

Numerous Macedonian and Bulgarian MEs have more than one morphological form accommodated to different syntactic roles.

### **3. Holistic pronominal markers of the NP extension**

For the MEs belonging to the first group - let us call them holistic MEs (HMEs) - of basic relevance is the semantic (and grammatical) category of number. When used in the plural, depending on the context of use, they can be paraphrased as 'all the X referred to as included into the situation expressed in the given proposition' or 'all the X mentioned in the preceding text' and/or '...to be mentioned in the following text', with the emphasis on the totality of extension. When used in the singular, they should be interpreted, *ceteris paribus*, not as 'all X' but as 'the whole (part of) the X'. Cf. Macedonian *Site deca dojdoa* 'all the children came' as opposed to *Ja ispiv seta voda* 'I drank all the water'...

#### **3.1. Macedonian HMEs**

Macedonian has one form for plural use: *site* - it is a combination of the NP1 m of the metathesized Common Slavic root *\*vBS-* and the plural form of the definite article *-te*. For use in the singular there are more lexemes and more forms corresponding to different semantic and/or syntactic roles.

**3.1.1. Macedonian HMEs as appositions** - Macedonian HMEs functioning as appositions are characterized with maximal mobility within the sentence. They can stand at the very beginning or at the end of the sentence, before or after their basic NP, or in the middle of that NP after the primary MDs. In all these positions they keep their specific intonational pattern giving them status of autonomous parts of the sentence, albeit coordinated with one of its basic NPs (= NPs implied as arguments of the constitutive predicate). In my written sources I didn't find examples of appositive use in the plural. Below I quote some examples registered in everyday colloquial usage. For use in the singular there are three forms of the same stem inflected for gender: *siot m, seta f, seto n*. As it can be observed, the article forms are regular parts of the stem. The above forms compete with the forms of the lexeme *cel(iot), -a, -o* '(the) whole', appearing with or without the definite article. On the semantic plane *siot* and *cel(iot)* seem to be optional variants, however, *cel(iot)* is more frequent in that use. I did not find Macedonian examples with the appositive *cel* without the article. It seems only logical, as it refers always to some already identified entities. At the same time the articulated form is more expressive, which corresponds with its by definition emphatic function.

Here are some examples of Macedonian appositive HMEs :

a) in plural use:

\**vBS-*: *Tie se site pristrasni... coll.* 'They are all partial ...'; *Kolegite site mi rekoa da se otkažam... coll.* 'All my colleagues told me to quit...'

\**čĕl-*: *Listovite bea celi išarani... coll.* 'The pages were all scribbled...'

b) in singular use:

\**vBS-*: *...kažuvanjeta mu e seto išarkano so crkvenoslovenizmi... KL31* 'His talk is all criss-crossed with Church Slavonic words...'; *Toa vrz glava, seto li mozok ti e... DN18* 'That thing on top of your head, is it all brains...'; *...potoa taa seta se strupoli na negovoto bleskavo teme. DN75* '...then she collapsed with all her weight on his bright crown.'

\**čĕl-*: *...toj e celiot vo nivniot način na misljenje...KL32* '...he is all into their way of thinking'; *Kiril e celiot vo edna druga kulturna tradicija... KL46* 'Kiril is all into a different cultural tradition...'; *...k'e voskresne ušte ednaš, celiot zamirisan na pot...DN45* '...he will resurrect once again, all stinking of sweat...'; *...za da ja opfati so pogledot...*

DN78 ‘...in order to take her all in his sight...’; *Celata vo krv, razbiraš li, treperi kako list...* DN83 ‘All covered in blood, you know, trembling like a leaf...’; *Ribata vednaš celata zarinka vo pesokot...* DN103 ‘...The fish immediately buried (all of) itself in the sand...’

**3.1.2. Macedonian HMEs as parts of predicative expressions** - Macedonian HMEs as parts of predicative expressions are infrequent and both lexically and contextually restricted. The forms of the *siot* series don't appear in this function. Perhaps, it is the presence of the article in the stem that blocks the usage. The forms of the *cel* series appear in some idiomatic constructions as e.g. *Toj e cel(iot) tatko mu*, etc. meaning 'He is the spitting image of his father'. The use of the article varies from one to another of my Macedonian informants.

Also the substantive *sè* (cf. its characteristic below, 3.1.3.) can appear in basic predicative position as in *Toa e sè* 'This is all there is', etc. Free derivation is possible only with *cel* in its secondary meaning 'unbroken', as in *Vaznata e cela, ne se skršila* 'The vase is all in one piece, it has not broken', and the like.

### **3.1.3. Macedonian HMEs as autonomous NPs or heads of autonomous NPs -**

There are two types of HMEs able to appear as (heads of) autonomous NPs, respectively with the meaning (a) 'all there is' /+generic/ and/or 'all that is pertinent for the situation at hand' (in anaphoric function), and (b) '(all the) people' /+generic/ and/or '(all the) people included in the situation in hand' (in anaphoric function).

In the first group dominates the basic old substantive form (Nsg n) of the root *\*vɛs-*: *sè*. As it can be observed, the stem is not enlarged by the second root (= there is no postposed article form). *Sè* is the unique HME appearing in /+generic/ NPs of the first group; it also dominates in anaphoric function. Here are some typical examples:

*Amfiteatar i što? – se puleše Beni. Amfiteatar i sè! – besneeše Rado...* DN70 'Amphitheatre and what? – gazed Beni. Amphitheatre and everything! – raged Rado...'; *Okolu nego sè si beše na mesto...* DN98 'Around him everything was at its place...'; *Moni znaeše sè za Angelina...* DN107 'Moni knew everything about Angelina...'; ...*a*

*odozgora na sè, tie ništo ne mi značat...DN25* ‘...On top of everything, they don’t mean anything to me...’; *Do toj moment sè što napravi beše so studena, bespoštedna presmetlivost... DN40* ‘Until that moment, he did everything with a cold, ruthless calculation...’

If *sè* is accompanied with some restrictive modifiers, they stand in postposition, according to the rule characteristic of the MDs, cf. *sè dobro* ‘all that is good’, *sè novo* ‘all that is new’, *sè drugo* ‘everything else’, etc.

*Sè* appears also in some petrified expressions as *sè ušte* ‘still’, *zgora na sè*, ‘on top of everything, what is more’, *sè taka* ‘...all the time, so on’....

In generic NPs of the second group we find the form *site* in its secondary use, meaning *site lug’e* ‘(all the) people’, in cataphora: ‘all who...’ or in anaphoric use; cf. *...nekakva teško objasniva zloradost kon site... DN62* ‘...some inexplicable resentment towards everyone...’; *Bugarite se pogolemi rasisti od site drugi... DN54* ‘Bulgarians are more racist than any other nation ...’; *Eden den k’e ostarime i site k’e staneme kako Tedi. DN63* ‘One day we’ll all grow old and become like Tedi.’; *...nešto što ò bilo svojstveno, iako ušte na site neotkrieno... KL42* ‘...something which was typical of her, although not yet discovered by all’; *...site ostanati od družinata go poddržuava. DN36* ‘...all the other members of his group supported him’....

Infrequent but acceptable in the anaphoric function are also the forms *seto* and *sevo*; by origin these are adjectival forms of Nsg n secondarily substantivized. *Sevo* has *mutatis mutandis* the same morphological pattern as *seto*; the postpositive glued clitic is not an article but a demonstrative signaling objects that are near to the speaker; in our case it means reference to the directly preceding text. Cf. *Nad seto, vrz nivnite glavi izlea cela kofa so zmii i gušteri...DN106* ‘What’s more he poured over their heads a bucket full of snakes and lizards...’; *Na seto zgora motorot mu kivaše... DN111* ‘On top of everything, his engine was choking’....

Both *seto* and *sevo* are rarely used by themselves; usually they appear in tandem with corresponding MDs, hence we discuss them in 3.1.5. below.

**3.1.4. Macedonian HMEs as modifiers in the nuclear nominal string** - This is the second most typical function of the HMEs. In this function we have the same forms which appear as appositive, 'floating' modifiers (cf. above 3.1.1.), which means the *siot* and *cel(iot)* series. Derivatives of the root *\*cěl-* appear mainly in singular use; however, it seems purely accidental that among my literary examples I didn't find constructions of the type *Te čekav celi dva časa!* '...I waited for you for two whole hours', etc. where a HME is preposed to and operates on a numeral determiner. Constructions of that type are known to me from colloquial Macedonian usage ; they are also found among my Bulgarian examples (cf. below 4.2.4.).

In some 'frozen' expressions and in folk literature we still find forms based exclusively on the old root *\*vɛs-*, cf. in a well known folk song *Sa nok' sedam, Treno...* 'I've been up all night, dear Trena ...', cf. also *od sè srce* 'wholeheartedly', etc.

It is also worth mentioning that in SouthWestern Macedonian dialects, under Greek influence, the form *celi* Npl coocurs with *site*.

In some semantically defined contexts also a third root, *poln(iot)*, *-a(ta)*, *-o(to)*; *-i(te)* 'full' can appear, as in *Ispiv seta / cela / polna čaša voda* 'I drank a whole glass of water', and the like.

In NPs with determiners derived of the roots *\*cěl-* and *\*pɛln-* the distribution of the article follows the general rules characteristic for all the NPs which don't include determiners /+ definite/ *per se*. In NPs with determiners derived of the root *\*vɛs-* the opposition / +/- definite / is automatically neutralized:

*\*vɛs-*: *..ja otfri seta životna sueta... KL7* '...he/she discarded all vanity of life'; *...go izdrža toa iskušenie (...) za site drugi pokolenija... KL19* '...he/she resisted that temptation (...) for the sake of all other generations...'; *Se javuva toj problem ovde so seta interesna svoeobraznost... KL24* 'Here that problem is present with all its interesting idiosyncrasy...'; *Vo site svoi tri ipostasi kaj Kirila e toj edinosušt... KL44* 'In all his three hypostases for Kiril he is one and the same being'; *da se mine površno pokraj seta specifičnost na Kirilovata pojava...KL46* 'to casually disregard all that peculiarity of Kiril's appearance ...'; *...toj za seto vreme frlaše oko. DN15* '... all the time he kept looking at her/us'; *...odamna e zrela za nego i go saka so seto suštество... DN66* '...She has been ready for him for a long time and loves him with all her heart/being...'

\*cěl-: *Edna nečujna (...) demonstracija na celiot grad odbeležile tie tih kandilca...KL16* ‘Those quiet icon lamps marked a silent (...) demonstration of the whole town ...’; *Celata oblast pak bila naselena so kompaktno slovensko naselenie.KL14* ‘The whole region was again inhabited by compact Slavic population.’; *...nemalo (...) da mu se otrgne ni onoj izvik (...) koj tolku ne se soglasuva so negovoto nastojvanje vo celata propoved da se zatvrdi hristijanskata smirenost...KL38* ‘...he wouldn’t even let out a cry (...) which was so much in contrast with his efforts to give the whole sermon a tone of Christian serenity’; *...se gledaše celoto Sofisko pole. DN140* ‘...the whole Sofia Valley was in view/could be seen’; Cf. also with the enlarged stem (derivative of the noun \*cěl-ost-ь) *cěl-ost-ьn-: Vo edinicata caruvaše celosna nedisciplina. DN126* ‘There was complete lack of discipline in the unit.’; *Celasnata vina za grabežot mu ja prefrli na Šoško. DN130* ‘He/She completely shifted the blame for the robbery onto him’ ...

\*pьln-: *...so polno pravo...KL43* ‘... to have every right to ...’; *Vek’e vo poln sostav, družinata pomina kraj izlogot na kafuleto... DN9* ‘Now already complete, the company passed by the café window...’; *...folksvagenot trgna so polna gas. DN38* ‘...the Volkswagen left at top speed’...

### 3.1.5. Macedonian HMEs in the ‘zero’-position in the nuclear nominal string

– In the ‘zero’-position in the nuclear nominal string we are faced here with a syntactic feature common to all the MEs in the two languages under examination, a feature which allows to treat them as a specific lexical class. It is their ability to dominate demonstrative MDs and form with them compound determiners (CDs) of the type of Macedonian *siot toj, seto toa, site tie*, etc. The compounds of this type imply the need to modify the above mentioned rule (a linguistic *universale*) saying that the MDs stand at the very beginning of a nominal string. For such usage of the MEs we introduce the qualification ‘zero’-position.

The compound determiners (ME+MD) can function as substantives, i.e. as autonomous NPs and/or as adjectives grammatically dependent on the head. In Macedonian the two series of CDs are morphologically identical. It is one of the



typologically relevant features of the Macedonian pronominal system - the overlapping of the basic demonstratives and the so called personal pronouns of the 3rd person.

The CDs contain the following components:

- (a) HMEs of the *siot* and *celiot* series; the latter are by definition articulated forms,
- (b) DMs derived from the three demonstrative roots: \**t-*, \**ov-*, \**on-*.

The unique function of CDs is anaphoric (when they include DMs of the \**t-* or \**ov-* roots) or cataphoric (implied by the DMs of the \**on-* root).

Here are our examples:

autonomous NPs (the *siot* series only): ...*seto toa stoeše ušte pod znakot na neizvesnost...KL10* ‘...it was all still very much uncertain...’; *Zaradi seto toa so posebna smisla zvuči proslavata na Klimenta Ohridski...KL15* ‘Because of all that, the celebration of Clement of Ohrid is especially significant...’; *Po seto ova gledame deka Kliment Ohridski e ličnost što rano stekna priznanie...KL20* ‘All this shows that Clement of Ohrid was a person who gained recognition early’; *Probiva niz seto toa nespokoen stremež za spasuvanje od anonimnosta. KL24* ‘It was all permeated by an uneasy ambition to be saved from anonymity.’; *Go grize sevo ova somnenie... KL42* ‘All that suspicion is tormenting him... ’; *...sonlivo si gi trieše očite, rečisi ne veruvajk’i deka seto toa se slučuva na jave...DN24* ‘...he/she rubbed his/her eyes sleepily, almost doubting that all this was really happening...’; *Beni na retrovizorot go vide seto toa.DN39* ‘Beni saw all that in the rearview mirror.’; *Angelina im se odmazduvaše na site niv...DN103* ‘Angelina was taking her revenge on all of them...’; *...treba da se priznae deka (...) seto ona što go voobrazuval bila iluzija...DN103* ‘...it should be acknowledged that (...) all he had been imagining was only an illusion’...

grammatically dependent CDs:

*siot* series: *Site tie slovenski religiozno-kulturni punkтови živo sorabotuvaa meg’u sebe...KL18* ‘All those Slavic religious and cultural centres cooperated closely among themselves’; *nasprema usilbite na seta taa kompanija da ja dokaže negovata besmislenost.DN44* ‘against the efforts of the whole company to prove its meaninglessness’; *...taa v mig osozna deka site tie koli (...) seto toa e sozdadeno vo*

*nejzina čest... DN29* ‘...she realized immediately that all those cars (...) all that has been created in her honour...’...

*celiot* series: ...*da se konstatira deka celiot toj repertoar se sveduva na tradicionalniot pravoslaven mirogled.KL47* ‘...to conclude that this entire repertoire boils down to the traditional Christian viewpoint.’

It can be seen that the free variation of the *siot* and *celiot* series is secondarily regulated by the individual author's choice.

The above short review demonstrates that the Macedonian HMEs system is relatively complicated. It includes two types of derivatives of the old *\*vBS-* root, with or without the glued article forms, as well as the derivatives of the *\*cěl-* and *\*pъln-* roots. All that inventory is strictly distributed between the five syntactic positions/functions.

In the NPs including forms of the *cuouū* series the opposition / +/- definite / is neutralized. It is reinstated in the CDs through the presence of the DMs. The substantival form *cè* by definition appears without the article and is characterized as /+ generic/. The derivatives of the *\*cel-* and *\*pъln-* roots appear with or without the article depending on the syntactic and semantic function of the NPs in question.

### 3.2. Bulgarian HMEs

In Bulgarian, HMEs are derivatives of the same three Common Slavic roots as in Macedonian, i.e. *\*vBS-*, *\*cěl-*, *\*pъln-*. The differences concern morphological patterns and distribution of roots and of article forms. The basic series derived of the root *\*vBS-* is founded on the stem *\*vBS-ič-Bk-ъ*.

**3.2.1. Bulgarian HMEs as appositions** - The distribution of roots differs of that characteristic for Macedonian text. Dominant is the root *\*cěl-*. I have no key to the distribution of the articulated forms - it seems that their function is mainly on the expressive plan.

Generally, appositive HMEs are not frequent in Bulgarian. I cite below all the examples found in the analyzed texts. They all come from the same author. Used in the singular they are all from the root *\*cěl-*, with one exception in the form of the substantivized Nsg n form *vsičko*; it is treated as /+ definite/ and as such takes postpositive modifier: *vsičko nužno* ‘...’. The artiched forms appear only among the derivatives of *\*cěl-* - the presence of the article seems to be emphatically motivated. Here are the examples:

In singular:

*\*vɛs-*: *Vzeh džodžen i kopār, ljuti piperki – vsičko nužno za edna čorba kojato da napomni mama. NA313* ‘...’ the only example found in my corpus;

*\*cěl-*: *...otrupvaše gi s vāprosi i cjala sjaeše. NA20* ‘...’; *Tja plamna cjala... NA22* ‘...’; *I tja be cjalata pluvnala v pot... NA25* ‘...’; *Tja cjalata trepereše...NA37* ‘...’; *No ako e prijatelj – otide si celijat...NA94* ‘...’; *Obeli ja cjalata kato portokal.NA168* ‘...’; *Cjal napregnat, lovja tozi znak. NA189* ‘...’; *Viždah kak se naprjaga, celijat beše naštrek.NA330* ‘...’; *Momčeto cjaloto se beše izvārtjalo kām neja... NA333* ‘...’; *Četa edin razkaz, ama celija. GI27* ‘...’; *Iskah (...) da se napāham celijat v gārneto... GI18* ‘...’; *Pribavjame (...) kartofite na kolelca i bamjata cjala. GI63* ‘...’; *Viždam re, cjal te viždam... GI46* ‘...’.

In plural:

*\*vɛs-*: *Te vsičkite se golemi kulinari...NA320* ‘...’; *Vie vsički ste ednakvi...NA123* ‘...’; *...no te vsičkite edna po edna si bjaha otišli. NA223* ‘...’ - unique two examples;

*\*cěl-*: *Sānuvah (...) sgrada čiišto steni sa pokriti celite s oglekala.NA268* ‘...’ the only example.

**3.2.2. Bulgarian HMEs as parts of predicative expressions** - I have found only three examples of this type, one with the substantivized form *vsičko*, one of the series *cjal(ija)*, and one of the root *\*pɛln-*. They are the following:

*\*vɛs-*: *Tova beše vsičko.NA336* ‘...’;

*\*cěl-*: *I momičeto (...) cjalo na majka si... NA135* ‘...’

\*pъln-: ...za da bide tăržestvoto na vojnata pълno... NA207 ‘...’

**3.2.3. Bulgarian HMEs as autonomous NPs** - The two basic autonomous NPs constituted by HMEs are *vsičko* and *vsički*. They can appear as /+generic/, meaning respectively 'all;all there is' and 'people in general', but more frequent is the anaphoric usage. They are usually articleless - among my examples, with only one exception, the article appears exclusively in the 'frozen' expression *na vsičko(to) otgore* ‘...’, with clearly anaphoric function, but even in this expression the article is optional.

The autonomous NPs with HMEs as heads, as expected, are able to accept postposed modifiers only, cf. *vsičko vāzmožno* ‘...’, *visčko ostanalo* ‘...’, etc.

I found also one example with a derivative from the root \*cěl- standing in autonomous position, but it is clearly an elliptical construction, cf. *Eto naprimer divite petli. Kacvat tam na njakoj klon v gorata, trāgvat po nego i k... k... k, cjaloto dokraja i otnovo, mamjat ženskite...* NA95 ‘...’

Here are the examples of the basic series:

*vsičko* :

in generic function: *Vsičko e v čara. Da imaš čar znači da imaš vsičko...*NA25 ‘...’;  
*...vsičko istinski neobjasnimo ima smisāl i prednaznačenie...*NA205 ‘...’

in cataphoric or anaphoric function: *...deto majka ì pribrala (...) vsičko, koeto napominjaše na nejnija minal život...*NA18 ‘...’; *...vsičko, koeto zadovoljavaše nejnata sueta...*NA18 ‘...’; *...vsičko snasja tam, kakvoto uspee da ekonomisa...* NA30 ‘...’; *Otkako se znaem, vsičko e bilo lāža!* NA35 ‘...’; *Vsičkoto izleze mārsotija.* NA167 ‘...’; *Na vsičkoto otgoreostrovārHITE novi obuvki go stāgaha.* NA294...

*vsički* :

in generic function: *Vsički veke sme za groba.* NA72 ‘...’; *Vsički go znajat.* NA320 ‘...’

in anaphoric function: *Razbira se, vsički imaha časove...*NA25 ‘...’; *Toa beše zabraneto za vsički osven za Ženi.*NA27 ‘...’; *Vsički počaha da se pitat...*NA69 ‘...’

**3.2.4. Bulgarian HMEs as modifiers in the nuclear nominal string** - Statistically, the function of modifier appears to be the main function of the Bulgarian

HMEs. In the singular use all the three roots are present and in the plural use, as expected, only the form *vsički* occurs. The article appears according to the general rules holding for all the NPs without the lexical DMs. Cf.

Singular:

\**vɛs-*: *Drugo pitane ne me popita. Godiha me, žniha me – tova beše vsičkoto pitane...NA46 ‘...’; ...se napregna s vsička sila...NA224 ‘...’; ...tehnijat neblagodaren trud bil v tova da vrášat vsičkata keš obratno v zemjata ...GI13 ‘...’; ...izpi s тази misál vsički konjak... NA290 ‘...’ ...*

\**čěl-*: *...okončatelno formira v počti pálnata i širotata i bogatstvo cjalata žanrova sistema...NA8 ‘...’; ...sāzadaha svoje značimo razkazno tvorčestvo cjala plejada bālgarski pisateli... NA9 ‘...’; ...cjalata pokolenie mladi razkazvači se opitvaha da prodālžat... NA9 ‘...’; Otide v kitera, deto majka i be pribrala drehite ot cjalata kāšč...NA15 ‘...’; ...peeha s cjalata gārlo... NA134 ‘...’ ...*

\**pǎln-*: *...okončatelno formira v počti pálnata i širotata i bogatstvo cjalata žanrova sistema... NA8 ‘...’*; actually, Bulgarian *pǎlni(ija)* as modifier appears with the meaning ‘complete’, and not ‘whole’, cf. *Misleh, če tova (...) e pred pǎlno izčezvane...NA40 ‘...’; ...dokato ne mine prez pǎlnija psihofiziologičeski pregled. NA102 ‘...’*; *go zadolživme da go izpǎlni pri pǎlnata tajna . NA107 ‘...’; Ne bjah izdāržal, vǎpreki pǎlnoto bezvetrie. NA212 ‘...’*

Plural:

\**vɛs-*: *Vsički dnešni pokolenija bālgarski prozaici izrastnaha pod negovija iziskatelen pogled... NA10 ‘...’; ...deto vsički stai mirisaha na prah...NA19 ‘...’; Sled sābranie vsički svestni māže otivat v krāčmata...NA28 ‘...’; ...zakopča vsički kopčeta na kurtkata. NA38 ‘...’; ...započna da se klanja na vsički strani...NA62 ‘...’ ...*

\**čěl-*: *Celi dvajset bordovi denonoščija go debnah... NA106 ‘...’; Ani idva kām sedem, celi dva časa predi men... NA336 ‘...’*

\**pǎln-*: *...napravi dva pǎlni krāga... NA96 ‘...’*

On assumption that my sample of examples are sufficiently representative, some marginal differences in respect to the Macedonian usage can be stated:

In singular: constructions with the roots *\*vɫs-* and *\*pɫn-* are relatively more frequent, hence it seems that all the three roots appear in free variation.

In plural: constructions with the *\*čɛl-* and *\*pɫn-* roots do appear, but only when preposed to numerals; the absence of parallel Macedonian constructions seems purely accidental (cf. above 3.1.4.).

### 3.2.5. Bulgarian HMEs in the ‘zero’position in the nuclear nominal string:

In autonomous NPs:

*\*vɫs-*: ...*koeto nakara vsički ni da se obārnem ... NA63 ‘...’*; ...*vsički ni e povivala i vsički ni šče izprati... NA76 ‘...’*; *Da, znaja, vsičko tova e ‘upadāčno’...NA95 ‘...’*; ...*se prevrāščaše v čisti himičeski veščestva vsičko onova, koeto mnogokratno veče bevme izjaždali... NA101 ‘...’*; ...*da zapriliča na provokacija sprjamo vsički ni. NA106 ‘...’*; *Ala zaščo sām tolkova siguren, če vsičko tova e bilo sān...NA114 ‘...’*; *Kato kontrapunkt na vsičko tova zvuči razkazāt “Semejstvo”. NA171 ‘...’*; *Dobre, kazah si az, vsičko tova može naistina da e započnalo kato igra... GI100 ‘...’ ...*

Grammatically dependent CDs:

*\*vɫs-*: ...*kolkoto i da e drāpnal svetāt prez vsičkite tezi osemdeset godini... NA239 ‘...’*; *Az ne znaeh, če si me čakal vsičkite tezi dni... NA327 ‘...’*; *informacija, kojato razmenihme prez vsički tezi pet ili šest dni... GI95 ‘...’*

*\*čɛl-*: ...*ta ne može celija tozi užas i tazi krāv da se izparili ej taka. GI59 ‘...’*; ...*razbira, če cjalata tazi situacija (...) i haresa. GI64 ‘...’*; *Cjalata tazi botanika praveše smārta da izgležda njakak ovoščna...GI78 ‘...’*; *Dālgo misleh dali da prekratja veče cjalata tazi istorija... GI99 ‘...’*

I have quoted above numerous examples in order to present some interesting proportions, or rather: disproportions between the particular patterns. With respect to CDs as autonomous NPs the small number of plural constructions and, above all, the absence of the type *\*vsički te* are noteworthy; the only plural constructions that I have registered are those with personal pronouns as second component. With respect to CDs in the dependent position I would like to emphasize two phenomena: a) the fact that the

CDs including derivatives of the root \**vɫs-* appear only when determining some segments of time (in two of the three cases the names of the segments of time are dominated with a numeral); and b) the fact that all the examples of CDs including derivatives of the root \**cěl-* come from the same author and so should be interpreted as his individual choice. These two facts and the small total number of examples doesn't permit clear conclusions about the conditions of variation of the two roots in question.

**3.3.** The above review of the Macedonian and Bulgarian HMEs suggests conclusions at two levels: a) concerning differences between the Macedonian and the Bulgarian system of HMEs, and b) concerning general mechanisms of the functioning of the HEMs in the two languages. I shall formulate here my conclusions of the first type and shall come back to the second series after the analysis of the second group of MEs.

It should be noted that the HMEs in both languages appear, generally speaking, in the same functions and in the same positions. The differences concern morphological patterns, lexical choices and statistics:

- at the morphological level the Macedonian system is richer and, in consequence, Macedonian HMEs are more specialized in what concerns the semantic and syntactic conditions of the appearance.

- in both languages the two most typical functions are those of appositive and restrictive determiners of the heads of corresponding NPs and/or of the nuclear nominal string as a whole. Nonetheless, appositive HMEs are relatively more common and more mobile in the Macedonian text.

- both languages show a tendency to use compound determiners in anaphoric function and emphasize in that way the very character of anaphora as a stylistic device.

The character of the Macedonian *sīot*-series is responsible for its relatively greater frequency in the singular use as opposed to the Bulgarian *vsički*-series.

#### **4. Identity and uniqueness markers**

While we have qualified the HMEs as expressive predicates emphasizing the totality of the entities referred to in an NP (i.e. the fact that they all, without exception, are arguments of the respective predicate), MEs belonging to the second group focus not

on the inclusion but on the exclusion of the entities that are not directly referred to. There are two types of pronominal determiners in that group:

- those that insist on the **uniqueness** of the referent(s) in its/their argumental function (UMs), and
- those that emphasize the **identity** of the referent(s) as known to the participants of the speech event from some previous experience (including anaphoric reference to the preceding text); let us call them IMs.

I shall present both types after the scheme applied above in the presentation of HMEs.

#### **4.1. Macedonian UMs**

The Macedonian UMs are all of them derivatives of the pronominal root *\*sam-*. With respect to their semantics and syntax, the presence of the article is crucial. In the focus of our interest in this text are the articleless forms. When articleless, the *sam-*pronouns can be paraphrased as 'alone; without company; without help...'; with that meaning they appear mainly as appositions or/and as parts of compound predicative expressions. With article the lexical meaning changes and a certain emphasis appears: *samiot X* can be translated as 'just X; not somebody other, but just X'; if the referent is a person, 'X personally; X himself...'.

##### **4.1.1. Macedonian UMs as appositions:**

articleless: It is not always easy to separate the articleless *sam-*forms used in the appositionive function from those functioning as obligatory (topical) parts of the predicative expressions. One of the tests is the linear mobility. In the light of that test the following seem to be genuine appositions: *Toa beše nadgrobnata ploča što Kiril sam si ja prigodil... KL22* 'That was the tombstone that Kiril had obtained himself'; *...možat i sami da se pričestat... KL44* '...they can take Communion on their own...'; *...toj se zafak'a da sozdade sam edna pečatnica... KL28* '...he decided to create a printing house on his own'; *Dosta beše narodot (...) da počne sam da gi podiga crkvite...KL40* 'That was enough for the people (...) to start building churches by themselves...'; *Najposle četvoricata se naredija i sami si rakopleskaa. DN9* 'Finally, the four of them lined up and



gave themselves a round of applause.’; ...*vo sredinata beše zabodena karfiolnata glava na Rado. Sedeše sam na dve soedineti masi...DN40* ‘...in the middle stood the cawlflower head of Rado’s. He was sitting all by himself on two tables put next to one another...’; ...*beše tolku skržav što sam go opsluživaše barot...DN67* ‘...he was so stingy that he tended the bar himself...’...

with article: *Toj ne se zadovolil samo so toa, ami samiot se zafak’a da go opiše kako istorik nastanot...KL25* ‘He was not satisfied with that only, but, as a historian, he set out to describe the event himself...’; *Kiril e skoro potpolno vo toj način, samiot sirov selanec...KL31* ‘Kiril is almost fully involved in that way of life, being himself a rough peasant...’; ...*pri ubeduvanjeto na vernite kako samiot dlaboko vo sebe da bil nedovolno uveren...KL34* ‘...when persuading the believers, it seemed as if deep down he himself was not fully convinced ...’; *I samiot poluprimitivec, toj misli pred sè vo pretstavi.KL41* ‘Being quite primitive himself, he primarily thinks in images..’; *Vo toj napor toj i samiot sozdava takvo bogočuvstvuvanje...KL42* ‘In that effort he himself exudes such piety...’; ...*i samiot Sveti Duh “prati haber” da...KL42* ‘...the Holy Ghost himself ‘sent a message’ to...’; *Beni i samiot ne znaeše zošto motorot prorabote...DN114* ‘Beni himself didn’t know why the engine started working again...’ ... I have found also, in Koneski's text, two constructions where the position of the UMs allows their double interpretation, a) as appositions, and b) as compound determiners with a preposed (and not postposed) demonstrative. Cf. *Nekoi naučnici vo toa gledaat duri ukazanie deka tie smite bile od slovensko poteklo. KL11* ‘Some scientists even see it as a proof that they themselves were of Slavic origin’; ...*rabotite kakvi što tie samite ne bile kadri da napišat...KL13* ‘...the works, such as they themselves were not capable of writing...’ In my opinion we are faced here with appositions.

As it can be seen from the examples, often the *sam*-forms are dominated by the connective predicate *i*, which is a way to insist on their position in the expressive focus of the sentence.

**4.1.2. Macedonian UMs as parts of compound predicative expressions** - In that function only the articleless forms appear and it is, without doubt, their basic function.

According to what has been said above (cf. 4.1.1.) I quote here not only constructions with the auxiliary verbs, but also constructions with autosemantic verbs where the *sam*-forms function as sentential topics: ...*kako zborovite (...) da došle sami* KL39 ‘...as if the words had come by themselves’; ...*dedoto so godini živeeše sam...DN21* ‘...the old man had lived by himself for years.’; *Ta taka, ne e Kiril sam... KL40* ‘And so, Kiril is not on his own...’; *Sakam da bidam sam!* DN72 ‘I want to be alone!’; *Rado sleze sam i vo momentot padna na zemja...DN76* ‘Rado climbed down by himself and instantly fell to the ground’; *Bea sami, bez evrejskite gosti...DN90* ‘They were all alone, without the Jewish guests...’; ...*ženata se povredi sama. DN105* ‘...the woman hurt herself alone.’; *Beše sama. DN118* ‘She was alone.’...

**4.1.3. Macedonian UMs as autonomous NPs** - In that position usually the articulated forms appear, by definition in anaphoric function. Here are some examples: *Toj beše svesen deka mu pripag’a na mnogoplodniot makedonski narod, kako što samiot go narečuva. KL13* ‘He was aware that he belonged to the highly fertile Macedonian people, as he himself called them.’; ...*zaradi idiotskata situacija, vo koja samata se nasadi...DN24* ‘...because of the idiotic situation, in which she placed herself...’; *‘Begaj, Angelina!’ – vikna Tedi i samata da ja prsne vo strništeto. DN79* ‘Run, Angelina! – cried Tedi and dashed up the hill herself.’

In all the examples, the articulated *sam*-forms are – in a sense – bound; they repeat the categorial characteristics of the subject NP of the preceding proposition and as such are obligatorily in the Nominative case. Insofar as their syntactic function is concerned, we could say that they are somewhere in between appositions and autonomous NPs.

**4.1.4. Macedonian UMs as modifiers in the nuclear nominal string** - This is one more position where we find only the articulated *sam*-forms. They are relatively frequent in that position and often accompany inherently identified heads. Cf. ...*sakaše da ja izbriše samata pomisla, eden zaostanat narod da se afirmira...KL8* ‘...he wanted to erase the very thought that a backwards nation could acquire recognition...’; *Vlijanieto na provizantiskite elementi ne beše za potcenuvawe nitu vo samata slovenska sredina...KL10* ‘The influence of the pro-Byzantine elements was also not to be

underestimated in the Slavic environment itself...'; *Kliment Ohridski spag'a vo redot na onie malubrojni figuri, okolu koi se slučuva samata kristalizacija na našata nacionalna svest...KL21* 'Clement of Ohrid belongs to those few personalities, around whom the very crystallization of our national awareness occurred, '; ...*možebi i samiot prebrgnat star asket od svoja strana ne daval pet pari za toa...KL22* 'maybe he, being an old hardened ascetic himself, did not give a damn about it ...'; *Pa, k'e mu se slučuva i na samiot gospoda da mu vložuva v usta nekoj svoi zborovi. KL25* 'So, it will happen even to God himself if he put in his mouth some of his words.'; *Vakvite sliki mnogu pojarko go predavale za samiot Kirila negovoto doživuvanje na slučkata...KL36* 'Such pictures conveyed more vividly, for Kiril himself, the way he experienced the event/ episode...'; ...*vtorata devojka go pretstavuvaže samoto sovršenstvo..DN8* '...the second girl embodied perfection itself..'; ...*možebi e minato, idnina ili samata smrt...DN44* '...it may be past, future or death itself...'; *Moralot (...) e viša pojava vo životot, toj e možebi samata volja za život! DN110* 'Morality is a higher phenomenon in life, it may be the very will to live!' In the text of Blazhe Koneski I found also an unusual construction with the ethical dative and an articulated head: ...*i vo samoti sredeto na grupata grešnici (...) stoi eden golobradec...KL40* '...and right in the middle of the group of sinners (...) stands a beardless man...'

In addition to their basic expressive function of markers of ( uniqueness of) the extension, UMs, with the exclusion of those inherently /+ identified/, in all the above examples have also anaphoric function.

**4.1.5. Macedonian UMs in the 'zero—position in the nuclear nominal string –** Understandably, in the 'zero'-position only the articulated forms appear. I have found only two examples, found in my literary sources, both from Blazhe Koneski, both autonomous anaphoric NPs. Cf. ...*poradi samoto toa što e za negovo dobro, k'e može da mu upati nekoja zakačka...KL43* '...because of the very fact that it is for his own good he/she may level some criticism at him'; *i samoto toa može da pobuduva kon isleduvanje...KL39* '...and that itself can provoke investigation...'. Cf. also 4.1.1.

**4.1.6.** The text distribution of the Macedonian *sam--*forms leads to the conclusion that we are faced with a pronoun whose articulated form behaves as a suffixed derivative with different meaning and, practically, in complementary syntactic distribution with the articleless form. The unique common syntactic function of the two forms is that of apposition and also in that function their behaviour is different: while the articulated form behaves as a genuine apposition, the articleless one shows a tendency to appear at the top of the communicative hierarchy dominating the finite verbal part of the predicative expression.

## **4.2. Macedonian IMs**

Macedonian IMs are derivatives of the root *\*ist-*. They appear both with or without the article. The basic meaning of the articulated form is ‘the same as...; coreferent with...’, while the basic meaning of the articleless form is ‘similar to...; identical with... in what concerns...; identical but not coreferent’. When referring to material objects, defined temporal sequences, etc. the two meanings stay clearly differentiated. However, when referring to abstract notions, emotions, mental characteristics and the like, they can overlap and the lack of a clear distinction in meaning leads to formal overlapping. Below I quote the articulated and the articleless forms separately and then add some comments on the meaning of these forms as illustrated by particular examples.

**4.2.1. Macedonian IMs as appositions - articleless forms:** ...*pod uvoto i krvareše so nokti izdraskana zapirka ista kako na reklamata za “Nike”*. DN77 ‘...under her ear she had a bleeding nail scratch in a shape of a comma, just like the one in “Nike” adds.’ - it is my only example of this type; *ista* means in this context ‘similar to..., reminiscent of...’; articulated forms: ... *Strašen motor (...), istiot od natprevarite na televizija...* DN59 ‘...a tremendous motorbike (...) just like the ones on television races ...’; ...*nov ljubovnik (...), istiot što ja siluvaše pred naši oči...* DN110 ‘...a new lover (...) the same one who raped her before our eyes’ – these are my only examples; in both contexts *istiot* means ‘the same’

Considering the limited number of examples, the only generalization possible is that, unlike other MEs, the IMs are relatively rare in the appositive function.

**4.2.2. Macedonian IMs as parts of compound predicative expressions -** articleless forms: *Bolkite se isti kako i prvot den ... DN50* ‘The pain is the same as the first day...’ - it is my only example, one of those contexts where it is impossible to distinguish between identity and similarity; articulated forms: no examples ; cf. 4.2.4.

**4.2.3. Macedonian IMs as autonomous NPs -** articleless forms – no examples; articulated forms: *...mnogu poupečatljivo dejstvuva (...) otkolku da se predava istoto so sredstvata na produhovena živopis. KL40* ‘... so it has a more fascinating effect (...) than when expressing the same thing by means of spiritual painting’; *...očički, nosence, dve stegnati cicki – sekoja devojka go ima istoto. DN65* ‘...cute eyes, a little nose and two firm tits – every girl has the same thing’; *Sakam da go kažam istoto...DN75* ‘I want to say the same thing...’; the only example with indefinite article also belongs here: “*Tie ne se li edno isto?*” “*koi?*” “*Večnosta i smrtta.*” *DN144* “‘Aren’t they one and the same thing?’ “Which?’ “Eternity and death.” ’Clearly, in this group of examples, the article not only modifies the meaning of the pronoun, but primarily functions as means of its substantivization.

**4.2.4. Macedonian IMs as modifiers in the nuclear nominal string -** articleless forms: *Na ist način gi pozdravi i ostanatite trojca.DN9* ‘He/She greeted the other three in the same way.’; *...bi go izbral kesmetot da se rodi vo ist grad i na ista ulica so Anželina. DN14* ‘...He would choose the fate to be born in the same town and on the same street as Angelina.’; cf. also: *...činiš takvot tip lug’e imaat edna ista biografija(...) i stasuvaa do eden ist kraj. DN52* ‘...it seems as if that sort of people had one and the same biography and reached one and the same end.’ – these are all the examples found in my corpus. While in the first example and also in the third one, that with the compound attribute *eden ist, ist* can be interpreted as qualification of the type ‘similar, parallel, one like...’, in the second example the only acceptable interpretation is ‘the same as..., coreferent with...’  
articled forms: *...imame poraka (...) kako istata večer go oslobodile... DN21* ‘...we have a message (...) that he was released that same evening...’; *...vo istiot moment folksvagenot*

*trgna so polna gas. DN38* ‘At the same time the Volkswagen started at full speed.’; *Ispliva od maglata kako dobriot duh Kasper i na istiot način svisna vo vazduhot kako prašalnik. DN43* ‘He emerged from the fog like Casper, the good-natured spirit, and in the same manner hung up in the air like a question mark.’; *...krotko ja zabeležuvaat istata vistina za lična korist...DN44* ‘...they notice quite the same truth for their own benefit’; *...toj odamna znae za strašnata možnost – vo istiot prekrasen den na mesto od sebe si (...)* *da otkrieš nekoj napolno nepoznat...DN45* ‘...for a long time he has known about the dreadful possibility - on the same wonderful day to discover a complete stranger in your place (...)...’; *...ete ja dva meseca podocna i majka mu, na istoto mesto...DN49* ‘...two months later, his mother came, as well, at the same place...’; *...vo istiot moment počustvuva silna šlakanica. DN67* ‘...at the same moment he/she felt a hard slap’; *...toa beše istoto beemve...DN76* ‘...that was the same BMW’; *Vo seksot nemaše nasitka na istiot način kako što gi predavaše lekciite...DN94* ‘In sex he was as insatiable as at teaching...’; *Sum se izlažal, istiot budala si kako i tie. DN98* ‘I’ve been mistaken. You are just as foolish as them.’; *Istiot den noemvri se prekrši. DN142* ‘That very day November broke off..’ – here the examples are more numerous and, once more, both interpretations are present: direct coreference and identity are emphasized in the case of material objects, places and temporal segments, as also in the case of *istata vistina* ‘the same truth’, while in *istiot način* ‘in the same way’, and *istiot budala* ‘just as foolish’ (part of the predicative expression!) we are faced with qualifications of the type ‘similar, identical in the respect of...’

**4.2.5. Macedonian IMs in ‘zero’position in the nuclear nominal string - articleless forms:** (*istiot toj čovek insistira na besmrtnost!*) *Inaku toj ist čovek cel život kleveti, ubiva...DN81* ‘(that same man insists on eternal life!) On the other hand, that very man has been slandering, killing, all his life...’ – as it can be seen, the unique example of the sequence *ist toj* is coreferent with the articulated sequence *istiot toj* found in the directly preceding sentence!

articled forms: *...istoto toa se čuvstvuvaše (...)* *i vo drugite delovi na slovenskiot svet...KL9* ‘...the same thing was also felt (...) in the other parts of the Slavic world...’; *skoro vo istite tie godini (...)* *nevozdržaniot Hajnrih Hajne ne ja ostavaše na mira*

*učenosta na getingenškite profesori. KL22* ‘...at almost the same period (...) the unrestrained Heinrich Heine challenged the learnedness of the Göttingen professors; *Pa najposle istata taa svest e izrazena vo redovite na nadgrobnata Kirilova ploča. KL29* ‘In fact, that same awareness is expressed in the inscription on Kiril’s tombstone.’; *vo istata onaa smisla vo koja Kiril ja upravuvaše svojata propoved. KL40* ‘in the very sense towards which Kiril directed his preaching.’; *Ogništeto na koe stana toa žižnuvanje e istoto ona ognište na koe se iskovaa reskite stihovi...KL48* ‘The furnace where the spark flared up is the very same furnace where the sharp verse was coined...’; *...istiot toj čovek insistira na besmrtnost! DN81* ‘...that very person insists on eternal life!’ – All the examples with abstract notions as constitutive members have the only possible interpretation of the type ‘similar, identical’, without “material” coreference.

Evidently, the two meanings: ‘identical and coreferent’ and ‘identical, but not coreferent’ overlap independently of the presence of the article, as corrolaries of the lexical meaning of corresponding NPs.

### 4.3. Bulgarian UMs

The Bulgarian UMs, like their Macedonian counterparts, are derivatives of the root \**sam-*. They are also identical in meaning with the Macedonian UMs, hence the examples are ordered in the same way as in case of Macedonian UMs.

**4.3.1. Bulgarian UMs as appositions** - As in case of the Macedonian UMs I am applying the test of syntactic mobility in order to discern genuine appositions from parts of compound predicative expressions. Here are my examples:

articleless: *...kogato životāt kato če sam se razkazva.NA7* ‘...’; *...si misleše za sluginjata, kojato ne bivaše da ostavjat v kašči sama. NA16* ‘...’; *V otpusk toj otiva vinagi sam. NA28* ‘...’; *Sam znaeš čee vjarno...NA36* ‘...’; *Sedjal sām kato vdārven (...) dokato najsetne tja samata smākna pokrivaloto...NA47* ‘...’; *...za da ne se prevārne sam v zlo.NA64* ‘...’; *...ne moga sam da reča...NA103* ‘...’; *...nahlupi otново do očite kasketa ot Marin, sam vze termometāra...NA237* ‘...’; *...kāsno razbrah, če nie sami nastojavame na neščastijata...G16* ‘...’; *...toj sam si izbiraše imena. GI12* ‘...’ ...

with article: *...trjabva da e i samijat gluhar.NA96 ‘...’; Toj samijat nikoga ne se kačvaše v p̄rvoklasnite vagoni...NA119 ‘...’; Vie i samite ne znaete ščo iskate...NA124 ‘...’; Te bjaha veče golemi, decata, samite imaha deca...NA135 ‘...’; ...toj samijat imenuvaše pazara t̄ržište...GI12 ‘...’; ...i toj samijat ne znae točnija odgovor...GI13 ‘...’; ...tja samata otkradnala... GI47 ‘...’; P̄rvata дума, kojato izreče, učudi i nego samijat.GI50 ‘...’ ... As it can be seen, sequences of the type *toj samijat* are treated here as appositive, i.e. in the same way as in the case of parallel Macedonian sequences.*

**4.3.2. Bulgarian UMs as parts of compound predicative expressions** – I have found only articleless forms: *...horata si uslužvat sami. NA15 ‘...’; Kato ostana sama, tja otide v stajata ... NA20 ‘...’; Nikoj čovek ne može da živee sam na toj svet. NA30 ‘...’; ...neka se čerpjat sami...NA39 ‘...’; A ti znaeš, če as s̄am s̄avsem sama...NA30 ‘...’; ...da ne e sam v starinite si. NA182 ‘...’; ...toj ne e sam za sebe si, a k̄šče ot goljamata mozajka...NA193 ‘...’*

**4.3.3. Bulgarian UMs as autonomous NPs** - In all the examples the compound pronominal sequences *sam(ijat) sebe si; ot/na... samo(to) sebe si* appear: *...izbavlenieto šče dojde ot samo sebe si...NA36 ‘...’; ...rezultatite se raždaha ot samo sebe si. NA116 ‘...’; i sami s̄as sebe si se nadprepuskat. ‘...’; ...ednovremenno i ranen, i sanitar na samijat sebe si. NA166 ‘...’; Planāt za dejstvje trjabaše da dojde ot samo sebe si... NA299 ‘...’; ...i smrtta se objasnjavaše ot samo sebe si. GI21 ‘...’; Goljamoto b̄lgarsko uho. Prez 1989-a ne moža da povjarva na samoto sebe si...GI83 ‘...’* The *sam sebe si* construction functions as means for expressive strengthening of the basic meaning of the *sam*-forms, and can be paraphrased as: ‘on the basis of his/her/their own decision’, ‘without outside intervention’, etc. It reminds me of parallel Polish constructions like *sam z siebie, sam przez się*, etc., and have no Macedonian parallel.

I have not found Bulgarian constructions equivalent to the Macedonian constructions presented in 4.1.3.

All this leads to the conclusion that neither Macedonian nor Bulgarian \**sam*-derivatives are qualified to appear as genuine autonomous NPs.



**4.3.4. Bulgarian UMs as modifiers in the nuclear nominal string** - As in the case of Macedonian UMs only articulated forms appear in that function : *Nejnoto njakogašno uvlečenje i se stori kato njakakva nespravedlivost, a samijat Kuntrov posredstven i nedostoen za neja čovek...NA21 ‘...’; Ženata na Goce Geraskov zabravi praneto si (...) Samijat Goca Geraskov (...) gledaše žena si kak sǎbira...NA67 ‘...’; Kupihme ja v samoto načalo...NA78 ‘...’; Kato če s neja samata staja se promenjaše...NA78 ‘...’; ...trista pǎti sǎm čuval kak pee samijat gluhar... NA91 ‘...’; .vǎzduhopodavaneto i samijat šlem bjaha snabdeni s dopǎlnitelni sekretni zakopčalki...NA104 ‘...’; To e na vidno mjasto, v samija kraj na trotoara. NA187 ‘...’; Lisicite se vǎrtjaha do samoto šose...NA211 ‘...’; ...koto ulavja zvuka v momenta na samoto mu raždane...GI9 ‘...’; ...bojna grupa (...) pod komanduvaneto na samija Feliks Edmundovič zaela pozicii...GI86 ‘...’ ... - the very number of examples testifies that this is the basic function of the articulated *sam*-forms.*

There are also some examples with the adverbial *dosami*: *...minavam dosami pohittelja...NA113 ‘...’; ...tartarǎt (...) se namiraše sǎvsem nablizo, v dvora, dosami kǎščata.GI21 ‘...’; Az leža (...) v mrǎsnija snjag, dosami kočinata...GI58 ‘...’ ; Kǎščata mu beše sǎvsem v kraj, dosami grobiščata... GI77 ‘...’*

**4.3.5. Bulgarian UMs in ‘zero’-postion in the nuclear nominal string** - Articled forms only: *...mu se stori (...) če samijat toj prodǎlžava da živee...NA118 ‘...’; ...linii, koito me otveždaha ot samija men. NA141 ‘...’; Samijat toj stoeše pod lampata...NA146 ‘...’; ...samijat toj e psihjatar. NA162 ‘...’; No ne e li unizitelno da postǎpvam taka, vmesto da se razsmeja samijat az... NA191 ‘...’; ...njamaše nikakvo otnošenje kǎm samija nego...NA292 ‘...’; Njakoi tvǎrdjaha, če (...) sa čuvali samijat toj da kazva...GI12 ‘...’; Pǎrvoto mi izrečenie iznenadi i samija men.GI27 ‘...’; ...kakto tvǎrdeše samijat toj. GI30 ‘...’*

**4.3.6.** Our Bulgarian material confirms the conclusion formulated above with respect to the Macedonian examples: the meaning, as well as the syntax of the pronominal \**sam*-derivatives, differ radically depending on the presence of the article.

#### 4.4. Bulgarian IMs

Bulgarian IMs have different etymology from their Macedonian equivalents. They are derived from the verbal stem \*s-qt-j-, as in the old *participium praesentis activi*, cf. present-day forms *sășč*, *sășčija*. The semantics and the syntax are identical to the case Macedonian *ist*, *istiot*, which means that we are faced with the same overlapping of referential (denotative) and qualificative (connotative) identity.

**4.4.1. Bulgarian IMs as appositions** - All my examples are articulated forms: *Deset minuti pokásno kám neja se približi sășčijat ... NA152 '...'*; *Otvsjedáde zaiživira mágla, sășčata kato v denja na pogrebanieto mu. NA233 '...'*; *...da se uveri, že svetát si e vse sășčijat...NA286.*

**4.4.2. Bulgarian IMs as parts of compound predicative expressions** - My only example runs: *Samo denjat e sășčijat . NA324 '...'*

**4.4.3. Bulgarian IMs as autonomous NPs** – All the registered examples are articulated forms: *V ženskoto ošče ot dete ženata si ja ima (...) dokato s mážete ne e sășčoto...NA47 '...'*; *Vápreki že v párvija mig pomislih sășčoto...NA97 '...'*; *Kato že li ne možeše da napravi sășčoto i s mnogo pogoljam uspeh tuk...NA105 '...'*; *Opita vtori páť. Sășčoto.NA212 '...'*; *...posle napravi sășčoto s sobstvenija si časovnik. NA301 '...'*; *Ponjakoga si mislja sășčoto za sebe si i za Ani...NA336 '...'*; *...pišeh (...) pismo na Djado Mraz da mi donese fotoaparát. (...) Mnogo iskah sășčija.GI52 '...'*; *...sășčija, deto go iskah navremeto. GI52 '...'*; *Može bi sășčoto, koeto (...) v ada se slučuva vărhu tjah. GI60 '...'* As it can be seen, neuter articulated forms functioning as prosentential anaphorics, dominate.

**4.4.4. Bulgarian IMs as modifiers in the nuclear nominal string** - articleless: *Osem miliona duši s edno i sășčo lice, s edni i sășči misli, s edni i sășči čuvstva (...), s edni i sășči usmivki...NA77 '...'*; *...vse edni i sășči mašini i trábi. NA102 '...'*; *Lovecát često se drazni i razveseljava ot edno i sășčo neščo. NA212 '...'*; *Glavnoto beše váv vseki*

*mig da pokazvat edno i sáščo vreme. NA301 ‘...’.....spred mnogoto prirodi edno i sáščo neščo moželo da pridobiva mnogo imena. GI13 ‘...’; ...nikoj ne može da izvadi dve ribi ot edna i sášča reka. GI14 ‘...’; Živeli sme tolkova vreme v eden i sášč grad. GI70 ‘...’; ...sášči potočeta (...) bjaha se rastvorili kato reki...NA223 ‘...’ ... In nearly all examples the determiner takes the form: *edin i sášč*.*

articled forms: *...vidja sáščata reklama za galoši... NA16 ‘...’; ...minavaše kraj sášči tozi magazin, vdišaše sáščata mirizma i viždaše sáščija Djado Mraz...NA16 ‘...’; ...da im sáždava prijatno nastroenie i v sáščoto vreme da gi prispiva. NA59 ‘...’; Nikakäv spektakl po sáščija povod (...) njamaše da pomogne. NA106 ‘...’; ...se vrašča (...) estestveno v sáščire drehi...NA110 ‘...’; Priblizitelno po sáščoto vreme idvaha i polivačite. NA133 ‘...’; ...viždam, če e skrivalo svjat säs sáščoto ošertanie...NA189 ‘...’; V sáščija moment zabeležvam, če listoto kráži nad glavata mi. NA191 ‘...’; ...mi se zakani säs sáščija prást, s kojšto be posočil orážjeto...NA215 ‘...’; Siguren sám, če (...) stoi v sáščoto položenie...GI36 ‘...’...*

#### **4.4.5. Bulgarian IMs in ‘zero’-position in the nuclear nominal string -**

*...minavaše kraj sáščija tozi magazin, vdišaše sáščata mirizma i viždaše sáščija Djado Mraz...NA16 ‘...’; Tja si vǎobrazi, če e sáščata onaja gospožica Elena, kojato ...NA20 ‘...’; V sášči tozi mig mu se stori (...), če samijat toj prodǎlžava da živee...NA118 ‘...’; ...a sáščijat tozi čovek stǎrčeše pred vhoda... NA199 ‘...’; Zemjata proviraše prez snega (...) Sáščata taja zemja, kojato be kilnala kǎm nas...NA211 ‘...’; ...zategna sáščite tezi koleleta s vrǎv... NA240 ‘...’; ...v sáščata tazi milionna čast ot sekundata toj razbra, če znael... NA291 ‘...’; ...säs sáščija tozi Rajner Gros se bjahme napili v Berlin...NA308 ‘...’; ...no sáščijat tozi Kratil ne znael, če... GI13 ‘...’; I sega sjakaš sáščijat onzi vlak otpredi 38 godini se vrášč...GI35 ‘...’; No po sáščoto onova vreme (...) popadnah na drugo magičesko ime...GI42 ‘...’; ...podoziraše žena si v sáščite tezi grehove. GI79 ‘...’*

## **5. Conclusions**

To my knowledge mine is the first attempt to analyse the syntax and the semantics of the markers for extension of NPs (MEs) understood as a specific closed lexical class, the first attempt at least insofar as the Balkan Slavic situation is concerned. My decision

to carry this analysis was triggered by the fact that the Balkan Slavic (Macedonian and Bulgarian) MEs form a close syntactic class of modifiers able to appear in the 'zero'-position in the basic nominal string, i.e. preceding the exponents of the category of definiteness such as demonstratives, personal pronouns, or proper names.

My analysis is founded on a relatively limited corpus of examples and as such it answers only some questions pertinent to the status of the MEs and opens numerous other questions which require more extensive corpus and more extensive analysis, including confrontation with other Slavic, Balkan and also non-Slavic and non-Balkan languages.

My conclusions concern two levels of facts: a) the status and the internal organization of the lexical class of MEs as such, and b) differences in the inventory and the behaviour of MEs in standard Macedonian and in standard Bulgarian texts, respectively.

The MEs are a class of pronouns functioning as expressive predicates emphasizing the completeness of the set of referents of the corresponding NP or the uniqueness/the identity of its referent(s). The holistic MEs (HMEs) can also refer to the completeness of the volume of some substance, metaphorically also of some living organism.

There exists extensive literature discussing the HMEs as exponents of the so-called universal quantifier understood as in terms of the notional network of formal logic. However, here as in many other segments of linguistic structure, natural language reveals itself as "illogical" in the sense: not interpretable or not completely interpretable in logical terms. That is why a purely "linguistic" analysis is needed.

Interesting are the differences in meaning and syntactic behaviour of the articulated and articleless forms of the MEs. These differences are greater in the markers of uniqueness (UMs) or identity (IMs), than in the holistic markers (HMEs). In this respect, further semantic analyses are needed in order to define the subtle distinction between denotative coreference and connotative identity.

All the MEs most often realize their semantic function as appositions, hence they must be analyzed at the sentential level, and not on the level of the NP alone.

The linear ordering of the noun phrase both in Macedonian and in Bulgarian is defined by the same universal pragmatic and semantic rules. Nevertheless, there are some

points of the linear axis where you expect idiosyncratic solutions. One of such points is the 'zero'-position which can be filled up with the elements of the small set of MEs only. As in other position, we expect here differences in the lexical inventory and in the morphological structure of particular members of the set. Their limited number allows a detailed analysis, as shown in our review of examples.

The differences in the lexical inventory imply the different syntactic distribution of that inventory. We find differences of that type between Macedonian and Bulgarian HMEs and IMs, while UMs show no such differences.

Of special interest is the Macedonian *siot*-series with the article built into the morphological structure of the pronoun and as such functionally neutralized. In consequence only *sè* and *seto toa* appear as autonomous NPs in Macedonian text, while *seto* is not acceptable in this function.

Generally speaking, there are more differences in the behaviour of Macedonian and Bulgarian HMEs, than in the behaviour of UMs and IMs. I pointed out some marginal syntactic and semantic specificities of the type of the Macedonian *istiot toj* as opposed to *ist takov*, as the sequences Mk. *eden ist*, or Bg. *edin (i) šašč*, as the Bg. lexicalized expressions *sam(ija) sebe si* or *dosamoti*, when presenting corresponding examples in the text above.

SYMBOLS OF THE GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES: HMEs = holistic markers of the NP extension; IMs = markers of referential identity; MDs = markers for definiteness; MEs = markers of the NP extension; NNS = nuclear nominal string; NP = noun phrase; UMs = markers of uniqueness.

Bulgarian excerpts taken from:

GI – Gospodinov, *I drugi istorii*, Plovdiv: Žanet-45.2001

NA – *Nepobedimata armada*, Antologija na šavremennija balgarski razkaz, Sofija: Aleksandăr Panov.1993

Macedonian excerpts taken from:

DN – Daverov Vlado, *Nebesni angeli* (translated from Bulgarian by Trajče Krsteski), Prilep: Arlekin GF – Skopje: Makavej.2001

KL – Koneski Blaže, *Likovi i temi*, Skopje: Makedonska kniga. 1987