

# Clitic Doubling in the Balkan Languages

*Edited by*  
Dalina Kallulli  
Liliane Tasmowski

John Benjamins Publishing Company

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### **Volume 130**

Clitic Doubling in the Balkan Languages  
Edited by Dalina Kallulli and Liliane Tasmowski

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# Table of contents

<b>List of contributors</b>	<b>VII</b>
<b>Preface</b>	<b>IX</b>
<b>Introduction: Clitic doubling, core syntax and the interfaces</b> <i>Dalina Kallulli and Liliane Tasmowski</i>	<b>1</b>
<b>PART I. Clitic doubling within the Balkan continuum:</b>	
<b>Rise and spread</b>	
1. Balkan object reduplication in areal and dialectological perspective <i>Victor A. Friedman</i>	35
2. Towards grammaticalization of clitic doubling: Clitic doubling in Macedonian and neighbouring languages <i>Olga Mišeska Tomić</i>	65
3. The genesis of clitic doubling from Ancient to Medieval Greek <i>Gunnar de Boel</i>	89
4. Clitic doubling and Old Bulgarian <i>Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Valentin Vulchanov</i>	105
<b>PART II. Discourse functional properties of clitic doubling</b>	
5. Romanian Clitic Doubling: A view from pragmatics-semantics and diachrony <i>Virginia Hill and Liliane Tasmowski</i>	135
6. Clitic doubling from Ancient to Asia Minor Greek <i>Mark Janse</i>	165
7. Object clitic doubling constructions and topicality in Bulgarian <i>Zlatka Guentchéva</i>	203

**PART III. Morpho-syntactic properties and modelling of clitic doubling**

8. Clitic doubling, agreement and information structure:  
     The case of Albanian 227  
     *Dalina Kallulli*
9. Clitic reduplication constructions in Bulgarian 257  
     *Iliyana Krapova and Guglielmo Cinque*
10. Clitic doubling, complex heads and interarboreal operations 289  
     *Alexandra Cornilescu and Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin*
11. Rethinking the Clitic Doubling parameter: The inverse  
     correlation between clitic doubling and participle agreement 321  
     *Vina Tsakali and Elena Anagnostopoulou*

**PART IV. Clitic doubling within the DP**

12. Romanian possessive clitics revisited 361  
     *Larisa Avram and Martine Coene*
13. Possessive clitics in the DP: Doubling or dislocation? 389  
     *Giuliana Giusti and Melita Stavrou*

**Name index** 435

**Language index** 437

**Subject index** 439

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## Preface

The present volume has its origin in a workshop organized by the Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium for Sciences and Arts (KVAB) in Brussels in December 2004. However, the volume is independently structured and includes papers that were not presented at that event, such as those by Avram and Coene, Krapova and Cinque, and Tsakali and Anagnostopoulou.

The phenomenon of clitic doubling – the subject matter of this volume – is known to be especially prevalent in the Balkan Sprachbund. The various chapters of the volume deal with different aspects of this phenomenon, such as its morpho-syntactic, semantic, prosodic and pragmatic properties as attested not only synchronically but also from the perspective of their historical development both across the Balkan continuum and beyond, thus contributing to the understanding of the nature of the cross-linguistic variation, as well as the micro-variation observed with respect to clitic doubling.

The editors would like to thank the contributors for their co-operation, the external reviewers for their dedicated work, the series editors and Kees Vaes for their feedback and practical help, as well as the Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium for Sciences and Arts (KVAB) and the Flemish Foundation for Scientific Research (FWO) for financial support.

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## INTRODUCTION

# Clitic doubling, core syntax and the interfaces\*

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### 1. Clitic doubling and its theoretical significance

#### 1.1 Basic facts

Despite the controversies surrounding the proper constitution, genesis and development of the so-called “Balkan Sprachbund”, virtually all studies dealing with its core properties (see e.g., Tomić 2004; Tomić 2006 and references therein) list as a crucial characteristic of this group of languages what in the generative paradigm has since Jaeggli (1982) come to be known as the phenomenon of clitic doubling. That is, clitic doubling is a pervasive phenomenon in the languages of the Balkans, as already recognized in Miklosich (1862: 7–8); see Friedman (this volume).

As its name suggests, clitic doubling involves the doubling (or “reduplication”) by a clitic pronoun of a verbal argument (henceforth: the associate) inside the same propositional structure (that is, inside the same CP; see Adger 2003).<sup>1</sup> The associate is instantiated either by a full pronoun, a non-pronominal referring expression or, we will add, a CP.<sup>2</sup> When the associate is a pronoun or a DP,<sup>3</sup> the clitic bears the same

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1. Though languages in which the subject is doubled by pronominal clitics exist (e.g., varieties of French, Italian, or Dutch), Balkan languages as a rule only exhibit object clitic doubling. Therefore, throughout this article clitic doubling is used with reference to internal (i.e., object as opposed to subject) verbal arguments.

2. The vast majority of generative studies on clitic doubling have focused on doubling of full pronouns and other DPs but not of CPs (but see Kallulli 2006, this volume).

3. Following Kallulli (2000), we take clitic doubled non-pronominal referring expressions to be DPs and not NPs.

phi-features and case as the pronoun or the DP, when the associate is a CP, the clitic is a singular (neuter) accusative. These patterns are illustrated through the Albanian examples in (1a), (1b) and (1c), respectively.<sup>4</sup>

- (1) a. *Ana më<sub>i</sub> pa mua<sub>i</sub> në rrugë.* (Albanian)  
 Ana.the<sub>NOM</sub> me<sub>CL</sub> saw me<sub>FP</sub> in road  
 'Ana saw me on the road.'
- b. *Ana e<sub>i</sub> lexoi letrën<sub>i</sub> deri në fund.*  
 Ana.the<sub>NOM</sub> 3S,CL,ACC read letter.the<sub>ACC</sub> until in end  
 'Ana read the letter until the end.'
- c. *Ana e<sub>i</sub> dinte [CP që Eva kishte shkuar]<sub>i</sub>.*  
 Ana.the<sub>NOM</sub> 3S,CL,ACC knew that Eva had left  
 'Ana knew (it) that Eva had left.'

Clitic doubling was recognized as a Balkan phenomenon and was first studied as such in a thorough comparative perspective by Lopašov (1978). Generative studies on the other hand initially focused on its properties as exhibited in those Romance languages where it is attested. Thus, Jaeggli (1982), who first noticed the theoretical importance of clitic doubling, describes it for River Plate Spanish (spoken in Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay), which exhibits patterns like those in (2a). Almost at the same time, similar patterns had been discussed for Romanian by Farkas (1978) and Steriade (1980); see (2b).<sup>5</sup>

- (2) a. *Lo<sub>i</sub> veo a Juan<sub>i</sub>.* (Spanish)  
 b. *Il<sub>i</sub> vād pe Ion<sub>i</sub>.* (Romanian)  
 him<sub>CL</sub> see-I on John  
 'I saw John.'

Clitic doubling in the examples in (2) might appear as an optional phenomenon since these sentences are also grammatical in the absence of the clitic. In other cases however, as in (3a) for River Plate Spanish and (3b) for Romanian, the clitic is not only possible but indeed obligatory.

4. As is obvious from the example in (1a), the distribution of clitic and full pronouns is different. In fact, their different distribution from full pronouns is perhaps the most striking property of what Zwicky (1977) refers to as 'special' clitics (i.e., word-like elements showing unique syntactic properties – pronominal clitics being one prototype) and indeed what fuelled the interest in them in generative grammar (Kayne 1975).

5. Jaeggli's (1982) clitic doubling data drew immediate attention as they constituted a major challenge to Kayne's (1975) analysis of French clitics, since in (standard varieties of) French clitic doubling is not possible.

- (3) a. *\*(Le) duele la cabeza a Mafalda.* (from Jaeggli 1982)  
           her<sub>CL</sub> hurts the head to Mafalda  
           ‘Mafalda has a headache.’
- b. *\*(Îi) îngheață lui Ion picioarele.* (from Reinheimer & Tasmowski 2005)  
           him<sub>CL</sub> freeze to J. feet-the  
           ‘John’s feet are freezing.’

A comprehensive study of clitic doubling must then naturally address not only the question why this phenomenon appears at all (since it is missing in many languages), but also account for its (non-)obligatoriness, that is the question of what exactly triggers, forces or disallows clitic doubling. Grossly stated, traditional grammar has been mainly concerned with the latter aspect, while generative studies have focused on the former (see van Riemsdijk 1999 for an overview). However, in spite of the substantial body of literature on pronominal clitics, to date there is no consensus on either of these two fundamental issues.

The examination of the clitic doubling phenomenon breaks down into several topics for scrutiny, such as: its extension within and outside the Balkan Sprachbund and the observed variation; its realizational possibilities and the constraints on the argumental status of the associate DP (direct or indirect object), its categorial nature (pronominal or lexical), its semantics (definite, specific, presupposed, or neither) and pragmatics (topic or not, D-linked or not); its temporal and locational genesis, and whether or not influence under language contact can be detected; the relationship between the clitic and its associate, their respective positioning in relation to the governing verb, and the status of the doubled constituent when the latter is not in its canonical position.

In the rest of this section, we will dwell on past formal accounts of clitic doubling and the challenges that they have been confronted with.

## 1.2 Early formal accounts based on Romance

In the context of generative grammar, a central issue on the syntactic modelling of clitic pronouns has been whether or not their surface position, which in Romance and several Balkan languages is typically preverbal in simple declarative clauses, is a result of movement operations. Thus, according to Kayne (1975), clitics move to their (preverbal) surface position from the post-verbal argument position. In contrast, Strozer (1976), Rivas (1977), Jaeggli (1982) and Borer (1981) have argued that clitics are base-generated in their surface position.

Kayne’s influential movement analysis of clitics was based on several observations, one of which was the complementarity between clitics and DPs instantiating the same internal argument (i.e., lack of clitic doubling) in standard French (and Italian), as illustrated for French in (4c) versus (4a) and (4b). Thus, given the paradigm in (4),

base-generating the clitic in the post-verbal canonical position of the DP ensured that the DP and a corresponding (i.e., doubling) clitic would not co-occur.<sup>6</sup>

- (4) a. *Je vois Jean.* (French)  
       I see John
- b. *Je le vois.*  
       I him<sub>CL</sub> see
- c. \**Je le vois Jean*  
       I him<sub>CL</sub> see John

Kayne's analysis is also motivated by the locality conditions (reminiscent of A-movement) holding between the clitic and its purported movement base.

The proponents of the base-generation analysis, on the other hand, showed that one core empirical argument for the movement analysis, namely the complementarity between an argument DP and a corresponding clitic (i.e., the lack of clitic doubling), was not universal, as witnessed by the examples in (1) through (3) above.

Kayne's solution for this disturbing lack of complementarity between a DP and a doubling clitic, epitomized as *Kayne's Generalization* in Jaeggli (1982), was that a DP may in fact be doubled by a clitic, but only if this DP is endowed with an explicit (here: prepositional) case assigner. Simplifying somewhat, the idea was that the doubling clitic absorbs Case, so unless a preposition (or some other case-assigning device) could be inserted, the DP-argument would remain caseless and the Case Filter (Chomsky 1981) would cause the derivation to crash. As can be seen in (2) and (3), the Romance languages exhibiting clitic doubling (such as River Plate Spanish and Standard Romanian) seem to fit well into this picture, since they need a particular preposition-like element preceding the direct object in the presence of a doubling clitic. This element arguably acts as a case assigner (but see Tsakali & Anagnostopoulou, this volume, for a detailed overview of the problems arising from this solution).

However, as pointed out by Suñer (1988: 399–400), the examples in (5) from Porteño Spanish speak against the view that the prepositional element *a* in Spanish (a language where Kayne's Generalization was claimed to be operative, Jaeggli 1982) is a case assigning device.

6. Note however that Kayne's (1975) idea that clitics move from the post-verbal argument position principally allows for the possibility that the doubling clitic and its associate originate in the same position. In fact, this is the gist of the so-called "big DP" analysis of clitic doubling constructions (Uriagereka 1995; Torrego 1995, 1998; Cecchetto 2000, among others). That is, according to the big-DP analysis, the verb selects a complex DP with a clitic head taking a DP/PP complement.

- (5) a. *Yo lo voy a comprar el diario justo antes de subir.* (Porteño Spanish)  
 'I am going to buy it-the newspaper just before coming up.'
- b. *Yo la tenía prevista esta muerte.*  
 'I had foreseen it-this death'
- c. *Ahora tiene que seguir usándolo el apellido.*  
 'Now she has to go on using it-the surname.'

Suñer (1988) argues instead that *a* is an animacy marker, which is why it is missing in the examples in (5) even though the direct object DPs here are clitic doubled. Her argument is strengthened by the fact that the South-Danubian Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian dialects double the direct object in the same contexts as in (5) while lacking a preposition-like element even before animates (see the contributions by Friedman and Tomić, this volume, and references therein):

- (6) a. *nu-l<sup>u</sup> ávdu fičórlu* (Aromanian; Caragiu-Marioțeanu 1975: 237)  
 not-him<sub>CL</sub> hear boy-the  
 'I don't hear the boy'
- b. *jeł nu lă vreà țela fițśór*  
 he not him<sub>CL</sub> wanted that child  
 'He did not like that child' (Megleno-Romanian; Caragiu-Marioțeanu *ib.*: 277)

Another objection to Kayne's Generalization brought forth in Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), namely that indirect object clitic doubling in (Standard) Daco-Romanian involves no such prepositional element either, presented a further challenge, since Kayne's Generalization does not obviously hold in these cases. Dobrovie-Sorin solved this problem by appealing to the fact that in Standard Romanian indirect objects bear morphological dative case, which in pre-minimalist Case theory was considered to be inherent, or lexical, and as such, different from structural case that had to be assigned by a governing category. Further research soon revealed that this phenomenon is quite extent in the Balkan languages: Albanian and Modern Greek (henceforth: MG) exhibit clitic doubling not only of inherently case marked indirect objects, but also of structurally governed direct objects bearing morphological accusative case but that nonetheless do not co-occur with a prepositional element (see the Albanian examples in (1), and Anagnostopoulou (1994) and references therein for MG).<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Macedonian, Bulgarian, (and among the Romance languages) Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian can double a purely structurally governed direct object that bears no morphological case, as in (6) above.

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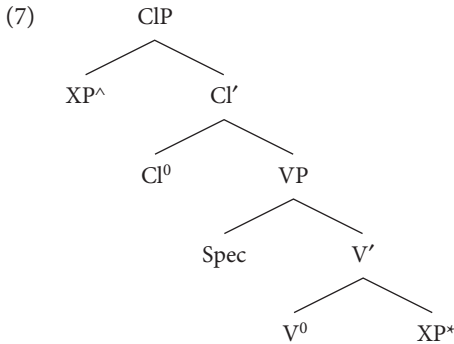
7. In fact, PPs cannot be doubled in these languages (see Kallulli 1995 for Albanian and Anagnostopoulou 1994 for MG).



### 1.3 Combining base-generation and movement analyses: Sportiche (1996)<sup>8</sup>

Starting from the basic idea that both base-generation and movement analyses to clitic constructions must be correct, as indicated by strong arguments (mentioned in section 1.2) in favour of either view, Sportiche (1996) provides a structural analysis that manages to combine both approaches.<sup>9</sup>

Specifically, Sportiche claims that all clitics are always base-generated in pre-existing slots, namely as  $X^0$ -elements heading their own projections in whose specifier position they license a particular property/feature  $F$  (the nature of which is discussed below). For the derivation to converge, this feature has to be saturated or checked off (Chomsky 1995). Since features may only be checked off in Spec-Head configurations, the (doubled argument)  $XP^*$  in (7) must by LF move to the  $XP^\wedge$  position for the (licensing) Spec-Head configuration to obtain.<sup>10</sup>



In Sportiche's terms, movement of  $XP^*$  to the  $XP^\wedge$  position is motivated by the Clitic Criterion given in (8). This is an analogue of Rizzi's (1991) Wh-Criterion, and yet another instantiation of the so-called Generalized Licensing Criterion in (9), according to which feature-licensing may only obtain in Spec-Head configurations.

8. Sportiche's influential paper was circulated widely as a manuscript since 1992.

9. Sportiche's structural analysis is also discussed in detail in Tsakali & Anagnostopoulou's contribution in this volume. However, given the importance of this approach for the subject matter of this volume, we present the main points of this analysis also here, with a view to highlighting its elegance, as well as the questions that it leaves open and those that it gives rise to.

10. Sportiche labels the clitic projections "Voice Phrases", which in view of other connotations (concerning the structure of verbal projections – cf. Kratzer 1996) having nothing to do with the issues at hand, we have taken the liberty to replace with ClP (for Clitic Phrase) throughout.

(8) *Clitic Criterion*

At LF,

- a. A clitic must be in a spec-head relationship with a [+F] XP.
- b. A [+F] XP must be in a spec-head relationship with a clitic.

(9) *Generalized Licensing Criterion*

At LF,

- a. A [+F] head must be in a spec-head relationship with a [+F] XP.
- b. A [+F] XP must be in a spec-head relationship with a [+F] head.

Further, Sportiche sets the following clitic parameters:

(10) *Clitic Parameters*

- a. Movement of XP\* to XP<sup>^</sup> occurs overtly or covertly.
- b. Head (Cl) is overt or covert.
- c. XP\* is overt or covert.

The combination of these independent parameters captures the different construction types in (11):

- (11) a. Undoubled clitic constructions (as in French or Italian) arise when a covert XP\* moves overtly or covertly to XP<sup>^</sup> with Cl overt.
- b. Clitic doubling constructions (as in the Balkan languages and Spanish) arise when an overt XP\* moves covertly with an overt Cl.
- c. Scrambling in Dutch/German arises when an overt XP\* moves overtly with a covert Cl.
- d. Clitic left dislocation (as in Italian etc., see Cinque 1977, 1983, 1990) arises when an overt XP\* moves overtly with an overt Cl to Spec of ClP and then beyond.

Turning to the content of the (F) feature that the clitic head licenses in the specifier of the phrase it heads, which in turn bears directly on the issue of the function of clitics, Sportiche claims that while direct object clitics license *specificity* in the specifier position of the phrase they head, indirect object doubling clitics function as pure (object) agreement markers.

In spite of its obvious appeal, Sportiche's influential analysis of clitic constructions raises two major issues. First, while the literature on clitic doubling in various languages converges on the view that direct object clitic doubling is much more restricted than indirect object clitic doubling (Suñer 1988; Sportiche 1996 for Spanish; Kallulli 1998, 2000 for Albanian; Anagnostopoulou 2003 for MG; Farkas 1978; Dobrovie-Sorin 1994 for Romanian), also under Sportiche's structurally uniform account, direct and indirect object clitic doubling remain essentially distinct phenomena triggered by distinct grammatical factors. Even abstracting away from the fact that concerning direct object clitic doubling other semantic properties in addition to (or instead of) specificity (e.g., *prominence*, *referential stability*, *presuppositionality*,

*familiarity, definiteness, topichood/givenness*) have been highlighted by different researchers as relevant across various languages (as we discuss in section 2.2), a fundamental question remains open: if the nature of agreement and specificity markers is indeed substantially different, why are clitics employed as means for fulfilling such different functions?

Secondly, if as Sportiche argues, clitic doubling of direct objects licenses specificity, then it should always be possible to clitic double direct objects instantiated by definite DPs under the standard assumption that definite DPs are presuppositional and therefore specific (Enç 1991; Diesing 1992).<sup>11</sup> That is, even if direct object clitic doubling is viewed as a sufficient but not necessary means of licensing specificity, Sportiche predicts that we should not be able to find cases in which clitic doubling of definite direct object DPs is barred. However, as shown in Kallulli (2000) for Albanian and Greek (but the pattern is more general, including Bulgarian and Romanian, as highlighted in the contributions in this volume), this prediction is not borne out (see also the discussion in section 2.2.3).<sup>12</sup>

Note also that, while many researchers have adopted Sportiche's analysis of clitic constructions, some of these very same researchers have argued for a right-dislocation analysis of what appears to be a clitic doubled DP in other contexts. For instance, while Anagnostopoulou (1994) and Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2000) argue that clitic doubled definite DPs in MG constitute instances of genuine clitic doubling, in the same works they claim that indefinite DPs resumed by clitics are right-dislocated constituents.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, in addition to the facts that Romance and Balkan languages have at least partially in common, there also exists a variety of core data on clitic doubling that is only attested in Balkan languages, such as: asymmetries of the distribution of doubling clitics in restrictive relative clauses (Stavrou 1984, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2000 for MG; Dobrovie-Sorin 1990 for Romanian; Kallulli 2001, this volume for Albanian; Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov, this volume, for Bulgarian); clitic doubling as a trigger of factivity in Albanian and MG (Kallulli 2006, this volume); putative clitic doubling within the DP (specifically, the co-occurrence of a possessive DP and a possessive clitic inside a nominal expression, cf. Avram & Coene and Giusti & Stavrou,

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11. Note, however, that Enç (1991) acknowledges the existence of non-specific definites as in the example in (i) (attributed to D. Pesetsky):

(i) There is the following counterexample to Streck's theory.

12. Note also that the idea that clitic doubling induces specificity on its associate DP has been rejected in more recent work on this phenomenon in Spanish too (see e.g., Gutiérrez-Rexach 2000, 2001, 2002).

13. This claim has in turn been refuted in Kallulli (2000).

this volume), all of which cannot be readily accounted for under existing analyses, including Sportiche's.

## 2. The Balkan patterns and their theoretical significance

### 2.1 Genesis and the geographical distribution of clitic doubling patterns

In principle, clitic doubling in the Balkan languages is an innovative phenomenon that has arisen within the Balkan languages themselves, since nowhere is it to be found in their historically attested ancestors, at least not in its current shape. Even if the first manifestations of clitic doubling in the Balkan languages can be considered to stem from Vulgar Latin, and even if its (rare) appearance in New Testament Greek is due to previous contact of Greek with Vulgar Latin (Ilievski 1988 [1973] cited by Friedman, this volume), neither Vulgar Latin nor Ancient Greek disposed of a double series of third person pronouns (i.e., strong versus phonetically reduced clitic ones), with clitics similar in nature to the ones found in the daughter languages (see Salvi 2004, 182 ff. for a characterization of the Latin/Romance clitics). Clear-cut cases of (modern-type) clitic doubling are not attested in Old Church Slavonic either (but see Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov, this volume), nor does clitic doubling occur in any of the non-Balkan Slavic languages. Since the development of clitic doubling in the Balkan languages is thus not genetically determined by an established historical source in any obvious way, it has in all likelihood spread from a well-defined center of innovation inside the region. Be that as it may, as recognized by Lopašov (1978), the resulting situation is far from homogeneous: clitic doubling seems subject to strict grammatical constraints in the West and the South of its expansion area, but gets increasingly conditioned by discourse-pragmatic factors towards the North and the East. This situation is represented through (12), with grammatically constrained clitic doubling on the left handside becoming freer and pragmatically significant as one proceeds to the right:

(12) Macedonian > Albanian > Romanian > Greek > Bulgarian

The representation in (12) conforms with the environments traditionally recognized to trigger clitic doubling in the specific languages, namely:

- for Macedonian, all definite direct objects and all indirect objects;
- for Albanian, all IOs, DOs instantiated by first and second person pronouns, and all non-focal/non-rhematic DO DPs;
- for Romanian, all full personal and definite pronouns, preverbal indirect objects and not [–specific] DPs, postverbal direct object DPs that are not [–specific] and are introduced by *pe*, and postverbal indirect object DPs which are not [–specific] and/or [–human] Goal;

- for Greek, no obligatory context, except with *olos* ‘all’;
- for Bulgarian, all objects that are interpreted as Experiencers and objects of *ima*, *njama* ‘there is (not)’.<sup>14</sup>

Lopašov (1978) considered the preverbal position of the object to be a trigger of clitic doubling, a situation that in current syntactic theory largely falls under the phenomenon of clitic left dislocation (see section 1.3). Secondly, Lopašov relates clitic doubling to the definiteness of the associate, acknowledging however that clitic doubling of a strong pronoun is more widespread than that of a non-pronominal DP. Finally, he particularly emphasizes the impossibility of doubling focalized objects (i.e., objects bearing logical accent in his terminology).

The contributions in this volume convey more detailed information with regard to the general picture in (12) and the language-specific peculiarities of clitic doubling across the languages under investigation, broadening the empirical domain by including varieties of Albanian, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, Asia Minor Greek, Macedonian, Macedo-Romanian, Megleno-Romanian and Romani dialects. The vastly enlarged set of data presented and discussed in this volume confirms the view that the genesis of clitic doubling is to be sought in the region uniting Central Ghëg Albanian, Western Macedonian and Northern Macedo-Romanian (see in particular the contributions by Friedman and Tomić).

## 2.2 Semantic effects

One of the most perplexing aspects of clitic doubling is the fact that across languages, doubling clitics affect interpretation in ways subject to various idiosyncratic constraints that make it very hard, if not altogether impossible, to define their function in a unitary manner. To illustrate, early generative (and non-generative) studies described clitic doubling as sensitive to the feature *humanness* in Rumanian and *animacy* in Spanish (Jaeggli 1986, Borer 1984, Dobrovie-Sorin 1990), a view that was already untenable for particular varieties of Romance in the presence of examples like those in (5) above, and also for the languages of the Balkan Sprachbund at large. With the latter coming into the focus of research on the topic, other semantic properties such as *prominence*, *specificity*, *presuppositionality*, *familiarity*, *definiteness* and *topicality* have increasingly been scrutinized as to their relevance for the phenomenon of clitic doubling.

### 2.2.1 Clitic doubling, definiteness and specificity

Among the factors characterizing clitic doubling across languages has been the ban on doubling indefinite and/or non-specific DPs. However, the generalization that clitic

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14. See the contributions by Guentchéva and Krapova & Cinque in this volume.

doubling is subject to the definiteness and/or specificity of the associate DP has proved to be in need of further qualification for various languages. For instance, as pointed out by Friedman (this volume, example (2) and (3)), ‘a sweater’ in a sentence such as ‘I am knitting you a sweater’ can be clitic doubled in Greek but not in Macedonian, where in general the definite (enclitic) article seems to be a precondition for direct object clitic doubling. However, as shown by Tomić (this volume), Macedonian appears to tolerate some exceptions to this generalization: the [-definite] direct object is not incompatible with clitic doubling provided that it refers to a specific member from a definite/given set (as in her (4) ‘she managed to her<sub>i</sub> marry one<sub>i</sub> of her daughters [e.g., Jana]’, or as in her (5a) ‘I saw him<sub>i</sub> a man<sub>i</sub> how he<sub>i</sub> removed the boulder’, where a [+human] DP complement of a perception verb combines with a CP). In addition, if an indefinite object DP occurring clause-initially is contrastive, and therefore D-linked, clitic doubling is obligatory (as in her (7c) ‘another village<sub>i</sub> they burnt it<sub>i</sub>’). Indirect objects on the other hand, whether or not accompanied by a definite article, are clitic doubled if they are specific. However, this does not entail that specific indirect objects must be doubled: clitic doubling can always fail, independently of topicalization, definiteness or specificity (see Tomić’s (18a), literally: ‘I am giving (them<sub>i</sub>) books to the children<sub>i</sub>’; (18b), literally: ‘TO THE CHILDREN<sub>i</sub> I am giving (them<sub>i</sub>) books’; and (18c), literally: ‘To the children<sub>i</sub> I am giving (them<sub>i</sub>) BOOKS’).

In sum, in Macedonian, definite and/or specific D-linked direct objects are clitic doubled, non-specific indirect objects are not clitic doubled, other situations tending to free variation.<sup>15</sup>

This state of affairs leads to the prediction that at least non-D-linked direct objects instantiated by bare indefinites must be incompatible with doubling clitics, a prediction that generally holds: *Riba ne jadam* (literally: Fish not I-eat, ‘I don’t eat fish’ – see note 4 in Tomić) is an example of a non-doubled bare (generic) topicalized direct object. This being the case, it is not obvious how to account for data where clitic doubling in similar contexts seems licit. Such are for instance Leafgren’s example from Bulgarian (cited under (16) in Friedman, this volume): *Banan<sub>i</sub> ne običam da go<sub>i</sub> jam* (literally: Banana not like-I to it eat, ‘I don’t like bananas’), and particularly the counterexample collected in a Macedonian dialect of Northern Greece by Topolinjska (note 9 in Tomić, this volume): *i ko si dojde vremeto, go<sub>i</sub> rodi dete<sub>i</sub>* (literally: and when to-REFL came time-the, him<sub>i</sub> bore-she child<sub>i</sub> ‘and when the time came, she gave birth to a child’).

These data challenge the view that the doubled indefinites here could count as specific and D-linked, if as is standardly assumed bare singulars are property-denoting

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15. The facts are even less clear than portrayed here, since even ‘Jana gave him<sub>i</sub> the letter to [a] child<sub>i</sub>’ is acceptable (see e.g., (13) in Tomić (this volume) and Tomić’s comment on that).

expressions (and therefore non-specific) and non-D-linked (and if, by hypothesis, D-linking only applies to specific DPs). How then can they ever behave as specific expressions?

Though the definition of specificity is notoriously unspecific, for the sake of exposition let us assume that while definiteness entails uniqueness within a given domain, specificity boils down to pinpointing a single specimen from among many of the same kind (Enç 1991). As observed by Farkas & von Stechow (2003), specificity as a semantic parameter playing a crucial role in clitic doubling is connected to the referential stability of the associate (which, in turn, brings specificity close to definiteness, even if the distinction specific/non-specific only applies to indefinites, as pointed out by Ioup (1977)): clitic doubling requires a sufficiently high degree of referential stability of its associate, and referential stability is distributed differently depending on the semantic type of the associate expression involved (see Hill & Tasmowski, this volume, for an application to Old and Modern Romanian). This kind of approach explains the preferential doubling of strong personal pronouns and of names of animate beings, and further, its contextual variability with respect to definite descriptions and its possibility with partitively interpreted indefinites.

A further way of guaranteeing 'sufficient' specificity consists in the use of (indefinite) expressions such as 'a certain' and its counterparts in other languages, which point to supposed means in the speaker's mind for distinguishing the associate from the other members of the set it belongs to, and possibly also to hints in the mind of the hearer, the two cognitive agents having distinct bases of knowledge and different states of knowledge concerning the intended referent (see Martin 2005 for elaboration along these lines).

But why should specificity as an epistemic notion be limited to ear-marked expressions at all? From a pragmatic point of view, specificity can be based on perception (as we conjecture is the case in Tomić's example (5a) given above),<sup>16</sup> or on private awareness or expectation (which is arguably the case with the Greek example 'I am knitting you a sweater' and the Macedonian 'she gave birth to a – i.e., 'the' or 'her' – child'), or implicit common ground (as in example (9) in Friedman, this volume: '... language is one of the chief elements that it<sub>i</sub> characterizes a community, an ethnic community'), with no other marking than the doubling clitic itself.

Analogous difficulties may be expected with a characterization in terms of D-linking once D-linking is construed to cover not only previous mention in the discourse but also a broader context, since in this latter case D-linking can be extended

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16. See also Guentchéva's (1994: 116) Bulgarian example *kučeto ja goni edna kotka* (literally: dog-the it<sub>i</sub> is chasing a cat, 'the dog is chasing a cat') [description of what is seen on a picture], where perception is still necessarily indicated explicitly by the use of *edna* (fem. *edna*) 'a'.

to immediate common background knowledge, or on the contrary be restricted to private knowledge.<sup>17</sup>

As witnessed by the contributions in this volume, languages differ in their admittance of what counts as (sufficiently) specific/specified/specifiable for clitic doubling, to a point where the semantic/pragmatic constraints become so allusive that free variation, alternatively null variation and complete grammaticalization, obtains. This seems actually to be the situation concerning clitic doubling of indirect objects, at least in the junction region of Ohrid Macedonian, Macedo-Romanian, Megleno-Romanian and Standard Albanian, where clitic doubling is always possible, or obligatory. This, in turn, substantiates the different behaviour of direct and indirect objects with respect to clitic doubling already signalled in section 1.2: At least in Macedonian and Albanian, clitic doubling of indirect objects can be equated with object agreement (see Franco 2000 and section 2.4).

### 2.2.2 *Clitic doubling and topicality*

An alternative view is that the opposition between the Macedonian and the Bulgarian examples *Riba ne jadam* and *Banan<sub>p</sub> ne običam da go<sub>i</sub> jam* mentioned above is tied to the notion of *topic* rather than to, or in addition to, that of *specificity*. However, in view of the massive varieties of opinions regarding what topics are, the notion of topic, just like the notion of specificity, does not prove very safe to use either.

The relation established for Modern Greek between the given/new information continuum and clitic doubling as “the device that removes the object from the comment (new part) of the sentence and renders it part of the background (known) information” (quoted from Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warbuton (1997) by Janse, this volume), boils down to a link between topicality and state of knowledge not alien to the discussion in section 2.2.1: various authors defend the view that a topic is always specific, as one cannot produce information about something that is entirely inaccessible (Cohen & Erteschik-Shir 2002; Endriss 2006). If so, either *riba* and *banan* cannot be topics and clitic doubling of *banan* should be excluded (contrary to fact), or *riba* and *banan* should be recognized as *bona fide* topics because they refer to a kind, an object of ⟨e⟩-type (i.e., individual) denotation, in which case *riba* should be clitic doubled (again contrary to fact). One way out of this conundrum would be by drawing finer-grained distinctions – that is, by distinguishing between several types of topics.

From a psychological point of view, different degrees of topicality can be distinguished (Chafe 1994), corresponding to the degree to which the referent of an expression is supposed to actually be activated in the hearer’s mind (that is, whether it is active, semi-active or inactive). This difference in degree of activation could then be

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17. See also Rochemont’s (1986) notion of *c-construability*.



said to correlate to the different word orders as given in (13), where # marks an international break (see the contributions in this volume by de Boel, Tsakali & Anagnostopoulou, Guentchéva, Krapova & Cinque, and particularly Janse).<sup>18</sup>

- (13) a. {V, Clitic} Object
- b. Object {V, Clitic}
- c. {V, Clitic} # Object
- d. Object # {V, Clitic}

In case-marking languages, (13d) is characteristically a *nominativus pendens*, in non-case marking languages it is what has come to be known as a *Hanging Topic* (i.e., an argument appearing outside the minimal propositional unit without case-marking signalling its purported function inside the sentence).<sup>19</sup> A hanging topic announces in a loose syntactic manner what the minimal propositional unit, grammatically complete on its own, is about.<sup>20</sup> One diagnostic of hanging topics is that they exhibit no connectedness effects (see especially the contributions in this volume of Krapova & Cinque, Giusti & Stavrou and Tsakali & Anagnostopoulou). But in non-case marking languages, there exist in fact few clues to distinguish (13b) from (13d). As both are able to fulfil the requirement of the Tobler-Mussafia (and the Wackernagel) ban on clitics in first position, the two constructions involve a constituent located at least inside the CP, and in the main clause, (13b) takes the appearance of a variant of (13d), the most noticeable difference between the two being reduced to the length of the following prosodic pause, a criterion notoriously difficult to handle.

Anagnostopoulou has identified a series of contexts (referenced in Tsakali & Anagnostopoulou, this volume) that legitimize the distinction of (13c) from (13a). Contrary to the structure in (13d), the object in (13c) (dubbed “afterthought” by Hyman

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18. The superficial notation {V, Clitic} is to be interpreted contextually, either as Clitic+V or V+Clitic, abstracting away from a discussion about precise syntactic description.

19. We are using the label ‘minimal propositional unit’ here in a purely descriptive, non-theoretic sense, to denote the canonical string of constituents making up a proposition. Its precise syntactic constitution is of course dependent on the analysis that one assumes for the proposition (and consequently for hanging topic).

20. For spoken French, Claire Blanche-Benveniste (University of Aix-en-Provence) provided us with examples such as (i) with no clitic inside the clause at all (out of the corpus of spoken French gathered by the University of Aix (GARS)). The example in (i) clearly shows that the relation between a hanging topic, here ‘this hotel’, and the following proposition is not syntactic, but relies on lexical and/or world knowledge.

(i) *Cet hôtel, on ne peut pas dormir.*  
 ‘This hotel, one cannot sleep in.’

(1975) and “anti-topic” by Lambrecht (1981)) brings some qualification, often affective (see de Boel, this volume, and Guentchéva, this volume) about the already intended topic, and can thus never introduce a novel topic into the discourse (Lambrecht 1996: 203 ff.). The difference between *Riba ne jadam* and *Banan ne obiçam da go jam* then is due to the fact that only in the latter, the bare noun is a hanging topic, with the construction falling thus outside the realm of clitic doubling. (We resume the discussion of bare nouns and the (im)possibility of clitic doubling them in section 2.3.)

Historical material presented in this volume for Greek and Bulgarian (de Boel, Janse, Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov) shows that clitic doubling first arose in contexts of type (13c) and (13d): for Old Bulgarian none of the examples of the Suprasliensis manuscript can be taken to instantiate the structure in (13a), whereas for Greek, the first attestations of (13a) do not seem to be anterior to the 14th century. But following our tentative definition in section 1, it is essentially (13a) that represents the structure of clitic doubling, with the doubling clitic providing a way of backgrounding its associate by lifting it out of the focus domain (the “new”/“non-given” information part of the sentence, cf. Kallulli 2000, this volume, as well as the discussion in section 2.2.4).

### 2.2.3 Further details: Core but lesser known data

As mentioned earlier, in some languages (e.g., Albanian and at least some varieties of Macedonian), datives are invariably doubled by clitics (see Kallulli 2000, this volume, Friedman, this volume, Tomić, this volume). Furthermore, in several languages (Albanian, Bulgarian, MG, Romanian), so-called “quirky subjects” are also obligatorily clitic doubled not only when they bear dative/genitive case, thus reminiscent of the Spanish and Romanian examples in (3), but also when they bear accusative case (and irrespective of whether they are definite or indefinite) as illustrated in (14a) and (14b) (cf. also Anagnostopoulou 1994, 2003; Krapova & Cinque, this volume).<sup>21</sup>

- (14) a. *Benin/ një djalë \*(e) shqetëson sjellja e tij.* (Albanian)  
 Ben.the<sub>ACC</sub> a boy CL,ACC,3S bothers behaviour<sub>NOM</sub> AGR his  
 ‘His (own) behaviour bothers Ben / a boy.’

21. The accusative DPs in (14) qualify as quirky subjects by virtue of the fact that they bind the pronouns inside the nominative themes. See also Bulgarian and Romanian (i) and (ii), where the subject ‘head’ is inalienable part of the object ‘the child’:

- (i) *Deteto<sub>i</sub> go<sub>i</sub> boli glavata<sub>r</sub>.* (Bulgarian)  
 child-the him hurts head-the  
 (ii) *Pe copil<sub>i</sub> îl<sub>i</sub> doare capul<sub>r</sub>.* (Romanian)  
 on child him hurts head-the  
 ‘The child has a headache.’

- b. *Ton Yánni \*(ton) ponái to kefáli tu.* (MG)  
 the Yánnis<sub>ACC</sub> him<sub>CL,ACC</sub> hurts the head<sub>NOM</sub> his  
 ‘Yannis has a headache.’

In fact, Krapova & Cinque (this volume) call such cases “true” instances of clitic doubling, free from any further grammatical or pragmatic requirement (but see section 2.2.4).

As to (non-quirky) non-pronominal direct object DPs, in some languages (e.g., MG) they *can* and in some others (e.g., Albanian) they *must* be clitic doubled if and only if they are outside the focus domain (irrespective of their [ $\pm$ definite] status), as illustrated by the Albanian data in (15) through (18); note here the complementarity of felicity conditions between the minimally different pairs with and without doubling clitics in the given contexts (examples adapted from Kallulli 2000).<sup>22</sup> That is, direct object doubling clitics trigger a topical (in the sense: given, or anti-focal) interpretation of their associate, a conclusion that is corroborated by the fact that in Albanian and MG existential constructions, the (non-topical) direct objects of ‘have’ cannot be doubled, as in (19a) for Albanian (from Kallulli, this volume) and (19b) for MG (adapted from Anagnostopoulou 1994: 19 (29a)).

- (15) a. What did Ana do?  
 b. *Ana \*(e) lexoi librin / një libër.* (Alb)  
 A.the<sub>NOM</sub> 3S,CL,ACC read book.the<sub>ACC</sub> / a book  
 ‘Ana read the book.’
- (16) a. What did Ana read?  
 b. *Ana \*(e) lexoi librin / një libër.*
- (17) a. Who read the/a book?  
 b. *Ana \*(e) lexoi librin / një libër.*
- (18) a. What did Ana do with the/a book?  
 b. *Ana \*(e) lexoi librin / një libër.*
- (19) a. *(\*I) kishte minj në gjithë apartamentin.* (Albanian)  
 CL,ACC,3PL had mice<sub>ACC</sub> in all apartment.the  
 ‘There were mice all over the apartment.’  
 b. *(\*Ta) ixe pontikia se olo to diamerisma.* (MG)  
 CL,ACC,3PL had mice<sub>ACC</sub> in all the apartment  
 ‘There were mice all over the apartment.’

22. Anagnostopoulou (1994), while acknowledging counterexamples, argues that direct object clitic doubling is contingent on definiteness. See Kallulli (2000, this volume) for discussion of this point.

However, even within one and the same language (here: Albanian) the broader picture is more complex than presented in (15) through (18), as revealed by the fact that direct objects instantiated by first and second person full pronouns are always clitic doubled (Kallulli 1995, this volume), as are direct objects instantiated by the quantifier ‘all’, a fact that also holds for (Argentinian) Spanish, Romanian and MG (see also Friedman, this volume), as is shown in (20).

- (20) a. *\*(I) pashë të gjithë.* (Albanian)  
 b. *\*(Los) vi todos.* (Argentinian Spanish)  
 c. *\*(Tus) idha olus.* (MG)  
 d. *\*(I-) am văzut pe toți.* (Romanian)  
     them<sub>ACC</sub> saw.1s all<sub>ACC</sub>  
     ‘I saw them all.’

Adding to this, clitic doubling of CP-complements in Albanian and MG triggers factivity, as in (21) and (22) (Kallulli 2006, this volume).

- (21) a. *Besova se Beni shkoi (por në fakt ai nuk shkoi).* (Albanian)  
     believed-I that Ben left (but in fact he not left)  
     ‘I believed that Ben left (but in fact he didn’t).’  
 b. *E besova se Beni shkoi (\*por në fakt ai nuk shkoi).*  
     CL,ACC,3S believed-I that Ben left (but in fact he not left)  
     ‘I believed the fact that Ben left (\*but actually he didn’t).’
- (22) a. *Pistepsa oti o Janis efije*  
     believed-I that the Janis left  
     *(ala stin pragmatikotita den ejine kati tetio).* (MG)  
     (but in.the reality neg happened something such)  
 b. *To pistepsa oti o Janis efije*  
     it<sub>CL,ACC</sub> believed-I that the Janis left  
     *(\*ala stin pragmatikotita den ejine kati tetio).*  
     (but in.the reality not happened something such)

This picture gives rise to the following questions. First, if the nature of agreement and topic markers is indeed substantially different, as assumed at the end of section 2.2.1, why are doubling clitics employed as means for fulfilling such different functions? Second, why are datives and direct objects instantiated by first and second person full pronouns always clitic doubled? Third, where in this picture and how does the fact fit in that ‘all’-quantifier direct objects are obligatorily doubled? Fourth, what is the relation between presuppositionality and topichood/givenness?

In the next section, we try to unravel the interrelation between the various features (specificity, prominence, referential stability, presuppositionality, topichood, givenness) highlighted as relevant in the context of clitic doubling in the various contributions to this volume.

#### 2.2.4 *Systemizing the data: Relating specificity and topicality*

As was seen in the previous section, direct object doubling clitics in Albanian and Greek have a restricted distribution and (semantic) operator-like properties in that they mark their associates as ‘given’. We take the notion of topic to be identical to that of ‘given’ (in the sense of Schwarzschild 1999) – that is, the complement of focus. This definition is rather different from the one in Reinhart (1981), according to whom topics do not have to be familiar to the hearer (i.e., given) but simply constitute the entity that the proposition is about. However, in view of Krifka’s (2001) arguments on the existence of so-called “non-novel” indefinites, the notions of topichood and givenness can be conflated without worrying about indefinite topics.

So what are non-novel indefinites? Contrary to standard accounts of indefinites as expressions (NPs or DPs, depending on the theory) that introduce new discourse referents (Heim 1982), Krifka (2001) argues that non-novel indefinites are a special class of indefinites that pick up discourse referents that exist in the input context. Crucially, according to Krifka non-novel indefinites must be deaccented, an idea that is in tune with Schwarzschild’s (1999) contention that givenness is indicated by deaccentuation.

For a discourse referent to exist in the input context, it must either have been mentioned before in the immediate context,<sup>23</sup> or its existence must in some way be presupposed (e.g., through sensory salience, via world knowledge, or through accommodation).<sup>24</sup>

Evidence for non-novel indefinites stems for instance from adverbial quantification, as in the examples in (23), which illustrate the so-called “requantification problem” (Rooth 1985, 1995, von Stechow 1994). Specifically, the domain of quantification in (23) is given by the deaccented indefinite, which forces the assumption that deaccented indefinites may pick up existing referents and “requantify” over them.

- (23) a. *A freshman* usually wears a *BÁSEBALL* cap. (from Krifka 2001)  
       ‘Most freshmen wear a baseball cap.’  
       b. A *FRÉSHMAN* usually wears a baseball cap.  
       ‘Most wearers of baseball caps are freshmen.’

Thus, it is suggested that deaccenting goes with specificity, at least on some takes of this phenomenon, namely those that equate specificity with presuppositionality or familiarity (Ioup 1977, Diesing 1992, Enç 1991). Non-novel (and therefore deaccented) indefinites help thus establish the link between givenness/topichood and specificity (and of course deaccentuation).

23. But note that the notion of previous mention in the discourse naturally does not establish a referent as non-novel when the latter is in the scope of negation.

24. Importantly, Krifka (2001) argues that this presupposition is typically accommodated.

Interesting in this context is also the fact that clitic doubling necessarily correlates with deaccentuation of a CP-associate, and that doubling and/or deaccentuation express the presupposed status of an embedded proposition (Kallulli 2006, this volume), which in turn is the basic ingredient of factivity (Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970); see (21b) and (22b).

The insight that not all indefinites introduce new discourse referents is important in the context of clitic doubling, as it immediately accounts for counterexamples (e.g., the ‘sweater’ example discussed in section 2.2.1) to analyses such as those proposed in Anagnostopoulou (1994, 1999) and Anagnostopoulou & Giannakidou (1995) for MG, where clitic doubling is crucially dependent on definiteness, which in turn is related to the notion of familiarity (i.e., non-novelty) in these works. In sum, a desirable result of the perspective opened by analysing certain indefinite expressions as non-novel is the conflation of specificity and topichood/givenness (see also Cresti 1995 and Endriss 2006 on the interrelation between topicality and specificity).

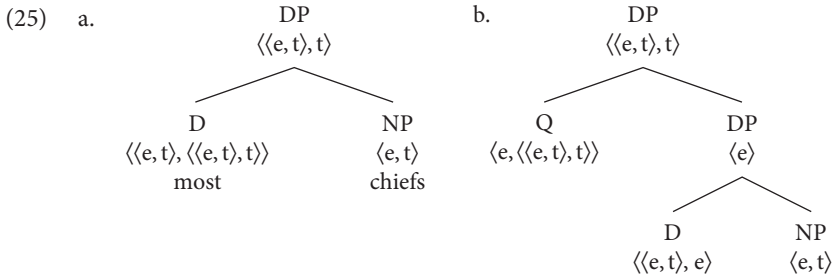
Likewise, an obvious connection can be made between non-novelty and the notion of referential stability (Farkas & von Stechow 2003): referentially stable expressions are easily identifiable, and of course the less novel a discourse referent is, the more identifiable/accommodatable (and therefore the more referentially stable) it is. This conclusion is especially important in the context of the phenomenon of (dative) experiencer and/or quirky subject clitic doubling discussed in several of the contributions in this volume (see e.g., Hill & Tasmowski, Kallulli, and Krapova & Cinque). Dative, experiencer and/or quirky subject arguments are referentially stable expressions in that they often are human (or at least animate) and presuppositional in a sense that direct objects instantiated by full (3rd person) DPs do not need to be. To see this, consider the examples in (24):

- (24) a. I bought my grand-daughter a Barbie.  
b. I bought a Barbie for my grand-daughter.

Only (24b) but not (24a), which contains a (non-prepositional) dative object, is fine in a context in which the speaker has no grand-daughter. The moral to draw from this minimal pair is then that givenness does not necessarily entail previous mentioning of a referent in the discourse; it suffices that the existence of this referent can be inferred (for instance through accommodation).

Turning to the fact that direct object ‘all’-quantifiers in several languages are necessarily clitic doubled (as was shown in (20)), this can be derived by combining the view that its restrictor is always given (in the sense: non-novel) with the idea that doubling clitics trigger givenness and/or deaccentuation of their associates. We note, moreover, that in line with Matthewson’s (2001) analysis of quantification given in (25b), which differs from the traditional analysis of quantification (Barwise & Cooper 1981 and related literature) given in (25a) in that the generalized quantifier is formed

in two steps (crucially involving an intermediate DP-layer as the complement of the quantifier head), the restrictor of ‘all’ is always a DP, both when it is phonetically overt or null. As such, the clitic does not double the quantifier (i.e., the QP) but only its (non-novel/given/D-linked) DP-complement (which, as already mentioned, may be silent).



(Matthewson 2001: 146)

(Matthewson 2001: 153)

In sum, it seems justified to state that the common denominator of the often vague notions specificity, topicality, prominence, presuppositionality is not “aboutness” but ‘givenness’ or ‘d-linking’, which must be broadly understood as ‘existence in the input context’ (i.e., either previous mention in the immediate discourse, or presupposition through saliency or accommodation, which is in turn signalled by deaccentuation). This conflates the questions raised in section 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 above, which is precisely the path taken in the contributions in this volume.

### 2.3 Beyond information structure: The role of D in clitic doubling

As is well-known, with some exceptions as mentioned in section 2.2.1, across languages bare nouns of all sub-types (i.e., bare plurals, count bare singulars, mass nouns) cannot be clitic doubled (see *a.o.* Anagnostopoulou 1994, 1999, Casielles 1996, Kallulli 1998, 2000). This is a fact that, barring examples such as those quoted in 2.2.1, also holds when these bare nouns are construed as topical/given/D-linked. To see this, let us consider (26) from Farkas (1978).

- (26) a. *Popescu vrea pâine.*                      b. *Pâine are deja.*                      (Romanian)  
           ‘Popescu wants bread’                      bread has-he already

In the context in (26), the bare noun *pâine* ‘bread’ in the utterance of speaker B can only be interpreted as given. Yet, it cannot be clitic doubled in spite of its being left-dislocated, a fact that is important, since in Romanian also non-human objects that are therefore not preceded by the prepositional element *pe* (see Cornilescu & Dobrovie-Sorin, Hill & Tasmowski, this volume) can, or must, be clitic doubled in such a context. This and analogous examples can be replicated in Albanian, where

as mentioned earlier direct objects need to be clitic doubled in order to be marked as given. So then, why can't bare nouns be clitic doubled? Adopting proposals in Kallulli (1997, 1998, 2000) for count bare singulars, bare plurals and (bare) mass nouns, we suggest that bare nouns cannot be clitic doubled because they are not DPs with a morphologically null D, but NPs altogether lacking a D-layer. Clitics on the other hand are clearly D-heads (alternatively, they have a [+D] feature), which explains among other things their morphological identity or similarity (depending on the language) with determiners. That is, the impossibility of clitic doubling bare nouns be they singular, plural or mass ones, is due to a feature mismatch between the [+D] clitic head and the [-D] bare noun. As such, clitic doubling cannot serve as a means for expressing the anti-focal/topical/given status of a direct object bare noun.

This analysis also enables us to explain the possibility of clitic doubling *banan* in the Bulgarian example *Banan<sub>i</sub> ne običam da go<sub>i</sub> jam* and *dete* in the Macedonian example *i ko si dojde vremeto, go<sub>i</sub> rodi dete<sub>i</sub>* given in section 2.2.1. Specifically, on semantic grounds (Bulgarian and Macedonian seem to be able to drop the definite article in certain cases, such as the examples under consideration) we may assume that in these examples the seemingly bare nouns are not truly bare, in the sense that they must have a morphologically null D (recall our contention that the interpretation of the doubled expressions in both examples is definite, namely generic).<sup>25</sup>

#### 2.4 Interim summary: Clitic doubling between syntax, semantics and morphology

The clitic appearing in the clitic doubling construction by all means shares fundamental characteristics with the simple clitic: it appears on the same host, participates in the same clusters, integrates the phi-features of the associate or antecedent, and is refractory to lack of previous prominence. As to simple clitics, at least since the second half of the 20th century, some traditional grammarians in the field of Romance studies have claimed that they should be considered agreement markers of the verb with its direct or indirect object, similar in status to inflectional agreement of the verb with its subject, a view that has been integrated in the generative paradigm by the admittance of an AgrOP(rojection), parallel to AgrSP. Inflectional agreement with the subject is furthermore always compatible with the overt presence of an associate exhibiting the same appropriate phi-features.<sup>26</sup>

25. Note, however, that generic readings in most Balkan languages which are endowed with articles are impossible with bare indefinites (Kallulli 1997).

26. For a characterization and a universal typology of agreement markers, see Bosson (1998).



A novel argument concerning the status of clitics as agreement markers can be found in the contribution by Tsakali & Anagnostopoulou (this volume). Tsakali & Anagnostopoulou note that in a range of languages clitic doubling and participial agreement are in complementary distribution. In other words, a language has either participial agreement, or clitic doubling, but not both.

However, while clitic doubling constructions are by their very nature strongly reminiscent of object agreement constructions in languages like Basque, numerous studies have established that there are still essential differences between the two. As we have discussed above, these differences do not only bear on the typically affixal nature of the latter versus the typically non-affixal nature of the former in simple declarative clauses. One particular point that does not allow for a straightforward equation of clitic doubling and agreement is the fact mentioned earlier, namely that direct object clitic doubling is contextually constrained in ways that indirect object clitic doubling does not seem to be.

### 3. Further challenges, approaches and perspectives

#### 3.1 The interaction of clitic doubling with Differential Object Marking (DOM)

If doubling clitics mark their associates as topical, one does not expect clitic doubling to be compatible with environments where the associate of the doubling clitic is part of the focus domain. However, Romanian direct objects seem to contradict this prediction. For instance, in a context like the one in (27a) either of the sentences in (27b) are fine.

- (27) a. *Pe cine ai invitat?*      b. i. *L<sub>i</sub>-am invitat pe Radu<sub>i</sub>.*  
       ‘Who did you invite?’        ‘I invited Radu.’  
    ii. *Nu l<sub>i</sub>-am invitat decât pe Radu<sub>i</sub>.*  
    iii. *L<sub>i</sub>-am invitat numai pe Radu<sub>i</sub>.*  
    ‘I only invited Radu.’

In the sentences under (27b), *pe Radu* is not preceded by an intonational break and the direct object does not occupy a syntactic A'-position, as argued by Cornilescu & Dobrovie-Sorin (this volume).

Recall that in Romanian, clitic doubling is dependent on the presence of *pe* before a direct object DP. It is a DOM device similar to Spanish *a*, but with distinct effects (as discussed in Cornilescu & Dobrovie-Sorin, this volume) with respect to compatibility with clitic doubling. But if as suggested in section 2.2.4 prominence is to be accounted for in terms of non-novelty/givenness/D-linking, then the occurrence of the doubling clitics in the sentences in (27b) remains in need of explanation since their

associates here need not (and in fact cannot) be deaccentuated. Importantly however, the doubled expressions in the sentences in (27b) are contrastively focused. As such, they are necessarily D-linked in spite of the fact that they are not deaccentuated. And as is well-known at least since Rochemont (1986), contrastive focus is a special type of focus.<sup>27</sup> In this way, the view that clitic doubling is related to givenness can still be maintained. The conclusion then is that clitic doubling is not incompatible with identificational focus (Kiss 1998) in Romanian. In fact, it is feasible that the clitic in constructions such as those in (27b) doesn't double the *pe* expression, but rather a phonetically null DP (such as a bound variable *pro*), along the lines suggested in Kallulli (this volume) for clitic doubling of so-called D-linked *wh*-phrases in Albanian. This still does not account for (27bi) however. In (27bi), *pe Radu* is new information, but it is not contrastive. To maintain our general line of reasoning then, we are led to admit that clitic doubling is triggered by the pervasive presuppositionality tied to stability of reference (see Hill & Tasmowski, this volume).

### 3.2 Clitic doubling as a core syntax phenomenon

It is well-known that, across languages, so-called “given” information (as opposed to “new” information) systematically correlates with lack of phonetic prominence, or deaccentuation (Halliday 1967, Ladd 1996, Selkirk 1995, Schwarzschild 1999, among many others). Since, except for the discussed cases, clitic doubling systematically correlates with both deaccentuation and givenness of the doubled expressions (cf. Anagnostopoulou 1994, 1999 and especially Kallulli 2006, this volume), it could be hypothesised that doubling clitics function as a deaccenting device in that they affect the interpretation of their doubled associates in a way comparable with the deaccentuation of indefinites in English (cf. Krifka 2001). However, since PF and LF are two different components that do not communicate with each other (Chomsky 1995 et seq.), and since prosody is standardly assumed to be part of the PF component, the question arises how to model this correlation.

Inspired by Chomsky's (2004) “best case” scenario, according to which the components of the derivation of ⟨PHON, SEM⟩ proceed cyclically in parallel, the systematicity of the LF/PF correlation with respect to clitic doubling can be captured as in Kallulli (2006). One may think of prosodic information as encoded in the syntax, or indeed as part of the numeration itself, which is what syntax manipulates. Alternatively, the relevant syntactic feature (encoded in the form of a clitic pronoun) is interpretable at the LF interface (in terms of givenness), and also gets spelled out prosodically in a certain way at the PF interface, hence accounting for the correlation

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27. Two hallmarks of contrastive focus are more pronounced accent and the possibility of using a cleft construction (instead).

of givenness and deaccentuation that was observed earlier. Crucially, however, under both views prosody can be treated as an abstract morpheme in the sense of Embick and Noyer (2007). As far as we can judge, both views may turn out to be empirically equivalent. Note also that either alternative can be made to comply with Chomsky's (2004: 107) architectural "best case":

[T]he best case is that there is a single cycle only [...] and the [...] components of the derivation of  $\langle \text{PHON}, \text{SEM} \rangle$  proceed cyclically in parallel. L contains operations that transfer each unit to  $\Phi$  and to  $\Sigma$ . At the best case, these apply at the same stage of the cycle. Assume so.

In sum, clitic doubling is a narrow syntax operation, both under general lexicalist as well as non-lexicalist assumptions (see also Kallulli 2006, this volume). This, in turn, gives rise to non-trivial questions relating to the derivation-by-phase model (Chomsky 2001 et seq.), which future research will need to tackle.

#### 4. Conclusion

The Balkan clitic doubling patterns have raised important issues that have challenged even the most basic assumptions about the phenomenon of clitic doubling.<sup>28</sup> However, in spite of the substantial body of literature and important new empirical evidence, there exists to date no study that details the distinguishing peculiarities of this prevailing Balkan Sprachbund phenomenon across these languages, which would naturally lead to a better understanding of it. The present volume aims to fill this gap. It addresses specifically the question why clitic doubling appears at all, whether a uniform account of its various manifestations across (but also outside) the Balkan Sprachbund is feasible, the nature of micro-variation, and other issues in focus of present theoretical interest.

#### 5. The organization of the volume

The volume is organized according to the three major topics listed below, though naturally most of the contributions deal with more than one of the issues covered by these topics.

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28. Important works in this context include Agouraki (1993), Anagnostopoulou (1994, 1999, 2003), Anagnostopoulou & Giannakidou (1995), Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2000) for MG; Dobrovie-Sorin (1990, 1994), Gierling (1997), Farkas & von Heusinger (2003) for Romanian; Kallulli (1995, 1999a,b, 2000) for Albanian; Guentchéva (1994), Leafgren (1997), Rudin (1997), Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan (1998), Arnaudova (2003) for Bulgarian, among many others.

- Distribution area of the phenomenon of clitic doubling, as well as its genesis and history within the Balkan continuum;
- Defining characteristics and/or distinctive factors of clitic doubling and related constructions (e.g., clitic left dislocation, clitic right dislocation, and hanging topic constructions) across the various languages, distinguishing between:
  - description of morpho-syntactic/semantic/pragmatic correlations; and
  - their formalization;
- Extension of the (initial) definition of the phenomenon.

Victor Friedman's lead-in article presents a broad descriptive perspective on clitic doubling, pulling together a wide range of facts from an unusually comprehensive list of Balkan languages and their dialects. A central point of the paper is that the geographical distribution of clitic doubling and its degree of integration into the various Balkan linguistic systems arguably reflects different diachronic stages as well as different synchronic systems. As the author puts it "[o]f particular importance is the fact that the phenomenon shows varying degrees of encoding (as pragmatic or grammatical devices) on the basis of areal rather than genealogical relations". Friedman argues that clitic doubling is more highly grammaticalized in the West Balkans than in the East, and that the variations shown by Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance, and Albanian point to the areality of this feature.

Olga Mišeska Tomić investigates clitic doubling in the Balkan Slavic languages, whose dialects form a dialectal continuum also with respect to clitic doubling. She argues that clitic doubling in these languages shows gradual variation along a vertical north-south axis and a horizontal east-west axis. On the north-south axis, there is variation with respect to the categories that can be clitic doubled. On the east-west axis, languages/dialects vary with respect to the conditions on clitic doubling, with almost total dependence on discourse factors in the easternmost dialects in the area and relatively complete grammaticalization in the westernmost ones. In the majority of the Macedonian dialects, discourse factors do not play any role and all definite direct objects and all specific indirect objects are clitic doubled. In Western Macedonia, the two vertical north-south and the horizontal east-west axes (along which clitic doubling variation in Balkan Slavic moves) intersect, so that in the Western Macedonian dialects, as well as in Standard Macedonian, clitic doubling is obligatory with all definite direct and all specific indirect objects. In the case of indirect objects, the specificity effects disappear. The paper also describes clitic doubling in Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian, two Romance Balkan languages in close contact with the Western Macedonian dialects.

Gunnar de Boel's contribution focuses on the emergence of clitic doubling in Ancient Greek and its evolution into Medieval Greek. According to de Boel, the construction was felt to be vulgar, as the oldest isolated examples can be found in the (private) papyri of the Hellenistic age, but they hardly appear in literary texts.

Clitic doubling thus existed in its modern form in the oldest texts that use the demotic language (from the twelfth century onwards).

The article by Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Valentin Vulchanov addresses the origin of the phenomenon of clitic doubling in the Balkan linguistic continuum based on evidence from the earliest Old Bulgarian manuscripts, thus contributing rare diachronic data to the problem of clitic doubling. The authors argue that clitic doubling in Old Bulgarian as in Modern Bulgarian are exclusively sanctioned by a specific information structure value that they define as [+contrastive topic] and which they claim is a sufficient trigger for the surfacing of doubling clitics.

In their contribution, Virginia Hill and Liliane Tasmowski offer a semantic-pragmatic approach to Romanian clitic doubling, paying special attention to three peculiarities of this construction in this language, namely (i) the obligatory preposition *pe* preceding the direct object DP; (ii) the interaction between this type of DOM and the doubling clitic; and (iii) the nature of the asymmetry between direct and indirect object clitic doubling. Specifically, the authors argue that indirect objects meet the pragmatic prominence conditions for clitic doubling due to their morpho-semantics, whereas direct objects need categorial marking (i.e., *pe*) to qualify for this process. The analysis is corroborated by historical material from Old Romanian.

Mark Janse surveys changes in the positioning and discourse function of clitics throughout the history of Greek, focusing on the set of clitic doubling constructions and on the analysis of relevant data from Asia Minor Greek in particular, thus providing a range of novel data and showing that in many ways these varieties continue a situation obtaining in Medieval Greek.

Zlatka Guentchéva's article on clitic doubling in Modern Bulgarian focuses on the distinction between clitic doubling and 'left-dislocated' constructions. On this basis, it then examines the interaction of clitic doubling with constituent order and information structure. The author underscores the role of clitic doubling as a topic marker, and investigates the effects of the construction in the structuring of texts.

Dalina Kallulli presents a unified account of direct and indirect object clitic doubling in Albanian, which rests on the claim that clitic doubling is always a spell-out of agreement with a topical argument, which in turn entails referential stability. The paper also extends the analysis in Kallulli (2000) to account for certain problematic aspects (such as clitic doubling asymmetries in relative clauses and *wh*-constructions) not covered in previous work. In addition, this paper presents an investigation of the semantic effects of clitic doubling of clausal arguments (i.e., CPs), which also corroborates the author's basic claim. This is the only paper of the volume that also brings prosodic evidence to bear on the morpho-syntax and semantics of doubling clitics.

Iliyana Krapova and Guglielmo Cinque's article focuses on what the authors claim to instantiate "clitic doubling proper" in Bulgarian, which in their perspective is restricted to clauses with psychological and physical perception predicates. Several properties

of this pattern are identified, among which obligatory doubling of quantifiers, *wh*-phrases and focus phrases. Other patterns of clitic doubling as they appear throughout the Balkan languages (including Bulgarian dialects) are also identified.

The article by Alexandra Cornilescu and Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin examines a contrast between Spanish and Romanian, namely that only in the former but not in the latter clitic doubling of direct object DPs is blocked by contrastive focus and quantificational features. The paper offers a formal analysis of this contrast that relies on the following theoretical ingredients: (i) Head-Movement is Head-to-Head Merge; (ii) clitic placement is a Spec-Head agreement configuration with a null pronoun *pro* sitting in the Spec of (the complex head containing) the clitic; (iii) clitic doubling results from an interarboreal operation that merges a complex head  $Cl+Vv+T(ense)$  with the VP containing the clitic doubled DP; (iv) the contrasts between Romanian and (River Plate) Spanish is due to the fact that in Spanish, Spec of CP is distinct from Spec of  $Cl+Vv+T$ , whereas in Romanian, Comp is part of the complex functional head clustering around T, and correlatively, Spec of C is not distinct from, but rather a slot inside the Spec of the complex head  $Comp+Cl+Vv+T$ .

The contribution by Vina Tsakali and Elena Anagnostopoulou focuses on the parameters that regulate the cross-linguistic distribution of clitic doubling. The central claim of this paper is that the presence of participial agreement determines the availability of clitic doubling: participle agreement excludes clitic doubling, and vice versa (language internally as well as construction-specifically). More specifically, the authors argue that the presence of participle agreement in clitic-languages induces split-checking of phi-features, which forces the associate of the clitic to be phonetically null (*pro*). When no split-checking ensues, a language may optionally be a clitic-doubling language. This paper also brings acquisition data to bear on the phenomenon and its analysis by the authors.

Finally, two contributions in this volume, one by Larisa Avram and Martine Coene and another by Giuliana Giusti and Melita Stavrou, deal with the phenomenon of clitic doubling within the DP.

Avram and Coene question the view according to which Romanian dative/genitive possessive clitics can be placed both DP-internally and DP-externally, and argue instead that the clitics in the two constructions are only superficially identical. The clitic within the DP is a possessive clitic, valued genitive, which does not move out of the DP and cannot be doubled. The one outside the DP, at the left periphery of the clause, is an indirect object base-generated inside the vP, and valued dative. Its possessive interpretation is context-dependent, being semantically (or pragmatically) determined. The difference with respect to the availability of possessive clitic raising and doubling is accounted for within a derivation-by-phase framework (Chomsky 2001). The authors' basic proposal is that DP-internal clitics are "frozen" within the DP-phase and can therefore not move to the left periphery of the clause. Both the impossibility

of their moving out of the DP to the clausal domain and the ambiguity of the sentences containing clausal dative clitics are accounted for in terms of the Attract Closest condition redefined in terms of phases.

Giusti and Stavrou aim to explain two awkward differences between Bulgarian and Greek doubling clitics within the DP: (i) only in Bulgarian but not in Greek a Topicalized Possessor is resumed (or doubled) by the corresponding dative (or genitive, depending on the language) clitic; (ii) only in Greek but not in Bulgarian a strong pronoun Possessor is resumed by the corresponding genitive/dative clitic. The authors propose that only Bulgarian but not Greek has a topic position available within its (extended) DP-structure, and what seems to be clitic doubling inside the DP is in fact an instance of clitic left dislocation. As to the doubling of strong pronoun Possessors in Greek, the authors contend that it is due to a deficiency of the strong pronoun and that it should be altogether distinguished from clitic doubling. The authors conclude that neither Bulgarian nor Greek have clitic doubling inside the DP.

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PART I

**Clitic doubling within the Balkan continuum**

Rise and spread



# Balkan object reduplication in areal and dialectological perspective\*

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When examined in its Balkan context, object reduplication tells us a number of things about language contact phenomena in general and Balkan contact phenomena in particular. It provides a striking illustration of the way a pragmatic phenomenon becomes syntactic and finally grammaticalized almost to the point of morphologization. The areal distribution of reduplication and its degree of integration into the various Balkan linguistic systems arguably reflects different diachronic stages as well as different synchronic systems. Of particular importance is the fact that the phenomenon shows varying degrees of encoding (as pragmatic or grammatical devices) on the basis of areal rather than genealogical relations. At the same time, this geographic distribution is additional evidence for the manner in which grammatical change can be triggered by pragmatic devices: object reduplication is more highly grammaticalized in the west Balkans than in the east, and the variations shown by Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance, and Albanian point to the areality of this feature. These data also demonstrate the importance of taking dialectology and less commonly examined Balkan languages (Aromanian, Romani) into account when discussing degrees of Balkanization.

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Reduplication as a term and as a phenomenon

In Balkan linguistic studies, *object reduplication* refers to the occurrence of a word or word-like unit (clitic, short or weak form pronoun) that has exactly the same grammatical role in a clause as another word, i.e., a clitic and long form of the same oblique

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personal pronoun or a clitic agreeing in gender, number, and case with a substantial direct or indirect object.<sup>1</sup> The following example from Macedonian is typical:

- (1) *mu go davam moliv-ot na momče-to.* (Macedonian)  
 him.DAT it.ACC I.give pencil-DEF to boy-DEF  
 'I give the pencil to the boy.'

Object reduplication is characteristic of all the Indo-European Balkan languages, albeit its degree of grammaticalization – and thus its function – differs among these languages. This paper will give an overview of basic and more recent research on Balkan object reduplication, bringing together examples from a variety of sources including both published and unpublished dialect descriptions that have not heretofore been utilized in the study of object reduplication and the author's own field work (although I have utilized published examples in most instances, the Albanian, Aromanian, Macedonian, Megleno-Romanian and Romani data and the generalizations drawn therefrom were all checked with and/or collected from native speakers by me in Albania and Macedonia). In this survey of object reduplication in the Balkan languages I shall attempt to give a more nuanced account of its Balkan nature than has heretofore been available. Of particular importance in this regard will be the fact that reduplication phenomena show varying degrees of encoding (as pragmatic or grammatical devices) on the basis of areal rather than genealogical relation.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, this geographic distribution is additional evidence for the manner in which grammatical change can be triggered by pragmatic devices (cf. Mithun 1992; Friedman 1994; Fielder 1999; Wertheim forthcoming): object reduplication is more highly grammaticalized in the west Balkans than in the east, and the variation shown by Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance, and Albanian points to the areality of this feature and southwestern Macedonia as the core zone. These data also demonstrate the importance of taking dialectology and less commonly examined Balkan languages (especially Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian, and Romani) into account when discussing degrees of Balkanization. By *Balkanization* I mean the development and grammaticalization of *Balkanisms* in the sense first used by Seliščev (1925). Regardless of whether the mechanism is understood to be what I will call here *intrusion* (the borrowing, interference, or imperfect learning and subsequent spread of a feature found in a contact language) or *feature selection* (the extension or increased development of

1. Subject reduplication, albeit a related type of phenomenon, will not be considered here. Complement clauses functioning as direct objects, however, will be discussed when relevant.

2. The term *genealogical* has come to be preferred to *genetic* among some linguists to refer to the relationship between languages that trace their primary origins to a common speech community. Although Sandfeld (1930) already demonstrated that Balkan reduplication differs from that found in the Romance languages of western Europe, nonetheless, the specifically Balkan nature of Balkan object reduplication remains to be investigated on its own.

a phenomenon known or thought to have been present or potential prior to contact), of crucial importance is the comparison with related languages outside the Balkans, for those languages that have such relatives, plus temporal parameters to the extent that we can determine them (see §7). Insofar as a given phenomenon in the Balkan languages can be determined to be absent from – or, in the case of morpho-syntactic features, at least not as fully grammaticalized in – related languages and/or earlier stages, then it developed under the conditions of multilingual contact that we know existed in the Balkans for centuries and can be labeled as a Balkanism. The existence of a similar feature elsewhere in the world in an unrelated language, while interesting from a typological point of view, does not change the fact that in the Balkans, given the historical record that is at our disposal, the feature can be identified as an areal, contact-induced phenomenon.

## 1.2 Normative accounts for the Balkan standard languages

In the normative accounts of the standard languages (which differ from actual usage but nonetheless supply useful baselines), reduplication is required for definite direct and all indirect objects in Macedonian (Koneski 1967: 335); it is required in similar but more restricted contexts in Albanian, where a newly introduced or emphasized direct object will not be reduplicated (Demiraj 2002: 227); it is still more limited in Romanian (Graur 1966: 144–147; Farkas 1978: 93–96; Tasmowski 1987: 382–383), where (a) definite direct and all indirect substantival objects are required to reduplicate in preverbal position; (b) pronominal objects reduplicate if they are definite and/or personal pronouns; but (c) reduplication is not permitted with postverbal direct objects not governed by *pe* (which for substantives is limited to humans);<sup>3</sup> reduplication is generally facultative in Greek except with the pronoun *ólos* ‘all, everyone/thing’ (Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warbuton 1997: 194–195); it is not prescriptively required in Bulgarian except with the existential use of *ima/njama* literally ‘have/not.have,’ although reduplication is also expected in order to disambiguate case relations (Stojanov 1983: 192–193); and it is dialectal in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (henceforward BCS).<sup>4</sup>

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3. A number of other factors such as partitivity allow for optional reduplication, and Farkas (1978: 95) notes that contrary to the prescription in Graur (1966) postverbal inanimate indirect objects do occur as reduplicated:

(i) *I- am găsit câteva defecte acestei teorii* (Romanian)  
 her.DAT I.have found some defects this.DAT theory.DAT  
 ‘I have found some defects in this theory.’

4. Owing to the ethnic basis of the current BCS situation, the same dialect can be claimed as Bosnian, Croatian, or Serbian depending on the religion of the speakers. This includes the Torlak dialects of Southern Serbia and Kosovo (cf. Lisac 2003: 143–153).



## 2. Overview of reduplication in Balkan linguistic studies

### 2.1 Miklosich and Seliščev

Reduplicative phenomena involving clitic object pronouns have been noted as characteristic of the Balkan languages since Miklosich (1862: 7–8), who adduced the combination (*Verbindung*), i.e., co-occurrence, of short (enclitic) and full dative and accusative pronominal forms as a syntactic characteristic (*Eigentümlichkeit*) of Bulgarian, Romanian, Albanian, and Greek. We can add that the rest of Balkan Slavic and Balkan Romance, as well as Romani also participate in this innovation vis-à-vis earlier attested stages of their parent languages. On the other hand, it appears that the phenomenon in Judezmo does not differ significantly from Spanish, nor does West Rumelian Turkish differ from the rest of Turkish.<sup>5</sup> Seliščev (1918: 246–256, cf. also 1925: 45), extends the observation to the use of a clitic object pronoun to mark the presence of a direct or indirect substantival object in a clause. He notes that this is characteristic of definite or determined objects, and with regard to Slavic he notes that it is consistently realized in the Macedonian dialects west of the Vardar but becomes rarer to the east. He also identifies object reduplication as one of a number of typically Macedonian features (*tipično-makedonskie čerty*; 1918: 250). Citing examples from Daniil's Tetraglosson (cf. Leake 1814: 383–402), he notes that in most but not all cases reduplication in the Slavic (which is Ohrid Macedonian) is present also in the Greek, Albanian, and Aromanian examples.<sup>6</sup>

5. In the case of Macedonian Judezmo, we can cite the following proverbs from Bitola with their Macedonian parallels:

- (i) *Il palu tuertu la lumeri lu indireche.* (Judezmo)  
the stick crooked the fire it.ACC straightens

*kriv stap ogn-ot go ispravuva* (Macedonian)  
crooked stick fire-DEF it.ACC straightens

‘A crooked staff is straightened in the fire.’ (Kolonomos 1995: 267)

- (ii) *Al hamor kwandu mas l' aroges mas alvante las urezhes* (Judezmo)  
to.DEF donkey how.much more it.ACC you.beg more raises the ears

*Magare-to kolku poveke go moliš poveke gi diga uši-te*  
donkey-DF how.much more it.ACC you.beg more them.ACC it.raises ears-DEF

(Macedonian)

‘The more you beg the donkey, the more it raises its ears.’ (Kolonomos 1995: 266)

Otherwise, however, Judezmo does not show reduplication in contexts where Macedonian does. On the other hand, Wagner (1914: 130–131) observes that reduplicated object pronouns occur more frequently in Constantinople Judezmo than in Spanish.

6. In fact, the *Tetraglosson* contains numerous examples in which definite objects are not reduplicated in any of the parallel texts. We shall return to this point below.

## 2.2 Sandfeld

Sandfeld (1930: 192–193) does not accord a particularly prominent place to object reduplication, citing it together with the merger of *ubi/quo* ‘where/whither’ as phenomena noted by Miklosich and Seliščev that are not *essentiellement balkaniques* (191). For the first he notes that it is general Romance (and, we can add, English) and that in Greek it is extremely early. For reduplication, however, he observes that while it also occurs in the Romance languages in general, it is more extensive (*son extension est plus grande* 192) in the Balkan languages.<sup>7</sup> In fact, there is a fundamental difference between Sandfeld’s (192) French example *Je le connais, cet homme-là* and its Macedonian equivalent *Jas go znam onoj čovek/čovekon* ‘I know that man there/that-there man’. In written French the comma is obligatory, indicating a prosodic pause and syntactic clefting, whereas in Macedonian, the clitic pronoun is an obligatory and prosodically integrated part of the clause (cf. Assenova 2002: 106–107). Thus, while superficially similar and even related in their reference to the same object in the respective discourse, they are really quite different.<sup>8</sup> Sandfeld describes Balkan reduplication as frequent but never obligatory in colloquial Romanian and Greek. He notes that it is more regular in Albanian, at least in some dialects (his examples are all Tosk), and that it is most regular in south-western “*bulgare*”, i.e., Macedonian.

## 2.3 Lopašov

Lopašov (1978) is a landmark work devoted entirely to Balkan object reduplication, and he concludes (1978: 123) that reduplication constitutes, on the whole, the same phenomenon in Macedonian, Albanian, Romanian, Greek and Bulgarian. He notes, however, that while the initial impetus was the same, the ultimate results are not. Citing Orzechowska (1973), he observes that in Bulgarian, for example, the pressure of the standard language, which in this regard attempted to imitate Church Slavonic (and, we might add, Russian) models pushed object reduplication down to the colloquial register thereby retarding its grammaticalization or at the very least its expansion. It is worth noting here that a similar ideology of avoidance of object reduplication was at work among some would-be language planners of Macedonian (Risteski 1988: 421–422), where, however, the success of the west-central dialectal base in the establishment of the standard precluded such a

7. Also, see Eideneier 1999: 52–61 for a discussion of possible evidence for precursors to object reduplication in New Testament Greek. Cf also Ilievski (1988[1973]: 162).

8. Leafgren’s (2002: 164–184) focus on what he calls “clause-level topicality” in Bulgarian is an important methodological point in this respect. For detailed argumentation concerning why it is topicality precisely within a given clause (as opposed to a sentence or larger chunk of discourse) that triggers reduplication in Bulgarian, see Leafgren (*loc. cit.*).

restriction.<sup>9</sup> The success in the case of Bulgarian is illustrated by the fact that Leafgren (1992: 287) found that there was not a single example of object reduplication in the contexts of formal expository prose, (cf. also Friedman 1994).<sup>10</sup> Aside from the evident fact that object reduplication is more grammaticalized in languages in which it has not been actively restricted, Lopašov notes that both contact and language internal factors have encouraged its grammaticalization. Among the factors he describes as triggering reduplication are the presence of *pe* or the ontological class (viz. animacy) of the object in Romanian (see §1.2 above). This, in turn, leads to the fact that in each Balkan language, the conditions under which object reduplication occurs differ according to language-specific factors, although Lopašov (1978: 26, 57, 58) cited in Assenova (2002: 110) adduces the following general conditions or tendencies for reduplication:

- i. most often marked with a definite article;
- ii. more often pre-verbal than post-verbal;
- iii. especially common when the object is a personal pronoun;
- iv. indirect objects are more redoubled than direct objects;<sup>11</sup>
- v. objects that are not definite are not reduplicated (but see §3 below).

Lopašov describes the hypothetical endpoint of the development as the marking of every direct and indirect object, i.e., *de facto* polypersonal agreement (although the Hungarian definite conjugation arguably gives the model for a different type of grammaticalized end-point), and predicts that the tendency will continue, albeit at different rates of speed. He acknowledges the possibility that the etiology of the phenomenon could, in at least some cases, be independent (see also Keremedčieva 1993: 297–299), but he contends that language contact led to its expansion. Lopašov (1978: 122) observes that in terms of degree of grammaticalization of object reduplication, from most to least, the Balkan languages can be ordered Macedonian, Albanian, Romanian, Greek, Bulgarian, and he closes indicating directions for further research, focusing on

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9. In the undated and anonymous work reproduced by Risteski, the evidence of influence from literary Bulgarian is clear, e.g., the attempt to prescribe a nominative/oblique distinction in the definite article based on the presence/absence of final /t/ (Risteski 1988: 418; based on internal evidence, the document probably dates from the end of World War Two). However, even the minutes of the First Philological Conference for the Establishment of the Macedonian Alphabet (27 November – 4 December 1944) as well as its final resolution prescribed object reduplication (Risteski 1988: 314, 330). For further discussion of that conference see Friedman 1993.

10. Lopašov (1978: 28) reports having found such, but does not cite them.

11. Assenova (2002: 110) points out, however, that in Bulgarian dialects the frequency of object reduplication is equal for direct and indirect objects.

statistical issues, colloquial versus literary phenomena, and Balkan versus non-Balkan comparisons.

### 3. Reduplication in Balkan Slavic, Albanian, and Greek

Point (v) of Lopašov cited above – that reduplication is not associated with indefinite objects – is a highly problematic generalization and requires special consideration. Such reduplication does occur (Lopašov 1978: 24–25, 34, 40–41, 48–49, 52 cites examples), and, moreover, supplies the fundamental challenge to traditional and normative accounts of Balkan object reduplication. In the sections which follow, we shall therefore particularly focus on indefinite object reduplication, as this is at once the most problematic and the most revealing. These sections will treat Balkan Slavic, Albanian, and Greek, which represent the full range of degrees of grammaticalization of object reduplication from most to least.

#### 3.1 Reduplication of indefinite objects in Macedonian

Berent (1977) was the first to attempt to compare indefinite object reduplication in Macedonian with Albanian and Greek as described in Kazazis & Pentheroudakis (1976; see §3.4). He began by translating example (2) from Kazazis & Pentheroudakis (1976: 400) into Macedonian, given here as (3), and then asking native speakers if they would accept it.

- (2) *Soú (tó) plékō éna poulóber.* (Greek)  
 you.DAT (it.ACC) I.knit one sweater
- (3) *Ti go pletam eden džemper.* (Macedonian)  
 you it I.knit one sweater  
 ‘I knit/am knitting you a sweater.’

He reports: “There is no context in which (3), the Macedonian equivalent of (2), can ever be grammatical.” (p.13) Owing to the brief nature of a squib, Berent does not elucidate the contexts he tested, nor do we know how many speakers he asked, their origin or level of education, although they presumably controlled the standard. He goes on to cite the following examples:

- (4) *Včera gi vidov edni/mnogu/nekoi/nekolku/trojca luđe* (Macedonian)  
 yesterday them.ACC I.saw some/many/some/a few/three people  
*kako odat kon dolina-ta* (Berent 1977: 13)  
 how they.go toward valley-DEF  
 ‘Yesterday I saw some/many/some/a few/three people going toward the valley.’

- (5) *Sakam da go pluknam eden čovek koj beše včera kaj tebe.*  
 I.want SP him.ACC I.spit one person who was yesterday at you.ACC  
 'I want to spit on a man who was at your place yesterday.' (Berent 1977: 13)
- (6) *Sakam da (\*go) pluknam eden čovek no ne znam kogo.*  
 I.want SP him.ACC I.spit one person but not I.know whom.ACC  
 'I want to spit on a man, but I don't know who.'

Berent notes that (4) is acceptable only to some speakers, while others judge it ungrammatical, non-literary, or dialectal. He explains the acceptability of (5) by making a distinction between specified and specific, claiming that Albanian and Greek distinguish specified (previous mention) from non-specified (new information), while Macedonian distinguishes specific (having an identifiable referent) versus non-specific (as yet unidentifiable referent).

Koneski (1967: 262), however, cites the following nineteenth-century example from Marko Cepenkov, which is clearly indefinite, and, moreover, non-specified and non-specific:

- (7) *Star čovek da go pregrnuvaš vo son [...] boles ќе te fati*  
 old person SP him.ACC you.embrace in sleep [...] illness FU you.ACC grab  
 'If you dream of embracing an old person [...] you'll get sick.'  
 (Cepenkov in Koneski 1967: 262)

Example (7), whose author was from Prilep, is especially interesting as it is a bare indefinite.

An important example of a non-specified (albeit specific) indefinite is cited by Naylor (1981, 1982: 536):

- (8) [*Prostranstvenoto opredeluvanje so členot ne pretpolaga bezdrugo edno realno vospriemanje na prostranstvenite odnosi vo dadeniot moment.*]

*Razvieno prvobitno vrz takvo vospriemanje, toa vo jazik-ot može*  
 developed originally on such conception, that in language-DEF can  
*da se oddeli sosem od nego, pa da imame prostranstveno*  
 SP IT separates completely from it.ACC, and.then SP we.have spatial  
*opredeluvanje ne po toa kako vistinski ja doživuvame*  
 definition not according.to that how truly it.ACC we.experience  
*edna situacija, ami po toa kako ja zamisluvame, kako si*  
 one situation but according.to that how it we.conceive how self.DAT  
*ja pretstavuvame subjektivno.*  
 it.ACC we.present subjectively

[*The proximal and distal definite articles do not always entail an actual encoding of spatial relations at the moment of speech.*] 'Originally developed on the basis of such a [spatial] conception, [the deictic article] can be completely divorced from it in actual

usage, in which case we have spatial reference not in accordance with how we actually Ø experience a [given] situation, but with how we think of it, how we represent it to ourselves subjectively.' (Koneski 1967: 231–232 = [Del II, §33])<sup>12</sup>

The *situacija* 'situation' in (8) has not been previously introduced; it means 'a given' but not 'a known'. What makes Naylor's observation particularly salient is the fact that it was composed by Koneski himself. At issue here is the problem of elicited sentences versus naturally occurring discourse.

In this context, Berent (1977) exemplifies the fundamental problem of using the self-reported judgments of native speakers. Indeed, the recently available corpus of Macedonian (Macedonian Text Corpus) provides a number of other examples of non-specified reduplicated objects, including the following:

- (9) *Meġutoa, potrebno e da se naglasi deka jazik-ot e eden od*  
 however necessary is SP IT stress that language-DEF is one from  
*glavni-te elementi koj što ja karakterizira edna zaednica,*  
 chief-DEF elements who what it characterizes one community,  
*etnička zaednica.*  
 ethnic community  
 'However, it is necessary to stress the fact that language is one of the chief  
 elements that characterizes a community, an ethnic community.' (Macedonian  
 Text Corpus)

This example and many others like it demonstrate that potentially specifiable rather than actually specified or specific indefinite objects can indeed trigger object reduplication in Macedonian. On the other hand, Ugrinova (1960/61) cites nineteenth-century examples from Cepenkov's autobiography and K. Šapkarev (two folktales from Vrbjani, Ohrid district) in which definite objects are not reduplicated, but the contexts are insufficient to judge the motivations. It was probably the case that the objects in context were in focus. We shall return to this problem below.

### 3.2 Reduplication and aboutness in Bulgarian

The issue of usage, especially spoken usage, as opposed to elicitation and self-reporting, is particularly salient for the path-breaking work on Bulgarian in Leafgren (2002), made possible by the technology that enables the creation of computer-searchable corpora from large amounts of recorded data, namely *Korpus ot razgovoren bălgarski ezik*, originally collected for Aleksova (1994) and made available to the public. Before turning to this work, however, we should mention Guentchéva (1994), which builds crucially on Ivančev (1978: 137–149, 160–166) and discusses examples (10) and (11)

12. The citation in Naylor (1981/82), p. 21, is a typographical error.

with respect to conditioning factors for reduplication often cited for Bulgarian, viz. OV word order and disambiguation of case relations. Example (12) is also relevant here.

- (10) *Kuče-to ja goni edna kotka.* (Bulgarian)  
 dog-DEF it.ACC.FEM chase one cat.FEM  
 'It's the dog that is chasing a cat.' (Guentchéva 1994: 111)
- (11) *KRUŠA-TA risuva dete-to.*  
 pear-DEF draw child-DEF  
 'The child draws THE PEAR.' (Guentchéva 1994: 109)<sup>13</sup>
- (12) *Pokorena glava sabja ne ja seče.*  
 humble head-FEM sword-FEM not it.FEM.ACC cut  
 'A bowed head is not cut off.' (Ikononov 1968: 200)

In example (10) the clitic pronoun refers to a specific but indefinite object and could be used, for example, in answer to the question 'What do you see in the picture?' (Guentchéva 1994: 116). In example (11) the order is OVS but unambiguous without reduplication if particular emphasis is placed on the pear (Guentchéva 1994: 109), i.e., if the topic is the child and the pear is clearly focused. Example (12) is actually a proverb (quoted using the participial form *pokorna* in Konstantinov's *Baj Ganjo*) using a generic indefinite, although the Turkish of which it is probably a translation has a definite accusative object.<sup>14</sup> It also stands as a counterexample to the claim that object reduplication serves a disambiguating function with regard to case relations, since in (12) both subject and object are feminine and stand before the verb.<sup>15</sup> It is worth noting that both (10) and (11) are likely to be perceived as ungrammatical if cited out of any explanatory context, and Guentchéva supplies contexts for these examples.

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13. Pace Stojanov (1983: 192), which describes the reduplication in (i) as *neobhodimo* "necessary":

- (i) *Deteto go uhapalo kuče* (Bulgarian)  
 child-DEF it.ACC bit.NEUT dog  
 'A dog bit the child'

it can be argued that context and intonation can be used to disambiguate.

14. The Turkish version is the following (Ikononov 1968: 200):

- (i) *yavaş baş-ı kılıç kesmez.* (Turkish)  
 gentle head-ACC.DEF sword it.does.not.cut

15. The disambiguating function is seen in examples such as that cited for Macedonian by Goľab (1953: 285; cf. Ilievski 1973: 209):

- (i) *Jakuf ja zakopa žena-ta.* (Macedonian)  
 Jakuf her buried wife-DEF  
 'Jakuf buried his wife.'

If *go* 'him' replaces *ja* 'her' the sentence means 'The woman buried Jakuf.'

According to Assenova (2002: 113–115), however, reduplication in Bulgarian is impossible when true indefiniteness is involved, i.e., with bare indefinites as in (13):<sup>16</sup>

- (13) *Prikazka* Ø/\**ja* *razkazvaše* *vsjaka večer*. (Bulgarian)  
 story Ø/it-FEM-ACC tell-3-SG-IMPF every evening  
 S/he used to tell a story every evening.’ (Assenova 2002: 114)

Guentchéva uses the term *thématisation*, which we can translate as “topicalization” to describe the function of reduplication. Assenova (2002: 113–115) argues that in Bulgarian pronouns are not reduplicated when they bear the logical stress and that any object accompanied by any sort of *opredelitel* ‘identifier’ (including, e.g., ‘one’ used as an indefinite article) has the potential to be reduplicated. In general, these studies are consistent with Kallulli (1999, 2000), who argues that for Albanian and Greek, reduplication marks topicalization, and topicalization is in complementary distribution with focus. Crucially, Albanian requires such reduplication in some contexts where it is optional in Greek (and in Bulgarian). We shall return to these points in our discussion of Albanian and Greek.

As indicated above, Leafgren (2002) is unique among the sources on Balkan object reduplication in that it analyzes a huge corpus of colloquial data. This has enabled him to make arguments based on actual usage that until now had to depend on speaker judgments, which are not always reliable guides to what people actually say, as opposed to what they say that they say. With regard to object reduplication, Leafgren’s main thesis (2002: 197) is that it marks what he calls *aboutness*, usually contrastive aboutness. He demonstrates that object reduplication in Bulgarian is almost always used as an overt marker of topicality when the clause-level aboutness of the object is unexpected owing to its not being a theme (or stable theme) at the discourse level. Thus, for example, in (14) the discourse theme, i.e., the topic of the context, is a philanderer, but in the clause with reduplication, the topic is adolescent greed:

- (14) *No izvednaž zad gärb-a mu ostana ljubopitstvo-to kām*  
 but suddenly behind back-DEF him.DAT remained curiosity-DEF to  
*žensko-to tjalo, njamaše ja poveče junočeska-ta lakomija da natrupva*  
 female-DEF body not.have it more adolescent-DEF greed SP accumulate  
*opit i toj se čuvaše da kazva na prijateli-te si ...*  
 experience and he IT heard SP says to friends-DEF self.DAT  
 ‘But all of a sudden he lost his curiosity about the female body, the adolescent voracity for accumulating experience was now gone, and he was heard to say to his friends ...’ (Leafgren 2002: 180)

16. In the context of reduplication, Assenova (2002: 115) treats the presence of any *opredelitel* “definer,” including any sort of article or pronoun whether definite or indefinite, as *ravno na opredelenost* “equivalent to definiteness.” In this sense the term “referential” could be used. But the argument becomes circular when she continues: *ako udvojavaneto e vāzmožno, dopālnitelno da se sčita za gramatičeski opredeleno i obratno*; “if reduplication is possible, the object/complement should be considered definite, and vice-versa.”



The concept of *aboutness* enables Leafgren to account for the fact that topicality and focus are not always in complementary distribution. This fact, which is also recognized by Guentchéva (cited in Leafgren 2002: 177) and others, is illustrated in (15):

- (15) – *Na piano svirja veče s dve rāce.* – *Na pianoto!* – *Da.* – *I kakvo*  
 on piano I.play already with two hands. on piano-DEF; – yes and what.kind  
*sviriš?* – *Razni pieski. Ama edna ošte ne sām ja naučil, zaštoto e*  
 you.play different pieces but one still not am it learn-PT because is  
*mnogo trudna.*  
 very hard  
 ‘– I already play the piano with two hands. – The piano! –Yes. – And what do  
 you play? – Various pieces. But one I haven’t learned yet because it’s very hard.’  
 (Leafgren 2002: 149)

Leafgren also makes the point that while reduplicated topics are usually specific, they need not be so, and cites an example from the oral corpus in which the discussion was concerned with markets:

- (16) *Banan ne običam da go jam.* (Bulgarian)  
 banana not I.like SP it.ACC I.eat  
 ‘I don’t like to eat bananas.’ (Leafgren 2002: 176)

As in the Macedonian example in (7) and the Bulgarian example in (12), the reduplicated direct object here is a bare indefinite, which contradicts the assertion that reduplication does not occur with bare indefinites (see [13]). While it could be argued that these are all generics and that generics sometimes occur as definites, the fact remains that here the reduplicated object is a bare indefinite. Thus, (13) could occur with reduplication, although its interpretation would differ from the interpretation without reduplication.

### 3.3 Reduplication in dialectal Balkan Slavic

Keremedčieva (1993: 297–299) surveys much of the available Bulgarian dialect literature, which, unlike studies of the standard language, does make extensive use of spoken narrative, albeit not as spontaneous as in some of the modern urban corpora. Nonetheless, her observations are consistent with the previous observations, namely that object reduplication occurs relatively infrequently in eastern Bulgarian, and, moreover, the frequency seems to decrease as one moves east. In Macedonian, the standard language reflects its western dialectal base in this respect, whereas the situation in the eastern dialects is more like that in Bulgarian (Vidoeski 1960/61: 23). In this, as in many other crucial features, the BCS dialects of Gora (southwesternmost Kosovo) go with Macedonian. The Torlak dialects have pronominal reduplication, but

the reduplication of nominal objects does not occur in the dialect literature, although speakers report that it is possible. Pronominal reduplication also occurs in southern Montenegrin dialects (Ivić 1958: 17). It is worth noting in particular that the BCS dialects of Sretečka Župa, just to the east of Gora in Kosovo lack the definite article (and other features) connecting Gora with Macedonian, but do display some substantival object reduplication as seen in (17) and (18) in opposition to (19):

- (17) *Traživ nekoj koj može da mu odgovori ruskomu caru.*  
 he.sought someone who can SP him.DAT respond Russian.DAT king.DAT  
 'He sought someone who could respond to the Russian king.' (Pavlović 1939: 256–57)
- (18) *pa de će vidjet dukat – zgazi – dok gi zbrale sve dukati.*  
 so where FU they.see ducat step.IMP until them.ACC they.gathered all ducats  
 'and where[ever] they saw a ducat [they would] step on it until they had gathered all the ducats.' (Pavlović 1939: 289)
- (19) *On ne čav da ide za magare da potraži, teke žena otišla te*  
 he not wanted SP go for donkey SP seek and.so wife went and  
*mu dovela magare.*  
 him brought donkey  
 [The wife has told him to go to the neighbors' to borrow a donkey in order to get wood]  
 'He didn't want to go ask for the donkey, so the wife went and brought him the donkey.' (Pavlović 1939: 252)

The Slavic dialects of the Balkans suggest that the current areal situation reflects the historical spread of reduplication, from the regions with the most consistent and grammaticalized reduplication of substantival objects, in Macedonian, to their pragmatic encoding in Bulgarian and finally their general restriction to pronominal objects in dialectal BCS.

### 3.4 Reduplication as Topicalization in Albanian and Greek

The basic facts as reported in standard reference grammars are these. According to Buchholz & Fiedler (1987: 443, cf. also Buchholz 1977: 180), clitic doubling of Albanian definite direct objects can be facultative if the word order is canonical (SVO) as in (20), but such omission is not permitted for indirect objects as seen in (21):

- (20) *Agim-i po Ø/e vështron hënë-n.* (Albanian)  
 Agim-DEF PROG Ø/it watches moon-ACC.DEF  
 'Agim is watching the moon.'

- (21) *Çfaqj-a \*Ø/i pëlqeu Agim-it.*  
 show-DEF Ø/him pleased Agim-DAT.DEF  
 'The show pleased Agim.' (= Agim liked the show). (Buchholz 1977: 180)

Moreover, according to Buchholz (1977: 188–89), even indefinite direct objects in Albanian can require reduplication if they are preposed, as seen in (22) and (23):<sup>17</sup>

- (22) *Çdo gjë \*Ø/e duan gati.*  
 every thing Ø/it they.want ready  
 (23) *Ata Ø/\*e duan gati çdo gjë.*  
 they Ø/it they.want ready every thing  
 'They wanted everything ready.' (Buchholz 1977: 188–89)

Example (24) illustrates a typical use of reduplication for topicalization in Albanian. In the opening sentence of the article, Afërdita Aliu is introduced and is therefore part of the new information. In the later sentence, however, Afërdita is the topic and triggers reduplication:

- (24) *Në qendër të qytet-it, dy persona të panjohur, që flitnin*  
 in center PC.IF.ACC city-DEF.DAT two persons PC.IF.PL unknown that spoke  
*serbisht, Ø sulmuan dhe tentuan të Ø rrëmbejnë studente-n*  
 Serbian Ø attacked and attempted SPØ kidnap student-DEF.ACC  
*Afërdit-a Aliu (1973) nga Kaçanik-u i Vjetër [...]. Një-r-i*  
 A.-DEF A. (1973) from K-DEF PC.M old one-DEF  
*nga persona-t e panjohur e paska sulmuar Afërditë-n dhe*  
 from persons-DEF PC.PL unknown her.ACC have.AD attack.PT A-DEF.ACC and  
*e paska kërcënuar me revole edhe më 17 janar.*  
 her.ACC have.AD threaten.PT with revolver and on 17 January

17. Albanian also has a series of constructions in which the verb takes only an indirect object, but both accusative and dative reduplicative pronouns (Buchholz 1977: 183; Buchholz & Fiedler 1987: 445–46). There are about a dozen verbs that behave this way, most of them verbs of motion as in (i) or idiomatic constructions such as (ii). Here reduplication appears to be in part a morphologized or lexicalizing signal (In the motion verbs, the reduplication is facultative, but in the idioms it is obligatory.):

- (i) *Ia hipi kal-it.* (Albanian)  
 it.DAT+it.ACC mounts horse-DEF.DAT  
 'He mounted the horse.'  
 (ii) *Ia dhamë gaz-it.*  
 him.DAT+it.ACC we.gave smile-DEF.DAT  
 'We burst into laughter.'

It is worth noting that in southwestern Macedonian, the same kind of construction can occur:

- (iii) *mu go udrivme na smea* (Macedonian)  
 him.DAT it.ACC we.hit on/to laughter  
 'We burst into laughter.'

‘In the center of town, two unknown persons who were speaking Serbian attacked and attempted to kidnap the student Afërdita Aliu (1973) from Old Kaçanik [...] One of the unknown persons had attacked Afërdita and threatened her with a revolver also on 17 January.’ ([www.albanian.com/kmdlj](http://www.albanian.com/kmdlj) – [cdhrf@albanian.com](mailto:cdhrf@albanian.com))

As noted above under § 1.2, object reduplication in Greek is usually facultative except with ‘everything’ as in (25)

- (25) *Ola ta kserei.* (Greek)  
all it.ACC.PL knows  
‘S/he knows everything.’

It was Kazazis & Pentheroudakis (1976) who first attempted to account for such instances. Basing their work on Greek and Albanian, they conclude that indefinite direct objects can, or even must, be reduplicated if they are specific, thematic, or contrastive. This foreshadows later work that identifies topicalization or “aboutness” as a conditioning factor. The authors also note that Romanian behaves similarly but has the additional complicating factor of animacy. Their key Greek example is (2) repeated here:

- (2) *Soú (tó) plékō éna poulóber.* (Greek)  
you.DAT (it.ACC) I.knit one sweater  
‘I’m knitting you a sweater./I’ll knit you a sweater.’  
(Kazazis & Pentheroudakis 1976: 400)

Kazazis & Pentheroudakis observe that the reduplication is unacceptable if (2) is the answer to questions such as “What are you doing?” or “What are you knitting [for me]?” but it would be expected if *sweater* is already the topic of conversation, e.g., as part of a conversation about sweaters or in reply to a request for a number of knitted items. They reach the same conclusion for Albanian, where reduplication can also be expected in cases of topicalization. Kallulli’s (2000: 218–219) comparison of Albanian and Greek highlights the similarities and differences, as seen in the relationship of examples (26a–f) to the questions in (27a–d). By way of comparison, we have added the Standard Macedonian and Bulgarian equivalents:

- (26) a. *Ana Ø lexoi libr-in.* (Albanian)  
A. read book-DEF.ACC  
b. *Ana Ø dhiavase to vivlio.* (Greek)  
A. read the.ACC book.ACC  
c. *Ana e lexoi libr-in.* (Albanian)  
A. it read book-DEF.ACC  
d. *Ana to dhiavase to vivlio.* (Greek)  
A. it read the.ACC book.ACC  
e. *Ana Ø pročete kniga-ta.* (Bulgarian)  
A. read book-DEF

- f. *Ana ja pročita kniga-ta.* (Macedonian)  
 A. it read book-the  
 'Ana read the book'
- (27) a. What did Ana do?  
 b. What did Ana read?  
 c. Who read the book?  
 d. What did Ana do with the book?

Kallulli makes the point that (26a) and (26b) answer questions (27a) or (27b) whereas (26c) and (26d) answer questions (27c) and/or (27d). A key difference between Albanian and Greek is that Albanian requires the clitic if the sentence is an answer to (27c) or (27d) whereas Greek permits the omission of the clitic regardless of the question, although it prefers the clitic in the same contexts where Albanian requires it. Example (26f) illustrates the fact that the reduplicated object is the only acceptable possibility in Standard Macedonian whereas the Bulgarian norm would prescribe the unreduplicated version of (26e). As Leafgren's (2002) data demonstrate, however, colloquial Bulgarian can be expected to pattern like Albanian and Greek.

Kallulli further makes a similar point using lexical focus, which, in the context of a simple SVO sentence means that the nonfocused item is the topic. Here we see that a focused object cannot be doubled in Greek and Albanian, while topical direct objects must be doubled in Albanian and can be doubled in Greek.

- (28) a. *Pap-a Ø vizitoi madje Tiranë-n.* (Albanian)  
 Pope-DEF Ø visited even Tirana-DEF.ACC
- b. *O Papas Ø episkeftike akoma ke ta Tirana.* (Greek)  
 the Pope Ø visited even and the.ACC Tirana  
 (Kallulli 2000: 222(22))
- c. *Papa-ta go poseti duri i Tirana.* (Macedonian)  
 Pope-DEF it visited even and Tirana  
 'The Pope visited even Tirana.' – Tirana is focus
- (29) a. *Madje Pap-a e vizitoi Tiranë-n.* (Albanian)  
 even Pope-DEF it.ACC visited Tirana-DEF.ACC
- b. *Akoma ke o Papas (ta) episkeftike ta Tirana.* (Greek)  
 even and the Pope (it.ACC) visited the.ACC Tirana  
 (Kallulli 2000: 223)
- c. *Duri i Papa-ta go poseti Tirana.* (Macedonian)  
 even and Pope-DEF it visited Tirana  
 'Even the Pope visited Tirana.' - Pope is focus, Tirana is topic

### 3.5 Albanian and Greek dialects

With regard to Albanian dialects, Central Geg as represented by Muhurr (Jully & Sobolev 2002: 63, 69–70) and Northern Tosk as represented by Leshnja (Jully & Sobolev

2003: 42–48) show differences that pattern with neighboring (and also contact) languages. Muhurr, which is in the Dibra region (Macedonian Debar) patterns like Macedonian, whereas Leshnja, in the Skrapar region tends to pattern more like Greek. According to Ilievski (1988[1973]: 164) reduplication is also particularly characteristic of northern Greek dialects.

#### 4. Topicalization and factive Verbs

In one respect, however, Albanian and Greek have reduplication where Macedonian normally does not, namely with complement clauses of factive verbs or in factive contexts. According to Buchholz & Fiedler (1987: 442), Albanian requires pronominal reduplication for clauses after verbs of thinking and perception when the subordinate clause expresses a “determined thought”, as in (30), whereas the Macedonian equivalent in (30b) is marginal:<sup>18</sup>

- (30) a. *E dija se do të vonohet.* (Albanian)  
 it.ACC I.knew that FU SP be.late  
 b. *[?Go] znaev deka ke zadocni.* (Macedonian)  
 it.ACC I.knew that FU be.late  
 ‘I knew that he would be late.’

According to Kallulli (this volume), a reduplicated complement is a topic treated as a presupposition and therefore a fact. Thus, for example, while the clitic could not be omitted with *di* ‘know’, it would not occur with *beson* ‘believe’ unless the belief were accepted as fact. So, in (31a–b) the reduplicating pronoun would only be used if the object of belief were being presented as a fact, which would then make subsequent contradiction (e.g., “... but I could be wrong”) infelicitous:

- (31) a. *(E) besova se Jan-i shkoi* (Albanian)  
 it I.believed that J.-DEF left  
 b. *(To) pistepsa oti o Ianis efige* (Greek)  
 it I.believed that the I. left  
 ‘I believed that John left.’

Albanian *di* ‘know’ and Greek *kserō* ‘know’ will normally be preceded by a reduplicative clitic pronoun when followed by a factive complementizer such as Albanian *se*

18. The Bulgarian equivalent would also be unacceptable. Some speakers of Macedonian from the southwest will accept (30b), but this is not sanctioned in the literary norm. In fact, it appears to be an elliptical version of *Go znam faktot deka* ‘I know the fact that ....’ Smith (1999) makes related observations connected with German and colloquial English, which suggests interesting avenues for further comparative research but goes beyond our focus here.

‘that’ or Greek *oti* ‘that’ but not when followed by the subjunctive complementizer (Albanian *të*, Greek *na*), in which latter case the verb means “know how to” and does not, therefore, refer to an actual fact. It is also worth noting, however, that here, as in examples (26)–(27), Greek treats the reduplication as facultative whereas in Albanian it is expected. Moreover, in Greek, whereas a clause such as *metániōsa pou* ‘I regretted that’ will take a reduplicated clitic, a verb such as *lypámai pou* ‘I feel sorry that’ will not (Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warbuton 1997: 453). Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warbuton (1997: 453) describe this latter type as “a verb of strong emotion,” but it appears that further research is needed on this matter. We can add that although Kallulli (2000: 231) judges reduplicated bare indefinites in Albanian and Greek as ungrammatical, in view of Leafgren (2002), it may well turn out that spoken corpora for Greek and Albanian will provide additional and different insights.

## 5. Lability and genitive/dative differentiation

As already noted above, reduplication is not generally needed to disambiguate case roles, e.g., in example (12) (see note 13). Nonetheless, there are two phenomena connected with the disambiguation of syntactic roles (case relations) that are attributed to reduplication: the disambiguation or marking of labile verbs and the differentiation of indirect objects (dative) from possessors (genitive).

In Bulgarian, Leafgren identifies one small class of exceptions to topicality as the trigger of reduplication, namely indirect objects without the prepositional marker *na*. Such constructions are highly colloquial, but occur in literature as well as speech, and although many of these occurrences are also topics, there are some instances where they are not, in which case, argues Leafgren, case marking does appear to be the sole motivation:

- (32) *Kakvo mi drānkaš ti mene za turci-te, če bili pomilostivi.* (Blg)  
 what me.DAT you.jabber you me.OBL for turks-DEF that were.L more-merciful  
 ‘Why are you jabbering to me about the Turks, that they’re [supposedly] more merciful.’  
 (Konstantinov cited in Leafgren 2002: 136)

In Macedonian, the reduplicative pronoun makes the difference between an intransitive and a causative in (33a) and (33b) and between an indirect object and a possessor in (34a) and (34b):

- (33) a. *Dete-to spie.* / *Spie dete-to.* (Macedonian)  
 child-DEF sleeps /sleeps child-DEF  
 ‘The child sleeps/is sleeping.’  
 b. *Dete-to go spie.* / *Go spie dete-to.*  
 child-DEF it.ACC sleeps / it.ACC sleeps child-DEF  
 ‘S/he is putting/puts the child to sleep.’

- (34) a. *Go pročita pismo-to na dete-to.*  
 it.ACC read letter-DEF to child-DEF  
 'S/he read the child's letter.'
- b. *Mu go pročita pismo-to na dete-to.*  
 him.DAT it.ACC read letter-DEF to child-DEF  
 'She read the letter to the child.'

The differences in word order in (33a) and (33b) can convey differences in focus and topicality that in English could be rendered by intonation or lexical means, and there are means of expressing possession other than the *na*-clause in (34a), but the basic point that the reduplication marks transitivity or the indirect object remains. It is important to note that when labile verbs function as transitives, the direct object must be a pronoun or definite substantive, or at least determined. Lopašov (1978: 105–107) and Assenova (2002: 109) adduce similar examples from Bulgarian, Greek, and Romanian. Examples (35)–(38) illustrate the same point as (33a–b) using Bulgarian and Greek, while (39)–(40) is a Romanian example similar to (34a–b). Note that (35) could be interpreted with the meaning of (36) if it were clear from the context that 'trees' were the focus (e.g., instead of shrubbery). Without a special context, however, it will be interpreted as intransitive. Examples (38) and (40) require reduplication for their interpretation.

- (35) *Dārva-ta gorjat.* (Bulgarian)  
 trees-DEF they.burn  
 'The trees are burning.'
- (36) *Dārva-ta gi gorjat.* (Bulgarian)  
 trees-DEF them.ACC they.burn  
 'They burn the trees.'
- (37) *To paidi pége sto skoleío.* (Greek)  
 the child goes to.the school  
 'The child goes to school.'
- (38) *To paidi to pége sto skoleío.*  
 the child him.ACC goes to.the school  
 'S/he took the child to school.'
- (39) *Ion a citit scrisoarea Mariei.* (Romanian)  
 John has read letter-DEF Mary-DEF.DAT  
 'John read Mary's letter.'
- (40) *Ion i- a citit scrisoarea Mariei.* (Romanian)  
 John her-DAT has read letter-DEF Mary-DAT.DEF  
 'John read the letter to Mary.'

It should be noted, however, that while these subject/direct object and possessor/indirect object distinctions are disambiguated for Balkan Slavic, Greek, and Balkan Romance by reduplication, in the case of Albanian (and to some extent in Greek) the



distinct morphology or morphosyntax of the definite accusative and genitive (distinguished from the dative by the presence of a particle of concord) provides disambiguation regardless of reduplication.

## 6. Balkan Romance and Romani

Thus far we have concentrated our attention on those Balkan languages that represent the range and spread of object reduplication from the grammaticalization of Macedonian through the grammatical/pragmatic conditioning of Albanian to the pragmatic conditioning of Bulgarian and Greek. From a strictly phenomenological point of view, Balkan Romance and Romani are needed to complete the general picture of object reduplication as a Balkanism, but, especially in the case of South Danubian Balkan Romance, these languages also offer additional sociolinguistic and areal insights.

### 6.1 Romanian

As indicated above, Romanian is more restricted than Albanian in its requirements for reduplication, and word order, partitivity, and humanness all participate as defining factors (Farkas 1978: 93–96). In addition to the contexts requiring reduplication described above, there are also contexts where it is normatively prohibited, e.g., with non-personal indefinite pronouns, and non-personal substantives unless pre-verbal and marked as both specific and partitive (Farkas 1978: 93–96; Tasmowski 1987: 382–383). Tasmowski (1987) makes the point that a purely formal syntactic treatment cannot account adequately for actual usage, i.e., the presence or absence of reduplication can be pragmatically conditioned by the discourse context. Thus, for example, in a formal invitation sent by an embassy, an expression such as (41) would be used and reduplication would not be used:

- (41) *X are onoarea de a invita PE doamna profesor YZ.* (Romanian)  
 X has honor-the of to invite PE Mrs. professor YZ.  
 'X has the honor of inviting Professor YZ ...' (Tasmowski p.c.)

This stricture is reminiscent of Bulgarian, which, as we have seen, avoids reduplication in formal contexts. Liliane Tasmowski (p.c.) however argues that the formality is itself the result of the fact that reduplication entails some sort of familiarity with the topic, i.e., having a referent in mind beforehand (which she calls *anaphoricity*). The situation for Romanian as described by Tasmowski (1987), in which topicality is a factor but not a sole determiner, is in fact reminiscent of explicitness and aboutness as described by Leafgren (2002) for Bulgarian.

## 6.2 Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian

Missing from all these accounts, however, is South Danubian Romance, and it is precisely these languages and their dialects that show most clearly the contact nature of reduplication. Macedonia-Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian pattern with Macedonian, and thus, for example, in contrast to Daco-Romanian, all definite direct objects are reduplicated. The Aromanian of Metsovo (Aminciu) in Greece, however, have the same pragmatic constraints as in Greek, rather than the grammatical requirements found in Macedonian. Thus, examples (42a), (43a), and (44a) show reduplicated direct objects in Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian with Macedonian translations (42b–43b) in contexts where Romanian would not reduplicate. Note in particular in (43a) that even the possessive construction, which in other Aromanian dialects would be *a aistului om*, in the Ohrid dialect (Frasherote variety) also patterns like Macedonian by using a prepositional construction. On the other hand, examples (45)–(47) show that the Aromanian of Metsovo/Aminciu patterns with Greek.

- (42) a. *Auș-lu nu vrea s-l u-aspargă kēfe-(a) a fičor-lui.*  
 old-DEF not wanted SP him it spoil pleasure-DEF to child-DEF.DAT  
 (Aromanian Kruševo)
- b. *Stari-ot ne sakaše da mu go rasipe kef-ot na dete-to.*  
 old-DEF not wanted SP him it spoil pleasure-DEF to child-DEF  
 (Macedonian)  
 ‘The old man did not want to spoil the child’s pleasure.’ (Goľab 1974: 37)
- (43) a. *U vādzuj kas-a al aist om.* (Aromanian Ohrid)  
 It I.saw house-DEF to that man/person
- b. *Ja vidov kukja-ta na ovoj čovek.* (Macedonian)  
 It I.saw house-DEF to that man/person  
 ‘I saw the house of that man.’ (Marković 2000: 58)
- (44) *lă loa bucium-ul, lă turi shi zisi* (Megleno-Romanian)  
 it.ACC took log-DEF it.ACC threw and said  
 ‘he took the log, threw it[away] and said: ...’ (Papatsafa 1997: 27/1999: 15)
- (45) *kinele muske fčorulu.* (Aromanian Metsovo/Aminciu)  
 dog-DEF bit boy-DEF  
 ‘the dog bit the boy.’ (Beis 2000: 382)
- (46) *fčorulu lu muske kinele.* (Aromanian Metsovo/Aminciu)  
 boy-DEF him.ACC bit dog-DEF  
 ‘As for the boy, the dog bit him.’ (Beis 2000: 232)
- (47) *tute nu lji shtiu.* (Aromanian Metsovo/Aminciu)  
 everything not it.ACC.PL I.know  
 ‘I don’t know everything.’ (Beis 2000: 449)

Example (47) reflects the same type of agreement as (25), viz. a plural for ‘everything’, as in Greek, but also as in Daco-Romanian *El le știe pe toate* ‘He knows everything’ (literally he it.ACC.PL knows on all.PL). In this respect, Balkan Romance is closer to Greek than to Balkan Slavic. See (52a–d) below with regard to the Romani of Agia Varvara.

### 6.3 Romani

The importance of Romani as a participant in the Balkan *Sprachbund* is increasingly recognized (Matras 1994; Boretzky & Igla 1999). This is especially the case in terms of phenomena such as modality and subordination. In terms of the morphosyntax of object reduplication, Romani occupies a middle position similar to that of Greek, which was its earliest and most significant Balkan contact language historically. Thus, Romani object reduplication tends to occur with preverbal objects and topicalized object pronouns. Examples (48) and (49) are typical in this respect:

- (48) *O melalo pani na piena le ni o džungale ruva.*  
 the dirty water not drink it.ACC nor the bad wolves  
 ‘Even wicked wolves do not drink dirty water.’ (Jusuf 1996: 125)
- (49) *E Rifatos pendžarav, e čhaja da pendžarav, ama man*  
 the.ACC Rifat I.know the.ACC daughter.ACC and I.know but me  
*ma axmize man kidisave bucende ridžaj kerav tuke.*  
 not embroil me this work.PL.LOC request I.make you.DAT  
 ‘I know Rifat and I know his daughter, but don’t mix me up in this business,  
 I beg of you.’ (Jusuf 1974: 14)<sup>19</sup>

Example (50a–b) demonstrates that Romani in the dialects of Skopje does not correspond to the strong grammaticalization of the Macedonian system with which it is in intimate contact. Examples (50a–b), were recorded in July 1994 from a single broadcast of a Skopje Romani radio music-request program (*Gili pali gili* ‘Song after song’) in which the announcer switched freely back and forth between Romani (50a) and Macedonian (50b). The announcer consistently reduplicated when he spoke Macedonian, but not in Romani:

- (50) a. *O Ajnuri thaj o Džemo tari i Švedska bahtaren*  
 the Ajnur and the Džemo from the Sweden congratulate  
*e pranden e Ramijeske thaj e Mirsadake*  
 the marriage.ACC the Rami.DAT and the Mirsada.DAT  
*thaj e Safeteske thaj e Sadijake bahtarena o bijav ...*  
 and the Safet.DAT and the Sadija.DAT congratulate the wedding ...  
 ‘Ajnur and Džemo from Sweden congratulate Rami and Mirsada on their  
 marriage, and they congratulate Safet and Sadija on their wedding.’

19. The speaker here is using Macedonian Burgudži pronunciation, but the construction also occurs in Arli.

- b. *Naza i Oli od Švedska im go čestitat brak-ot*  
 Naza and Oli from Sweden them it congratulate marriage-DAT  
*na Rami i Mirsada a na Safet i Sadija im ja čestitat*  
 to Rami and Mirsada and to Safet and Sadija them it congratulate  
*svadba-ta ...*  
 wedding-DEF ...  
 ‘Naza and Oli from Sweden congratulate Rami and Mirsada on their  
 marriage, and they congratulate Safet and Sadija on their wedding.’

Example (51) illustrates post-verbal reduplication, but without accompanying context:

- (51) *me tovav la i bofča*  
 I wash it the press  
 ‘I am washing the press’ (Miklosich 1880: 10 cited in Bubeník 1997: 98)

As with the Aromanian of Metsovo/Aminciu, so, too, in the Romani of Agia Varvara, a suburb of Athens, the dialect has calqued the Greek construction using ‘all’ as illustrated in (52a–d):

- (52) a. *Džanes len sa* (Romani)  
 you.know it.ACC.PL all  
 b. *Ta ksereis ola* (Greek)  
 it.ACC.PL you.know all  
 c. *Sa džanes len* (Romani)  
 all you.know it.ACC.PL  
 d. *Ola ta ksereis* (Greek)  
 all it.ACC.PL you.know  
 ‘You know everything.’ (Igla 1996: 161)

Igla notes that the use of the plural accusative resumptive pronoun in Romani makes this a literal loan-translation rather than a reflection of the Romani system, which in this context would treat *sa* like English ‘everything’, i.e., as a singular.

Most Balkan Romani dialects lack a lexical verb meaning ‘have,’ and those dialects use an existential construction that requires an accusative clitic pronoun. The possessor is in the nominative if it is a substantive but in the accusative if a pronoun, as in (53) and (54). This type of reduplication is unique to Romani in the Balkans.

- (53) *I daj si la duj čhave.* (Romani)  
 the.NOM mother is her.ACC two children  
 ‘The mother has two children.’  
 (54) *Man si ma[n] duj čhave.*  
 me.ACC is me.ACC two children  
 ‘I have two children.’

This same type of possessive construction also calques the existential use of *ima* “have” in Balkan Slavic, where reduplication is required in Bulgarian as well as Macedonian, as in the Romani of (55a) and its Macedonian equivalent in (55b):

- (55) a. *O virusi isi le ko rat.* (Romani)  
           the virus is it.ACC in blood
- b. *Virus-ot go ima vo krv-ta.* (Macedonian)  
           virus-DEF it.ACC has in blood-DEF  
           ‘The virus is in the blood.’ (Friedman 2000: 192–193)

## 7. The diachrony of object reduplication in the Balkans

With regard to the history of object reduplication in the Balkans, Ilievski (1988[1973]: 164) notes that the construction is attested at its earliest in Vulgar Latin. Even if there are hints of the construction in New Testament Greek (see note 7), this dates from a period when contact with Latin was already becoming significant. In the case of Albanian, we cannot know what the situation was before the sixteenth century, and object reduplication in the earliest texts is not well established (Assenova 2002: 105). In the case of Slavic, the phenomenon may well date back to the Old Church Slavonic period (Ilievski 1988[1973]), but it clearly does not become well established until the early modern period, and indeed the evidence from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries indicates that pragmatic factors still had some influence even in western Macedonian (Ugrinova 1960/61). Ilievski (1988[1973]) also makes the valuable point that even if internal factors played a part in the rise of object reduplication in Balkan Slavic, the fact that the phenomenon is absent from Slavic outside the Balkans points to language contact as a contributing or decisive factor. We can add that the dialectal pattern of degree of grammaticalization in Balkan Slavic also points to language contact as the chief factor in the spread and establishment of object reduplication.

## 8. Conclusion

When examined in its Balkan context, object reduplication tells us a number of things about language contact phenomena in general and Balkan contact phenomena in particular. It provides a striking illustration of the way a pragmatic phenomenon becomes syntactic and finally grammaticalized almost to the point of morphologization. Here the areal distribution of reduplication and its degree of integration into the various Balkan linguistic systems arguably reflects different diachronic stages as well as different synchronic systems.

The center of innovation is clearly the area where Central Geg Albanian, Western Macedonian, and Northern Aromanian, which overlap precisely in Western Macedonia, have been in intensive contact for many centuries. The situation to the south of that region, in Northern Tosk, Northern Greek and Southern Aromanian, taken in light of the reduplicating core to the north, suggests that, in view of the early historical attestations in Balkan Latin (and admitting the inadequacy of any speculation concerning the ancestor of Albanian), the process in this region advanced along a similar path, but has been retarded by influence from Greek, which has been more conservative in this respect.

To the east of the core, Eastern Macedonian as well as Bulgarian show a similar development that has only gone as far as topicalization, although, as was noted above (example (32)), the beginnings of a purely case-marking function are present in Bulgarian. We can add that it is also precisely in Eastern Macedonian that synthetic dative pronouns are replaced by *na* plus the accusative, as in Bulgarian, creating a similar possibility for a pure case-marking function of reduplication.

As we move further north to Romanian, on the one hand, and BCS on the other, the phenomenon becomes more restricted. Such features as humanness and partitivity for Romanian and the restriction to object pronouns (which also often denote humans) in BCS correlates with a higher degree of topicality.

The relative marginality of reduplication in Judezmo and Romani arguably corresponds to the marginality of those languages in the Balkans. As Topolińska (1994: 121) writes: “Under such circumstances [‘the need to be understood in the process of oral communication in a multilingual environment’] the primary candidates for grammaticalization are also those signals that will guarantee successful reference”. Unlike the classic Balkan languages, speakers of Romani and Judezmo learned others’ languages but their languages were not used by others, making the multilingualism unidirectional in this respect. This could well have contributed to the relative rarity of object reduplication, since such referentiality would not be taking place cross linguistically, although habits from speaking other languages were at least partially imported.

Second, despite the possibilities of parallel development and the operation of universal principles, the patterns of convergence in Western Macedonia, especially the evidence of Northern Aromanian, Western Macedonian, and Central Geg, are too striking to be attributed to mere parallelism, especially when known patterns of multilingualism are taken into account. The parallels of Tosk, Southern Aromanian and Greek also point to a secondary level of contact convergence. The process clearly began as one of contrast and topicalization and in the core became grammaticalized while remaining a pragmatic device encoding explicitness in the periphery.

Third, the differing treatments in Bulgarian and Macedonian also illustrate how standardization, and, perhaps, language ideology (§2.3), can influence usage. Reduplication is thus seen as classically Balkan, with Romani and Judezmo on the

margins, and its differing degree of grammaticalization in the various languages and dialects reflects the history of its incorporation into the different systems under diverse contact situations. Moreover, the core of the phenomenon is seen in Western Macedonia, but the evidence of Megleno-Romanian suggests a South Danubian Romance impetus.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	INF	infinitive
AD	admirative	IT	intransitive marker
DAT	dative	L	verbal-form/past indefinite
DEF	definite	M	masculine
DOM	direct object marker	NOM	nominative
FEM	feminine	PC	particle of concord
FU	future marker	PT	participle
IF	indefinite	PROG	progressive
IMP	imperative	SP	subordinating modal particle

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# Towards grammaticalization of clitic doubling

## Clitic doubling in Macedonian and neighbouring languages

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In the Balkan Slavic languages, whose dialects actually form a dialectal continuum, clitic doubling shows gradual variation along a vertical north-south axis and a horizontal east-west axis. On the north-south axis, there is variation with respect to the categories that can be clitic-doubled. On the east-west axis languages/dialects vary with respect to the conditions on clitic doubling, with almost total dependence on discourse factors in the easternmost dialects in the area and remarkable dependence on grammatical factors in the westernmost ones. In the majority of the Macedonian dialects discourse factors do not play any role and all definite direct objects and all specific indirect objects are clitic doubled. In Western Macedonia, the vertical north-south axis and the horizontal east-west axis along which clitic doubling variation in Balkan Slavic moves, intersect, so that in the Western Macedonian dialects, as well as in Standard Macedonian, which is based on the West-Central dialects, clitic doubling is obligatory with all definite direct and all specific indirect objects. In the case of indirect objects, the specificity effect does not always hold; even non-articled NPs, which are never specific, can sometimes be clitic doubled. Accordingly, in Western and Standard Macedonian the doubling clitic is becoming a mere case marker of the object it doubles. In Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian, two Romance Balkan languages which are in close contact with the Western Macedonian dialects, the conditions for clitic doubling are analogous to those in Macedonian. This fact leads to the conclusion that the grammaticalization of the doubling clitic is an areal phenomenon.

### 1. Introduction

The conditions for clitic doubling in the Balkan languages can be plotted on a scale at one end of which is complete grammaticalization, at the other total dependence on discourse factors. Interestingly, while in one of the Balkan Slavic languages, namely Macedonian,

they are closest to complete grammaticalization, i.e., to becoming mere case markers which formally distinguish direct and indirect objects from subjects,<sup>1</sup> in another Balkan Slavic language, Bulgarian, clitic-doubling is predominantly dependent on discourse factors. This paper deals with the conditions of clitic doubling in Macedonian and neighbouring Balkan languages.

Prior to the analysis, a clarification of the notions referred to is in order. Following the Prague School tradition (for references in English cf. Firbas 1992; Sgall, Hajičová & Benešová 1973; Sgall, Hajičová & Panevová 1986), I take every utterance to be articulated into two parts: theme or topic and rheme or comment. In the neutral, prototypical, unmarked SVO Macedonian sentences (as in the sentences of the SVO Balkan languages in general), the topic and the comment are determined by the linearization of the sentence, the topic coinciding with the subject, the comment with the predicate.

Topicalization is understood here as the occurrence of the sentential topic in the Left Periphery, sentence topic being a discourse related notion characterized informally as “old information” and juxtaposed to focus, informally characterized as “new information”.<sup>2</sup> The focus is the most prominent part of the comment. There are two basic types of foci: information focus and identificational or contrastive focus (cf. Kenesei 1997; Kiss 1998; Arnaudova 2003); while information focus relates to an assertion that is not associated with a set of elements, contrastive focus involves a set of elements implicitly or explicitly given in previous discourse and selects one of them, rejecting the others.<sup>3</sup> The contrastive focus can remain *in situ* (and receive contrastive stress) or move to a focus position in the Left Periphery, to the right of topicalized elements.

By analogy with analyses of cooccurrences of clitics with topicalized objects in Romance (cf. Cinque 1984, 1990), the cooccurrence of clitics with topicalized objects in the Balkan languages has been referred to as “clitic left-dislocation” (cf. Iatridou 1990; Anagnostopoulou 1994; Arnaudova 2003). The label “clitic left-dislocation” might be adequate for languages in which the occurrence of the clitic is contingent on the occurrence of the topic in the Left Periphery, but it is not for languages, such as Macedonian, where clitic doubling is not contingent on the position

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1. Macedonian lacks subject clitics altogether.

2. These characterizations are common in generative grammar (cf. Culicover & Rochemont 1983; Rochemont 1986; Rochemont & Culicover 1990).

3. Kenesei (1997) refers to the selection as “exclusion by identification”. For Kiss (1998) the information focus involves a simple selection of a value for a variable, while the exhaustive focus rejects other potential or real values offered by preceding discourse. Arnaudova (2003) makes a distinction between focus on the predicate (or comment) and argumental focus associated with a variable (information focus) or with a previous set of values (contrastive focus). King (1995), on the other hand, speaks of contrastive, non-contrastive and presentational foci.

of the object in the clause. In my analysis, all direct and indirect objects that cooccur with pronominal clitics, whether they occur to the right of the verb or in the expanded CP referred to as Left Periphery (cf. Rizzi 1997) are clitic doubled objects. The clitics which have traditionally been referred to as “clitic left-dislocations” are treated as clitics doubling topicalized objects in the Left Periphery.<sup>4</sup> “Topicalization” actually covers all the occurrences of objects in topic position in the left periphery, whether they are clitic doubled or not. The precise derivation of topicalized elements shouldn’t however concern us here, since it has no bearing on the clitic doubling strategy.

Both topicalized and focused objects can be definite or indefinite. While proper names are inherently definite, common nouns are definite by virtue of being determined by a definite determiner or carrying a definite article. Indefinite objects can be preceded by indefinite articles or indefinite determiners, or appear without any articles or determiners, in which case they are referred to as “bare indefinites”. Whereas bare indefinites are never linked to the domain of discourse, articulated indefinites can be discourse-linked and [+specific] or not discourse linked and [–specific]. The specific reading involves a set defined at the NP level by the lexical properties of the nominal head, whereas the non-specific reading involves a set defined at the clause level (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1994: 225). The specificity of NPs is determined by a mechanism that is partially constrained by the lexicon, by the definiteness of the NP and by a principle that requires quantifiers to be specific (cf. Enç 1991: 14). Though the [±specific] ambiguity is typical for DPs with indefinite articles or determiners, it also occurs with definites. Following Heusinger (2002), I take definiteness to express uniqueness of an object that is not necessarily identified, while specificity expresses referential dependency between items introduced in the discourse.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, the basic features of the Macedonian clausal pronominal clitics are listed. In sections 3 and 4 clitic doubling of Macedonian lexical and pronominal direct and indirect objects is analyzed, while in section 5 clitic doubling of *wh*-words is discussed. In section 6, the discussion in the previous sections is summed up. In section 7, clitic doubling in Macedonian is put in a wider Balkan perspective, with particular reference to clitic doubling in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian. Section 8 offers some general conclusions on clitic doubling in Macedonian in relationship to clitic doubling in Balkan Slavic.

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4. Objects in sentences such as the Macedonian sentence (i) are treated as topicalized objects that are not clitic-doubled.

(i) *Riba ne jadam.*  
 fish not eat.1SG  
 ‘As for fish, I don’t eat it.’

2. Basic features of the Macedonian pronominal clitics

The Macedonian pronominal clitics inflect for person and number and (in the case of third person clitics) for gender:

Table 1. Macedonian pronominal clitics

	DAT		ACC	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1st	<i>mi</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ne</i>
2nd	<i>ti</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ve</i>
3rdM/N	<i>mu</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>gi</i>
3rdF	<i>i</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>gi</i>
REFL	– <i>si</i> –		– <i>se</i> –	

I take the Macedonian pronominal clitics to originate as heads of agreement phrases and move to preverbal position (cf. Tomić 2000, 2004). Along with the negation marker *ne*, the modal clitics *ќе* ‘will’ and *bi* ‘would’, the subjunctive mood marker *da* and the ‘be’-auxiliary clitics, in this order, they occur in clusters,<sup>5</sup> and though listed as prime examples of proclitics (cf. Spencer 1991), they regularly procliticize only to tensed verbs or *l*-participles in positive indicative clauses (cf. Tomić 1997, 2000, 2005, to appear):<sup>6</sup>

- (1) a. *Jana ne → ќе → da → im → gi →* MAC  
Jana not.CL will.MOD.CL SUBJ.MARK 3PL.DAT.CL 3PL.ACC.CL  
  
*dade knigite.*  
give.3SGPERF.PRES books+the.PL  
  
‘Jana is not likely to have given them the books.’

5. Note that DAT pronominal clitics can also be hosted by nouns, in which case they function as possessive clitics.

6. In the glosses of the examples, the following abbreviations are used: 1/2/3 = 1st/2nd/3rd person; ACC = accusative (case); AGRIOP = indirect object agreement phrase; AGROP = direct object agreement phrase; AOR = aorist; CL = clitic; DAT = dative (case); DEIC = deictic; DIST = distributive; DP = determiner phrase; F = feminine; IMPER = imperative; IMPERF = imperfective (aspect); L-PART = participle ending on *-l* for masculine singular, *-la* for feminine singular, *-lo* for neuter singular, *-li* for all persons plural; MARK = marker; M = masculine; NEUT = neuter; NOM = nominative; PART = participle; PASS = passive; PAST = past (tense); PERF = perfective (aspect); PL = plural; PRES = present (tense); PROX = proximate; PROX1 = proximate to first person; REFL = reflexive; SG = singular; SPEC = specific; SUPERL = superlative; SUBJ = subjunctive. The languages are abbreviated as follows: ALB = Albanian; AROM = Aromanian; MAC = Macedonian; M-R = Megleno-Romanian; ROM = Romanian; SES = South-Eastern Serbian; SERB = Serbian.

- b. *Ne* → *ke* → *si* → *im* → *gi* →  
 not.CL will.Mod.CL be.2SG.CL 3PL.DAT.CL 3PL.ACC.CL  
*dadela knigite.*  
 given.M.SG.SUBJ.1-PART books+the.PL  
 'You wouldn't give them the books.'

Pronominal clitics that, along with auxiliary clitics, occur to the immediate left of passive participles can encliticize to a constituent to their left or procliticize to the verb to their right:

- (2) a. *?Mu* → *e* → *skinato paltoto.* MAC  
 3SG.M.DAT.CL be.3SG.CL torn.N.SG.PASS.PART coat+the.N.SG  
 b. *Skinato* ← *mu* ← *e paltoto.*  
 torn.N.SG.PASS PART 3SG.M.DAT.CL be.3SG.CL coat+the.N.SG  
 'His coat is torn.'

Pronominal clitics in clauses with nominal predicates encliticize to a constituent to their left, which may be a subject or the nominal predicate itself:

- (3) a. *Petko* ← *mu* ← *e tatko.* MAC  
 Petko 3SG.M.DAT.CL be.3SG.CL father  
 'Petko is his father.'  
 b. *Tatko* ← *mu* ← *e.*  
 father 3SG.M.DAT.CL be.3SG.CL  
 'He is his father.'

Pronominal clitics in imperative clauses with imperative morphology encliticize to the imperative verb:

- (4) a. *Daj* ← *mu* ← *go!* MAC  
 give.2SG.IMPER 3SG.M.DAT.CL 3SG.M.ACC.CL  
 'Give it to him!'  
 b. *Dajte* ← *mu* ← *gi knigite!*  
 give.2PL.IMPER 3SG.M.DAT.CL 3PL.ACC.CL books+the.PL  
 'Give the books to him!'

Unlike their Bulgarian counterparts, the Macedonian clausal clitics lack the restriction of non-occurrence in initial position in the clause. Thus, the syntactic position of the Macedonian clausal clitics differs much more from the original position of the common South Slavic clausal clitics and contributes to the fact that the Macedonian doubling clitics are being grammaticalized and tend to act as case markers.

All Macedonian pronominal clitics can occur as the only arguments of the verb or cooccur with or clitic double (full) pronominal or lexical arguments. If two pronominal clitics cooccur, the DAT clitic must precede the ACC one. While in the majority of the



clitic doubling Balkan languages 1st and 2nd person pronominal clitics do not cooccur, in Macedonian they may do so.

- (5) a. *Petre (tebe) (mene) mi te* MAC  
 Petre you.DAT/ACC me.DAT/ACC 1SG.DAT.CL 2SG.ACC.CL  
*pretstavi.*  
 introduce.3SG.PERF.PAST  
 ‘Petre introduced you to me.’
- b. *Petre (mene) (tebe) ti me*  
 Petre me.DAT/ACC you.DAT/ACC 2SG.DAT.CL 1SG.ACC.CL  
*pretstavi.*  
 introduce.3SG.PERF.PAST  
 ‘Petre introduced me to you.’

The occurrence of the full pronouns is not obligatory, but if they occur, they have to be clitic doubled. These pronouns are always definite and specific.

### 3. Direct object clitic doubling

In direct object clitic doubling definiteness plays a central role. In Standard Macedonian as well as in the Central and Western Macedonian dialects, all definite direct objects are clitic doubled, whether human or non-human, animate or inanimate, concrete or abstract:

- (6) *Jana go zaboravi Petka/volkot/pismoto/* MAC  
 Jana 3SG.M.ACC.CL forget.3SG.PERF.PAST Petko.ACC/wolf+the/letter+the/  
*problemot.*  
 problem+the  
 ‘Jana forgot Petko/the wolf/the letter/the cloud.’

Definite DPs are most often specific, but can also be non-specific. Specificity, defined as referential dependency between items introduced in the discourse, plays no role when the direct object is definite however. The direct objects in (6) are both unique and referentially identified, i.e., they are specific definites. The direct object in (7), on the other hand, can receive a specific or a non-specific interpretation. But whether specific or not, it is invariably clitic doubled:

- (7) *Jana \*(go) bara režiserot.* MAC  
 Jana 3SG.M.ACC.CL look-for.3SG movie-director+the.M.SG
1. ‘Jana is looking for the movie-director (namely, for X, who happens to be the movie-director).’
  2. ‘Jana is looking for the movie-director (whoever he may be).’

Indefinite direct objects are, as a rule, not clitic doubled. Thus, in (8), where the direct objects have indefinite articles, the doubling clitics are not accepted, irrespective of whether the objects receive a specific or non-specific interpretation:

- (8) a. *Jana (\*go) bara eden slaven režiser.* MAC  
 Jana 3SG.M.ACC.CL look-for.3SG a.M.SG famous.M.SG movie-director  
 1. 'Jana is looking for a famous movie-director (she happened to meet the other day).'  
 2. 'Jana is looking for a famous movie-director (whoever that may be).'
- b. *Jana (\*ja) bara edna crvena tetratka.* MAC  
 Jana 3SG.F.ACC.CL look-for.3SG a.F.SG red.F.SG notebook  
 1. 'Jana is looking for a red notebook (which she bought the other day).'  
 2. 'Jana is looking for a red notebook (which may be new or used).'

With partitive indefinites, however, clitic doubling of direct objects does involve specificity. As illustrated in (9), when the partitive indefinite direct object is specific, it is clitic doubled, while when it is non-specific it is not clitic doubled:

- (9) a. *Ja omaži edna od ќerkite.* MAC  
 3SG.F.ACC.CL marry.3SG.PERF.PAST a.F.SG of daughters+the.PL  
 lit. One of his/her daughters (namely Ana) (s)he married.  
 'For one of his/her daughters (namely, Ana) (s)he found a husband.'
- b. *Omaži edna od ќerkite.* MAC  
 marry.3SG.PERF.PAST a.F.SG of daughters+the.PL  
 lit. One of his/her daughters (it does not matter which one) (s)he married.  
 'For one of his/her daughters (it does not matter which one) (s)he found a husband.'

But partitives are not true indefinites. As pointed out by von Heusinger (2002), partitives are complex expressions that involve an indefinite choice from a definite set, while on Anagnostopoulou & Giannakidou's (1995) scale of referentiality they are more referential than referential indefinites:

- (10) referential indefinites > partitives > weak definites > novel definites > proper names and definite descriptions > definites > demonstratives > anaphoric pronouns

Specific indefinite direct objects in heavy (complex) clauses, can also be clitic doubled:

- (11) a. *(Go) nateraa eden čovek da ja izvadi pločata.* MAC  
 3PL.M.ACC.CL force.3PL.PERF.PAST a.M.SG man SUBJ.Mark 3SG.F.ACC.CL  
 remove.3SG.PERF.PRES boulder+the.F.SG  
 'They forced a (specific) man to remove the boulder.'

- b. (Ja) videle edna moja drugarka kako MAC  
 3SG.F.ACC.CL seen.PL.I-PART a.F.SG my.F.SG friend.F how  
 sleguva od brodot.  
 descend.3SG from ship+the.M.SG

‘They saw a (specific) friend of mine leave the ship.’

On the basis of the occurrence of the clitic in an example such as (11a,b), Berent (1980) concludes that it is not definiteness, but rather specificity that is crucial for the clitic doubling of Macedonian direct objects, and Franks & King (2000: 252–253), referring to Berent’s example, arrive at the same conclusion. Nevertheless, as shown by the unacceptability of the clitics in (8), specificity *per se* does not open the door for direct object clitic doubling. One might speculate that the subjunctive complement in sentences such as (11a) and the modifying clause in sentences such as (11b) are responsible for a type of specificity different from that in (8),<sup>7</sup> but even if this is the case, clitic doubling is not obligatory, as it is with definite direct objects. Moreover, as shown by the unacceptability of the clitic in (12), where the nouns are non-human, not only specificity, but also humanness might be involved:

- (12) a. (\*Ja) videle edna krava kako vleguva vo MAC  
 3SG.F.ACC.CL seen.PL.I-PART a.F.SG cow how enter.3SG in  
 kućata.  
 house+the.F.SG

‘They saw a cow entering the house.’

- b. (\*Ja) videle edna moja kniga kako paĝa MAC  
 3SG.F.ACC.CL seen.PL.I-PART a.F.SG my.F.SG book how fall.3SG  
 od prozorecot.  
 from window+the.M.SG

‘They saw a book of mine fall from the window.’

The occurrence of direct objects in topic or focus positions in the Left Periphery, as a rule, has no effect on its cooccurrence with an ACC clitic. I am, however, aware of one exception to this rule: indefinites which could conveniently be labelled “contrastive indefinites”<sup>8</sup> are not clitic doubled when they are to the right of the verb

7. Agnastopoulou & Giannakidou (1995) point out that, cross-linguistically, it is not always specificity narrowly defined that affects clitic-doubling.

8. The referents of these indefinites are always in contrast with some other objects in the domain of discourse. In English, the nouns of the “contrastive indefinites” are determined by *one other* or *another*.

(cf. 13a), or occupy a focus position in the Left Periphery (cf. 13b), but have to co-occur with an ACC clitic when occurring in topic position in the Left Periphery (cf. 13c):

- (13) a. (\*Go)                    *zapalia*                                    *edno drugo selo.*                    MAC  
    3SG.N.ACC.CL set-on-fire.3SG.PERF.PAST a.N.SG other.N.SG village  
    ‘They set on fire another village.’
- b. *EDNO DRUGO SELO* (\*go)                                    *zapalia.*                    MAC  
    a.N.SG other.N.SG village 3SG.N.ACC.CL set-on-fire.3SG.PERF.PAST  
    ‘It is another village that they set on fire.’
- c. *Edno drugo selo,* \*(go)                                    *zapalia.*                    MAC  
    a.N.SG other.N.SG village 3SG.N.ACC.CL set-on-fire.3SG.PERF.PAST  
    ‘As for one other village, they set it on fire.’

Though definiteness, defined as the uniqueness of an object which is not necessarily identified (cf. section 1), plays a central role in the co-occurrence of clitics with Macedonian direct objects, along with specificity, topicalization, i.e., the occurrence of the object in initial position in the Left Periphery (cf. section 1), could be treated as peripherally instrumental. As a matter of fact, in (13c), where the occurrence of the clitic is obligatory, a contrast with a definite set is involved and one can speak of a “D-linked” clitic.

Bare indefinite direct objects are, as a rule, not clitic doubled.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the clitics in (14) are not accepted even when topicalized<sup>10</sup> or heavy, whatever the type of the noun:

- (14) a. *Jana* (\*go)                                    *sretna*                                    *dete/volk/voz/oblak.*                    MAC  
    Jana 3SG.M/N.ACC.CL meet.3SG.PERF.PAST child/wolf/train/cloud  
    ‘Jana met a child/wolf/train/cloud.’
- b. *Kuće treva ne* (\*ja)                                    *jade.*                    MAC  
    dog grass not 3SG.F.ACC.CL eat.3SG  
    lit. As for a dog, it does not eat grass  
    ‘As for dogs, they do not eat grass.’

9. Topolinjska (1995: 94) gives an example of clitic-doubling of a noun without an article, from a Macedonian dialect spoken in Northern Greece, noting that clitic-doubling can sometimes occur with indefinite human direct objects, especially if they are masculine:

- (i) %i ko si                                    *dojde*                                    *vremeto,*                    *go*                    MAC  
    and when DAT.REFL.CL come.3SG.PERF.PAST time+the.N.SG 3SG.M.ACC.CL  
    *rodi*                                    *dete.*  
    bear.3SG.PERF.PAST child  
    ‘...and when the time came she gave birth to a child.’

10. Topicalized bare indefinites are generic.

- c. (\*Go)            čuv            dete   kako   plače.            MAC  
 3SG.N.ACC.CL hear.1SG.PERF.PAST child how cry.3SG  
 'I heard a child crying.'

#### 4. Indirect object clitic doubling

Indirect object clitic doubling in Standard Macedonian and in the Central and Western Macedonian dialects is contingent on specificity. Nouns determined by indefinite articles are not always clitic doubled; they are clitic doubled only when specific:<sup>11</sup>

- (15) a. *Jana mu go dade pismo na edno*    MAC  
 Jana 3SG.M.DAT.CL 3SG.N.ACC.CL gave.3SG letter+the.N.SG to a.N.SG  
*dete.*  
 child  
 'Jana gave the letter to a child (that I know).'
- b. *Jana go dade pismo na edno dete.*    MAC  
 Jana 3SG.N.ACC.CL gave.3SG letter+the.N.SG to a.N.SG child  
 'Jana gave the letter to a child (whose identity is not important).'

The contrast is more evident in the case of the determiner *nekoj* 'some', which can be morphologically marked for non-specificity by the morpheme *-si*.<sup>12</sup> When *-si* is present the clitic cannot be used:

- (16) a. *Jana (mu) go dala*            MAC  
 Jana 3SG.N.DAT.CL 3SG.M/N.ACC.CL given.F.SG./-PART  
*pismo na nekoe dete.*  
 letter+the.N.SG to some.N.SG child  
 'Jana has given the letter to some child.'
- b. *Jana (\*mu) go dala*            MAC  
 Jana 3SG.M/N.DAT.CL 3SG.M/N.ACC.CL given./-PART.F.SG  
*pismo na nekoe-si dete.*  
 letter+the.N.SG to some.N.SG.NON-SPEC child  
 'Jana has given the letter to some child (whoever that may be).'

11. The cooccurrence of the DAT clitic with indefinite indirect objects may vary from dialect to dialect and from speaker to speaker, but it is, in general, much more frequent than the cooccurrence of the ACC clitic with indefinite direct objects.

12. The determiner *nekoj* 'some' inflects for number and gender and has the following forms: *nekoj* M.SG, *nekoja* F.SG, *nekoe* N.SG, *nekoj* PL.

Indirect objects with definite determiners can also be clitic doubled or not, depending on whether they are specific or not:<sup>13</sup>

- (17) a. *Sakam da mu dadam cveke*<sup>14</sup> MAC  
 want.1SG SUBJ.MARK SG.M.DAT.CL give.1SG.PERF.PRES flower  
*na našiot najslaven režiser.*  
 to our+the.M.SG SUPERL.MARK+famous movie-director  
 'I want to give flowers to our most famous movie-director  
 (namely to Milčo).'
- b. *Sakam da dadam cveke* MAC  
 want.1SG SUBJ.MARK give.1SG.PERF.PRES flower  
*na našiot najslaven režiser.*  
 to our+the.M.SG SUPERL.MARK+famous movie-director  
 'I want to give flowers to our most famous movie-director (whoever it is).'

In some cases, however, the specificity effect does not always hold and the clitic can optionally be left out, even when the definite indirect object is obviously specific, and irrespective of whether it is in postverbal position, or in a topic or focus position in the Left Periphery:<sup>15</sup>

- (18) a. *?(Im) davam knigi na decava.* MAC  
 3PL.DAT.CL give.1SG books to children+the.PL.PROX1  
 'I am giving books to these children.'

13. Compare to direct object definites, which always have to be clitic-doubled. Thus, (i) is unacceptable, whether the object is specific or not:

- (i) *\*Sakam da vidam našiot najslaven* MAC  
 want.1SG SUBJ.MARK see.1SG.PERF.PRES our+the.M.SG SUPERL.MARK+famous  
*režiser.*  
 movie-director  
 purported reading: 'I want to see our most famous movie-director.'

14. *Cveke* is here used as a collective noun.

15. Note that this can never happen with direct objects. Thus, (i-iii) without the ACC clitic would be non-acceptable:

- (i) *\*(gi) davam knjige na deca.* MAC  
 3PL.ACC.CL give.1SG books+the.PL.PROX1 to children  
 'I am giving these books to children.'
- (ii) *KNIGIVE \*(gi) davam na deca.* MAC  
 books+the.PL.PROX1 3PL.DAT.CL give.1SG to children  
 'It is these books that I am giving to children.'
- (iii) *Knjige NA DECA \*(gi) davam.* MAC  
 books+the.PL.PROX1 to children 3PL.ACC.CL give.1SG  
 'As to these books, it is to children that I am giving them.'

- b. NA DECAVA                      ?(im)              davam   knigi.                      MAC  
 to children+the.PL.PROX1 3PL.DAT.CL give.1SG books  
 'It is to these children that I am giving books.'
- c. Na decava                      KNIGI ?(im)              davam.                      MAC  
 to children+the.PL.PROX1 books 3PL.DAT.CL give.1SG  
 'As for these children, it is books that I am giving to them.'

Bare indefinites, which can never be specific, can also be optionally clitic doubled, whether they occur postverbally or in focus or topic positions in the Left Periphery:<sup>16</sup>

- (19) a. Jana (mu)              go              dade              pismoto                      MAC  
 Jana 3SG.M.DAT.CL 3SG.N.ACC.CL give.3SG.PERF.PAST letter+the.N.SG  
 na dete.  
 to child  
 'Jana gave the letter to a (mere) child.'
- b. NA DETE (mu)              go              dade              pismoto.                      MAC  
 to child 3SG.DAT.CL 3SG.N.ACC.CL give.3SG.PERF.PAST letter+the.N.SG  
 'It is to a (mere) child that (s)he gave the letter.'
- c. Na kuče, TREVA ne (mu)              se              dava.                      MAC  
 to dog grass not 3SG.DAT.CL REFL.ACC.CL give.3SG  
 'As for dogs, it is not grass that one should give them.'

The fact that the specificity effect does not always hold in the case of the DAT clitic indicates that this clitic is actually much more close to becoming a mere case marker than the ACC clitic is.

## 5. Clitic doubling of *wh*-words

Macedonian has one invariable *wh*-word, *što* 'what/that', and four inflecting *wh*-words: *koj* 'who/which', *kakov* 'what kind', *kolkav* 'what size' and *čij* 'whose', which occur both as pronouns and modifiers in both interrogative and relative clauses and are involved in clitic doubling or the occurrence of resumptive clitics.<sup>17</sup> Clitic doubling is essentially contingent on specificity.

16. The occurrence of the clitic with bare indirect objects varies from dialect to dialect and from speaker to speaker.

17. When used as an interrogative pronoun, *koj* 'who' is [+human] and inflects for case; it then has the following forms: *koj* 'who.NOM', *kogo* 'who.ACC', *komu* 'who.DAT'. When used as a relative pronoun *koj* can be [+human] or [-human]; if [+human], it inflects for gender, number and if masculine singular, for case; it then has the forms: *koj* 'which.M.SG.NOM', *kogo* 'which.M.SG.

When it functions as an interrogative pronoun, *koj* can refer to a specific or non-specific person and, accordingly, can cooccur with a clitic or not, whereas when it functions as a noun modifier, it specifies the noun it occurs with and a doubling clitic is obligatory. Examples:

- (20) a<sub>1</sub>. *Kogo vide?* MAC  
 whom see.2/3SG.PERF.PAST  
 'Who did you/(s)he see?'  
 a<sub>2</sub>. *Kogo go vide?* MAC  
 whom 3SG.M.ACC.CL see.2/3SG.PERF.PAST  
 'Who (of the persons we know) did you/(s)he see?'  
 b<sub>1</sub>. *Komu dade cveke?* MAC  
 whom.DAT give.2/3SG.PERF.PAST flower  
 'To whom did you/(s)he give flowers?'  
 b<sub>2</sub>. *Komu mu gi dade cvekata?* MAC  
 whom.DAT 3SG.M.DAT.CL 3PL.ACC.CL give.2/3SG.PERF.PAST flowers+the.PL  
 'To whom (of the persons we know) did you/(s)he give the flowers?'  
 (21) a. *Koja devojka \*(ja) sakaš?* MAC  
 which.F.SG girl 3SG.F.ACC.CL love.2SG  
 'Which girl (of the girls we know) do you love?'  
 b. *Na koj student \*(mu) dade desetka?* MAC  
 to which.M.SG student 3SG.M.DAT.CL give.2/3SG.PERF.PAST ten.NOUN  
 'To which student (of the students we have) did you/(s)he give a ten?'

*Kakov* 'what kind', *kolkav* 'what size' and *čij* 'whose' do not specify the accompanying noun and the noun phrases in which they occur cannot be clitic doubled:

- (22) a. *Kakov fustan sakaš?* MAC  
 what kind.M.SG dress want.2SG  
 'What kind of a dress do you want?'  
 b. *Kolkava pauza pravite?* MAC  
 what size.F.SG pause do.2PL  
 'How long a pause do you have?'

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ACC; *komu* 'which.M.SG.DAT', *koja* 'which.F.SG', *koe* 'which.N.SG', *koi* 'which.PL'; if [-human], it only inflects for number and gender. When used as a modifier, *koj* does not have any restriction on humanness; it inflects for gender and number and has the forms: *koj* 'which.M.SG', *koja* 'which.F.SG', *koe* 'which.N.SG', *koi* 'which.PL'. The *wh*-words *kakov* 'what kind', *kolkav* 'what size' and *čij* 'whose' inflect for gender and number in all their uses, their forms being analogous to the forms of *koj*, when used as a modifier.



- c. *Čii konduri obleče?* MAC  
 whose shoes put-on.2/3SG.PERF.PAST  
 'Whose shoes did you/(s)he put on?'

*Što* can function as an interrogative pronoun or modifier, as well as a complementizer.<sup>18</sup> When it functions as an interrogative pronoun it is non-specific, when it functions as a modifier it does not specify the noun which it modifies. Thus, in these cases there is no clitic doubling:

- (23) a. *Što (\*go) saka ovoj čovek?* MAC  
 what 3SG.M.ACC.CL want.3SG this.M.SG man  
 'What does this man want?'
- b. *Što čovek (\*go) vidovte?* MAC  
 what-kind man 3SG.M.ACC.CL see.2PL.PERF.PAST  
 'What kind of a man did you see?'

When *što* functions as a complementizer it refers to specific objects and always co-occurs with a resumptive pronominal clitic:

- (24) a<sub>1</sub>. *Čovekot što (\*go) vide ...* MAC  
 man+the what 3SG.M.ACC.CL see.2/3SG.PERF.PAST  
 'The man that you/(s)he saw...'
- a<sub>2</sub>. *Go dadov pismoto na eden* MAC  
 3SG.N.ACC.CL give.1SG.PERF.PAST letter+the.N.SG to a.M.SG  
*čovek što (\*go) vidovme včera.*  
 man what 3SG.M.ACC.CL see.1PL.PERF.PAST yesterday  
 'I gave the letter to a man that we saw yesterday.'
- a<sub>3</sub>. *Ja zaginav knjigata što mi* MAC  
 3SG.N.ACC.CL lose.1SG.PERF.PAST book+the.F.SG what 1SG.DAT.CL  
*\*(ja) dadovte.*  
 3SG.F.ACC.CL give.2PL.PERF.PAST  
 'I lost the book that you gave me.'
- b<sub>1</sub>. *Čovekot što \*(mu) go dade podarokot* MAC  
 man+the what 3SG.M.DAT.CL 3SG.M.ACC.CL gave.2/3SG present+the.M.SG  
 'The man that you/(s)he gave the present to...'
- b<sub>2</sub>. *Devojkata što \*(i) zagina knjigata...* MAC  
 girl+the.F.SG what 3SG.M.DAT.CL lose.3SG.PERF.PAST book+the.F.SG  
 'The girl whose book got lost. ...' (lit. 'The girl to whom the book got lost ...')

18. A reviewer suggested that the Macedonian *što* should not be treated as a *wh*-word at all, comparing it to the Bulgarian *deto*. But the Bulgarian *deto* never occurs in constructions analogous to the Macedonian constructions in (23).

When the complementizer *što* refers to a [+human] direct object, it can be preceded by the *wh*-words *kogo* ‘who.M.SG.ACC’, *koja* ‘who.F.SG’, *koe* ‘who.N.SG’, *koi* ‘who.PL’,<sup>19</sup> so that we actually have complex complementizers which are always accompanied by resumptive pronouns, since they refer to specific objects:

- (25) a. *Studentkata (koja)što majka ti \*(ja) MAC*  
 student+the.F.SG who.F.SG+what mother 2SG.DAT.CL 3SG.F.ACC.CL  
*videla ...*  
 seen.F.SG.I-PART  
 ‘The student whom your mother saw...’
- b. *Čovekot (kogo)što \*(go) sretnavme ... MAC*  
 man+the.M.SG who.M.SG.ACC+what 3SG.M.ACC.CL meet.1PL.PERF.PAST  
 ‘The man whom we met. ...’

The complementizer *što* can also form complex complementizers with *čij* ‘whose’, *kakov* ‘what kind’ and *kolkav* ‘what size’. *Čij* occurs in complementizers that refer to specific [+human] objects and is always accompanied by a resumptive pronoun, whereas *kakov* and *kolkav* occur in complementizers that refer to non-specific objects and are not accompanied by resumptive clitics:

- (26) a. *Čovekot čijašto žena \*(ja) sretnavme ... MAC*  
 man+the.M.SG whose.F.SG+what wife 3SG.M.ACC.CL meet.1PL.PERF.PAST  
 ‘The man whose wife we met...’
- b. *Devojka kakvašto \*(ja) bendisuvam ...*  
 girl what-kind.F.SG+that 3SG.F.ACC.CL like.1SG  
 ‘A girl of the kind that I like ...’
- c. *Fustan kakovšto \*(go) sakam...*  
 dress what-kind.M.SG+that 3SG.M.ACC.CL want.1SG  
 ‘A dress of the kind that I want ...’

## 6. Summing up

Clitic doubling in Macedonian depends on definiteness and specificity. As a rule, direct objects are clitic doubled when definite, whereas indirect objects are clitic doubled when specific. In the case of direct objects, there are only some exceptions to this rule: indefinite partitive direct objects and direct objects in heavy (complex) clauses can optionally be clitic-doubled. The situation with indirect objects is different. In this case,

19. *Kogo* is the ACC case form of the masculine singular relativizer *koj*. The feminine and neuter singular relativizers *koja* and *koe* do not have distinct ACC forms, and neither has the plural relativizer *koi*.

the specificity effect does not always hold, so that the clitics can be optionally left out even when the indirect object is obviously specific, while bare indefinite objects, which can never be specific, may optionally be clitic doubled. Thus, the Macedonian DAT doubling clitics actually act as case markers. At least as far as indirect objects are concerned, clitic doubling in Macedonian is to a great extent a grammatical phenomenon.

*Wh*-words functioning as pronouns and noun phrases with *wh*-words as modifiers, whether in direct or indirect object position, can be specific or non-specific and in the former case they are clitic doubled. The *wh* word *što* is always non-specific, but the same item can be used as a complementizer and in this case it refers to specific objects and regularly cooccurs with a resumptive pronominal clitic.

The occurrence of objects in topic or focus positions, as a rule, has no effect on clitic doubling in Macedonian. I am aware of one exception to this rule – indefinite direct objects that can be referred to as “contrastive” have to co-occur with an ACC clitic when occurring in topic position in the Left Periphery. Yet topicalization in Macedonian does not differ from topicalization in the other clitic doubling Balkan languages, where clitic doubling is generally contingent on discourse factors, so that the grammaticalization of clitic doubling in Macedonian cannot be attributed to distinct topicalization or focusing features.

7. A wider Balkan perspective

As pointed out in the Introduction, and observable by comparing the Macedonian data to the data in Guentchéva (this volume), the conditions for clitic doubling in Bulgarian differ drastically from those in Macedonian – clitic doubling in Bulgarian to a great extent depends on discourse factors, as it does in Modern Greek and Albanian, two non Slavic clitic doubling Balkan languages.<sup>20</sup> However, the interdependence between clitic doubling and topicalization in Bulgarian applies only to the Standard language and the Eastern dialects on which the Standard was based, just as the obligatoriness in Macedonian to double the definite direct objects and the specific indirect objects

20. Note that in Modern Greek topicalized direct objects with indefinite articles are always clitic doubled and in Albanian indefinite objects can be clitic doubled even in situ:

- (i)

*Ena*

*vivlio tha*

*su*

*to*

*paro.*

a.N.SG.ACC

book

will.MOD.CL

2SG.GEN.CL

3SG.N.ACC.CL

take.1SG.PERF.PRES

‘As for a book, I will take for you (but don’t ask for more).’

GREEK
- (ii)

(E)

*pashë*

*një libër*

*të*

*ri.*

3SG.ACC.CL

see.1SG.AOR

a

book+the.M.SG.ACC

ACC.AGR.CL

new

‘I saw a new book.’

ALB

applies to Standard Macedonian and to the Central and Western Macedonian dialects. In the Western Bulgarian dialects, though the role of discourse factors in clitic doubling cannot be discarded, definite direct objects and specific indirect objects are more often clitic doubled than not. The conditions for clitic doubling in the Eastern Macedonian dialects are analogous.

As a matter of fact, in the Balkan Slavic dialectal continuum, clitic-doubling strategies show gradual variation along a vertical north-south axis and a horizontal east-west axis:

- i. As one moves from north to south in the Balkan Slavic area, along with the reduction of the distance between the clitics and the verb, the restrictions on the word classes that can be clitic doubled are relaxed. Thus, while in Standard Serbian and Standard Croatian, where there are paradigms with distinct genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, instrumental and locative case forms for all nominal and pronominal types, clitic doubling is practically non-occurring, in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, where only accusative and partly dative cases occur, clitic doubling optionally appears with all types of direct and indirect objects.
- ii. As one moves from east to west in the Balkan Slavic area on the other hand, along with the gradual disappearance of the rule for non-occurrence of the clitics in clause-initial position, the restrictions on the environments for clitic doubling are relaxed. In the westernmost Balkan Slavic dialects clitic doubling is obligatory with all definite direct and all specific indirect objects. The same conditions for clitic doubling obtain in Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian – Balkan Romance languages that are in close areal contact with the Western Macedonian dialects.

In what follows, we shall shortly discuss clitic doubling in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian.

## 7.1 Clitic doubling in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects

In Standard Serbian the invariant relativizer (*relativum generale*) *što* ‘what’ is clitic-resumed – obligatorily when it refers to indirect objects or animate direct objects and optionally when it refers to inanimate direct objects:

- (27) a. Čovek što sam \*(mu) prodala auto ... SERB  
 man that be.1SG 3SG.M.DAT.CL sold.F.SG.I-PART car  
 ‘The man that I sold the car to ...’
- b. Sto što sam \*(mu) promenio nogu ...  
 table that be.1SG 3SG.M.DAT.CL changed.M.SG.I-PART leg.ACC  
 ‘The table that I changed the leg of ...’
- c. Čovek što sam \*(ga) sreo ...  
 man that be.1SG 3SG.M.ACC.CL met.M.SG.I-PART  
 ‘The man that I met ...’

- d. *Ključ što mu (ga) je dala ...*  
 key that 3SG.M.DAT.CL 3SG.M.ACC.CL be.3SG given.F.SG./-PART  
 'The key that (s)he gave to him ...'

Clitic doubling on the other hand is only found with the proximate and distant deictics *evo* 'here' and *eno* 'there' functioning as verbals, when their direct object occurs in the nominative case. Thus, we have the following alternative:

- (28) a. *Eno Petra.* SERB  
 DIST.DEICT.PARTICLE Petar.ACC  
 b. *Eno ga Petar.*  
 DIST.DEICT.PARTICLE 3SG.M.ACC.CL Petar.NOM  
 'There is Petar.'

In the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, which are adjoining the Northern Macedonian dialects, clitic doubling does occur, though not equally throughout the territory. In all the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, pronouns can be and often are clitic doubled, whether topicalized (as in 29a) or not (as in 29b):

- (29) a. %*Mene me je zemnja pritislula.* SES  
 me.ACC 1SG.ACC.CL is land pressed.F.SG./-PART  
 'I have to till the soil.' (lit. 'The land has pressed me.')
- b. %*Vikaše ni nas.* SES  
 call.3SG.IMPERF.PAST 1PL.ACC.CL US  
 '(S)he was calling us.'

In the western periphery of the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, indirect lexical objects are as a rule clitic doubled. The following examples are from the dialect of Prizren:<sup>21</sup>

- (30) a. %*A mojemu mužu došlo mu* SES  
 and my.DAT husband.DAT come.N.SG./-PART 3SG.M.DAT.CL  
*da kreči.*  
 SUBJ.Mark whitewash.3SG  
 lit. 'And to my husband it occurred that he should whitewash.'  
 'And my husband wants to whitewash (the walls).'

21. The examples are from Topolinjska (2001), who has taken them from Remetić (1996). In (30a) the clitic doubled NP is topicalized, but topicalization does not seem to play any role, as shown by the fact that the non-topicalized NP in (30b) is also clitic doubled. As noted, in this dialect, the DAT case suffix, which has disappeared from most of the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, is also viable. This is due to contact with Albanian, where the DAT case is regularly distinctively marked and most often clitic doubled.

- b. %Ja gi vikam ženama. SES  
 I 3PL.DAT.CL say.1SG women.DAT  
 'I am saying to the women.'

In the eastern periphery of the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, both direct and indirect lexical objects can be clitic doubled.<sup>22</sup> Direct objects are optionally clitic doubled when definite:

- (31) %Nesām (ga) videl ovčara(toga). SES  
 not+be.1SG 3SG.M.ACC.CL seen.M.SG./-PART shepherd+the.M.SG.ACC  
 'I haven't seen the shepherd.'

Indirect objects, on the other hand, are optionally clitic doubled when specific. Thus, in (32a), where the object is specific, we can have clitic doubling, whereas in (32b), where the object is not specific, we cannot:

- (32) a. %Dala sām mu cveće na SES  
 given.F.SG./-PART be.1SG 3SG.M.DAT.CL flowers to  
 šefa /jedno dete.  
 chief.ACC /a child  
 'I gave flowers to the chief (namely to X, who happens to be the chief)/  
 to a child (that I can identify).'
- b. %Dala sām cveće na šefa/jedno dete. SES  
 given.F.SG./-PART am.AUX.CL flowers to chief.ACC/a child  
 'I gave flowers to the chief (whoever that may be)/to a child (whose identity  
 is not important).'

Topicalization does not play any role in clitic doubling. As illustrated in (33), topicalized objects are also optionally clitic doubled:

- (33) %Na deteto knjigu(tu) (mu) dade Jana, SES  
 to child+the.N.SG book+the.SG.ACC 3SG.M.DAT.CL give.3SG.AOR Jana  
 a ne Petar.  
 and not Petar  
 'As for the child, it is Jana who gave the book to him, not Peter.'

Thus, clitic doubling in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects occurs in same environments as in Macedonian, but it is always optional.

22. The constituency of the clitic cluster and the linear ordering of the clitics is the same as in Standard Serbian, and so is their syntactic and phonological behaviour. The only difference is that, in these dialects, there are no genitive clitics (which are marginal in the Serbian standard, anyway). These and the following South-Eastern Serbian examples have been provided by Nedeljko Bogdanović, a dialectologist from the University of Niš, who is a speaker of the dialect.

## 7.2 Clitic doubling in Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian

In Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian – the Balkan Romance languages in close areal contact with South-Western Macedonian – clitic doubling occurs under conditions analogous to those of clitic doubling in Macedonian. As illustrated in (34) and (35), direct objects are clitic doubled if definite, while indirect objects are clitic doubled if specific:<sup>23</sup>

- (34) a<sub>1</sub>. *\*(L)- om vidzută Petri/ filmul.* AROM  
 3SG.M.ACC.CL-have.1SG.CL seen.PAST.PART Petri movie+the.M.SG  
 ‘I’ve seen Petri/the movie.’
- a<sub>2</sub>. *\*(L)- am vizut Petre/ filmu.* M-R  
 3SG.M.ACC.CL-have.1SG.CL seen.PAST.PART Petri movie+the.M.SG  
 ‘I’ve seen Petri/the movie.’
- b<sub>1</sub>. *\*(L)- om vidzută un film.* AROM  
 3SG.M.ACC.CL-have.1SG.CL seen.PAST.PART a.M film
- b<sub>2</sub>. *\*(L)- am vizut un film.* M-R  
 3SG.M.ACC.CL-have.1SG.CL seen.PAST.PART a.M film  
 ‘I’ve seen a movie.’
- (35) a<sub>1</sub>. *Petre lj-u are dată* AROM  
 Petre 3SG.DAT.CL-3SG.F.ACC.CL have.3SG given.PAST.PART  
*cartea a feaŭiljei/ a unei feaŭă.*  
 book+the.F.SG to girl+the.DAT/ to a.F.DAT girl  
 ‘Petri has given the book to the girl/to a (specific) girl.’
- a<sub>2</sub>. *Petre i-u ari dat* M-R  
 Petre 3SG.DAT.CL-3SG.F.ACC.CL have.3SG given.PAST.PART  
*carta la feata / la ună feaŭă.*  
 book+the.F.SG to girl+the.F.SG / to a.F girl  
 ‘Petre has given the book to the girl/to a (specific) girl.’

23. Thus, conditions for clitic doubling in Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian differ from the conditions for clitic doubling in the third and major Balkan Romance language, Romanian, where, as shown in (i), non-topicalized, non-human direct objects are, as a rule, not clitic doubled even when they are definite:

- (i) *Am mâncat pește.* ROM  
 have.1SG eaten.PAST.PART fish+the.M.SG  
 I ate/have eaten the fish.’

- As in Macedonian, the specificity effect does not always hold. Even bare indefinite indirect objects, which can never be specific, can sometimes be optionally clitic doubled:

- ## 8. Conclusion

In the Balkan Slavic dialectal continuum, as one moves from north to south, the restrictions on the type of constituents that can be clitic doubled are relaxed, whereas as one moves from east to west, the restrictions on the environments for clitic doubling are relaxed. Thus, while in Serbian in general only resumptive clitics accompanying the general relativizer appear, in some South-Eastern Serbian dialects any definite direct object and any indefinite indirect object can be clitic doubled. On the other hand, whereas in Bulgarian in general, clitic doubling is contingent on discourse factors, in the westernmost Bulgarian dialects we have clitic doubling of direct or indirect objects that are not discourse-linked. In Western Macedonia, the two axes along which clitic doubling variation in Balkan Slavic moves intersect, so that in the Western Macedonian dialects, as well as in Standard Macedonian, which is based on the West-Central Macedonian dialects, clitic doubling is obligatory with all definite direct and all specific indirect objects. In the case of indirect objects, the specificity effect does not always hold and even non-articled NPs, which are never specific, can be clitic doubled. Accordingly, in Western and Standard Macedonian the doubling clitic is becoming a mere marker of the case of the object it doubles.



The fact that in Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian, two Romance Balkan languages which are in close contact with the Western Macedonian dialects, the conditions for clitic doubling are analogous to those in Macedonian, leads to the conclusion that the grammaticalization of the doubling clitic in Western Macedonian is an areal phenomenon.

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# The genesis of clitic doubling from Ancient to Medieval Greek

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The study of the development of clitic doubling in Greek and its possible connection with the other Balkan languages amounts to ascertain when it came into being, and why and under which conditions it occurred. Greek has no subject clitics. As for object clitic doubling, the oldest – isolated – examples can be found in the (private) papyri of the Hellenistic Age, but they hardly appear in literary texts. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that object clitic doubling existed in its modern form in the oldest texts that use the demotic language (from the twelfth century onwards), but that it was avoided by scribes who wanted to maintain strict standards. This popular, or even vulgar, character seems to be due to the essentially redundant nature of clitic doubling in Greek: it concerns only topics, i.e., given information, already marked for its “givenness” by specific devices, such as the anteposed definite article. It does not depend on object agreement marking through clitic doubling. In the period under study (up to ca 1600), clitic doubling is facultative, and even if the clitics cannot be separated from their verb, their position with respect to the verb (pre- or postverbal) is determined by a combination of syntactic and pragmatic factors. They are certainly not yet to be considered as verbal morphemes.

## 1. Introduction: Wackernagel's law

The Swiss philologist Jakob Wackernagel explained in 1892 the marked tendency in the oldest Indo-European languages for unstressed words – words the Greek tradition calls “clitics”, words that lean on the preceding word – to cluster together in the second sentence position, henceforth P2, by the fact that the position immediately following the first word of a sentence is associated with accentual weakness (Wackernagel 1892: 406), and that therefore, the first position, henceforth P1, must be stressed.<sup>1</sup>

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1. This conclusion, which is self-evident, is left implicit by Wackernagel. It is explicited most dramatically by Dunn (1989: 7); cf. Fraser (2001: 140). Dunn sees in the shift of the clitics from P2 to postverbal position a reflection of the more fundamental movement of the sentence stress away from the front of the sentence or clause, and onto the verb (1989: 16).

This rule, called since “Wackernagel’s Law”, holds for adverbial clitics as well as for pronominal ones.<sup>2</sup> One of the most spectacular examples of such a clustering is cited by the Ancient Greek grammarian Herodian (3d c. A.D.),<sup>3</sup> who wrote a treatise on accentuation:

- (1) ἢ νύ σέ που δέος ἴσχει ἀκήριον (Hom. E812)  
 or now you somewhere fear holds cowardly  
 ‘Or are you paralysed by fear?’ (tr. Rieu)

A pronoun syntactically depends either on the verb or on a noun of the sentence. Its transfer towards P2, on the strength of Wackernagel’s Law, therefore severs it from its syntactic governor (Wackernagel 1892: 337), as in the Homeric example, where the accusative of the second person personal pronoun is separated from the verb on which it depends by an adverbial clitic and by the noun that functions as the subject of the sentence. The Law applies systematically in Homer as well as in prose inscriptions (Wackernagel 1892: 351); as for literary prose, Wackernagel observed that Herodotus, the father of Greek prose writing, still puts his clitic pronouns in more than half of the cases in second sentence position.

Now, what can be done about this conflict between a phonological rule, which propels all the unstressed words of a sentence towards its beginning, and syntactic rules, which aim at cohesion of words belonging together? One solution to this conflict is precisely the doubling of the clitic by a stressed word, contiguous to the word on which it depends syntactically. An interesting example of that type of situation is provided by Herodotus, when he is reporting about the battle of Marathon, where the Plataeans held the left wing of the Athenian army:

- (2) Ἀπὸ ταύτης γάρ σφι τῆς μάχης Ἀθηναίων θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύριαις τὰς ἐν τῇσι πεντετηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι. (Hdt 6, 111.)

lit. tr.: Since *to them* that battle, when the Athenians offer sacrifice at their quadrennial festival, prays the Athenian herald for the blessings to be given as well as to the Athenians, *to the Plataeans* also.

‘Ever since the battle of Marathon, when the Athenians offer sacrifice at their quadrennial festival, the herald links the names of Athens and Plataea in the prayer for God’s blessing.’ (tr. de Sélincourt).

2. Fraser argues for a distinction to be made, within the second sentence position, between connectives and indefinite pronouns, which he considers to be properly enclitic, and interrogative, relative, and personal pronouns, which he considers to be proclitic, i.e., leaning on the word(group) that follow them. (2001: 140).

3. Herodian 563, 13–4.

The clitic σοι (the dative of the third person plural personal pronoun) follows γάρ, a conjunction which itself comes as close as possible to the second sentence position. Both are embedded in a temporal adjunct, which opens the sentence. The adjunct is followed by a genitive absolute with an adnominal adjunct, and by the main verb with its subject, and finally by the datives marking the indirect objects, one of which, Πλαταιεῦσι “to the Plataeans”, was supposed to be replaced by the clitic pronoun σοι, and now in fact takes it up again.<sup>4</sup>

Strangely enough, examples such as this one are extremely rare. When Wackernagel’s Law is respected, the resulting loss of syntactic transparency seems to be taken into the bargain.

After Herodotus, the main strategy for resolving the conflict between Wackernagel’s Law and the need for syntactic transparency, consisted in bringing the verb up to the front of the sentence (for this development, see Horrocks 1997: 59–60). This way, the personal pronouns that depend on it may be contiguous to it, while still occupying P2. But this strategy applies only in main clauses; in subordinate clauses introduced by a conjunction, it is of course the conjunction that occupies the first position, and the clitic pronoun, on the strength of Wackernagel’s Law, follows the conjunction immediately; however, it now becomes a proclitic<sup>5</sup> with respect to the verb on which it depends, and which follows the clitic immediately on the strength of the competing principle of syntactic cohesion – the perfect way to accommodate the two principles. As a result, the verb’s position was generally at the front of the – unmarked – main clause, but the clitic’s position depended on the type of the clause: after the verb in main, before the verb in subordinate clauses. This is the normal syntax of Medieval Greek, the historical period in which systematic clitic doubling came about. Horrocks (1997: 115) cites a striking example in an Egyptian papyrus of 284 B.C., a testament, with the typical main and subordinate clause order:

- (3) ἐὰν δέ τι ἐξαπορῶνται ... Διονύσιος ἢ Καλλίστα ζῶντες, τρέφétωσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ  
 υἱεῖς πάντες...<sup>6</sup> (P. Eleph. 2.II. 10–11)

lit. tr.: if however in any respect should be in need Dionysios or Kallista living,  
 must feed them the sons all

‘If Dionysios or Kallista should be in need during their lifetimes, their sons  
 collectively shall support them.’

4. Cf. Wackernagel: “durch Πλαταιεῦσι wird das weit abliegende σοι wieder aufgenommen” (1892: 359).

5. On the question whether a preverbal clitic is enclitic on the preceding conjunction, or proclitic on the following verb, cf. Janse (1993: 441); Mackridge (2000: 137).

6. The fronting of the main clause verb is of course also favoured by the fact that it is in the imperative mood. Cf. Dunn (1989: 2).

The sweeping Balkan phenomenon of the replacement of the infinitive with a subordinate clause in the subjunctive mood introduced by a conjunction took place in Greek as early as the first century A.D. It is well documented in the language of the New Testament. Thus, ever more subordinate clauses were introduced in Greek by the conjunction ἵνα, which originally introduced only final constructions. In the meanwhile, due to an evolution which is still poorly understood, the Greek language had lost before the Classical Era its old third person personal pronouns, and replaced them with αὐτός, which originally meant “self”. This word has its own stress and cannot properly be considered a clitic. But, on the strength of every language’s need for unstressed personal pronouns – which fulfil precisely the basic function of personal pronouns, i.e., to replace nouns which are given in the context or the extralinguistic situation, and which it would be tedious to repeat – and of the persistence of Wackernagel’s Law, it has ultimately yielded weak forms. Now the pronoun αὐτός, due to its extremely frequent association with the conjunction in subordinate clauses, came to have its initial α- confused with the final -α of ἵνα. In this way, ἵνα αὐτόν (itself an allegro form for αὐτόν) etc. was reanalysed as ἵνα τον etc. (Horrocks 1997: 115). Thus, the Greek spoken language had, at least by the beginning of the Christian era, recreated clitic third person personal pronouns: τον, του, την, της etc.

In no ancient text however do we find any of these forms actually written; the first syllable, αὐ- is carefully retained in the spelling, as its elision must have been considered to be a typical phenomenon of casual spoken language. But the fact that these forms were indeed clitic when spoken explains the heaping up of forms of αὐτός in the language of the New Testament, which has been wrongly considered as a marker of Semitic influence on the evangelists’ Greek:

- (4) ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Δότε αὐτοῖς ὑμεῖς φαγεῖν. καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ  
(Mc 06.37)

‘He answered and said unto them, Give ye them to eat. And they say unto him,  
(...’ (tr. King James Bible)

‘But he answered them, “You give them something to eat.” And they said: (...)’  
(tr. NET)

## 2. Resumptive pronouns in Koinè-Greek

The Semitic hypothesis is entirely unnecessary, as the creation of new third person clitics took place entirely within a Greek framework.<sup>7</sup>

7. Thumb was the first to vindicate the language internal, and therefore purely Greek, character of this development (1901: 131, 180).

However, the first beginnings of the clitic doubling construction in Greek do not involve an anticipated clitic taken up later on in the construction by a noun phrase or a stressed pronoun with the same referent. Instead, it is brought about by topic extraposition,<sup>8</sup> which means that the topic phrase is preposed from within the clause. The Septuagint gives a particularly striking example of such an extraposition in the passage dedicated to the temple that Salomon builds for Yahweh. Yahweh tells Salomon that, if ever the Israelites turn away from him and decide to worship other gods, he will abandon the temple. The temple is the topic of an entire page in the second book of Chronicles, it is therefore definite and given in the context:

- (5) καὶ ὁ οἶκος οὗτος ὁ ὑψηλός, πᾶς ὁ διαπορευόμενος αὐτὸν ἐκστήσεται  
(Chron. II 7,21)

lit. tr.: and the house this the high, every the going-past it will be astonished  
'And this house, which is high, shall be an astonishment to every one that  
passeth by it' (tr. King James Bible)  
'As for this temple, which was once majestic, everyone who passes by it  
will be shocked' (tr. NET)

The topic has been extraposed here in the most radical way: being in the nominative case while its function in the sentence would require an accusative (which is indeed the case of its resumptive pronoun αὐτόν), the topic is completely outside of the construction from a syntactic point of view. This is a case of "nominative absolute" or "nominativus pendens".

The casual, spoken language flavour of this construction (Ljungvik 1926: 26) is indicated by the fact that while the construction is unknown in literary texts, we find quite a few examples of it in private papyri. One of the earliest examples appears in a papyrus from 256 B.C.:<sup>9</sup>

- (6) τὸν δὲ πῶλον αὐτῆς ἀποστηλῶ αὐτόν  
'her foal, I will send it.' (P. Mich. Zen. 29)

Another papyrus illustrates indirect object clitic doubling:

- (7) Λάμπωνι μυοθηρευτῇ ἔδωκα αὐτῷ  
'To Lampon, the mice hunter, I gave it to him' (P. Oxy. II 299)

The New Testament has some comparable cases, but not identical to the one from the Septuagint (ex. 5), as the extraposed noun phrase in the nominative is doubled by a pronoun which is also in the nominative case: it functions as the subject of the clause.

8. Givón calls this phenomenon "topic shift" (1976: 153 passim).

9. These examples are cited from Tzitzilis (2000: 258).



As these nominative pronouns are at all expressed,<sup>10</sup> they are per definition stressed and not clitic. But the existence of the syntactic mould of topic extraposition, doubled by a pronoun within the construction of the clause out of which the topic has been extraposed, is certainly proved by such examples:

- (8) ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ὁ ἐμβάψας μετ' ἐμοῦ τὴν χεῖρα ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ, αὐτός με παραδώσει. (Mt 26.23)

‘And he answered and said, He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me’ (tr. King James Bible)

‘He answered, “The one who has dipped his hand into the bowl with me will betray me” ’ (tr. NET)

- (9) ὁ ἀθετῶν ἐμὲ καὶ μὴ λαμβάνων τὰ ῥήματά μου ἔχει τὸν κρίνοντα αὐτόν· ὁ λόγος ὃν ἐλάλησα, ἐκεῖνος κρινεῖ αὐτόν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. 49. ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐξ ἐμαυτοῦ οὐκ ἐλάλησα, ἀλλ' ὁ πέμψας με πατήρ, αὐτός μοι ἐντολὴν δέδωκεν τί εἴπω καὶ τί λαλήσω. (Jo 12. 48)

‘He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day. 49. For I have not spoken of myself; but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak.’ (King James Bible)

‘The one who rejects me and does not accept my words has a judge; the word I have spoken will judge him at the last day. 49 For I have not spoken from my own authority, but the Father himself who sent me has commanded me what I should say and what I should speak.’ (tr. NET).

With the Arab conquest of Egypt in the seventh century, the source of Greek papyri and with them our source of knowledge of spoken Greek dries up. It is not until the twelfth century that the first texts which do not endeavour to reproduce Classical Greek begin to reappear. Moreover, our oldest manuscripts of these texts are not older than 1300 A.D. in the best case.

In a poem written in 1453, immediately after the fall of Constantinople, we find another nominative absolute doubled by a clitic personal pronoun in the accusative. The construction is completely parallel to the Septuagint one (cf. (5)), and the City (with the article, of course) is manifestly the topic of the whole poem:

- (10) ἡ πόλις ἡ ἀγάπη σου, ἐπῆραν τὴν οἱ Τοῦρκοι (Ἄλωσης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, v 375)

‘the City, your love, the Turks have taken it’

10. Greek (ancient and modern) is a zero-anaphora (or “pro-drop”) language; the role of the unstressed pronoun with subject function is fulfilled by the personal endings of the verb.

The same construction occurs in the E(scorial) version of the romance of Digenis Akritis, in a manuscript copied at about 1490:

- (11) Ἡ πίστις ἡ ἀληθινή, οἱ Χριστιανοὶ τὴν ἔχουν. (E 553)  
 ‘The true faith, the Christians have it’

We are here in the context of a conversation between an Arab emir, a convert to Christianity and his mother, who wants him to come back to Syria. She asks him whether he has seen the prophet’s tomb. The implicit reference to – the one and only, as both Christians and Muslims know – true faith is explicited by her son; it could be rendered in the traditional way to interpret such a topic extraposition, i.e., by a question that repeats the words (or the meaning of the words) uttered by the previous speaker: “the true faith? it’s the Christians that have it”.

The romance copied in the E(scorial) manuscript dates from the twelfth century. There is another version, in a G(rottaferrata) manuscript which dates from about 1300. The copyist of this G manuscript (or maybe the author of the romance) endeavours to use a language that is much closer to the classical model. He doesn’t always succeed; in particular, there are many occurrences of third person clitic personal pronouns *τον, του, τους, την, της*, though I haven’t found any example of clitic doubling, whereas the Escorial manuscript abounds with this kind of construction. However, between 1300 (the date of the G manuscript) and 1490 (the date of the E manuscript), we have another text in a language that comes close to the spoken form of Greek of that time: the Ptochoprodromic poems, a text that dates also from the twelfth century, and whose oldest manuscripts date from just before the middle of the fourteenth century. These manuscripts also yield some examples of clitic doubling. This seems to prove that at least the copyist of the archaizing G manuscript (not to speak of the author of the romance himself) must have known the construction in his own spoken language but avoided it because it sounded too vulgar to his ears. This agrees with the popular or childish character this construction still has in modern languages such as English or French.<sup>11</sup>

Let us now have a look at these two texts, the Ptochoprodromic poems and the romance of Digenis Akritis in its E version, where clitic doubling is regularly found. The two constructions, i.e., topic extraposition doubled by a following clitic, and a clitic which anticipates a stressed personal pronoun or a noun phrase, are encountered, but the number of their occurrences is quite different. While topic extraposition is frequent in these texts and seems to be tending towards grammaticalization,<sup>12</sup>

11. Cf. Gruber (1967); Givón (1976: 155).

12. But the position of the clitic with respect to the verb is determined by syntactic and pragmatic factors, so that in some cases they are preverbal (as e.g., in ex. 15 and 16), in other

the case of the anticipating clitic doubling a strong personal pronoun or a noun phrase at the end of the clause is much rarer.

### 3. Topic extraposition

It is striking that in more than half of the cases topic extraposition is found with an imperative or an expression with prohibitive content, as e.g.:

- (12) τὴν ἀδελφήν μας ἄφες τὴν, τὸν παῖδα σου ἀπαρνήσου. (E 346)  
 lit. tr.: the sister our leave her, the son your renounce  
 ‘Leave our sister behind, renounce your son’ (tr. E. Jeffreys)

As mentioned earlier, the corresponding text in G does not have clitic doubling:

- (13) τὴν ἀδελφήν μας ἄασον, τὸ τέκνον σου ἀρνήσου (GII 168)  
 lit. tr.: the sister our leave, the child your renounce  
 ‘Leave our sister, renounce your child’ (tr. E. Jeffreys)

Further examples are:

- (14) ἀμμή τὴν κακὴν καρδίαν ἔβγαλέ τὴν ἀπὸ τὸν νοῦν σου<sup>13</sup> (E 444)  
 lit. tr.: but the bad heart take away it from the mind your  
 ‘but think no more of your bitter attitude’ (tr. E. Jeffreys)  
 (Manuscript G has no equivalent for this sentence).
- (15) παίρνω τὴν θυγατέρα σου, καὶ ὑπάγω εἰς τὰ γονικά μου. (E 1006–1008)  
Τὴν δὲ προῖκα μου τὴν πολλὴν ἄς τὴν ἔχουν οἱ γυναῖκαδελφοί μου  
 καὶ ἐγὼ μόνην κόρην ἔλαβα καὶ τίποτε οὐ χρῆζω.  
 lit. tr.: I-take the daughter your and go the places-of-parents my.  
 The however dowry my the bountiful let it have the wife’s brothers  
 my and I alone girl took and anything not I-want  
 ‘As for the dowry, let my wife’s brothers have it;  
 I have taken only the girl and want nothing else.’ (tr. E. Jeffreys)

In (15) Digenis has told his future father-in-law that he is taking his daughter, and according to custom, the latter has offered a dowry – which is thus given in the context.

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postverbal (as e.g., in ex. 12 and 14). For further reading on these factors, cf. Mackridge (1993, 2000); Janse (1994). This still in some sense free position of course prevents full grammaticalization from taking place.

13. This is the reading of the manuscript, with topic extraposition and clitic doubling. One of its editors, Alexiou, followed by Elizabeth Jeffreys in the latest edition of the manuscript, changes the word order to ἔβγαλέ τὴν τὴν κακὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ τὸν νοῦν σου. I see no reason for this; moreover, this new order is much rarer than topic extraposition.

Digenis contrasts wife and dowry: it's the wife he wants, he doesn't care about the dowry. Again, manuscript G has no clitic doubling in the equivalent of this sentence (G IV 746). In quite a few cases, the extraposed topic which functions as the direct object of the imperative contains a relative clause:

- (16) τὸ ἀδελφὶν μας τὸ ἔρπαξες, μηδὲν μᾶς τὸ στερένης. (E 130)  
 lit.tr.: the sister our which you-abducted, do not us her deprive  
 'you have abducted our sister, do not deprive us of her' (tr. E. Jeffreys)

G has a sentence that is manifestly parallel, but it has no clitic doubling:

- (17) Κόρην τερπνὴν ἀφήρπαξας, ἀδελφὴν ἡμετέραν· (G I 105–106)  
 πώλησον ταύτην πρὸς ἡμᾶς, δοῦλε Θεοῦ Ὑψίστου  
 'You have abducted a delightful girl, our sister. Ransom her to us, servant  
 of the most high God'

The first Ptochoprodromic poem has exactly the same construction, with topic extraposition and an imperative:

- (18) Τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν με ἔφερες, γνωρίζεις, ἔπαρέ τὴν. (...) (Ptochopr. I 58)  
τὰ λουτρικά τὰ με ἔποικες καὶ τὸ κραβατοστρώσιν (Ptochopr. I 62)  
 εἰς κλῆρον νὰ τὰ δέξωνται οἱ παῖδες σου πατρῶον·  
 'the red petticoat you brought me, you know, take it; (...) the bath things you  
 gave me, and the blankets, let the children have them as their paternal heritage'

Topic extraposition is clearly a means for bringing the direct object into the center of attention in these cases, but why does it happen so often with an expression of command or prohibition? The imperative is inherently a stressed form of the verb. As such, it has a particular affinity with P1, as this position is inherently a strong position. But there are cases, such as for instance emphasis for the sake of contrast, where other constituents tend to compete for occupying this strong position. In these cases, topic extraposition allows for the topic to be lifted out of the construction and thus for the verb in the imperative to retain its first position in the regular construction, whereas clitic doubling keeps the syntactic relations within the clause transparent.

There are also cases where no command or prohibition is involved, e.g:

- (19) καὶ λέγουσι με· “πρόσεχε, πολλὰ μὴ συντυχαίνεις, (Ptochoprod. III 146)  
 μήπως καὶ μετὰ θάνατον καταδικάσουσί σε  
 εἰς σκώληκα ἀκοίμητον, εἰς τάρταρον, εἰς σκότος”.  
 Ἐγὼ δε, κοσμοκράτορ μου, τὰς τρεῖς κολάσεις ταύτας  
 ἐνταῦθα τὰς κολάζομαι, καὶ πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς μου. (Ptochoprod. III 150)  
 – ‘and they tell me: “watch out, don’t say too much, for after your death they  
 may condemn you to the worm that never sleeps, to hell, and to darkness”’  
 – ‘But I, master of the world, those three punishments, it’s here I’m punished  
 with them, and before my death.’

We are here in a conversational context. The speaker first cites some people who threaten him with hellish punishments, then, turning to the emperor, he says those punishments do not frighten him at all. The punishments are therefore clearly what is being talked about: the topic. It undergoes extraposition to the beginning of the sentence, but there is competition going on for the occupation of this position. The competitors are: (1) the first person personal pronoun (Ἐγώ) in the nominative, which is per definition stressed: “as far as I’m concerned”; one might say this strong form of the pronoun is always doubled by the verbal ending; and (2) the vocative (κοσμοκράτορ μου), which is also per definition stressed and outside of the clause construction. Therefore, the vocative too is a regular subscriber to extraposition. The traditional translation of this kind of construction is clearly also relevant here: “Those hellish punishments? As far as I’m concerned, it is here that I undergo them”.

In the E manuscript of the romance of Digenis Akritis, there are many examples of the construction with the verb of saying συντυχαίνω, where the person to whom one speaks is extraposed, and then doubled by a clitic pronoun, after the adverb οὕτως “thus”, e.g.:

- (20) καὶ εἰς πρόσωπον τὸν ἀμῖρᾶ οὕτως τὸν συντυχαίνουν (E 128)  
lit. tr.: and to his face the emir thus him they-address  
‘they addressed the emir thus to his face’ (tr. E. Jeffreys)

As in all other cases, the parallel sentence in manuscript G has no clitic doubling:

- (21) μετὰ δακρύων ἔλεγον τῷ ἀμῖρᾶ τοιάδε (GI 99)  
with tears they-spoke to the emir such (words)  
‘and they spoke tearfully to the emir thus’ (tr. E. Jeffreys)

There are also cases of topic extraposition with an indicative, e.g.,

- (22) τὸν Διγενήν ἐπῆραν τὸν οἱ βάγιες | καὶ ἤφεράν τον. (E 593)  
‘The maid-servants took Digenis and brought him in’ (tr. E. Jeffreys)

Here, Digenis is not the topic of the preceding passage; what was being talked about is the return of his father, the emir, after his trip to Syria. Now, the reader knows the emir had left his wife and his child Digenis behind. Therefore, this extraposition is a means for reactivating a topic, or as Dik (1989: 275) puts it, a “subtopic”, i.e., a topic that may be deduced from a topic on the strength of one’s knowledge of the world.<sup>14</sup> This doubling clitic is used, in Medieval as in Modern Greek, to indicate that the new informational part of the clause is given by the verb and/or the subject and does not include the dislocated element (“As for Digenes, the maids took him...”) (see Mackridge 1993: 328). In other words, on the strength of the subtopic strategy,

14. Davidson calls this ‘inferable information’ (1997: 150–1).

a noun phrase is singled out as a topic, and the rest of the predication expresses the comment.

A similar case is found in (23):

- (23) Τὸν νεροφόρον ἤρρηκεν, τὸν εἶχαν οἱ ἀπελάτες, (E638–639)  
καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἐρώτησεν ὁ Διγενῆς Ἀκρίτης·  
the water-carrier he-found, that had the guerrillas, and him him asked D.A.  
'he found the water-carrier employed by the guerrillas, and Digenis Akritis  
asked him'

The water-carrier might also be described as a "sub-topic"; Digenis Akritis wants to find the guerrillas. As everybody knows, people never travel in this region without a water-carrier, so what matters is to find the water-carrier and to obtain from him the necessary information about the guerrillas.

There's no parallel to this sentence in G. However, manuscript T, which interestingly uses both the G and the E versions as its models – and is therefore younger than both (it dates from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, see Jeffreys 1998: xxii), but is archaizing like G – follows E in this passage. It leaves the direct object at the beginning of the sentence, but it cuts out the doubling clitic of its model, the E manuscript:

- (24) Τὸν ὕδροφόρον εὔρηκε τῶν ἀπελάτων τότε, (T IV 1053–1054)  
καὶ ἀνηρώτησεν αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς ἀπελάτας  
the water-carrier he-found of the guerrillas then, and he-asked him about  
the guerrillas  
'he then found the water-carrier of the guerrillas, and he asked him about  
the guerrillas' (tr. E. Jeffreys)

This confirms the suspicion, based on the systematic behaviour of the scribe of G, that the strategy of clitic doubling is considered vulgar, and avoided on exactly that ground. The same state of affairs holds for the following example:

- (25) “Κυρά μου, μήτηρ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Θεὲ πανοικτίρμον (E 781–784)  
πράγματα βλέπομεν φρικτὰ εἰς τὸν νεώτερον ἐτοῦτον.  
Τοῦτον ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἔστειλεν, ὡς διὰ τοὺς ἀνδρειωμένους  
καὶ οἱ πελάτες νὰ τὸν τρέμουν τὰ ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς τους.”  
'My lady, Mother of God, and all merciful God, we behold terrifying  
achievements in this young man. God has sent him for men of bravery and  
the guerrillas will be terrified all the years of their lives' (tr. E. Jeffreys)

Once more, there is no trace of clitic doubling in manuscript G:

- (26) “Θεοτόκε, τὸ θέαμα ὃ βλέπομεν εἰς τὸν νέον! (...) (G IV 157, 159–160)  
ὁ Θεὸς τοῦτον ἀπέστειλε διὰ τοὺς ἀνδρειωμένους,  
νά τον βλέπουν πῶς χαίρεται, πῶς πολεμεῖ, πῶς τρέχει.”

‘Mother of God, the spectacle that we see in this young man! (...)  
 God has sent him so that men of bravery can see and rejoice at how  
 he fights and how he runs.’ (tr. E. Jeffreys)

In (26), Digenis Akritis is clearly the topic of the conversation between his father and his uncle. The emphasis is not on him – he is contrasted with no one – but on the fact that he was sent by God. The redundancy of the doubling clitic is, as always, avoided by the older and also archaizing manuscript as being too vulgar, or, to put things in the right historical perspective, the younger manuscript adds freely elements of the spoken language to an older model that was conscient of their vulgar character and for that reason avoided them.

#### 4. Afterthought clitic doubling

Let us now take a look at the second strategy of topic shift: the clitic anticipates a noun phrase at the end of the clause. There are much less examples of this case in fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts, and the rare examples we do find confirm their interpretation as being triggered by an “afterthought” mechanism, as Hyman (1975: 119) has proposed to name this kind of construction: the speaker sets out on the idea that the topic is indeed given, and that the listener knows sufficiently what he is talking about, but on his way through the construction, on second thought, he realizes that what he says may be ambiguous, and, for safety, adds the entire noun phrase which he originally thought to be easily accessible for the hearer.

One of the very first examples<sup>15</sup> is also a very obvious case of afterthought, as the strategy is made explicit:

- (27) τὸ ἀκούσει πῶς ἠθέλασιν οἱ Φράγκοι νὰ τὸν ἔχουν κρίνει, (H 877–878)  
ἐκεῖνον τὸν πανάπιστον τὸν Μούρτζουφλον σὲ λέγω

‘Upon hearing how the Franks wanted to judge him, that most  
 perfidious Mourtzouflos I mean’

A clear example of such self-correcting as the construction progresses occurs also in the E manuscript of Digenis Akritis:

- (28) καὶ ἔναν ἐξ αὐτοὺς ἐχώρισεν καὶ ἔδωκεν του σπαθέαν (E963–964)  
 καὶ μέσα τὸν ἐχώρισεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν φαρίν του

lit. tr.: and middle him he-split him and the horse his  
 ‘and separated out one of them and struck him a blow with  
 his sword, and split him and his horse down the middle’ (tr. E. Jeffreys)

15. Manuscript H(avniensis) of the Chronicle Morea dates from the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Clearly, the author of this text adds as an afterthought that not only the enemy but also his horse was split down the middle. This passage, with its messy clitic doubling, has no parallel in the older manuscript G, but it is copied by the younger T (who, as mentioned earlier, does not like clitic doubling any more than the older G), where it is “corrected” in the following way:

- (29) καὶ μέσον τὸν ἐχώρισεν σὺν τῷ ἰδίῳ ἵππῳ, (T 1262)  
 ‘and he split him down the middle, together with his horse’

However, some older examples (as the ones of the Ptochoprodromic poems, in (another) manuscript G, which dates from between 1330 and 1345) are not in any way explicit cases of “afterthought”; if anything, they already seem to be grammaticalizations of the phenomenon. Among these examples, there is still a good proportion of imperatives, as e.g., in:

- (30) ἂν οὐ τὸν εἴπω· μάθε τὸ τσαγγάρην τὸ παιδὶν σου (Ptochopr. G III 43)  
 ‘if I don’t tell him: “teach him the art of the shoemaker, your son”.’

Obviously, in the competition for the occupation of P1, it is the imperative that has won, and the author just adds the full object noun phrase in an afterthought style.

There are also some examples of the indicative, like:

- (31) εὐθὺς (καὶ ποῦ τὴν ἔκρυβεν τὴν σύσκατον ἐκεῖνην (Ptochopr. G III 251–252)  
τὴν κοπροπαραγέμιστον καὶ τὴν δυσωδεστάτην;)  
 ‘Where did he hide it, that shitty cutlet, full of dung and terribly stinking?’

The fact of cutting and eating cutlets is an established topic in this passage, but when the speaker of this poem comes to his fourth cutlet, it isn’t at all the way he took it to be. Here, the adjectives qualify in the most unexpected and horrible terms the clitic pronoun *τὴν*, which seemed at first to continue innocently the series of cutlets that had been previously mentioned. The afterthought strategy serves a dramatic goal here.

Finally, we must mention an exceptional case of clitic doubling with an indirect object out of the E version of *Digenis Akritis*:

- (32) καὶ ἑβδομήντα γέροντες ἐκ τοῦ Ραχᾶς τὸ κάστρον (E 531–532)  
 κανίσκια τοῦ ὑπαγαίνουσιν τοῦ νέου, ὁποῦ δὲν ὄρπιζαν νὰ ἰδοῦσιν  
 and seventy elders from of Raqqa the fortress gifts him they-bring to the  
 young (man), whom not they-expected that they-see  
 ‘And seventy elders from the fortress of Raqqa brought gifts to the young man  
 whom they had not expected to see’ (tr. E. Jeffreys).<sup>16</sup>

16. Alexiou, in his critical edition, followed by Elizabeth Jeffreys’ critical edition, drops the doubling clitic, and reads: “κανίσκια ὑπαγουςιν τοῦ νέου”. This emendation seems quite unnecessary to me, and it shows how easily interesting linguistic phenomena can disappear as a result of text editing.



The young man is the running topic of this passage; there is no need to add the full noun phrase for the sake of clarity, so what we see here is another example of the grammaticalization of the phenomenon.

## 5. Conclusion

To conclude, one can follow the genesis of the phenomenon of clitic doubling through the history of Greek without having recourse to the influence of another language; what we see is a natural evolution within the language. I don't think, moreover, that this is a typical Balkan phenomenon, as we meet it also in languages such as spoken French, English, or Swahili. The occurrence of unstressed forms of anaphoric pronouns is inherent to their function; the – easily redundant – doubling of those clitics by their stressed counterparts or by full noun phrases seems to be but a logical development. In the manuscripts from the twelfth to the sixteenth century that I have studied, clitic doubling is not automatic yet, even if there is a clear tendency towards grammaticalization in the manuscripts which use a more casual language. Clitic doubling, in these texts, concerns only direct objects which are topics (or “sub-topics”): the referent of the object is always given or easily retrievable, and it is specific. But, whereas in languages like Swahili object clitic doubling functions clearly as a definitizer (see Givón 1976: 168), in Greek there exist explicit definitizers, such as the anteposed definite article. Therefore, object clitic doubling is always redundant: the interesting fact that we have the same story told by different authors whose language covers a range from archaic to casual, shows that the phenomenon was felt to be vulgar, and typical for the spoken language. At least up to the end of the sixteenth century (the time of manuscript T of *Digenis Akritis*), authors who watched their language avoided it systematically.

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# Clitic doubling and Old Bulgarian\*

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In this paper we address the origin of the phenomenon of clitic doubling in the Balkan linguistic continuum based in data from the earliest Old Bulgarian manuscripts. We argue that our data witness instances of what we consider clitic doubling proper, similar to the Modern Bulgarian phenomenon of the same type. Our analysis is substantiated by general considerations related to the overall OV structure of Old Bulgarian (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov, in press; Pancheva 2005) and a distinction between clitic doubling and other related constructions, such as e.g., clitic left dislocation, the hanging topic construction and clitic right dislocation. We consider clitic doubling in Old Bulgarian and its Modern parallel as exclusively sanctioned by a specific Information structure value we currently define as [+contrastive topic], which is a sufficient trigger for the surfacing of doubling clitics. Our analysis is justified on the basis of the discourse properties of the earliest instances of the phenomenon and the clear parallel with Modern Bulgarian on the one hand, the parallel with other modern Balkan languages, such as Albanian (cf. Kallulli, this volume) and Macedonian (Tomić, this volume) on the other.

## 1. Clitic doubling in the Balkan languages

Clitic doubling (CD) is often regarded as one of the most salient features of the Balkan Sprachbund, even though cross-linguistically it is found in other languages as well (e.g., Spanish, cf. the survey in Tsakali & Anagnostopoulou, this volume). Other central features that have evolved over time and are currently displayed by the core languages of

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the Union are analytical tendencies, prepositional phrases in the place of oblique cases, the enclitic article, unified replacement of (old) infinitives, a periphrastic future tense (cf. e.g., Assenova 1989, 2002). Some researchers have argued for additional features, such as e.g., the presence of adnominal possessive clitics, the Aorist-Imperfect opposition in the temporal system, common features in the complementizer systems and syntactic subordination. What characterises the Balkan Sprachbund, however, is not the presence of any of the above individual features, since some of them are very common on a cross-linguistic basis.<sup>1</sup> It is the co-occurrence of the full package that is special to the Balkan linguistic continuum. A basic problem herewith is the (micro-) parametric variation across this continuum and the fact that most of the features are displayed in different degrees (cf. Assenova 2002 for a survey and discussion, and references therein, also this volume), or to use a current terminological metaphor, in different flavours. A central issue then, is to what extent one is dealing with the same phenomenon, and what definition should be used on the outset. We illustrate this problem on clitic reduplication phenomena.

Clitic reduplication is displayed by all the core member languages (Greek, Albanian, Romanian, Bulgarian and Macedonian). It can be described as the co-occurrence in the same clausal domain of an argument nominal expression, and a weak pronoun, a clitic. Both direct and/or indirect objects can be “doubled” in this way. But the construction is displayed differently across the Balkan continuum and, as research has shown, in different degrees and under different conditions (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan 1999; Tomić 1996; Anagnostopoulou 1999; Kallulli 1995, 2000; Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, 1994; Tasmowski 1987; Alexopoulou & Kolliakou 2002, and the papers in this volume). The problem is to what extent any of the phenomena originally described for one language and distinguished on the basis of a battery of tests felicitously carry over to another language, in our case the Balkan languages (cf. also the criticism in Alexopoulou & Kolliakou 2002, and the point of view in Tomić (this volume).

In some of the languages, it has been claimed, clitic reduplication is subject to an overt syntactic ( $A'$ -) movement condition. Thus, in Modern Bulgarian direct and indirect objects moved to the left periphery of the clause invariably trigger the surfacing of doubling clitics (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan 1999), and a similar condition seems to apply in Romanian (cf. Alboiu & Motapanyane 2000; Dobrovie-Sorin 1990) and Greek (cf. Alexopoulou & Kolliakou 2002, among others). Most recently, following the Romance tradition (cf. Cinque 1990) this type of construction has been subsumed under the Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) label largely due to the parallel conditions, Information structure properties and triggers for the respective Balkan phenomena and their Romance counterparts. The CLLD construction is usually seen as a distinct construction type, different from “true” doubling, and similar to e.g., clitic resumption or duplication (cf. e.g., Cinque 1990; Alexopoulou, Doron &

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1. We are grateful to Liliane Tasmowski for pointing out this fact.

Heycock 2004; Alexopoulou & Kolliakou 2002). Other construction types that have been argued to display distinct properties, and yet resemble CD and CLLD are Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD) and the Hanging Topic Construction (HTC), respectively (cf. e.g., Benincà & Poletto 2004; Krapova & Cinque, this volume, among others).

“True” clitic doubling (CD) applies to the cases when the full NP occurs in its argument position inside the clause. In some of the languages it targets specific syntactic categories. Thus, in Albanian (Kallulli 1995, 2000) dative objects are invariably doubled, as are definite direct and indirect objects in Macedonian (e.g., Tomić 1996). Likewise, in Romanian direct objects introduced by the dummy preposition *pe* are doubled (Dobrovie-Sorin 1990; Alboiu & Motapanyane 2000); however the presence of *pe* has been described as a necessary, but not a sufficient condition (cf. Farkas 1978; Tasmowski 1987). In addition, clitic doubling is sensitive to semantic features, such as e.g., specificity (cf. Alboiu & Motapanyane 2000 and references therein for Romanian, Anagnostopoulou 1999 for Greek, among others), definiteness (Tomić 1996; Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan 1999, among others), referentiality (Anagnostopoulou 1999 for Greek and Romanian) and Information Structure factors (e.g., [-focus] as argued in Kallulli 1995, 2000 for Albanian, [+topic] as in Ivančev 1978; Guentchéva 1994 for Bulgarian, and Farkas 1978 for Romanian).

We will argue that the conditions that govern clitic doubling, at least in Bulgarian, belong exclusively in the domain of Information structure, that they can be easily captured by a set of binary features related to the feature [+topic], as originally argued in Ivančev (1978) and Guentchéva (1994), but that these conditions are quite often masked by the overt syntactic position of the doubled argument, thus creating the impression of a distinct construction type. We further argue that these properties of the Bulgarian variety of clitic doubling can be traced to one of the earliest Bulgarian manuscripts, Codex Suprasliensis, as evident in their context of occurrence and interpretation. For a similar proposal concerning Albanian see Kallulli (this volume), and Alexopoulou & Kolliakou (2002) for Greek.

An interesting related phenomenon is clitic doubling displayed in the nominal domain, whereby a clitic co-occurs with a Possessor DP in the same maximal DP. The presence of adnominal possessive clitics is somewhat erratic in the languages of the Sprachbund, and in the languages that display such clitics (Bulgarian, Greek, Macedonian),<sup>2</sup> doubling is usually a choice (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1999; Tomić, forthcoming, Mitkovska, forthcoming, and Giusti & Stavrou, this volume). To the extent that DP clitic doubling displays some of the properties of clausal clitic doubling, the parallel between DP structure and clause structure is further strengthened, as proposed and elaborated in work in the 90-ies by Cinque, Giusti and Cardinaletti.

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2. Adnominal possessive clitics in Romanian are obsolete and highly infrequent (cf. Avram & Coene 2002).

A crucial issue in regard to the shared features of the Balkan Sprachbund is when and in what direction these features evolved and spread. In this respect data from the older languages may shed light (cf. Minčeva 1987 on the importance of diachronic evidence, especially with languages that have early and well-recorded history). Below we address the case of Old Bulgarian, and clitic doubling as it occurs in our data. The data on which this paper builds are drawn from Codex Suprasliensis or Retkov Compendium (cf. Zaimov & Capaldo 1982) (from now on CS)<sup>3</sup> and the electronic corpus of Old Bulgarian nominal expressions (in progress, NFR grant # 158289/V10).

The paper is organized as follows: in section 2. we present the basic features of Old Bulgarian syntax in general and more specifically the headedness parameter. Section 3. deals with clitic placement in the clause. Section 4. addresses what we believe are the earliest occurrences of clitic doubling, and related phenomena, and propose an analysis in terms of Information structure triggers. In section 5. we present some conclusions.

## 2. Old Bulgarian grammar

### 2.1 A shortcut

Like most languages of the Indo-European family, Old Bulgarian (OB) is a case language. This property applies across the board to all major types of syntactic relations, whereby noun phrases are morphologically marked when they occur as constituents of bigger phrases.

There are four major cases found in Old Bulgarian, Nominative, Accusative, Dative and Genitive. The Nominative is restricted to subjects, the Accusative to direct objects (unless otherwise subcategorized), the Dative is the case of indirect/oblique objects, and the Genitive is the case found in noun phrases marking the Possessor relation, as well as certain categories of direct objects in the clause. In addition, there are a couple of other specialized cases, the Locative, marking non-directional relations, the Instrumental/Ablative and the Vocative.<sup>4</sup>

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3. Codex Suprasliensis is one of the earliest Old Bulgarian manuscripts (10th c.) and contains a selection of texts (a compendium) translated from New Testament Greek into Old Bulgarian.

4. Our data evidence an early grammaticalisation process, already well under way in CS, with major syntactic relations being marked by the central cases, thus supporting an analysis of the latter as s(tructural)c(ases). While n(ominative) is clearly a Structural Case marking all subjects, with the exception of subjects in absolutive participle constructions, acc(usative) marks all direct complements of main verbs. d(ative) is the all-purpose oblique case ranging from indirect objects of the verb, to themes in nominalizations, possessors, complements of prepositions and oblique/quirky subjects.

An interesting property of Old Bulgarian as a language from the Balkan Sprachbund is the levelling of the Dative and the Genitive cases, as a result of which the Dative uniformly replaces the Genitive as a Structural Case, both inside nominal expressions and at the level of the clause for oblique objects.<sup>5</sup> This process has been extensively discussed in the literature (cf. Duridanov et al. 1993; Minčeva 1987; Ivanova-Mirčeva & Haralampiev 1999, among others). The chronology of the process, however, is less than clear. While some authors claim that the early OB period is marked by extensive use of the Genitive under the influence of N(ew)T(estament) Greek (cf. Duridanov et al. 1993), others pinpoint the 10th c. at least as the beginning of the levelling of the two categories. Our data convincingly support an early dating of the process, since Datives in adnominal use are increasingly more frequent – with a variation in the Genitive/Dative distribution across the early manuscripts; cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov 2003; Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov, in press, forthcoming – although in the source NT Greek data, adnominal noun phrases are exclusively Genitive. These findings may independently support the proposal in Pancheva (2004) that dative marking on possessors is not an innovation reflecting the genitive/dative syncretism, but rather a syntactic option directly inherited from Indo-European.

Further worth mentioning is the fact that agreement morphology is present at all levels of constituency and in all phrase types. Thus, verbs carry subject person and number agreement, modifiers inside the nominal expression are marked for gender, number and case agreement with the head noun, including the heads of participle clauses that function as modifiers. Most of the agreement facts still hold for Modern Bulgarian, except for case agreement.

OB constituent ordering has traditionally been defined as free or flexible, largely due to the unambiguous case marking and agreement relations. Thus, quite a number of permutations can be predicted out of a number of possible linearizations. However, this prediction is not borne out by the CS data. Instead, a limited number of patterns are attested, and as we will claim, in identifiable contexts. Thus, certain patterns clearly instantiate the default parameter setting, while others mark fronting and other overt movement phenomena clearly associated with Information Structure distinctions (cf. Kiparsky 1995 for a similar proposal for Germanic and the evolution of V2). In section 2.2 below we outline the basic patterns and in 3.2 we propose an overall analysis.

## 2.2 The syntax of Old Bulgarian: Some basic facts and patterns

### 2.2.1 *The basic constituent order: The VP and the Clause*

Our data attest an almost consistent head-final structure. Thus, OB is an OV, O<sub>i</sub>OV(S) language, including S(mall)C(lause)V and VVaux, with auxiliaries following the main verbs they govern. The only exception is the headedness of complementizer structures

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5. Greek is the only exception whereby Genitive uniformly replaces Dative.



(C/CPs). As expected, the head-final nature of OB is particularly evident in embedded contexts. We present each in turn providing an illustration.

- (1) a. и [и́на мно́га знаме́ния] твѡрѣ́аше  
and other.PL,ACC,n many.PL,ACC,n omen.Nominaliz.PL,ACC,n make.Imperf,3sg  
DO V<sub>finite</sub>  
'And many other omens (he) created' (CS 18: 26–27)
- a'. си слы́шавъ ау́рилиянъ [лице́ свое́е измѣ́ни́аше]  
these.PL hear.PART Aurelian face.ACC own change.Imperf  
разли́чнѣ́ отъ гѣ́рости  
different.Adv from rage.GEN (CS 12: 5–7)  
'These (things) having heard, Aurelian changed his face in different ways with anger'
- a''. по исти́нѣ́ [[вѣ́лика чюдѣ́са] ви́дѣ́хомъ] съ́ нимъ и́дѣ́шѣ  
in truth great miracle.PL,ACC saw.1PL,AOR with him go.PART,PL,N  
DO V<sub>finite</sub>  
'indeed great miracles (we) saw, walking with him' (CS 20: 17–19)
- b. [SC [DP ны́ цѣ́ломѣ́дрѣ́ныѣ] [AP вѣ́шеныѣ]] мѣ́ните  
We.PL,ACC chaste.PL,ACC insane.PL,ACC consider.2,PL  
'you consider us (who are) chaste (to be) insane' (CS 116: 16)
- c. го́у наше́моу́ ї́с х́соу́ и́же о́тъ о́тца  
Lord our.PA.D,m J. C.D,m who from Father  
нера́злѣ́ченъ ѣ́сть  
inseparable.PAST,PASS,PART,N is  
V-main,non-finite V-aux,finite  
'Our Lord, Jesus Christ who is inseparable from the Father' (CS 28: 20–21)
- d. и [CP ꙗ́же на стра́сть] вранѣ́  
and which.COMP,rel. for passion.ACC,f struggle.ACC,f  
прѣ́имъше́  
taken-upon.PAST,ACT,PART  
'And (having) taken upon the struggle which (is) for passion' (CS 319: 5–6)

(1a–a'') provide instances of the OV(S) pattern, while (1d) instantiates the OV pattern with a complex direct object *вранѣ́* ('struggle') modified by a relative clause [CP ꙗ́же [на стра́сть]] ('which (is) for exploit') which precedes the main finite verb *прѣ́имъше́* ('took upon'). (1b) attests the head-final pattern in small clauses, and (1c) illustrates a passive construction whereby the auxiliary verb occurs in the clause-final position following both the lexical verb and its complement. In this respect OB root clause syntax resembles strikingly Modern German embedded clause syntax. Thus VPs and VauxPs/IPs pattern alike in both languages, the only difference being V2 root clause phenomena.

A valid question at this point is whether the surface OV structures reflect a genuinely head-final base order or are the result of some leftward movement, as

e.g., claimed for Old English in Roberts & Roussou (2003). Theoretically this cannot be totally ruled out. However, we have evidence in our data, that leftward movement was only of the A'-type moving constituents to the newly emerged left periphery to satisfy Information structure requirements. At the same time, rightward movement especially in the case of heavy constituents, such as e.g., DPs modified by relative clauses, was more common (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov, in press). In recent work we have argued in line with Pancheva (2005) that the manuscripts at hand reflect two competing grammars, a head-final one and a newly emerging head-initial grammar with a number of parameters adjusting to this shift. Observe that the situation in Old Bulgarian is highly similar to Old English in accommodating two distinct grammars, a head-final and a head-initial one, as recently argued by Pintzuk & Haerberli (2006) on the basis of corpus data. Using a battery of tests, the authors convincingly show that the Old English OV structures are genuine base head-final structures rather than derived. To the extent that the tests employed by Pintzuk & Haerberli (2006) are specific to Old English, they are not directly applicable to the Old Bulgarian data. However, more research and data observations are needed to establish a set of clause structure criteria (e.g., clitics that do not move, other functional elements, such as e.g., particles, or adverbs) that will make judgements on base vs. derived structures more reliable.

### 2.2.2 Root-embedded asymmetry

Old Bulgarian displays a moderate root-embedded asymmetry, attested in our data much along the lines of Modern Bulgarian clause structure (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan 1995/1999, 1999). The main distinction between root and embedded clauses is that embedded clauses are more conservative in being more consistently overall head-final, with the exception of the C (complementizer) domain. Observe the examples in (2) below.

- (2) a. *вoзи* [<sub>CP</sub> *ни'же* *самодръжители* *намъ* *жръти* *вѣлѣтъ*]  
 god.PL,N,m who.REL,PL,D autocrat.PL,N,m we.PL,D sacrifice.INF order.3,PL  
 'the gods to whom the autocrats ordered us to sacrifice' (CS 150: 6–7)
- b. *вѣдѣтъ* *такo* *прѣдъ* *ц'ксаремъ* *стоиши*  
 know.PART,N,m that in front of king.INST,m stand.2,SG  
 'knowing that (you) stand in front of the King' (CS 1: 14)

The relative clause in (2a) contains both a matrix verb, *вѣлѣтъ* ('order') and an infinitive, *жръти* ('sacrifice'). Observe that both the indirect object and the infinitive phrase (a complement of the matrix verb) occur in the pre-verbal position, thus preceding the matrix verb. These data concur with an analysis treating indirect objects as originating in a position higher than the direct object position (cf. Larson 1988). The example in (2b) instantiates an embedded clause whereby the Locative object *прѣдъ ц'ксаремъ* ('in front of the King') occurs in the immediately preverbal position.

An interesting asymmetry can be observed also within non-finite clauses. More specifically, infinitives pattern very much like main finite verb phrases in being head-final, while participle clauses are predominantly, but not exclusively head-initial (in a 2:1 ratio). Observe the examples in (3) below.

- (3) a. **ТО** **НОУДИТЕ** **МЯ** [**ПОВЕЛѢНЮ** **ОТЪ**  
 then force.2,PL me.CL,ACC ordered.PART,ACC,N by  
**Ц'КАРА** **СЪТВОРИТИ**]  
 king.GEN,M do.INF  
 'Then you force me to do what the King has ordered' (CS 178: 3–4)
- a'. **ПОВЕЛѢ** [**ДР'ВЕСЫ** **СЖКАТЫ**  
 order.Aor,3,SG wood stick.PL,INST,n with knot.ADJ,PL,INST,N  
**БИТИ** **ѡ**]  
 beat.INF them.CL,PL,ACC  
 '(he) ordered to hit them with knotted wooden sticks' (CS 178: 18–19)
- b. **ИМѢШТАДО** **ВЛАСТЬ** **НЕБЕСЫ** **И** **ЗЕМЬЯ**  
 have.PART,GEN,m power.ACC,f heaven.PL,INST,n and earth.INST,f  
 '(the one) having power over the heavens and earth' (CS 257: 27–29)
- c. **ВЪ** **ЖИТЪНИЦИ** **СВОЮ** **ЛЕЖАШТЪ**  
 in granary.LOC,f own.PAan,LOC,f lie.PART,ACC,f  
 'lying in (his) own granary' (CS 266: 1–2)

(3a) instantiates an infinitive, **СЪТВОРИТИ** ('do') with a pre-verbal object, and (3a') illustrates a similar pattern with the addition of an object clitic occurring in the post-verbal position, while (3b) illustrates a participle construction whereby the main verb precedes its object. An interesting observation concerns examples like the one in (3c) with participles of verbs governing a Locative (PP) object, like e.g., **ЛЕЖАШТЪ** ('lying'). As already shown in (2b) above, in such cases, the objects invariably precede the main verb.

The asymmetry between infinitives and participles may be explained tentatively in terms of their function in the root clause. While infinitives (infinitive phrases) are directly embedded in the structure of the root clause in being the complements of the matrix verb,<sup>6</sup> similar to CP complements,<sup>7</sup> participle constructions are either adjoined to V'/VP, and function as adverbial modifiers, or modify nouns inside the extended nominal structure.

6. This status of infinitives, and thereby the asymmetry with participles, is irrespective of whether a mono-clausal or a bi-clausal analysis is adopted.

7. A major difference from Modern Bulgarian is that at this stage there is no overt complementizer in infinitive phrases, and all its ramifications. In contrast, Modern Bulgarian has a (sub-junctive) complementizer *da*, which among other properties, attracts domain-internal clitics and acts as a barrier for clitic climbing to the matrix domain.

### 2.2.3 *Pro-drop*

Just like Modern Bulgarian, OB is a *pro-drop* language. When subjects are overt, the tendency is for them to occur in clause-final position, as in the example in (1a); however, pre-verbal subjects do occur as well. Since specifiers can occur either to the left or to the right of the intermediate projection (X'), one can assume that the Old Bulgarian Spec-IP/AgrSP can branch left or right (cf. the proposal in Giorgi & Longobardi 1991). An alternative, and more likely, scenario is that all preverbal subjects are actually topicalized constituents, very much along the lines of Modern Bulgarian (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan 1999 and Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998 for Greek). Furthermore, the data under analysis do not attest any clear correlation between the subject position and the argument structure of the verb (e.g., with the subjects of unaccusative verbs, usually considered to be themes/deep objects, appearing post-verbally in a VO structure). For subject-final clauses we assume that the subject remains in its base VP-internal position.

### 2.2.4 *Discontinuous occurrence of phrases*

Old Bulgarian phrase structure displays a property usually found cross-linguistically in highly restricted circumstances, namely discontinuity. Thus, phrases may occur with fragments remaining stranded with, and thus appearing adjacent to, the constituents of other phrases. Also phrase fragments may move to the left or right periphery (cf. Modern German PP-D/NP discontinuous noun phrases, cf. de Kuthy 2002, and Serbian/Croatian AP movement out of the DP)

- (4) [<sub>DP</sub> *маловръмен'ноје* [<sub>t<sub>k</sub></sub>]]    *имѣти*    [<sub>NP</sub> [*грѣхѹ*] *наслаждение*]]<sub>k</sub>  
 transitory.ACC,n                      have.Inf    sin.D,m                      delight.ACC,n  
 'to have a temporary indulgence/pleasure in (the) sin'                      (CS 54: 29–30)

In (4) the direct object phrase [<sub>DP</sub> *маловръмен'ноје* [<sub>NP</sub> [*грѣхѹ*] *наслаждение*]] ('transitory delight of sin') occurs discontinuously on both sides of the main verb.<sup>8</sup> The question is what constituent has moved where and what position should be assumed as the base one. In line with our headedness analysis of VPs, we assume tentatively that the DP originates in the preverbal position, to subsequently move as an NP fragment to the post-verbal position. As a matter of fact, there is evidence in our data that rightward movement did obtain in OB, specifically in the cases of 'heavy' constituents. This kind

8. To the extent that discontinuity is a property both of many of the modern Slavic languages, including some Bulgarian dialects, and other languages, such as e.g., German, it is hardly likely that the OB discontinuous syntax is a direct reflection of the NTGreek syntax. Moreover, as we have argued in other work, seemingly parallel OB-NTGreek overt syntax actually corresponds to different underlying structures and structural and morphological categories.

of analysis is very much in line with the analysis of the OV > VO shift in the history of English (cf. van Kemenade 1987). Observe the examples in (5) below.

- (5) a. НЕ ОСТАВЫЖ [БОГА СЪТВОРЬШААГО НЕБО И  
Neg. leave.1,SG God.GEN,m create.PART,GEN,m heaven.ACC,n and  
ЗЕМЬЮ]  
earth.ACC,f  
'(I) won't leave God who created heaven and earth' (CS 7: 8–9)
- b. ВРАГЪ БЖДЖ [СЪТВОРИВЪШОУОУМОУ МА БОГОУ]  
enemy.N,m be.1,SG create.PART,D,m I.CL,ACC,m God.D,m  
'(I) will be an enemy of (the) god who has created me' (CS 164: 28–29)

In (5a) above a heavy object modified by a complex participle phrase containing objects in co-ordination has moved to the right side of the main verb, *ОСТАВЫЖ* ('leave'), while in (5b) a fragment of a heavy predicative phrase *ВРАГЪ СЪТВОРИВЪШОУОУМОУ МА БОГОУ* ('enemy of having created me God') has moved to the right of the copular verb *БЖДЖ* ('be'). A similar tendency is also observed with heavy modifiers inside the DP which more often than not occur in the post-nominal position (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov 2003).

### 3. Clitics and clitic placement

#### 3.1 Clitics in the clause

Argument clitics are overwhelmingly present very early, both at the clausal level and in the DP (e.g., the so-called Dative possessive clitic, cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov (2003)). They conform with the definition of special clitic formulated by Zwicky (1977) as they occur in a complementary distribution with the full constituents (both pronouns and DPs) (cf. also the early seminal work by Kayne 1975). Thus, while full constituent objects usually occur in the pre-verbal position, clitics are almost exclusively post-verbal, as witnessed by the example in (6) below.

- (6) ПРЪПРОСТЪ СЪМРЪТН ПРЪДААНЪ ТѦ  
simply.Adv death.D,f render.1,SG you.CL,ACC  
'Simply I will render you to death' (CS 23: 7–8)

In the example in (6) above, the indirect object ('death') appears in the immediately preverbal position, while the clitic direct object *ТѦ* ('you') appears in the post-verbal position.<sup>9</sup>

9. A random sample in our data displays only 1 second position clitic out of 20, with the rest found in the immediately post-verbal position.

Our data, however, also attest argument clitics occurring in the second position of the clause immediately after a fronted constituent. In such cases, the argument clitics are separated from the verb and attach (phonologically) to whatever constituent happens to occur in the clause initial position.<sup>10</sup> The attachment site of the clitics is irrespective of the nature of the fronted constituent. At this stage, the OB left-most position may host fronted contrastive focus objects, fronted verbs in imperatives or *wh*-words, a situation highly reminiscent of the classical definition of 2P clitic phenomena (cf. van Riemsdijk 1999 for a state of the art overview). In 3.2 below we offer an analysis. Some illustrations are provided in (7) below. The example in (7a) displays a 2P clitic cluster comprising the discourse clitic *же* and the argument clitic *ми*, immediately after a fronted imperative verb, while the example in (7b) demonstrates that the presence of a constituent in the clause-initial position (here identified as SpecCP), such as the *wh*-word *что*, satisfies most likely a *non-clitic first* phonological requirement, thus allowing the clitic to appear in the second position immediately after the first constituent.

- (7) a. *дади́те же ми на нь вла́сть*  
 give.Imperat 2,PL Disc.Part me.CL,D over he.ACC,m power.ACC,f  
 'Give me however power over him' (CS 27: 21)
- b. *что ти е́сть имя́*  
 what you.CL,D is.3,SG name.N,n  
 'What's your name?' (CS 226: 12)

Argument clitics in the second position appear to be on the rise in that period and our hypothesis is that the Codex Suprasliensis data witness (the beginning of) a parameter shift in the attachment of clausal argument clitics (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov, in press, and Pancheva 2005).

This hypothesis is confirmed by simultaneously attested extended clitic clusters, the precursors of the Modern Bulgarian extended cluster. Such occurrences are relatively infrequent at this stage. However, we have already instances of up to 3 clitics in the cluster, as illustrated in (8a) below, including the question clitic *ли*, a dative clitic and the reflexive clitic in the context of a lexical (Dative) raising verb<sup>11</sup> *мьнѣтъ* ('seem'). Auxiliary verbs are not clitics at this stage, in not opting for a position inside the extended 2P clitic cluster. Still the subjunctive auxiliary *бѣ* behaves very much

10. There have been different analyses of the exact attachment site of 2nd position clitics, ranging from right-adjunction to C to left-adjunction to I(P)/T(P). Either analysis is compatible with the Old Bulgarian data. Observe, however that adjunction to I/T will not work due to the head-final nature of the projection at this stage.

11. Cf. Cinque (2000) and Haegeman (2006) for an analysis of such verbs in Romance and Dutch.

like a clitic and can be found in clitic clusters, as in the example in (8b) below. Likewise, we have evidence of clitic behaviour of some of the forms of the present tense auxiliary.<sup>12</sup>

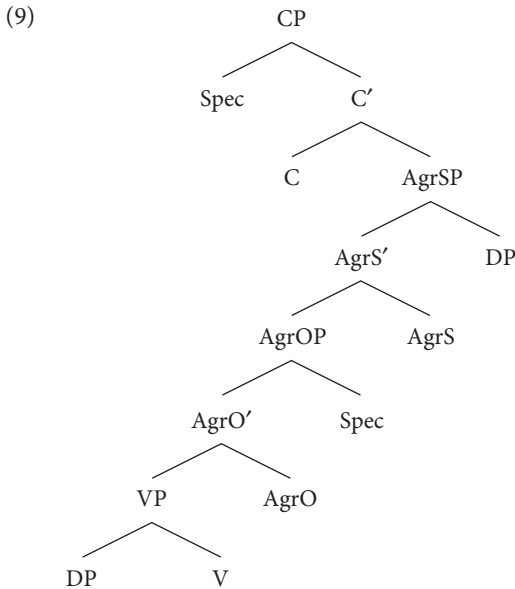
- (8) a. *КОУНИРИ ЛИ ТИ СѦ МЪНАТЪ А НЕ БОЖИ*  
 idol.PL,N,m QCL you.CID REFLCL seem.3,PL but not god.PL,N,m  
 ‘Do they seem to you idols rather than gods?’ (CS 7: 11–12)
- b. *ДА И БЪ ПРИАЛЪ ІУАНЪ КЪ СЕБѢ*  
 to he.ACC,m be.Aux.cond accept.PART,m John.PN,N,m to self.PronAn.D  
 ‘so that John would accept him unto himself’ (CS 275: 6–7)

A plausible scenario for the origin of the extended clitic cluster is right-adjunction to a clitic already present in  $C^0$ , such as the question clitic *ли*, as in (8a) above or the discourse clitics *же* (as in (7a) above) and *ко*. Moreover, being discourse markers these clitics conform to Rizzi’s proposal on the semantic content of *C* as encoding the illocutionary force of the sentence (cf. Rizzi 1996, 1997). Further evidence to this effect is the behaviour of the latter clitics as markers of the left edge of the clause found in clauses where they occur on their own. In turn, the presence of such clitics or extended clitic clusters can be used as a reliable diagnostic for  $A'$ -movement to the left periphery, as we have argued in recent work (Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov, in press). In this respect our data are very much in line with, and provide independent proof of the analysis of V-to-C raising in West Flemish using the discourse particle *tet* as a diagnostic in van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman (2007). Pancheva (2005) considers the above scenario for the rise of 2P clitics and rejects it on theoretical grounds, namely that discourse clitics are unlikely attractors for e.g., argument clitics. However, based on the current data and finds, more specifically the presence of clitic doubling constructions clearly related to Information structure values and triggers, we believe that the link between discourse 2P clitics and argument clitics is very likely. In section 4. below we elaborate our proposal.

### 3.2 A structure for Old Bulgarian

Following our general presentation of the data and structures involving clitics in Old Bulgarian we propose the overall structure given in (9) below.

12. In the example in (8b) the auxiliary *бъ* is used as part of a periphrastic optative construction (cf. Duridanov 1993).



Due to the right-headed setting of VPs and the extended verbal domain, argument clitics would be enclitic on the main verb (as assumed in (9) above), which is what we actually find. Thus, the examples of ditransitive VPs in section 2. above display a full constituent object in the immediately pre-verbal position, while the clitic object immediately follows the verb. Likewise, a random sample of our data reveals only 1 out of 20 single argument clitics in second position, while the remaining 19 are found directly adjacent to the main verb of the structure in (9) above. More examples corroborating the analysis adopted here are given in (10) below.

- (10) a.   и   оБРАЗѢ           ЗЛАТЫ           ПОСТАВѢЖ   ТИ  
          and image.PL.ACC.m gold.PL.ACC.m put.1,SG   you.CL,D  
          ‘I will put you golden images’ (CS 1: 23–24)
- b.   ВЪ   ѦДНОМЪ   ГРѦБѢ           ПОЛОЖИ   Ѣ  
          in   one.LOC,m grave.LOC,m lay.Aor,3,SG   they.Du,ACC,f  
          ‘He laid both in the same grave’ (CS 26: 8–9)

On this analysis, clitics are not low (as sometimes claimed in the literature), they are at least as high as in Modern Bulgarian. The difference is that the overall headedness parameter switched over time, as suggested in Pancheva (2005) and Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov (in press).

There exist alternative analyses of clitic placement and clitic doubling/duplication. Thus, Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1998), Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan (1995/99) argue



for high base-generation for clitics as the heads of a clitic projection in the clausal left periphery. On their analysis the role of clitics is to signal argument structure maximally early in the clause whereby the clitic projection accommodates fronted argument XPs. Sportiche (1998, 1999) has argued for separate clitic projections labelled *clitic voices*. On his analysis both the clitic heads and the respective XPs found in their specifiers may undergo covert or overt movement. The difference between the proposal by Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan and the approach adopted by Sportiche resides in the generation site for the clitics, which is relatively low in the latter approach and high in the former. In addition, unlike Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan, Sportiche assumes also raising for the clitic heads. A third group of analyses, somewhat replicating Sportiche, sees the occurrence of doubling clitics as object agreement (e.g., hosted by the AgrO projection, as in Tomić 1996).<sup>13</sup> Clitic placement has alternatively been represented as adjunction, e.g., to T<sup>0</sup>/TP in Pancheva (2005). Choice of analysis, however, will not affect the trust of our generalization here, which would amount to a generation of the argument clitic outside the VP, f.i. in AgrO, wherefrom it further moves to a FP higher than AgrO, immediately below CP. We consider the structure in (9) to adequately represent the basic syntax of Old Bulgarian as witnessed in our data. It is especially compelling in the face of the data from embedded clauses and infinitive phrases which are overwhelmingly head-final, embedding contexts being more conservative and, thereby basic (cf. den Besten 1989 for German and the Principles and Parameters tradition). The representation in (9) which is essentially in the spirit of Sportiche (1998, 1999) and Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan (1995/99) in assuming separate clitic projections, can readily accommodate the range of structures encountered in our data. Thus, clitic doubling is predicted without additional stipulations. Furthermore, the evolving 2nd position cluster can be accounted for in terms of raising to the left periphery of the clause.

We thus propose that argument clitics adjoin to the head of a high functional projection (along the lines of van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman 2007) immediately below C<sup>0</sup> which hosts an Information structure feature.<sup>14</sup> Thus argument clitics will surface in a position directly adjacent to an/the element already present in C<sup>0</sup>, such as any of the discourse clitics *ли*, *же* and *ко*.<sup>15</sup> The link then with discourse clitics in C<sup>0</sup> is that the

13. Observe, however, that Sportiche does not view doubling clitics as agreement markers in recognition of their referential/IS properties. In line with Sportiche we believe that doubling clitics cannot be reduced to agreement markers (which they may eventually evolve into historically), and use the AgrO label simply as a shortcut for e.g., Cl(itic)P.

14. The head of FP, F<sup>0</sup> is the locus of the discourse particle *tet* in West Flemish.

15. We may assume that the relationship between the discourse clitics in C<sup>0</sup> and the argument clitics in F<sup>0</sup> is phonological attraction.

latter both dominate and attract argument clitics which signal the referential properties of arguments in the clause (e.g., referential chains and anaphoric reference), a proposal consistent with Sportiche (1998, 1999). In this case, there is no need for the specifier of FP to be filled, since the projection is well-formed (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1998 for a proposal). In turn, for the cases of doubling, we assume that it is the doubled XP that raises to SpecFP, again for Information structure reasons (as is common with projections in the left-periphery). Since our data do not attest doubling clitics in second position (our  $F^0$ ), we believe that the analysis sketched above is not flawed by the data. Observe that the current proposal rejects an analysis along the lines of Pancheva (2005), who assumes left adjunction to TP combined with a headedness parameter switch to account for 2P clitics, exactly on the grounds on which she rejects a plot involving discourse clitics and an account along the lines of Sportiche (1998, 1999).

To summarize, in doubling constructions, argument clitics most likely are heads (at least upon initial merge in the structure), while the full argument DP most likely originates in an A-position inside the VP. At a certain point in the derivation they occur in a spec-head configuration (e.g., in AgrO) to ensure a feature match. Both may subsequently raise, in the complementary fashion sketched above. Furthermore, it is quite likely that OB also displayed scrambling very much like Modern German and had a fully-fledged “Mittelfeld”. The precise structure of this part of the clause, however, and details of the structure below FP and around TP awaits further research.

## 4. Clitic doubling

### 4.1 True doubling or not?

The literature on the diachrony of Balkan Sprachbund phenomena in Bulgarian usually treats the rise of clitic doubling/reduplication as a late phenomenon (cf. Assenova 1989/2002; Rusek 1963; Ivanova-Mirčeva & Haralampiev 1999; Mirčev 1978). However, our data attest clear instances of clitic reduplication, as well as resumptive clitics as early as the CS manuscript. While clitic reduplication applies to instances of a clitic resuming an argument DP within the same minimal clausal domain, clitic resumption obtains in the cases when a clitic resumes an XP occurring in a matrix (extended) domain (cf. e.g., Haegeman & Guéron 1999). In line with previous proposals treating clitic reduplication (e.g., CLLD) as an instance of clitic resumption (cf. Cinque 1990; Alexopoulou, Doron & Heycock 2004, among others), we hypothesize that most likely these mechanisms are also interrelated diachronically. In this paper, however, we explicitly address only cases of what we consider clitic doubling. Our data also witness cases of doubling inside the nominal expression which we address in due course.

According to Sportiche (1998) clitic doubling is the co-occurrence of a clitic and an overt XP\* in the same clausal domain. Recently, however, following the Romance tradition (cf. Cinque 1990), a distinction between “true” doubling and Clitic Left Dislocation<sup>16</sup> has been introduced. The latter is designed to handle structures that are the result of overt movement to, or according to some authors, of base-generation in the left periphery of the clause, in many cases triggered by Information structure mechanisms. In contrast, clitic doubling applies to cases whereby the full constituent and the doubling clitic(s) occur in their base positions inside the clause (cf. Cinque 1990; Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, 1994; Rizzi 1997; Rizzi 2004; Belletti 2004; Arregi 2003 for Romance and Arnaudova 2003 for Bulgarian). D-linking/topichood has been claimed to be a salient property of the CLLD-ed DP. Most recently, however, Alexopoulou & Kolliakou (2002) have argued for a distinction between topicalization, on the one hand and CLLD, on the other, based largely on data from Modern Greek. In their analysis, CLLD is convincingly shown to be a systematic way of coding “contrastive” links which pick out members of a (typically larger) set that has been previously introduced in the discourse. We will show that the conditions for clitic doubling in Modern Bulgarian largely comply with the analysis proposed in Alexopoulou & Kolliakou (2002) and further claim that the condition underlying clitic doubling is essentially an Information structure (a semantic) requirement, quite often masked by the surface order of constituents giving rise to the impression of e.g., two different constructions. Thus, on our analysis, the true diagnostic for clitic doubling is not the position of the full constituent with respect to the main verb, but the Information structure value that triggers it. Furthermore, the earliest instances attested in our data display the exact same condition as in the Modern Bulgarian counterparts. We briefly introduce the nature of this phenomenon.

An unambiguous test reliably used in the literature on clitic doubling is whether a doubling clitic can occur in the answer of an “out of the blue” question, as in (11).

- (11) a. *Kakvo napravi Ivan?* (Modern Bg)  
           What do.past.pf Ivan  
           ‘What did Ivan do?’
- b. *Ivan (\*ja) pročete knigata.*  
           Ivan (\*it) read.past.pf book-the  
           ‘Ivan read the book.’

As already observed in the literature, and as demonstrated in the Bulgarian example in (11b) above, doubling clitics are not only infelicitous in such contexts, but downright

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16. To what extent *left dislocation* is a felicitous label is a different question. As a matter of fact, the Modern Bulgarian fronted objects are not “dislocated” in any true sense of the word, as can be seen, among other things, in their phonology and the prosodic contour of the clause, cf. also Janse (this volume) for a similar point of view.

ungrammatical (cf. the discussion in Kallulli, this volume). Consider, however, the following situation. A and B are discussing Ivan's attempt to find an appropriate new house. B tells a story about Ivan visiting a real estate agent and looking into options together with the agent. Eventually they pick out a viable option (a specific house) and engage in dealing about the conditions and price. In the end A asks "(So) what did Ivan do?"; and B replies "(Well) Ivan bought it the house". This is the exact gloss of a coherent dialogue in Bulgarian given in (12) below.

- (12) a. *-(I) Kakvo napravi Ivan?* (Modern Bg)  
(And) What did Ivan do?
- b. *-(Ami...) kupi \*(ja) kuštata.*  
(Well ...) buy.3SG.PAST.PF it.CL.ACC.F house-the.SG.F  
'Well, he bought the house.'

Clearly, the question in (12a) does not count as a true "out of the blue" question and it may be further claimed that the occurrence of the doubling clitic is directly D-linked and licensed by the discourse context. Well, this is the whole point with doubling clitics. While innocently appearing as optional (and as commonly claimed in the literature), they are obligatory when properly licensed. With Kallulli (2000, this volume), we argue that clitic doubling produces and encodes information structure in a systematic way in that doubled objects are unambiguously interpreted as topics. We further refine this claim by restricting the interpretational import of doubling to exclusively apply to contrastive topics very much like the contrastive links of Alexopoulou & Kolliakou (2002). Thus, doubling is predicted to occur when reference is made to a referent already present in the discourse (e.g., what is usually meant by D-linking), and when this referent is selected out of a larger set.<sup>17</sup> The necessary condition then is that the larger set is introduced previously, thus making the concrete referent available for selection later on through the clitic doubling mechanism.

Consider the Old Bulgarian examples in (13) below.

- (13) a. **ѡБРАУѢ ВРАГѢМЪ МОИМЪ ТѢМЪ [НЕ ХОТѢШЕША]**  
but enemy.PL,ACC,m my.PL,ACC,m those.PL,ACC,m not wish.PART,PL,ACC,m
- МѢНѢ ДА ЦРЬ БИМЪ БѢМЪ НАДЪ НИМИ]**  
me.GEN/ACC,m to king.N,m be.Cond be.PART,SG,m over they.PL,INST
- ПРИВЕДѢТЕ ІА СѢМО І НСѢЦѢТЕ ІА**  
bring.IMP,2,PL they CL,PL,ACC here and slaughter.IMP,2,PL they.CL,PL,ACC
- ПРѢДЪ МѢНОМЪ**  
before (in front of) me.INST,m (Luke 19: 27; ZE 203: 8–12)

17. Our contrastive topics are very similar to the *identificational focus* of Kiss 1998 in their semantic properties and overt movement requirements. A complete comparison with the analysis in Kiss 1998 is, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

- a'. πλήν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μου ἐκείνους  
 but Art.PL,ACC,m enemy.PL,ACC,m my.CL,GEN those.PL,ACC,m  
 τοὺς μὴ θελήσαντάς με βασιλεῦσαι  
 Art.PL,ACC,m. not wish.PART,PL,ACC,m me.CL,SG,ACC reign.inf  
 ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀγάγετε ὧδε καὶ κατασφάζατε  
 over they.PL,ACC,m bring.IMP,2,PL here and slaughter.IMP,2,PL  
 ἔμπροσθέν μου  
 before (in front of) me.CL,GEN,m

'However, (as for) those enemies of mine that did not wish me to reign over them, bring them here and slaughter them in front of me.'

(Luke 19: 27; NT Greek)

- b. Δ ΤΡΕΤΗΙΑΓΟ НА ДЕСѦТЕ ВИДИМАГО ТАКО  
 and three.Ordinal,ACC/GEN,m on ten.SG,LOC look.PART,ACC/GEN,m such  
 ЧОУДѦНА Ѧ И ЗА РѦКѦ  
 marvelous.ACC/GEN,m take.Aor,3,SG he.CL,ACC,m by hand

(CS 121: 28–30)

'while the thirteenth (of them) appearing so marvellous (he) took him by the hand.'

- c. ВЪСѦКѦ РАЗІѦ НЕ ТВОРАШѦ ПЛОДА ИЗЪНЕТЪ ІѦ  
 every.ACC,f branch.ACC,f Neg give.PART,ACC,f fruit.GEN,m take-away.3,SG CL,ACC,f  
 І ВЪСѦКѦ ТВОРАШѦ ПЛОДЪ ОΥΡѦВНѦ ІѦ  
 and every.ACC,f give.PART,ACC,f fruit.GEN,m clean.3,SG CL,ACC,f

'Every branch (that) doesn't give fruit (he will) take away, and every (one that) gives fruit (he will) clean.'

(CM John 15: 2)

The example in (13a) above features a "heavy" direct object in preverbal position doubled by a clitic in the immediately post-verbal position. This pattern is in line with the base  $OVCl_o$  order displayed by full constituents vs. clitic objects, and consistent with our proposal on the overall structure of Old Bulgarian in section 3.2 above (cf. Ivanova-Mirčeva & Haralampiev 1999 for a similar observation). Thus, on the outset we can analyse the structure in (13a) as "true" clitic doubling as defined in current research (cf. Cinque 1990; Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, 1994; Rizzi 1997, 2004; Belletti 2004; Giusti & Stavrou, this volume, among others), and on the assumption that the full constituent  $\text{ВРАГЪ МΟΙΑ ΤΩ [НЕ ΧΟΤΕΒΕΨΑΙΩ ...]}$  ('those my enemies [not wanting...']') occurs in its base pre-verbal position, while the Accusative clitic  $\text{ІѦ}$  ('them') doubling that argument occurs in a designated functional projection position. Observe also that the NT Greek source example given in (13a') does not contain clitic doubling at all, further corroborating the Old Bulgarian nature of the phenomenon (cf. Janse, this volume for a detailed diachronic picture of Greek confirming our finds). Likewise, the example in (13b) features a full constituent direct object,  $\text{ΤΡΕΤΗΙΑΓΟ НА ДЕСѦТЕ ВИДИМАГО ТАКО ЧΟУДѦНА}$  ('the thirteenth appearing ...') in the pre-verbal position and a doubling

clitic *и* ('him') in the immediately post-verbal position. Both examples comply with the definition of true clitic doubling, with the full constituent occurring in its base immediately pre-verbal position.

However, in the absence of any overt intervening material, base OV structures can be easily confused with fronting<sup>18</sup> structures where the relevant object constituents have undergone A'-movement. We argue that the relevant criterion for clitic doubling is the Information Structure value that licenses the phenomenon, namely the [+contrastive topic/link] value as proposed above and in line with Alexopoulou & Kolliakou (2002). Consequently, we predict that clitic doubling will be licensed to pick out a referent previously introduced in the discourse, the latter usually being a member of a larger set. The role of doubling then would be to zoom onto this referent, as it were. As a matter of fact, this property of doubling in some of the Balkan languages has long been observed, and similarly contrastive topics/links have been proposed to exist cross-linguistically (e.g., in English) as distinct from regular topics. Thus, the clause in (13a) is introduced by the conjunction *ωκάνε* ('however', 'but') which suggests a change of topic<sup>19</sup> recalling an item introduced previously in the discourse, at the same time singling it out (from among others mentioned). Likewise, in the example in (13b) the referent is a member of a well-defined set (e.g., the people present at a dinner) and is picked out for resumed reference. The example in (13c) provides further support for the current analysis: in that latter example two (contrastive) sub-sets are picked out of the set of vines, the vines that produce fruit and the vines that don't. Both are respectively marked with a doubling clitic. Likewise, in (14a) below, the full set of Christian prisoners is universally quantified over and resumed for reference through the same mechanism.

- (14) a. *Дѣни оуже прише, дѣшоу повеѣ* (CS 104: 24–25)  
 day.D,m already Adv come.PART,D,m order.AOR,3,SG  
*всѣхъ есѣти ѿ въ тѣмницѣхъ*  
 all.PL,ACC,m lead.INF they.CL,PL,ACC,m in dungeon.ACC,f
- a'. *Τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἤδη παρελθούσης ἐκέλευσεν*  
 Art,GEN,f day,GEN,f already Adv pass.PART,GEN,f order.AOR,3,SG  
*εἰσαχθῆναι πάντα εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον*  
 lead.INF all.PL,ACC,m to (into) Art,ACC,n jail.ACC,n  
 (CS NT Greek 104: 24–25)  
 'When the day arrived (he) ordered for all them to be sent to prison'
- b. *Тѣждѣ во гласѣхъ всѣхъ нѣмы вѣсѣтавѣтъ* (CS 318: 1–2)  
 same.N,m voice.N,m all.PL,ACC we.PL,ACC raise.3,SG

18. Scrambling is also a likely option, especially in view of the parallels between OB and Modern German syntax.

19. We are grateful to Liliane Tasmowski for bringing our attention to this fact.

- b'. H      αὐτὴ      γὰρ      φωνὴ      πάντας      ἡμᾶς      ἀναστήσει  
 Art,N,f this,N,f      voice,N,f      all.PL,ACC,m      we.PL,ACC      raise  
 'Because the same voice will raise all us'      (CS NT Greek 318: 1–2)

The example in (14a) deserves special attention. On the surface it can appear as an instance of a floated quantifier, with the universal quantifier  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\alpha$  ('all') appearing in its base pre-verbal position and remaining stranded there, and the head of the object DP, ('them') raising to a higher position. Alternatively, we may assume that the quantifier and the clitic belong to two different phrases (constituents) and that the quantifier occurs in a DP with a covert head. The latter analysis conforms with the clitic doubling configuration suggested in (9) and with the patterns attested in (13) above. Furthermore, our data attest parallel single occurrences of the universal quantifier, apparently as part of a DP with a covert head. Moreover, a comparison with the Greek equivalent in (14a') reveals no clitic at all, very much in line with the lack of doubling in the case of NT Greek otherwise (cf. the NT Greek equivalents in (13) above, and the discussion in Janse, this volume). This is in contrast with the examples in (14b–b') whereby an OB quantified DP with an overt head  $\eta\mu\iota$  ('us') in (14b) is paralleled by an identical quantified DP also containing an overt head in the Greek example in (14b'). We take this as supportive evidence for the doubling analysis of (14a). Moreover, the example conforms to the Information structure contrastive topic value we assume to apply in the cases of clitic doubling in Old Bulgarian.

The monotone-anaphora property of clitic doubling structures can actually predict two well-known facts about Modern Bulgarian doubling, namely the reduplication of indefinite direct/indirect objects when occurring in the left-most position of the clause, as given in (15a) below, and the duplication of *wh*-constituents under certain conditions, as shown in (15c) below.

- (15) a. *edna žena ja viždax vseki den.* (Modern Bg)  
 one woman her.CLACC saw.1SG every day  
 'I saw one (specific) woman every day.'
- b. *Viždax (\*ja) edna žena vseki den*  
 saw.1SG (\*herCLACC) one woman every day
- c. *Na kogo mu dadoxa nagrada?*  
 To whom him.CLD gave.3PL prize  
 'Who received a prize (out of a limited number of options?)'

As witnessed by the contrast in (15a–b) above, only the doubling structure is licit on an interpretation that this is a specific referent out of a defined set of previously introduced/contextually salient referents. To the extent that the latter reading is not available, if the direct object *edna žena* ('one woman') occurs in its base position, as in (15b), the overt surfacing of the doubling clitic is illicit. Likewise, in (15c) a *wh*-word

is resumed by a clitic, the referent again being a member of a specific set, possibly a unique one-member set. The latter possibility is generally not expected in view of the semantic properties of *wh*-words. However, the clitic doubling construction provides the right Information Structure and semantic conditions, thereby licensing the occurrence of the doubling clitic (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan 1995/1999 for an early account along similar lines). Similar constructions and under similar conditions are attested in both Albanian (cf. Kallulli, this volume) and Macedonian (Tomić, this volume), thus highlighting the Balkan nature of the phenomenon.

A valid question at this point is the exact trigger of the doubling construction in Old Bulgarian. A direct observation based on our data, is that this phenomenon most frequently applies to heavy full constituents, such as e.g., objects modified by participle clauses. We can then speculate that syntactic “heaviness” or rather complexity (in terms of embedding) is a condition triggering the earliest occurrence of doubling. However, a closer look at the nature of the “heavy” modifiers shows that their sole function is discourse-oriented and very much in line with the current proposal. Thus, in each case the modifying participle phrases serve to pick a specific individual out of a well-defined previously introduced set. Further, we can propose that the latter is the actual mechanism triggering the construction at hand, rather than e.g., the levelling of morphological cases, as commonly assumed in the literature. Moreover, this process is under way by far earlier than the levelling of cases, a reason usually mentioned by way of explanation for the rise of clitic doubling.

A brief illustration from Modern Bulgarian further confirms the feasibility of our proposal. Consider the examples in (16) below.

- (16) a. *Kakvo napravi Ivan s knigata?* (Modern Bg)  
           What did Ivan with book-the
- b. *Ivan \*(ja) pročete knigata*  
           Ivan it,CLACC,f. read book-the
- b'. *Knigata \*(ja) pročete Ivan*  
           book-the it,CLACC,f. read Ivan

Both (16b) and (16b') are likely grammatical and coherent answers to the narrow focus question in (16a). It is the *contrastive topic* value of the referent of 'the book' that ensures the appropriateness of doubling. Conversely, one might claim that the doubling mechanism serves to license the contrastive topic interpretation. The only difference between (16b) and (16b') is the overt position of the doubled constituent. While the direct object *knigata* ('the book') in (16b) occurs in its base position, in (16b') it is found in a fronted (topicalized) position. We will claim that this position provides the perfect match between the Information structure value of the constituent at hand and its syntactic position in the left periphery of the clause, a position that provides



an explicit *link* with previous discourse. The latter type of construction has thus been often claimed to be the only instance of obligatory doubling in Modern Bulgarian (cf. e.g., Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan 1999). In fact we claim, that doubling is obligatory both in the *in situ* case, as in (16b), and the fronted case (16b') provided the right licensing context.<sup>20</sup> The current analysis, thus naturally predicts there to be a difference in the cases of regular topics/D-linked DPs, e.g., DPs bearing the article which do not trigger doubling, as in (17a) below or instances of focusing constituents both *in situ* and in the *forfelt*, as in (17b–b') (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan 1999 for a discussion and examples).

- (17) a. *Ivan pročete knigata* (Modern Bg)  
 Ivan read book-the
- b. *Ivan (\*ja) pročete KNIGATA, a ne spisanieto*  
 Ivan read book-the, and not magazine-the
- b'. *KNIGATA (\*ja) pročete Ivan, a ne spisanieto*  
 book-the read Ivan, and not magazine-the

The example (17a) contains a plain vanilla D-linked DP, *knigata* ('the book'), while (17b) displays a contrastive focus item *in situ*, and (17b) features a fronted contrastive focus item. In both latter cases, the Information structure value is supported by suprasegmental features in *KNIGATA* bearing the main stress of the intonational phrase. Note, that the current distinction between regular topics and contrastive (clitic doubled) topics is highly coherent with the distinction proposed independently by Alexopoulou & Kolliakou (2002) for Greek.

#### 4.2 Doubling of the reflexive anaphora

An interesting case of clitic reduplication is the doubling of the full pronominal anaphor *себе/се* ('self') by a Dative anaphoric clitic *си*. This is also claimed to be the earliest instance of obligatory reduplication (cf. Assenova 2002).

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20. A further distinction can be claimed to exist between the a.-a' and the b. example in (i):

- (i) a. *Knigata (\*ja) pročete Ivan* (Modern Blg)  
 book-the it<sub>CL,ACC,f.</sub> read Ivan
- a'. *Knigata Ivan (\*ja) pročete*  
 book-the Ivan it read
- b. *Ivan knigata (\*ja) pročete*  
 Ivan book-the it read

Arguably, both examples in (ia–a') instantiate clitic doubling proper, while (ib) should be treated as a different construction. We thank an anonymous reviewer for highlighting the contrast here.

- (18) a. **себѣ** **си** **одеждѣ** **сѣбѣ**  
 self.D CL,D clothing.ACC,f make.Aor,3,SG  
 ‘(he) made a dress for himself’ (CS 347: 30)
- b. **себѣ** **си** **лозѣ** **пагоубѣ** **сѣбѣ**  
 self.D CL,D vine.ACC,f destruction.GEN,f make.3,PL  
 ‘(they) (will) make for themselves the vine of destruction’ (CS 385: 23–24)
- c. **себѣ** **си** **тамѣ** **сѣбѣ** **тѣбѣ**  
 self.ACC,m D,CL there.ADV be (present).ACC/GEN,m make.SG,1  
 ‘(I) makes myself present there.’ (CS 343: 18)

An important point concerning the examples in (18) above is that, unlike the other doubling cases discussed above, the two constituents, the full phrase and the doubling clitic observe strict adjacency. It appears that already at this stage of Old Bulgarian, the anaphor and the clitic behaved as a single constituent, very much along the lines of the Modern Bulgarian full pronominal anaphor *себе си*. An alternative scenario could be that this is the stage preceding the single constituent stage whereby the constituent was formed through movement of both the full anaphor and the clitic to the clause-initial position (the SpecFP/F configuration), thus attaining strict adjacency. The latter scenario is even more compelling in view of the emerging left periphery, and CP (and FP) in particular, witnessed by fronting phenomena and clitic clusters in 2nd position, as discussed in section 3. above. We find further support for the latter analysis in that **себѣ**/**себѣ** (‘self’) may occur on its own, as attested in the examples in (19) below.

- (19) a. **азѣ** **помаляѣ** **себѣ** **ради**  
 I.SG,N be-silent.1,SG self.SG,GEN for sake of.P  
 ‘I’ll remain silent for my own sake.’ (CS 20: 14)
- b. **да** **и** **бѣ** **приимѣ** **ѿ** **ѿ** **къ**  
 to he.ACC,m be.AUX.COND accept.Part,m John, PN,N,m to  
  
**себѣ**  
 self.PronAn.D  
 ‘so that John would accept him unto himself’ (CS 275: 6–7)

To the extent that the Codex Suprasliensis stage also attests independent single occurrences of both **себѣ**/**себѣ** (‘self’) and the reflexive clitic in argument positions, we believe that the syntactic adjacency analysis of the origin of the construction is on the right track.

A brief note on the lack of match in Case features on the two items. As evident in the glosses, the doubling clitic invariably appears in a Dative form, while the full constituent may be marked for either Accusative, Genitive or Dative case. We believe that the above analysis of the syntactic origin of the construction provides a clue. Namely, the rise of 2P clitics, most notably Dative clausal clitics that may be interpreted as

possessor clitics, has provided the basis for the adjacent configuration of the two constituents in the complex anaphor, thus giving rise to a ‘possessor’ interpretation of the Dative clitic (something like ‘own self’). Further support may be found in the cases of clitic doubling inside the nominal expression briefly discussed below.

#### 4.3 Doubling inside the nominal expression

Our data also attest some instances of doubling inside the nominal expression.

The most frequent pattern is doubling of the Possessor by means of a Dative clitic, also found in Modern Bulgarian (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1999 and Giusti & Stavrou, this volume). This is illustrated in the examples in (20) below.

- (20) a. *своемоу си заведиши съпасению*  
 own.PAan,D,n REFL,CL,D envy.SG,2 salvation.D,n  
 ‘(you) envy your own salvation’ (CS 336: 16)
- b. *оу своихъ сжтъ си дома лежали*  
 in own.PAan,PL,GEN,m be.PL,3 REFL,CL,D home.PL,GEN(!),m lie.Part,PL  
 ‘(they) were lying in their own home’ (CS 267: 18)

In both examples in (20) above a Possessor realized by a P(ossessive) A(djective) Phrase, respectively *своемоу* and *своихъ* (‘own’), is doubled by the reflexive Dative clitic *си*. Both the PA full form and the reflexive clitic are anaphors bound in the same IP domain by the clausal subject and obey Principle A. This is very much along the lines of anaphoric binding inside nominal expressions in Modern Bulgarian. To what extent the examples in (20) instantiate true doubling is open to discussion, since the full constituent and the doubling element are different categories, one being the maximal projection of an adjective, the other, a clitic. However, both are pronominal elements, PAs being derived from pronouns (and still considered pronouns in traditional grammars). Also, doubling traditionally applies to arguments. If we then assume that Possessors are arguments of the nominal head, there is clearly a parallel to doubling in the clause (cf. however Dimitrova-Vulchanova 2000 for a discussion of the argument status of Possessors, cf. also Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1998). To the extent that our data do not attest Possessor doubling of the type found in Modern Bulgarian whereby a Dative clitic resumes a full Possessor *na* DP, as discussed in Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1999) and Giusti & Stavrou for a comparison with Greek (this volume), we leave this issue open to further discussion.

#### 5. Conclusion

In this paper we have addressed the structure of the Old Bulgarian clause with a focus on the placement of clitics and full argument constituents, as well as clitic doubling/reduplication at this stage of the language. We have shown that Old Bulgarian has a

head-final structure for VPs and IPs with full DP/pronominal objects occurring in the preverbal position and argument clitics opting for the immediately post-verbal position. This is the pattern attested both when constituents occur in isolation and when they occur in a doubling environment. Our data based in an early Old Bulgarian manuscript, Codex Suprasliensis, witness instances of what we consider clitic doubling proper. The latter is seen as exclusively sanctioned by a specific Information structure value we currently define as [+contrastive topic], which is a sufficient trigger for the surfacing of doubling clitics. Our analysis is justified on the basis of the discourse properties of the earliest instances of the phenomenon and the clear parallel with Modern Bulgarian on the one hand, and with other modern Balkan languages, such as Albanian (cf. Kallulli, this volume) and Macedonian (Tomić, this volume), on the other.

The parallel with Modern Bulgarian is particularly intriguing. The OB data are strikingly similar to the modern data, and the conditions that we assume license them, can actually warrant most of the Modern Bulgarian data including some of the puzzling cases, e.g., the doubling of indefinite objects and *wh*-constituents. The crucial issue is why doubling was not obligatory at the Codex Suprasliensis stage, while we claim that in Modern Bulgarian doubling is invariably present when the right Information structure conditions are met. A viable straightforward answer is that at this stage the phenomenon is just evolving. The latter scenario is supported by the complete absence of doubling in the NT Greek source text. Alternatively, one might claim that, in being sensitive to discourse and Information structure features, clitic doubling is properly licensed in a register different from the one of the early manuscripts. Data from more manuscripts of this period, as well as longitudinal diachronic data, may provide the conclusive answers to this question.

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PART II

**Discourse functional properties  
of clitic doubling**





# Romanian Clitic Doubling

## A view from pragmatics-semantics and diachrony\*

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This paper argues that an approach to the Romanian C(litic) D(oubling) from a pragmatics-semantics perspective produces a systematic account for three peculiarities of this construction; namely, the obligatory particle *pe* preceding the D(irect) O(bject) DP, the interaction between this type of marking and the insertion of a doubling clitic, and the DO/I(ndirect) O(bject) asymmetry in the conditions for CD. In particular, speech act effects emerging from the presence versus absence of *pe* lead us to define this element as a pragmatic marker for *prominence* in these configurations. Its interaction with the doubling clitic depends on the semantics of reference: only an acceptable degree of *stable reference* of the DP allows for the cooccurrence with a clitic (i.e., for the CD of DOs). These constraints do not extend to the CD of IOs. We consider that an acceptable degree of *stable reference* is intrinsically ensured in Romanian CD with IOs because of the matching morphological endings for Oblique Case on both the clitic and the DP; *prominence*, on the other hand, emerges from the high location of IOs on the topicality scale (i.e., close to Agent-like theta-roles), in contrast to the low location of DOs (i.e., close to Theme-like theta-roles). Thus, IOs meet the pragmatic *prominence* conditions for CD due to their morpho-semantics, whereas DOs need categorial marking (i.e., *pe*) to qualify for this process. An overview of the CD in three texts of Old Romanian attests a gradual emergence of the modern CD that supports our analysis.

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## 1. Introduction

This paper looks at Romanian constructions with Clitic Doubling (henceforth CD) of the DP in the canonical direct object postverbal position (henceforth DO), as in (1).

- (1) [L]-                    *am    invitat [pe studentul    ei].*  
          him<sub>CL,ACC,M</sub>    have<sub>1</sub>    invited PE student-the    hers  
          ‘I invited her student.’

In (1), the DP *studentul ei* ‘her student’ occupies the DO position, and it is doubled by a clitic (i.e., *l-* ‘him’) that agrees with the DP in phi-features and Case (i.e., Accusative). The clitic varies its morphology to reflect gender, number and Case; the DP/DO bears morphological marks for gender and number, but not for Accusative Case. The particle *pe* obligatorily precedes the DO/DP; this particle (left as is in glosses) is generally defined as a preposition, since it occurs elsewhere, where it projects to PPs.

Constructions as in (1) have been studied extensively in formal grammar (see section 3 for a list of articles). The consensus may be summed up as follows:

- a. Syntax alone cannot provide adequate theoretical or empirical accounts for CD.
- b. The approach to CD as a semantics-syntax interface phenomenon offers better solutions, especially when it revolves around the concepts of *specificity* and *animacy*.
- c. There are instances of CD in Romanian which do not conform to the formal patterns proposed so far (i.e., that the specificity/animacy of DOs interacts with the syntax of CD).

This paper aims to contribute to the understanding of issues falling under the group (c). In particular, we address three questions:

- i. What is the function of *pe*, taking into account that *pe* may precede the DP/DO irrespective of CD?
- ii. What makes the [*pe*-DO] string compatible with CD?
- iii. What is the underlying condition that restricts CD with DOs, but not with IOs?

Other studies have addressed these questions, from various angles. For example, it has been shown that *pe* insertion modifies the semantics of the DO/DP, making it more prominent and eliminating the predicative, property denotation  $\langle e, t \rangle$  (Cornilescu 2001). We ask the question what is *prominence* in this case, and how is it associated with *pe*?

Furthermore, it has been shown that the CD of DOs depends on the referential properties of the DO (Farkas & Heusinger 2003). We notice that referential properties alone cannot license CD; they must interact with the factor that triggers *pe* insertion. In the same vein, the contrast between unrestricted CD with IOs has been attributed to inherent ‘topichood’ properties of dative clitics (e.g., Kallulli, this volume). We try to narrow down the semantic source of this ‘topichood’ property, to understand why such source does not apply to DOs.

The analysis we propose situates these questions in a pragmatics-semantics perspective and offers the following answers:

- i. *Pe* is not a preposition (i.e., it is inert for Case marking) but a pragmatic marker of prominence on the DO. *Prominence* means endowing the DO with speech act features (i.e., reflecting the speaker's point of view, or a certain context of use). Pragmatic marking has an impact on the semantic status of the DO (with the results discussed in Cornilescu 2001).
- ii. For CD to occur, two conditions must be met: *prominence* (as in (i)) and *referential stability* (as in Farkas & Heusinger (2003)). This formula correctly predicts that, in modern Romanian, DOs with stable reference cannot undergo CD without *pe* marking.
- iii. Unrestricted CD with IOs is a consequence of unrestricted availability of *referential stability* and *prominence*. Referential stability is derived from the morphological agreement between the Dative clitic and the determiner of the IO/DP, as proposed in current research (see Kallulli, this volume). Prominence, however, is derived from the location of the IO on the topicality scale proposed for thematic roles (e.g., Givón 1984, following the "activity hierarchy" in Fillmore 1968). More precisely, IOs map th(ematic)- roles situated high in the hierarchy, close to Agent ("topichood"); whereas DOs map the th-roles at the bottom of the hierarchy, away from "topichood". From this perspective, *pe* marking for prominence extracts the DO to the thematic domain of the IO, allowing it to undergo CD. That is, IOs have the intrinsic semantics for CD, whereas DOs must undergo some operations in pragmatics and in syntax to attain the same semantics.

This analysis receives empirical support from historical data, which show variation in the syntax of CD. The data come from different versions of two religious texts from the 16th century and one secular text from the 17th century. Of particular interest are contexts where CD may occur with or without *pe*-insertion (unlike in the modern language) clearly pointing out the dissociation between *pe* and Accusative Case marking. Furthermore, there are contexts where non-doubled DOs may or may not be preceded by *pe* in the same sentence, depending on the speaker's perspective on the respective DO.

The theoretical framework for this analysis is explained in section 2. The modern data and the analysis are presented together in section 3. Section 4 explores the historical data. Finally, the appendix provides some glossed sentences out of the cited Old Romanian texts.

## 2. Theoretical background

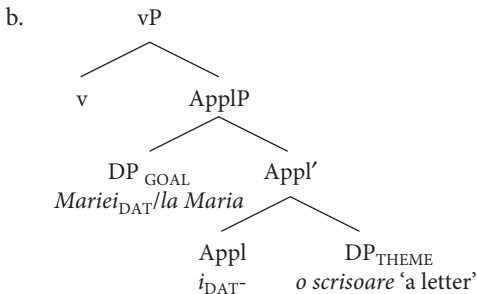
This paper focuses on the pragmatics-semantics of CD, not on its syntactic aspects. However, the discussion must have a configurational background, for which we adopt

two frames of reference. The first one bears on the status of the doubling clitic, and it is adopted from Delfitto (2002). The second one concerns the projection properties of the clitic, and consists of “applicative” approaches, such as proposed in Pytkäinen (2002) and Cuervo (2003), and adapted to Romanian in Diaconescu & Rivero (2005).

Delfitto (2002) proposes a uniform account for the constructions involving pronominal clitics. He argues that semantically, a sentence with a simple pronominal clitic is not a proposition but a predicate, that is, an unsaturated expression. The clitic is, then, a syntactic trigger for a semantic operation consisting in the (re)opening of the corresponding argument position of the verb, which must combine with an *antecedent* (i.e., an empty TOP) to get sense. Thus, every sentence with a clitic (e.g., *Marcello lo legge* ‘Marcello reads it.’) represents a structure of the form  $[_{TOP} e] [\lambda x (\text{Marcello legge } x)]$ . This is also the structure assigned to Clitic Left Dislocated (CLLD) constructions, as in *Il libro, Marcello lo legge* ‘The book, Marcello reads it.’ Explicitly, Delfitto (2002) provides a unified treatment for the two types of constructions (i.e., pronominal clitic construction and CLLD): the TOP is always present, whether it is lexically realized (in CLLD) or not (in pronominal clitic constructions without overt DO/IO). The property of TOP is to refer to a salient discourse entity (i.e., with no particular interpretable features). Implicitly, Delfitto’s (2002) unified treatment of pronominal clitics allows us to extend it to CD, and consider that the doubling clitics are not intrinsically different from other clitics insofar as they all generate a predicative configuration headed by  $[_{TOP} e]$ .

As for the placement of the doubling clitics in a syntactic configuration and for their projecting properties, we adopt the “applicative” proposal in Diaconescu & Rivero (2005). The term *applicative construction* is associated with double object constructions in Marantz (1993), and it is extended to configurations where the double object construction involves CD. In particular, McGinnis (2001) and Cuervo (2003) argue that doubling clitics may function as applicative heads. Within this framework, Diaconescu & Rivero (2005) define Romanian CD as Applicative Phrases (ApplP) with the configuration in (2).

- (2) a. *I- am trimis o scrisoare Mariei/ la Maria.*  
 her<sub>CL,DAT</sub> have sent a letter Maria<sub>DAT</sub>/ to Maria  
 ‘I sent Maria a letter.’



In (2b), the IO/DP that would target the empty TOP position in Delfitto's (2002) framework starts up in a licensing Spec-head relation with the clitic, in an ApplP where the th-role feature (i.e., Goal) is checked. Although Diaconescu & Rivero (2005) do not discuss all the types of CD constructions, we assume that they are all generated in a similar way (see Cuervo 2003 for a more extensive discussion on Spanish CD).

The semantic and pragmatic concepts we use in this paper are those generally presented in any introduction to these fields. However, for Romanian CD we specifically adopt the results in Farkas & Heusinger (2003), summed up in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Definiteness Scale with corresponding types of referential stability

PrNames/def.Pron	> Definite descriptions	> Partitives	>Indefinites
dynamic/static stability	conditional dynamic stability	restricted instability	instability
DOM <sup>o</sup> obligatory	DOM optional	DOM possible	no DOM
*( <i>Îl</i> ) <i>văd</i> *( <i>pe</i> ) <i>Ion/pe el</i> . him see PE Ion / PE him 'I see Ion/ him.'	( <i>Îl</i> ) <i>văd</i> ( <i>pe</i> ) <i>profesor</i> . him see PE professor <i>Văd profesorul</i> see professor.the 'I see the professor.'	<i>Îl văd pe unul dintre ei</i> . him see PE one of them 'I see one of them.'	<i>Văd un student</i> . see a student 'I see a student.'

<sup>o</sup>DOM = Differential Object Marking with *pe*.

Table 1 represents the way in which Farkas & Heusinger (2003) bring in different dimensions along which referential stability can vary: animacy, definiteness, specificity, identification. Also, this system allows for different types of referential stability: dynamic stability (i.e., constant referent throughout discourse); static stability (i.e., no alternatives in the choice of the referent in immediate context, but no maintenance warranted throughout discourse); referent choice conditioned by the description of a singleton set; instability in choice, which might be tempered by extraction from a referent set, or not. These distinctions provide the background for the discussion of the contrast between CD with IOs and with DOs.

To sum up, the syntactic framework we adopt situates the discussion of CD under the umbrella of configurations with pronominal clitics, narrowing down the pattern to the level of ApplPs. This syntactic background is matched with the semantic properties of Romanian CDs, such as presented in Table 1.

### 3. Prominence and referential stability

In this section we look at the distribution of *pe*, at the conditions in which *pe* and CD overlap, and at the contrast between optional CD with IO and restricted CD with DOs. Many studies (cited below) have approached the same issues, and the consensus is that

the presence of *pe* modifies the semantic status of the DO in a way that makes it salient in the context. Our contribution is to look for the source of this salience or prominence. We find it in the pragmatics, being related to the speaker's intention and to the context of use (section 3.1). Furthermore, we try to understand how this pragmatic prominence interacts with the conditions for CD. In this respect, we find that prominence alone cannot license CD but needs to be associated with a stable reference for the DO in the spirit of Farkas and Heusinger (section 3.2). Finally, we address the well-known contrast between optional CD of IOs and restricted CD of DOs. We account for this contrast by pointing to the location of IOs and DOs on the topicality scale: IOs are semantically prominent, whereas DOs must attain prominence through explicit marking (section 3.3).

### 3.1 Direct Object marking by means of *pe*

This section provides a review of the contexts in which *pe* is obligatorily present or obligatorily absent. We show that the decision for the insertion of *pe* is determined in pragmatics (rather than in semantics). Thus, *pe* is defined as a pragmatic marker that lexicalizes the *prominence* of the DO against a background set.

The data presented in (3) and (4) summarize the observations on the distribution of *pe* in Romanian CD such as found in works by Niculescu (1959), Farkas (1978), Tasmowski (1987), Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), Avram (1997), Gierling (1997), Cornilescu (2001, 2002) and Farkas & Heusinger (2003). These data are organized in two sets: in set (3) *pe* is present, in set (4) *pe* is absent.

*Pe* is obligatorily present with DOs that are composed of:

- [+hu] bare quantifiers (e.g., “somebody”, “nobody”, “someone else”, etc.)
 

(3) a. *Nu vede \*(pe) nimeni.*  
           not sees    PE   nobody  
           ‘S/he does not see anyone.’
- modifying quantifiers whose complement is non-lexical (i.e., *pro*): floating, proportion, counting, cardinal numerals, partitive (e.g., “all”, “each”, “both”, “most”, “first”, “some”, “many”, “few”, “some of them”, etc.)
 

(3) b. *Le vreau \*(pe) amândouă.*  
           them<sub>CL</sub> want<sub>1s</sub>   PE   both<sub>FEM</sub>  
           ‘I want them both.’
- [+hu] definite DPs and DPs with unique reference (e.g., “mother”, “boss”)
 

(3) c. *O aștept \*(pe) mama.*  
           her<sub>CL</sub> wait<sub>1s</sub>   PE   mother-the  
           ‘I’m waiting for my mother.’
- proper names for persons (including anthropomorphic use)

- (3) d. *L- am chemat \*(pe) Ion.*  
 him<sub>CL</sub> have<sub>1s</sub> called PE Ion  
 'I called Ion.'

- strong (non-clitics) personal pronouns

- (3) e. *O prefer \*(pe) ea.*  
 her<sub>CL</sub> prefer<sub>1s</sub> PE her  
 'I prefer her.'

- definite demonstrative or possessive DPs with a *pro* complement

- (3) f. *Dă- mi- le \*(pe) acestea/ \*(pe) ale tale.*  
 give<sub>2s,IMP</sub> me<sub>DAT</sub> them<sub>ACC</sub> PE these/ PE the<sub>P,FEM</sub> yours  
 'Give me these!'/ 'Give me yours!'

On the other hand, *pe* is obligatorily absent when the DOs are composed of:

- [-hu] bare quantifiers (e.g., "something", "nothing", etc.)

- (4) a. *Nu cere \*(pe) nimic.*  
 not asks PE nothing  
 'S/he does not ask for anything.'

- bare plurals (e.g., "people", "folks", "books", etc.)

- (4) b. *Scrie \*(pe) cărți bune.*  
 writes PE books good<sub>P,FEM</sub>  
 'S/he writes good books.'

- [-hu] DPs

- (4) c. *Adu- mi \*(pe) cartea!*  
 bring<sub>2s,IMP</sub> me<sub>CL,DAT</sub> PE book-the  
 'Bring me the book!'

- attributive DPs

- (4) d. *Prin restaurante observ \*(pe) chelnerii la lucru.*  
 in restaurants observe<sub>1s</sub> PE waiters-the at work  
 'In restaurants, I observe the waiters at work.'

The traditional claim is that animacy is the trigger for this distribution of *pe*. Indeed, most DOs in the paradigm in (3) display the [+hu] features, whereas most DOs in the paradigm in (4) display the [-hu] feature. However, these paradigms also point out that animacy is not a systematic trigger for *pe* insertion. For example, the DOs in (3b, f) may have non-animate interpretation, although *pe* is obligatory. Furthermore, (4d) displays a [+human] DO that is not preceded by *pe*. These exceptions to the rule (well acknowledged in the studies cited) have been a pervasive problem in the accounts of CD in Romanian.



Our analysis approaches the distribution of *pe* by looking at contexts where its insertion seems to be arbitrary, as in (5).

- (5) a. *Ai citit această carte?* [-pe]  
 have<sub>2s</sub> read this book  
 'Have you read this book?'  
 b. *Ai citit-o pe aceasta?* [+pe]  
 have<sub>2s</sub> read it<sub>CL,FEM</sub> PE this  
 'Have you read this one?'  
 c. *Am văzut mulți colegi pierzându-și capul în momente* [-pe]  
 have<sub>1s</sub> seen many colleagues losing -REFL head-the in moments  
*de criză.*  
 of crisis  
 'I've seen many colleagues losing their head in moments of crisis.'  
 d. *Am văzut pe mulți colegi pierzându-și capul în*  
 have<sub>1s</sub> seen PE many colleagues losing -REFL head-the in [+pe]  
*momente de criză*  
 moments of crisis  
 'I've seen many colleagues of mine losing their head in moments of crisis.'

The paradigm in (5) transgresses the dichotomy in (3) and (4) insofar as it provides pairs of sentences where *pe* may either be absent or present. The DOs consist of [-hu] DPs in (5a, b), and [+hu] DPs with weak quantifiers in (5c, d). For the interpretation, the presence of *pe* entails a "strong reading" that somehow brings the DO in the spotlight. This "strong reading" has two non-trivial effects: (i) it cancels the animacy predictions on *pe*; and (ii) it contradicts the incorporation "rule" on bare plurals/singulans (Carlson 1977; Dobrovie-Sorin & Laca 2003; Cornilescu 2001, 2002; Bleam 2005; Vogelee & Tasmowski 2006). In particular, the incorporation rule predicts that DOs with weak quantifiers as in (5c, d) will be incorporated to the verb. However, this is valid for (5c), but not for (5d), where the quantifier adopts a strong reading and gets a proportional interpretation.

Examples as in (5) make us wonder what the property of this "strong reading" with *pe* might be, so that it cancels the semantic sensitivity to animacy and blocks DO incorporation into verbs. Our observation is that a "strong" versus neutral reading in the pairs in (5) involves a sort of *prominence* for the respective DO. For example, in (5a) the speaker is referring to a particular subject of discourse, that is, the book. In (5b), in addition to the book under discussion, implicit reference is made to a presupposed background set, out of which "this one" is extracted and to which it is contrasted.<sup>1</sup>

1. A similar result is obtained with possessives; e.g., *cartea mea* "my book" is just one way of denoting a particular book, but *ale mele* "mine<sub>P,FEM</sub>" is implicitly opposed to the books of

The pair in (5c, d) follows the same pattern: (5c) means that the kind of situation alluded to – colleagues losing their head when confronted with problems – occurs frequently; on the other hand, (5d) is primarily concerned with colleagues, a fairly amount of whom lose their head in critical moments. Therefore, a strong reading shifts the focus of interest without provoking a difference in the semantics. The difference concerns only the spotlight for the DO against a background set.

Two factors can be identified as the triggers of the DO in the spotlight by inserting *pe*: the speaker's intention and the context of use. The impact of the speaker's intention on DO marking with *pe* is illustrated in (6).

- (6) a. *Toate țările democratice aleg președintele prin vot universal.*  
all countries-the democratic elect president-the by vote universal  
'All the democratic countries elect the president by universal vote.'
- b. \**Toate țările democratice îl aleg pe președinte prin vot universal.*  
all countries-the democratic him elect *pe* president by vote universal  
'All the democratic countries elect the president by universal vote.'
- c. *Pe drum, am văzut un grădinar plântând pomi.*  
on way have<sub>1s</sub> seen a gardener planting trees  
'On the way, I have seen a gardener planting trees.'
- d. *Am văzut cu ochii mei pe un grădinar plântând bănuței.*  
have<sub>1s</sub> seen with eyes-the my *pe* a gardener planting daisies  
'With my own eyes I've seen a gardener planting daisies.'
- e. *Vezi postașul?*  
see<sub>2s</sub> mailman-the  
'Do you see the/our mailman?'
- f. *Îl vezi pe postașul bunicăi?*  
him<sub>cl</sub> see<sub>2s</sub> *pe* mailman-the gran'ma-the<sub>GEN</sub>  
'Do you see Granma's mailman?'

The DOs in (6) have [+hu] features, so insertion of *pe* is expected, according to the prediction in (3c). However, as observed in Gierling (1997), when the definite DP takes up a pure role reading, use of *pe* is avoided. This is the case in (6a) versus (6b), where the speaker has no intention to figure out a referent; this DO might well be considered incorporated. Moreover, even definite DOs not used in their role version may display variation in the way the DO's referent is represented: the speaker can choose to manifest more or less interest in the DO's referent as a person. Furthermore, a [+hu]

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someone else. Strong indefinites too presuppose a background set to which they are confronted; e.g., *am citit tot romanul* 'have read all novel-the' versus *l-am citit pe tot* 'it have read *pe*-all'.

DO/DP, be it definite, as in (6e,f)) or indefinite, as in (6c,d), is more likely to be marked with *pe* if it has modifiers that enhance the visibility of the DP's referent against the other members of the set N. Therefore, the speaker's intention allows for *pe* insertion in conditions that transgress the predictions made on semantic basis.

The context of use has a similar impact for *pe* insertion, as shown in (7). It has been established that modal environments (i.e., imperative, subjunctive) ban *pe* insertion (see Farkas & Heusinger 2003), as in (7a). However, it suffices to introduce a secondary predication to undo the ban on *pe* marking, as in (7b).

- (7) a. *Alegeți (\*pe) un student!*  
 elect<sub>2P,IMP</sub> PE a student  
 'Elect a student!'
- b. *Alegeți delegat (pe) un student!*  
 elect<sub>2P,IMP</sub> representative PE a student  
 'Elect a student as delegate!'

Note that the DO's referent does not become more identifiable through *pe* insertion, it just becomes more prominent, and sufficiently so that even addition of a subjunctive relative, known to doom its head to remain under the scope of an intensional predicate (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994) cannot oppose *pe*:

- (7) c. *Alegeți delegat pe un student care să cunoască situația.*  
 elect<sub>2P,IMP</sub> representative PE a student who to<sub>SUBJ</sub> know<sub>3S</sub> situation-the  
 'Elect as delegate a student who would be able to deal with the situation.'

All the examples in (7) show that the context of use can override the semantic ban on *pe* insertion, such as expected when the DO is inserted in the scope of a modal or a quantifier.<sup>2</sup>

We provided the examples in (6) and (7) as evidence that the presence of *pe* is predictable in terms of prominence for the DO, and that, therefore, its function should be defined in pragmatic rather than in semantic terms. That is, *pe* is a pragmatic particle

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2. An example of the same kind is provided by the behavior of *vreun* 'any'/'some'. DO/DPs quantified with *vreun* do not allow for *pe*; however, the ban is removed when the DO/DP acts as the subject of a small clause, adding some attribute to the virtual referent. We are grateful to Sanda Reinheimer for providing (i):

- (i) *Dacă vezi (pe) vreun trecător aruncând o hârtie pe stradă, spune-i că va plăti amendă.*  
 if see PE some pedestrian throwing a paper pe street tell him that will pay fine  
 'If you see some pedestrian throwing a paper on the street, tell him/her s/he will be amended.'

(versus grammatical category) that lexically marks prominence on DO/DPs. In the framework of this analysis, *prominence* means highlighting the DO against a background set and locating it in the speaker's perspective or in a certain context of use. This definition of *pe* is compatible with the dichotomy in (3) and (4) and has the advantage of also accounting for the exceptions to this rule illustrated in (5) to (7).

The definition of *pe* as a pragmatic DO marker must have some predictable consequences in semantics and in syntax. In semantics, the prediction is that *pe*-marking may cancel animacy effects, and, when it occurs, it will raise a barrier to the incorporation of the DO into the verb (in terms of Carlson 1977). Indeed, these were the puzzling observations on the examples in (5) that started the discussion.

In syntax, prominence effects are related to movement, such as seen in DO scrambling (Gierling 1997) or in adverb movement to the high left periphery (Rizzi 2004). That is, constituents are triggered to the field associated with the information structure for a prominence reading. Along these lines, since *pe* is the lexicalisation of prominence, we expect movement to be unnecessary to obtain just this reading effect. Indeed, all our examples display *pe* marking in-situ. However, if the DO moves to the left periphery for other reasons (e.g., enhanced Topic reading), and the landing site is compatible with prominence readings, we expect *pe* to be unnecessary on the moved DP/DO. The examples in (8) confirm this prediction, showing optional insertion of *pe*.

- (8) a. (Pe) Ion, l- am invitat./ L- am invitat \*(pe) Ion.  
           PE Ion him have invited/ him have invited PE Ion  
           'I invited Ion.'
- b. (Pe) aceasta, am citit-o./ Am citit-o \*(pe) aceasta.  
           PE this-one have read it/ have read it PE this-one  
           'I read this one.'

To sum up this section, *pe* marking of DOs has been traditionally associated with the presence or the absence of animacy features, a contrast captured in the paradigms in (3) and (4). The animacy prediction on *pe* insertion fails in some cases, as shown in (5). The proposal was that *pe* insertion should be approached from a pragmatic rather than a semantic perspective. The data in (6) to (8) supported such an approach, and *pe* received the definition of a pragmatic marker for *prominence* on DOs.<sup>3</sup>

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3. In this paper we define *pe* as a pragmatic versus grammatical category, intending to distinguish it from the homophonous preposition *pe*, which has Case assigning properties. At this time, we are not concerned whether this *pe* is a grammaticalized form of the preposition *pe* or an independent element, or when and how the pragmatic *pe* merges in the derivation. Such topics must await further diachronic research.

### 3.2 Clitics and clitic doubling

In this section we discuss the conditions in which a clitic doubles the [*pe*-DO]. We adopt the conclusion from Farkas & Heusinger (2003) that Romanian CD of DO objects is conditioned by the referential stability of the DO. We associate referential stability with the properties of the clitic. Hence, the formula proposed as a trigger for CD of DOs is [*referential stability* + *prominence*].

Current analyses on pronominal clitics and CD relate the incidence of clitics to the achievement of some sort of topichood. Delfitto (2002) explicitly proposes that clitics signal an open TOP position to which lexical constituents move, with the result that they become contextually salient by checking the features of the clitic (see Section 2). However, the exact set of features defining a TOP position is not given, as it depends on the principles of discourse theory. Along these lines, TOP does not exclude the properties usually associated with Focus. For example, “familiarity” is associated with TOP, but it also underlies (informational) Focus, which may display CD in Romanian, as mentioned in Cornilescu (2000).<sup>4</sup> The vagueness of the topichood concept makes us wonder if prominence, such as established for *pe*, should be subsumed under the properties of the TOP/clitic pair.

One consequence of considering that *pe* insertion is conditioned by the existence of TOP/clitic configurations would be the obligatory movement of the [*pe*-DO] sequence to a preverbal position. While this is possible, as seen in (8), it is by no means obligatory. In fact, all the instances of *pe* insertion in (3) show [*pe*-DOs] in-situ.

Another consequence would be that, giving the availability of clitics in the language, CD should apply on an optional basis every time there is *pe* insertion, irrespective of the semantics of the DP/DO. This is not the case either, as shown in (9).

- (9) a. *Nu (\*l)- am invitat \*(pe) nimeni.*  
       not him have invited <sub>PE</sub> nobody  
       ‘I have not invited anybody.’
- b. *Nu (i)-am trimis nimănui nimic.*  
       not him have sent nobody<sub>DAT</sub> nothing  
       ‘I have not sent anything to anybody.’

In (9a) the bare quantifier DO cannot undergo CD despite the *pe* marking for prominence. The ban on CD in (9a) does not follow from incompatibility between CD and bare quantifiers in general, since (9b) shows optional CD with the same bare quantifier, which, this time, is in the indirect object (IO) position. Therefore, the ungrammaticality of (9a) is related to the inability of the [*pe*-DO/DP] sequence (versus IO/DP) to

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4. See McNay (2006) for arguments towards a conflation of Topic and Focus, on the basis of data from V2 languages.

check the features of the clitic, and hence, to be analyzed as a TOP constituent. Note, however, that grammatical contexts with CD of DOs always involve *pe* in modern Romanian, as reminded in (10).

- (10) a. *Nu l- am invitat \*(pe) Ion.*  
 not him<sub>CL</sub> have invited PE Ion  
 ‘I did not invite Ion.’
- b. *Nu l- am verificat \*(pe) acesta.*  
 not it<sub>CL</sub> have verified PE this-one  
 ‘I did not verify this one.’

As (10a,b) show, *pe* insertion is obligatory for CD, indicating that the clitic has at least one feature that probes only for *pe* marked DOs.

The discussion so far pointed out that *pe* marking of the DO for prominence is obligatory but not sufficient to ensure CD, because *pe* fails to check all the features of the clitic. Indeed, the semantic approach to similar constructions proposed in Farkas & Heusinger (2003) narrows down the factors conducive to CD, pointing to the referential stability as the ubiquitous condition for the co-occurrence of [*pe*-DOs] with the doubling clitic. In this respect, they establish a scale for the referential stability of DOs, predicting the plausible environments for CD. On this scale, indefinites pair with unstable reference, and therefore, fail CD. Along these lines, we can classify bare quantifiers as in (9) under indefinites, and thus, failure of CD is expected, despite *pe* marking.

Indeed, the criterion of referential stability holds for a variety of contexts involving CD. For example, this criterion predicts that CD should be ruled out inside the domain of an operator, as in (11), since no stability of reference can be ensured.

- (11) a. *Fiecare studentă a invitat (\*o) (\*pe) o străină.*  
 every student has invited her<sub>CL</sub> PE a foreigner  
 ‘Every student invited a foreign girl.’
- b. *(\*Îl) caută (\*pe) un student care să- i traducă un text.*  
 him<sub>CL</sub> searches PE a student which to<sub>SUBJ</sub> him translate a text  
 ‘S/he’s looking for a student who could translate him/her a text.’

The DO is in the domain of the quantifier “every” in (11a), and in the domain of the subjunctive mood in (11b). As predicted, CD is ungrammatical in these contexts. However, CD is restored if clues are given allowing for the retrieval of a stable referent by ways of a definite description and/or contextual indications. In such conditions, the DO can scope out, as in (12).

- (12) a. *?Fiecare student a invitat-o pe o străină din anul întâi.*  
 every student has invited her<sub>CL</sub> PE a foreigner from year-the first  
 ‘Every student invited this foreign girl from the first year.’

- b. *Îl caută pe un student care i-a tradus un text din*  
 him<sub>CL</sub> searches PE a student who him has translated a text from  
*spaniolă.*  
 Spanish

‘S/he’s looking for a student who translated her a text from Spanish.’

In (12a) CD is allowed because the qualifying constituent “from the first year” makes the DO’s referent more identifiable, whereas in (12b) the DO’s referent is recuperated from the restrictive relative it heads. Thus, the contrast between the examples in (11), without CD, and those in (12), with CD for the same DOs, confirm Farkas & Heusinger’s hypothesis on the requirement for referential stability.

From our perspective, the requirement for referential stability reflects a successful response to the clitic probe. When referential stability of the DO is added to *pe* marking for prominence, all the features of the clitic are checked, and the constituent qualifies as TOP. In such contexts, CLLD and CD may apply in free variation, as in (13).

- (13) *Pe Ion l-am invitat./ L-am invitat pe Ion.*  
 pe Ion him<sub>CL</sub> have invited/ him<sub>CL</sub> have invited PE Ion  
 ‘I have invited Ion.’

The two versions in (13) are equivalent in non-marked declaratives when they both have low pitch on [*pe*-DO] and slightly higher pitch on the verb, and yield a similar interpretation, where the DO supports “topichood”, irrespective of the pre- or post-verbal spell-out location.

Constructions as in (13) support the analysis of CD as a subcase of the conditions on pronominal clitics in Delfitto (2002). For our purposes, this approach to CD leads us to the following conclusion: a DO constituent in Romanian responds successfully to the clitic probing only when it displays concurrent *referential stability* and *prominence*.

### 3.3 CD for direct and indirect objects

One consequence of Delfitto’s (2002) theory is that, as unsaturated expressions, clitic constructions should be able to combine with more than one argument in order to get a proposition. For CD, this predicts a non-discriminatory application to DPs in DO and IO positions when their semantics is similar. However, ever since Niculescu (1959), an asymmetry has been noticed between CD with DO and CD with IO, as in (14).

- (14) a. *Nu-(i) ducem dorul nimănui.*  
 not him<sub>CL,DAT</sub> bear longing-the nobody<sub>DAT</sub>  
 ‘We don’t miss anybody.’  
 b. *Nu (\*-l) aducem pe nimeni.*  
 not him-ACC bring-1PL PE nobody  
 ‘We don’t bring anybody.’

In (14) the relevant semantic condition (i.e., referential stability) on the object DP is equally absent in (14a) and (14b), while prominence marking favors the DO/DP in (14b). According to the CD formula of the previous section (i.e.,  $CD = \text{referential stability} + \text{prominence}$ ), we would expect CD to fail in both constructions; that is, for lack of referential stability in (14b), and for lack of both factors in (14a). Nevertheless, CD of IO is grammatical.

The main question of this section is : why do DOs and IOs behave differently for CD purposes? We tackle this question by looking, first, at how IOs fulfill the licensing formula for CD.

A manifestation of stable referentiality is the definiteness of the DP. However, in the case of IO, definiteness seems to be irrelevant in CD constructions, as seen in (14b) and further shown in (15).

- (15) *Pune-(i)      și    tu    decorații      \*(unei)    căni!*  
       put it<sub>CL,DAT</sub>    and you decorations    a<sub>DAT</sub>    cup<sub>DAT</sub>  
       ‘Put some decorations around a cup!’

In (15), the D of the IO/DP agrees with the clitic in phi-features and Case, and can be seen as a morphological copy of the clitic. In such configurations, CD is optional. Nevertheless, the interpretation on the IO is different for the two versions: in the absence of CD, the cup may be one possible object compatible with decorations; in the presence of CD, the cup is one of the set of cups at the hearer’s disposal. So the presence of the clitic restricts the referential instability of the indefinite DP. In Table 1, this is the minimal condition for CD.

The general observation on (15) is that CD of IOs displays some degree of referential properties, be it at the minimum level of restricted referential instability. If we consider that all the IOs in constructions as in (15) have the underlying structure of an ApplP, as presented in (2), then the IO/DP and the clitic are in a Spec-head relation. Thus, IO and the clitic observe two types of agreement: structural (Spec-head) and morphological (phi-features and Case). This double agreement ensures enough referential stability on the IO to license CD, irrespective of the semantics of the IO (e.g., bare quantifiers, indefinite). DOs, on the other hand, do not display morphological Case agreement with the clitic, and do not attain the minimal degree of referential stability needed for CD unless they have intrinsic referential properties (e.g., definiteness, proper names etc.).

Referential stability is only one condition for CD. The second condition is prominence on the DP/NP. How is prominence ensured on the IO without *pe* marking?<sup>5</sup>

5. Some regional varieties allow for a prepositional IO, where dative D is replaced by the element *la* (Diaconescu & Rivero 2005). Predictably, [*la*-IO] equates [*pe*-DO] w.r.t. the conditions for referential stability. E.g.: ungrammatical with indefinite IO (i), but good with definite IO (ii).



We relate the prominence reading to the intrinsic presupposition or “givenness” of CD-ed IOs (see Kallulli, this volume). We propose to derive this interpretive property from the type of thematic role features that IOs map into syntax. In particular, we adopt the topicality hierarchy of th-roles (e.g., as in Givón 1984, but for a further splitting of the Dative argument) and their mapping to syntax as shown in (16).

- (16) Agent> Possessor /Experiencer /Bene(Male)factive > Goal> Patient/Theme  
 Subject> IO > DO

Following the hierarchy in (16), the verbs allowing for an IO are constrained as to the theta-role of their complement. As the Possessor/Experiencer/Bene factive-IO is likely to have a referent capable of voluntary action and psychologically driven reaction, it is most akin to the subject, typically an Agent. Thus, the inherent prominence property of the IO comes from its association with a theta-role situated highly on the topicality scale.

By the same mapping in (16), the DO is typically a Theme, the target naturally involved in the predicate. Thus, there is no intrinsic prominence (topichood) in the DO. However, prominence might be attained if a grammatical trigger propels the DO up the topicality scale. The insertion of *pe* fulfils this function; that is, *pe* brings the DO in the topicality domain of the IO as in (17).

- (17) Subject> [IO], [*pe*-DO] > others  
 Agent> Possessor/Experiencer/Bene/Malefactive.... > others

The contrast between the mapping in (16) and in (17) points out that prominence is semantically given to the IO, but needs explicit pragmatic/syntactic marking on the DO. Accordingly, CD is expected to apply easier to IOs than to DOs.

To sum up this section, we define *pe* as a pragmatic marker for prominence on DOs. Prominence and referential stability are the ingredients needed for DOs to qualify for CD. Referential stability for DOs depends on the properties of the nominal group (specificity, definiteness, animacy). On the other hand, IOs qualify for CD in the absence of a prominence marker and in the presence of intrinsically non-referential nouns (bare quantifiers, bare singulars). The contrast between DOs and IOs is narrowed down to two factors: (i) double agreement relation between the clitic and the IO (structural and morphological), but not between the clitic and the DO; (ii) association with th-roles high on the topicality scale for the IO, but not for the DO. Thus, IOs have

- 
- (i) *Pune-(\*le)            și tu decorații la niște căni.*  
 put them<sub>CL,DAT</sub> and you decorations to some cups  
 ‘Put decorations to some cups.’
- (ii) *?Pune-le            și tu decorații la aceste căni.*  
 put them<sub>CL,DAT</sub> and you decorations to these cups  
 ‘Put decorations to these cups.’

the intrinsic semantics for CD, whereas DOs must attain the same semantic conditions through pragmatic/syntactic processes.

#### 4. Evidence from historical data

This section presents data from four old texts (three from the 16th c. and one from the 17th c.). These data point out that CD occurs in the absence of *pe*, and that the distribution of *pe* is pragmatically motivated.

##### 4.1 Sources

The corpus for this discussion consists of three religious texts and a fragment of popular literature. The religious texts are (i) the Acts of the Apostles found in the Voroneţ manuscript; (ii) the St Matthew Gospel out of the Tetraevanghel printed by Coresi, and (iii) the St Matthew Gospel in the bilingual print known as the Evangheliar of Sibiu. The secular text is the fragment of the Alexandria found in the Neagoeanus manuscript.

i. The Acts of the Apostles out of the VOR(oneţ) manuscript, dated first half of the 16th century, are considered a copy in which two layers of intertwined dialects have been detected, one from the North of Moldavia with *n/r* rhotacism – supposedly the dialect of the copist – and one from the Banat-Hunedoara region – supposedly the language of the original. It is said to be the translation of a lost Medio-Bulgarian Slavonic text, itself resulting from the compilation of several versions of one and the same source with a divergent one (Gheţie & Mareş 1985).

ii. The Tetraevanghel printed by COR(esi) in 1560/61 in Braşov is put in a mix of the dialects from the South-East of Transilvania and of the North of Muntenia. One hypothesis is that the text is a translation made with the help of the bilingual SIB(iu) print from 1551–53 (see (iii) below), compared with a Slavonic manuscript that was printed later on (1562), and also, with another hypothetical Romanian translation from the North of Maramureş or of Moldovia.

iii. As to the Sibiu print, it comprises chapters 4 to 27 of St. Matthew, and its Slavonic part is quasi identical to the corresponding part of the 16th century medio-Bulgarian print of the Evangiles due to Macarije, except for (mainly orthographical) details. Little is known about the provenience of the Romanian part. Gheţie & Mareş (1985, 336ff.) suggest that the translator originated from the Banat-Hunedoara region and the typographer from Moldovia.

A main concern in researching these religious texts for our linguistic purposes is how much we can trust that their language reflects the Romanian grammar. Indeed, translators and copists are expected to keep close to the holy message by compromising

in grammatical matters. However, the compromise has limits. The Coresi edition has a word of justification, by alluding to the words of Saint Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians (14, 19): “But in the church I would rather speak five intelligible words to instruct others than ten thousand words in a tongue”. That suggests an effort to make the translation comprehensible to Romanian speakers – although skeptics may interpret it as just alluding to the necessity to dispose of a non Slavonic version. Be it as it may, when it comes to CD, the very influence of Slavonic on the grammar of the translation may actually give us indications about the origin of the construction, since CD does not belong as a rule to Old Church Slavonic (but see Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov, this volume). This entails that if our texts present CD, CD is probably part of the translator’s language, and thus maybe a genuine Romanian phenomenon.

Our observation here is that in the two texts where CD is extensively used, viz. Voroneţ and Coresi, it is mainly used to double strong pronouns, and it seems that the use of a clitic in the Romanian translation is essentially meant to maintain the position of pronouns in the translated source. For example, if the pronoun in Slavonic is enclitic, Coresi puts a strong pronoun after the verb, but maintains the fact that there is no emphasis by adding a clitic before the verb. It is pretty certain that the same happens in the Voroneţ manuscript. Thus, the CD of strong pronouns in these two texts is in fact only partially reliable as evidence for CD in Romanian.<sup>6</sup> What such use of the clitic indicates, however, is that : pronominal clitics existed ; that they were used pre- and post-verbally; that they could be used in chains with DPs. Therefore, if a clitic doubles proper names or definite nouns, that is a reliable indication for the existence of CD, since the translator could have maintained the word order without resorting to the clitic.

In addition to the religious texts, and in order to introduce some kind of measure to appreciate the impact of the Slavonic religious source on its Romanian counterpart, we added an exemplar of (more recent) popular literature. AL(exandria) is a copy included in the 17th c. Neagoeanus manuscript, made in 1620 by a priest from (likely) Hunedoara (Zgraon 2006: 111), who signs by name. The original translation (thought to have been Moldovian) is lost.<sup>7</sup> The language of this manuscript does

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6. Guentchéva (this volume) points out that doubling of strong personal pronouns seems older than doubling of a lexical DP, and Krapova and Cinque (this volume) signal Balkan dialects in which doubling of the strong form exists without there existing the corresponding doubling of a DP. Friedman (this volume) reports the phenomenon in Torlak dialects w.r.t. written texts, but not for the spoken languages, where doubling of lexical DPs is also admitted. See also Tomić (this volume) for further details. However, in our religious texts, doubling is in no way consistent (see the Appendix for an example), and it appears improbable that its extensive use in this type of literature could be put in relation with a device essentially typical of spoken language.

7. The lost translation is thought to have proceeded from a Serbo-Croatian source, itself translated from Latin, itself going back in the long run to a Hellenistic Greek anonymous original produced in Egypt.

not raise issues of grammatical compromise and is actually rather close to modern Romanian.<sup>8</sup>

The Appendix to this paper contains some further glossed sentences excerpted from the Acts of the Apostles (23, 17sv., 21, 33; 21, 36), from the St Matthew Evangile printed by Coresi compared with the Sibiu print (10, 32; 10, 40; 26, 15–16; 26–25), and from the Alexandria (f.11v sv.). The reader may, thus, see more material relevant to the emergence of CD constructions.

## 4.2 Data

We surveyed the four texts for the presence of *pe* before DOs, and for the presence of CD. The observations are as follows:

i. *Pe* (in the archaic form *pre*)<sup>9</sup> does not precede DOs in VOR. It does precede DOs (strong pronouns or DPs) in the other documents, although not on a systematic basis:

- (18) a. *atunce parasi pre narod*<sub>h</sub> SIBIU (13, 36, f.45v)  
 then left<sub>3</sub> PE crowd  
 ‘then he left the crowd’
- b. *de va goni dracul [pre drac]*... COR (12, 26, f.24v)  
 if will chase devil-the PE devil  
 ‘if the devil will chase the devil...’
- c. *și văzu [pre unū omū sălbatecū], șezându pre* AL (C 82 Z 128, f.1v)  
 and saw<sub>3</sub> PE a man wild sitting on  
*o piia[tr]ă*  
 a stone  
 ‘and he saw a salvage man, sitting on a stone...’

Notably, the presence of *pe* does not involve CD.

ii. CD is present in all three documents. Generally, in VOR and COR the clitic doubles directly a strong pronoun, not a [*pe*-DO] string. However, there is also the rare clitic doubling of a DO/DP, as in (19a–b). Importantly, these DPs are not preceded by *pe*. In SIBIU, there is one example of direct doubling and one of *pe*-DO doubling. In AL, all CD cases<sup>10</sup> involve the [*pe*-DO string].

8. We follow the Zgraon edition, but maintain the little jer noticed by Cartoian.

9. We will stick to the notation *pe* except when referring to the “true” not DO marking preposition.

10. Except for two border-line cases that can be considered CLRDs.

- (19) a. *eu era cea ce- i băga în temniță* VOR (22, 19, f.21v)  
 I was the-one who them<sub>CLACC</sub> put in jail  
*și- i ucidea prin gloate [ceia ce credea întru tinre]*  
 and them<sub>CLACC</sub> killed through crowds those who believed in you  
 'I was the one who jailed and killed, among the crowds,  
 those who believed in you.' (ed.Costinescu)
- b. *Și vine Isus la casa judei și o* COR (9,23, f.17v)  
 and comes Isus in house judge-the<sub>GEN</sub> and her<sub>CLACC</sub>  
*văzū [râposată]*  
 saw dead-the  
 'And Isus came to the judge's house and saw the dead woman'
- c. *se me trȃcz mine acest pahar* SIBIU (26, 39, f.108v)  
 that me<sub>CL</sub> passes me<sub>STR</sub> this chalice  
 'may this cup be taken from me'
- d. *șz tremese șz-lb ta la pre iōanb la temnița* SIBIU (14, 10, f.49v)  
 and sent<sub>3</sub> and-him<sub>CL</sub> cut PE John in jail'  
 'and had John beheaded in prison'
- e. *și- i îmbracă [pre cei 6 filosofi]* AL (C 85. Z 136, f, 7v)  
 and them<sub>CLACC</sub> dressed PE the 6 philosophers  
 'and he gave clothes to the six philosophers'

The facts adduced in (19) show that some examples involve CD of DPs, not of pronouns, so the construction cannot be considered a purely artificial construct in the very old texts. Furthermore, (19a–c) testify that CD did not always depend on the presence of *pe*.

### 4.3 Analysis

First, the data confirm that the *pe* preceding DOs must be dissociated from Case marking. Kayne (1975) relates the use of “prepositions” like *pe* to the presence of the doubling clitic; he argues that the clitic “absorbs” the Accusative Case assigned by the verb, and so the doubled DP needs another Case marker (here, the a-semantic preposed *pe*). This analysis does not hold for the examples from VOR and COR, where the DO can fulfill the conditions for Case marking without *pe* and in the presence of a clitic. Note that the true preposition *pre* occurs in the old texts, independently of DOs, and with Case marking properties, as in (20):

- (20) *Da- va frate pre frate [pre moar'te]...* COR (10, 21, f.19v)  
 give- will brother PE brother on death  
 'One brother will put another brother to death.'

In (20), the second *pe* heads a PP and is responsible for the Accusative Case of the embedded DP. Therefore, the status of *p(r)e* was the same in Old Romanian as it is now (i.e., concurrent use in front of DOs and as a preposition elsewhere).

Second, we find that the use of *pe* in front of DOs is not systematic. In the Sibiu print, which makes a rather extensive use of *pe*, *pe* is bound to the mention of rigid designators, proper nouns or generics, and strong personal pronouns. But not all need to be preceded by *pe*. In particular, strong personal pronouns need to be preceded by *pe* only for the 3rd person, singular and plural, for the 1st and the 2nd there is variation:

- (21) a. *greesc̃ ṽo c̃z nu vreṭ̃ mine ved̃̃, panz̃* SIBIU (23, 39, f.93r)  
 say<sub>1</sub> you<sub>DAT5</sub> that not will<sub>5</sub> me<sub>ACC1</sub> see, till  
*vreṭ̃ dzice:*  
 will<sub>5</sub> say  
 ‘For I tell you, you will not see me again until you say:’
- b. *șz atunce voi spuine c̃z nece dz̃ñoarz̃ n-am* SIBIU (7, 23, f.16v)  
 and then will<sub>1</sub> say that not ever not have<sub>1</sub>  
*cunoscut̃ voi*  
 known you  
 ‘Then I will tell them plainly, ‘I never knew you.’
- c. *cine va pr̃imi pre voi, m̃ine pr̃im̃̃ște, șz cine* SIBIU (10, 40, f.31r)  
 who will receive PE you, me<sub>ACC1</sub> receive<sub>3</sub>, and who  
*pre m̃ine pr̃im̃̃ște,*  
 PE me receives, (...)  
 ‘He who receives you receives me, and he who receives me  
 (receives the one who ...)’

Indeed, the semantics of 1st and 2nd personal pronouns is such that they are inherently prominent, and thus freed from the necessity to take a special prominence marker. It is obvious that we are facing a phase in a grammaticalization process in which free variation is still allowed.

Third, when it comes to AL, the possibility of using *pe* as a prominence marker gets fully exploited, as can be seen in the following extracts:

- (22) [Al ⟨*exandru z*⟩ *ise: “aduceṭi o muiere”. Și aduseră muiere; și o mână Alexandru: “du-te de șez lângă elū”. Și merse muiere și șezu lângă acelū omū sălbatec*] AL (C 82, Z 128, f.2r)  
 “Al. said: “bring a woman”. And they brought a woman; and Al.enjoined her:  
 “Go and sit next to him”. And the woman went and sat down next to that salvage man]”

- a. *El sări și împresură pre muiere și începu a*  
 He sprang up and caught PE woman and began to  
*o mânca.* AL. (C 82, Z 129, f. 2r)  
 her eat  
 'He sprang up and caught the woman and began to eat her'
- b. *Și alergică 2 voinici și lovira pre omă cu sulilele și*  
 And ran two soldiers and stabbed PE man with spears-the and  
*scoaseră muiere (ib.)*  
 delivered woman  
 'And two soldiers ran and stabbed the man with pears, and they delivered the woman'

The DOs in (22) display the same noun, *muiere*, preceded by *pre* in (22a), but not in (22b). The variation in *pe* insertion is not related to the referential properties of the noun, since the interpretation "the woman sent as decoy by Alexander for the salvage" applies equally to the DOs in (22a, b). The presence of *pe* is also not motivated by CD, since none of the examples displays CD. However, in this narrative context, the DO in (22a) appears in the spotlight, as the person to be used as decoy. On the other hand, the same DO in (22b) is now kept in the background, since Alexander's interest, as rendered by the narrator, is not focused on what might happen to the woman, but on the salvage's reaction. The selective use of *pe* in front of DOs, as attested in the examples in (22), indicates that *pe* is manipulated according to the speaker's or the narrator's intention. A similar kind of move is applied in (23):

- (23) a. "Ficiorul tău cel mai mică [...] caută [pre cel sol]"  
 son-the yours the more young searches PE that messenger  
*să-l taie,*  
 slain to him  
 'Your younger son is looking for the messenger to slain him.'  
 AL (C 106, Z 197, f.54r)
- b. "și să vă păziți, că va să taie [pre solul lu  
 and SBJ you<sub>REFL</sub> watch that will SBJ slain PE messenger-the of  
*Alexandru]"*  
 Alexander  
 'and watch out, for he's going to slain Alexander's messenger'  
 AL (C 106, Z 198, f.54r)
- c. "Fătul meu, nu să taie [solii,] că, d-ar ști Alexandru  
 son-the my not SBJ slain messengers-the for if would know Alexander

că taie Cleofila solii, n-ară mânia la noi sol'.  
that slain CL messengers, not would<sub>3</sub> send to us messenger  
AL (C 106, Z 198, f.54v)

'My son, don't you slain the messengers, for if A. would learn that Cl.  
slains messengers, he would no more send any messenger to us.'

Here, the appearance of *pe* is tied to the vividness of the referent's representation, and related to the semantics of the definite description: first, with *pe*, a real person (Alexander in the disguise of Antioh) is intended, second without *pe*, the DO refers to the messengers that could be sent in general.

The selective use of *pe* in front of DOs, as attested in the examples in (22–23), indicates that *pe* is used to induce or diffuse the prominence of the DO. We conclude that from the earliest attestations, *pe* insertion in front of DOs could be triggered by pragmatics, to mark a high degree of prominence.<sup>11</sup>

Let us now try to put the facts together. First, we have seen that in the Voroneț manuscript and in the Coresi print, clitic doubling occurs exclusively with a DO not introduced by *pe*, and this DO is almost exclusively a strong pronoun, which in itself should suggest prominence. Second, in the Sibiu print, which, contrary to Voroneț and to Coresi, has almost no CD, but makes use of *pe* before DOs, *pe* may stay away with DOs characterized by stability of reference (first and second personal pronouns), which by themselves imply prominence. Third, in the popular Alexandria, out of a hundred *pe* marked DOs (which now also include highlighted indefinites; see (18c)), only a fifth is also CD-ed, and out of these, not a single one is indefinite. All this confirms that prominence is not a sufficient trigger for CD, and that both devices, *pe* and CD, have their own role to play.

In light of the foregoing analysis, a question arises on how CD complies with the formula [*referential stability* + *prominence*] when there is no marker of prominence (i.e., no *pe*). We suggest that, at that stage of the language, the clitic had stronger features and included prominence in its semantics, a particularity that got lost through grammaticalization. Another possibility is to assume that prominence on the DO

11. A further example from AL (CART 89, 11; ZGR 148, 16r):

(i) *Evantă zise: "tu caută: vede-veri [pre unul aicea]?"*; *Alexandru zise: "nu văză*  
*Evant said: "you search: see-will<sub>2</sub> pe one here"* *Alexander said: "not see I*  
*[nice unulă]"*  
*not one"*

'Evant said: "look around: can you see any one here?"; Alexander said: "I don't see any."

Old Romanian reflects the speaker's different interest in the DO by having *pe* with the first but not with the second DO.



was ensured through prosody (e.g., intonation contour), without need for an explicit marker. The generalization of *pe* as a prominence marker was triggered by change either in the featural make-up of the clitic or in the prosody.

To sum up, the old Romanian texts show an almost complete dissociation between *pe* and CD in the religious texts, while the popular literature goes quite a way towards the modern situation. In all the texts that use *pe*, an apparently non-systematic distribution of *pe* in front of DOs can be sorted out according to a pragmatic pattern reflecting the speaker's point of view. These two observations confirm the main proposal of this paper; namely, that *pe* is a pragmatic marker of prominence (versus a preposition); and that CD is conditional on *pe* insertion only insofar as it ensures the prominence needed to propel the DO up the topicality scale. When CD occurs, the doubled DOs consist of proper names, definite and animate DPs and strong pronouns. In other words, DOs with stable reference. Hence, the requirement to have both referential stability and some means of marking prominence applied as a condition for CD since the earliest texts.

## 5. Conclusions

This paper addressed three issues that confront the current analyses on Romanian CD, namely (i) the rule that offers a comprehensive account on the distribution of *pe* in front of DOs; (ii) the justification for the relation between the CD of DOs and the presence of *pe*; (iii) the asymmetry between CD with IOs versus CD with DOs.

The theoretical framework for the discussion consisted of the uniform characterization of pronominal constructions in Delfitto (2002), and the semantic relation between CD and stable referentiality established in Farkas & Heusinger (2003). In particular, we consider that doubling clitics are not different from other pronominal clitics in the language, insofar as they generate lambda abstractions (Delfitto 2002). Also, we adopt the observation that DOs qualifying for CD must display some degree of referential content, in addition to other semantic features such as specificity and animacy (Farkas & Heusinger 2003).

The analysis provides the following answers to the issues addressed:

- i. When inserted in front of DOs, *pe* is a pragmatic marker for prominence (although it may occur as a preposition elsewhere). *Prominence* means locating the DO in the speaker's perspective and/or bringing it into spotlight against a background set.
- ii. Referential stability is not sufficient to ensure CD, it needs to interact with prominence. The obligatory presence of *pe* on DOs that undergo CD is thus explained by its function as a prominence marker.
- iii. The formula *referential stability* + *prominence* is also used to approach the asymmetry between IOs and DOs. We find that IOs have intrinsic semantics satisfying this formula because of their morphology and their association with thematic roles. In

particular, IOs are situated high on the topicality scale, close to the Agent role. On the other hand, DOs are morphologically unmarked and are situated at the bottom of the topicality scale. They need both lexical marking (for prominence) and referential DPs in order to be pushed up the topicality scale, to the same level with IOs. Therefore, IOs are semantically endowed for CD, whereas DOs must undergo pragmatic-syntactic operations to fulfill the conditions for CD.

This analysis finds confirmation in the history of CD in Romanian. Texts from the 16th and 17th centuries show that CD of DOs did not always involve *PE* marking of the DO. The contexts with CD without *PE* indicate that the clitic does not interfere with the Case marking of the DO by the verb. Thus, *PE* insertion is not justified by Case marking. Furthermore, the pattern of *PE* distribution in these texts indicates its dependency on the speaker's intention. Thus, the texts provide evidence for a pragmatic versus syntactic approach to *pe* marking of DOs. The other conditions on CD are natural consequences of this property of *PE*.

## Appendix

### Acts of the Apostles (23, 17 sv., f. 26r), ed. Costinescu

Deaci    chiamă    Pavelu    urul    din    sutași    și    dzise:    "du  
Then    called<sub>PFCT3</sub>    Paul    one    of    soldiers    and    said<sub>PFCT3</sub>:    Bring<sub>IMPER2</sub>  
acestu    giurelu    la    miiășul    că    oarece-i    va    se-i  
this    young    to    captain-the    that    something -him<sub>CLDAT3</sub>    will    SBJ-him<sub>CLDAT3</sub>  
spuie    lui.    Elu-    l    luo    și-    l    duse  
say<sub>SUBJ3</sub>    him<sub>STRDAT3</sub>.    He<sub>STRNOM3</sub> - him<sub>CLACC3</sub>    took<sub>PERF3</sub>    and- him<sub>CLACC3</sub>    brought<sub>PERF3</sub>  
la    miiășul [...].    Luo-lu    elu    miiășul    de    mînă,  
to    captain-the    took<sub>PERF3</sub>- him<sub>CLACC3</sub>    him<sub>STRACC3</sub>    captain-the    by    hand

'Then Paul called one of the centurions and said, "Take this young man to the commander; he has something to tell him." So he took him to the commander.[...]The commander took the young man by the hand,'

### Acts of the Apostles (21, 33; 36, ff. 17v-18r), ed. Costinescu

Apropie-    se    miiășulu,    luo-    lu    elu    și i  
Approached<sub>PFCT3</sub>-    refl    captain-the,    took-    him<sub>CLACC3</sub>    him<sub>STRACC</sub>    and  
dzise    se-lu    leage[...]    Și    merrgea    mulți    oameri    chiemîndu  
said<sub>PFCT3</sub>    SBJ-him<sub>CLACC3</sub>    bind<sub>SUBJ6</sub>    And    went<sub>IMP6</sub>    many    men    shouting  
se    ia    elu.  
SBJ    takesBJ<sub>3/6</sub>    him<sub>STRACC</sub>

‘The commander came up and arrested him and ordered him to be bound [...] The crowd that followed kept shouting, “Away with him!”’

## St Matthew Evangile (10, 32; 40)

### 1. Sibiu print (f. 30r; f. 31r)

toṭȳ ce<sup>all</sup> ce me vorȳ martorosi nainte ominilorȳ martorosescȳ  
 all<sub>PL</sub> those<sub>NOMPL</sub> that me<sub>CLACC1</sub> will<sub>6</sub> testify<sub>INF</sub> before men-the<sub>GENPL</sub> testify<sub>PR1</sub>  
 șȳ eu pre elȳ nainte tatȳne mȳu cine ȳste <sup>▲</sup> nȳ cerȳ [...] also I<sub>STRNOM1</sub> PE him<sub>STRACC3</sub> before father<sub>GEN</sub> my who is in heaven  
 cine va pȳimi pre voi, mȳne pȳimȳște, șȳ cine  
 who will receive PE you<sub>STRACC5</sub> me<sub>STRACC1</sub> receive<sub>PR3</sub> and who  
 pre mine pȳimȳște, pȳimȳște cine me tremese.  
 PE me<sub>STR1</sub> receive<sub>PR3</sub> receive<sub>PR3</sub> who me<sub>CLACC1</sub> sent<sub>PFCT3</sub>

### 2. Coresi print (f.20v; f.21r), ed. Dimitrescu

Toṭȳ amu ȳe mȳ mȳrȳurisescȳ nainȳtȳ ȳamenilȳr, mȳrturisi-voiu ȳȳ  
 all<sub>PL</sub> now who me<sub>CLACC1</sub> testify<sub>PR6</sub> before men-the<sub>GENPL</sub> testify<sub>INF</sub> -will<sub>1</sub> him<sub>STRACC3</sub>  
 și eu <sup>▲</sup> nainȳtȳ tatȳlui mȳieu ȳe e <sup>▲</sup> ȳerȳure. [...] și  
 also I<sub>STRNOM1</sub> before father-the<sub>GEN</sub> my who is in heaven<sub>PL</sub>; and  
 ȳine de voi pȳimȳște, mine pȳimȳște,  
 who of you receive<sub>PR3</sub> me<sub>STRACC</sub> receive<sub>PR3</sub>,  
 și cine mine pȳimȳște, pȳimȳște ȳela ȳ- au trimis mine  
 and who me<sub>STRACC1</sub> receive<sub>PR3</sub>, receive<sub>PR3</sub> that who has<sub>PR3</sub> sent<sub>PR</sub> me<sub>STRACC1</sub>

“Whoever acknowledges me before men, I will also acknowledge him before my Father in heaven.[...] He who receives you receives me, and he who receives me receives the one who sent me”.

## St Matthew Evangile (26, 15–16; 25)

### 1. Sibiu print (ff.105v-106r; f.107r)

‘ȳe vreȳȳ se daȳȳ mȳe? Iarȳ eu voȳ da- ȳȳ voi’ Iarȳ  
 ‘What will<sub>5</sub> SBJ give<sub>5</sub> me<sub>STRDAT1</sub> And I you<sub>STRDAT</sub> give- him<sub>CLACC3</sub> will. And

ei puseră lui trei dzeць de arginture, şz de atunci caltară  
 they put him<sub>STRDAT</sub> 30 of money. and from then sought<sub>PFCT6</sub>  
 vr̥sme cu prilej cum se- lă vândză. [...].  
 moment with occasion how SBJ-him<sub>CLACC3</sub> sell<sub>SUBJ3</sub>  
 Răspunse ȳda ce l- au vândută, şz dzise:  
 Answered<sub>PFCT3</sub> I. who him<sub>CLACC3</sub> has sold<sub>PP</sub>, and said<sub>PFCT3</sub>:

## 2. Coresi print (f.58r;f.58v), ed. Dimitrescu

“Ĉe-mă veţi da şi ău voaō voiu vinde elă?”. Ėi puseră  
 ‘What-me<sub>CLDAT1</sub> will<sub>5</sub> give and I you<sub>STRDAT</sub> will<sub>1</sub> sell<sub>INF</sub> him<sub>STRACC3</sub>. They put<sub>PFCT6</sub>  
 lui 30 de arġinţi. Şi deaĉă socotă podoabă vr̥me să  
 him<sub>STRDAT</sub> 30 of money And from then looked<sub>IMPF3</sub> right time SBJ  
 ăls vānză [...]. Răspūnse Iūda ĉela ĉe- lă  
 himstracc sell<sub>SUBJ</sub> Answered<sub>PFCT3</sub> I. that who- him<sub>CLACC3</sub>  
 vānduse elă, zise:  
 had sold<sub>PLPFCT3</sub> him<sub>STRACC3</sub>, said<sub>PFCT3</sub>:

“What are you willing to give me if I hand him over to you?” So they counted out for him thirty silver coins. From then on Judas watched for an opportunity to hand him over. [...] ‘Then Judas, the one who would betray him, said’

## Alexandria (f.11r-v) ed. Cartoian; ed. Zgraon

Şi merse Alexandru la elă. Şi-l văzu Evantă împărată [...]  
 And went<sub>PFCT3</sub> Alexandru to him. And-him<sub>CLACC3</sub> saw<sub>PFCT3</sub> Evantu emperor [...]  
 Alexandru sărută- i mâna. Elu-l puse lângă elă  
 Alexandru kiss<sub>PFCT3</sub>- him<sub>CLDAT</sub> hand-the. He<sub>STNOM</sub>- him<sub>CLACC3</sub> put<sub>PFCT3</sub> next to him<sub>ACC3</sub>  
 în jiţiul lui de auru şi-l sărută pre  
 on throne-the his<sub>GEN3</sub> of gold and-him<sub>CLACC3</sub> kissed<sub>PFCT3</sub> PE  
 Alexandru şi-l blagoslovi pre cap.  
 Alexandru and-him<sub>CLACC3</sub> blessed<sub>PFCT3</sub> on head

‘And A. went to him. And emperor E. saw him. A. kissed E’s hand and E. put him next to him on his golden throne and he kissed A. and blessed him on the head’.

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# Clitic doubling from Ancient to Asia Minor Greek\*

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In Modern Greek, clitic doubling is a grammatical device that marks clitic doubled object NPs as topics. Clitic doubling involving the fronting of the clitic doubled NP is called topicalization or, if combined with a boundary pause, topic left-dislocation. Topic left-dislocation is obligatory in the presence of a preverbal focused NP. Clitic doubling involving the backing of the clitic doubled NP is called backgrounding or, if combined with a boundary pause, topic right-dislocation. Right-dislocated topics are interpreted as an afterthought. In Ancient Greek, clitic doubling was an occasional mnemotechnic device to clarify the referent of a left-dislocated topic usually separated by an intervening clause from the verb on which it depended. Topic right-dislocation existed in Ancient Greek as a device to clarify or specify the referent of a clitic pronoun. The grammaticalization of clitic doubling can be traced back to the use of hanging topics, in which case the doubling clitic was needed to specify the grammatical relation of the corresponding hanging topic as direct or indirect object. The construction was grammaticalized in the Medieval period, when clitic doubling positively marked clitic doubled NPs as topics. In Asia Minor Greek, clitic doubling serves exactly the same purposes as in Medieval and Standard Modern Greek. Turkish interference appears in the existence of a definite and an indefinite accusative to mark topic and focus respectively and possibly the preponderance of SOV as the unmarked order.

## 1. Introduction

Clitic doubling, the co-occurrence of a direct and/or indirect object NP and a coreferential clitic pronoun attached to the verb, is a characteristic feature of the Balkan languages, including Greek. The status of clitics and the constraints on clitic placement and clitic

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doubling in Modern Greek have received much attention, especially in the generative literature.<sup>1</sup> Several issues are involved. The first concerns the grammatical status of the doubled NP and the doubling clitic. Is the NP an argument and the clitic a functional element? Or is the clitic pronoun the argument proper and the NP a peripheral element, e.g., an adjunct? The second issue is directly related to the first one: are clitics words or affixes? Both issues are hotly debated in recent literature on Modern Greek and one finds proponents of either position using grammatical, morphonological and prosodic arguments to drive their point home. One of the most prominent advocates of the “clitics-are-affixes” position is Brian Joseph, who has defended his position in a series of publications.<sup>2</sup> In the other camp, one finds an equally famous Greek linguist, Irene Philippaki-Warbuton, defending the “clitics-are-words” position with equal fervour.<sup>3</sup> Followers of the “clitics-are-affixes” position take the view that in clitic-doubling constructions, clitics are generated as a functional category, viz. an agreement marker, and the NP as a lexical category in the object argument slot.<sup>4</sup> Advocates of the “clitics-are-words” position, on the other hand, argue that clitics are base-generated, like a lexical category, in the object argument slot, the NP functioning as an adjunct.<sup>5</sup>

I have elaborated at length on the status of clitics in a number of publications, where it is argued that clitics constitute a category *sui generis*, in some cases more word-like in behaviour, in others more affix-like.<sup>6</sup> In this paper, I am only marginally engaged in these issues, as its orientation is diachronic and the status of clitic pronouns is not the same for all the dialects and stages of the Greek language. Instead, I concentrate on another aspect of clitic doubling, viz. the discourse function of the doubled NP. Some thirty years ago, Philippaki-Warbuton (1975) established that clitic doubling is obligatory in Modern Greek if the doubled NP presents given (known) information. In other words, clitic doubling is a grammatical device to signal topicalization (which would *a priori* seem to confirm Philippaki-Warbuton’s interpretation of the doubled NP as an adjunct instead of an argument).

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1. For recent surveys cf. Anagnostopoulou (1999), Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2000: 178ff.), Philippaki-Warbuton et al. (2004), Revithiadou (2006) and Revithiadou & Spyropoulos (2008).

2. Cf. Joseph (2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c).

3. Cf. Philippaki-Warbuton (1977, 1987), Philippaki-Warbuton & Spyropoulos (1999), Philippaki-Warbuton et al. (2004).

4. Cf., e.g., Anagnostopoulou (1999), Condoravdi & Kiparsky (2001).

5. Cf., e.g., Philippaki-Warbuton & Spyropoulos (1999) Philippaki-Warbuton et al. (2004), Revithiadou & Spyropoulos (2006).

6. Cf., e.g., Janse (1998a, 1998b).

This paper traces the discourse origins of clitic doubling and its gradual grammaticalization from Ancient to Byzantine and Modern Greek, with particular attention to Asia Minor Greek. The dialects of Asia Minor are extremely interesting, both from a Greek and a general linguistic point of view. The Greek element is essentially Byzantine, thus representing a much older stage than is found in most of the other Modern Greek dialects. The admixture of Turkish elements, however, is what makes Asia Minor Greek unique, not just from the perspective of Modern Greek dialectology, but especially from the perspective of what Thomason (1997) has called “contact languages”. The evidence presented here is novel and sheds new light on the history of clitic doubling in Greek.

The paper is organized as follows: §2 presents the standard account of clitic doubling in Modern Greek on the basis of the widely acclaimed grammar co-authored by Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warbuton (1997); §3 contains a survey of clitic placement from Ancient to Modern Greek and its dialects; §4 traces the emergence and evolution of clitic doubling in Ancient and Byzantine Greek; §5 gives an overview of clitic doubling and related phenomena in Asia Minor Greek.

## 2. The standard account of clitic doubling in Modern Greek

Since the seminal work of Philippaki-Warbuton in the mid-1970s, it is generally agreed that the co-occurrence of a direct and/or indirect object NP and a corresponding clitic pronoun indicates that the object is the topic of the sentence. Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warbuton (1997: 432) describe clitic doubling as “the device that removes the object from the comment (new part) of the sentence and renders it part of the background (known) information”. In terms of generative features on phrases, clitic-doubled NPs (DPs) are defined as [–Focus] as opposed to non clitic-doubled NPs (DPs) which are interpreted as [+Focus].<sup>7</sup>

In Modern Greek, four different clitic-doubling constructions can be distinguished on the basis of word order and the presence or absence of a prosodic boundary before or after the clitic-doubled NP:<sup>8</sup>

- |     |    |                        |               |                |                             |
|-----|----|------------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>tin<sub>i</sub></i> | <i>ayapái</i> | <i>[ti</i>     | <i>Yarimía]<sub>i</sub></i> |
|     |    | 3SG.F.ACC.             | he loves      | art.F.ACC.SG.  | Yarimia                     |
|     | b. | <i>tin<sub>i</sub></i> | <i>ayapái</i> | ... <i>[ti</i> | <i>Yarimía]<sub>i</sub></i> |
|     |    | 3SG.F.ACC.             | he loves      | art.F.ACC.SG.  | Yarimia                     |

7. Cf. Philippaki-Warbuton (1987), Anagnostopoulou (1999), Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2000), Kallulli (2000), Androulakis (2001), Philippaki-Warbuton et al. (2004).

8. Following Chafe (1994: 59; cf. p. xiii), I use three dots ... to mark a “boundary pause”, i.e., a (longer) pause of 0.1 up to 1.0 second (cf. Cruttenden 1997: 32), and two dots .. to mark a shorter pause.

- (2) a. [ti Yarimía]<sub>i</sub> tin<sub>i</sub> ayapái  
 art.F.ACC.SG. Yarimia 3SG.F.ACC. he loves
- b. [ti Yarimía]<sub>i</sub> ... tin<sub>i</sub> ayapái  
 art.F.ACC.SG. Yarimia 3SG.F.ACC. he loves  
 ‘he loves Yarimia’

The difference between (1a)–(1b) versus (2a)–(2b) is a matter of word order: VO vs. OV. According to Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warbuton (1997: 432), fronting of the clitic doubled NP implies topicalization in the strong sense of the word:

To use the object as the topic of the sentence it is necessary that the corresponding pronoun be added to the verb; in addition, the object noun phrase may be placed at the beginning of the sentence, since this is the most typical topic position. [...]

The explicit mention of the object noun phrase at the beginning of the sentence in conjunction with its pronoun marks the object as the topic.

Although the term “clitic doubling” technically applies to all four constructions, it is used in a narrow sense to refer to constructions such as (1a) only (Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warbuton 1997: 194; henceforth Holton et al.). The definition given in Philippaki-Warbuton et al. (2004: 965<sup>1</sup>) is very explicit in this respect:

We will use the term ‘clitic doubling’ to refer to the coexistence of a clitic pronoun and the lexical DP associated with it, where the doubled DP is to the right of the verb [...] and there is no perceptible intonation break before the doubled DP.

The difference between (1a)–(2a) versus (1b)–(2b) is a matter of prosody: the clitic-doubled NP is separated from the rest of the sentence by a boundary pause and a marked fall in intonation. The phenomenon is called “dislocation” and is defined as follows by Holton et al. (1997: 436f.):

*Dislocation* is a more extreme form of topicalization [...]. A dislocated constituent is in a more peripheral position in the sentence, either at the very beginning or at the very end, and there is a comma after the dislocated topic, or a marked fall in intonation between it and the rest of the sentence.

The construction illustrated in (1b) is called “(clitic) left dislocation”, the one in (2b) “(clitic) right dislocation”. Confusingly, (2a) is also considered to be a case of left dislocation, as appears from the definition given by Holton et al. (1997: 194):

Clitic left dislocation is a construction where we again find both the object (direct or indirect) noun phrase and its corresponding clitic, but in this construction the object noun phrase is found to the left of the verb, usually at the front of the sentence.

The presence or absence of a prosodic break appears to be even less important in the definition found in Philippaki-Warbuton et al. (2004: 965<sup>1</sup> – italics added):

[W]e will use the term “left dislocation” and “right dislocation” for constructions where the corresponding DP, whether to the left or to the right periphery of the sentence, is *more detached*, and there *may be* a comma intonation intervening between the doubled DP and the rest of the sentence.

Holton et al. explicitly admit that it is often difficult to distinguish a topic from a dislocated constituent (1997: 437):<sup>9</sup>

[T]he difference between topicalization and dislocation [...] is only a matter of the length of the pause between the topicalized or dislocated constituent and the rest of the sentence. The longer the pause and the deeper the intonation fall, the closer we get to dislocation.

In the absence of experimental evidence, it seems that there is a prosodic continuum between topicalization, illustrated in (1a), and dislocation, illustrated in (1b) and (2b). Following Chafe (1994: 59), I will assume that the dislocated NPs in (1b) and (2b) constitute separate intonation units in the sense of Chafe (1994: 57ff.) and are set off from the rest of the sentence by a boundary pause, i.e., a longer pause from 0.1 up to 1.0 second (Chafe 1994: 59).<sup>10</sup> The fronted NP in (2a) does not constitute a separate intonation unit, though it may be set off from the rest of the sentence by a shorter pause.

Given the ambiguity of the terms “clitic doubling” and “dislocation” as they are commonly used in the literature on Modern Greek, there is a need for clarification. As already remarked, the term “clitic doubling” refers to a purely syntactic phenomenon and as such applies not only to (1a), but to (1b), (2a) and (2b) as well. The term “dislocation” refers to a prosodic (and in some cases also syntactic) phenomenon and as such applies to (1b) and (2b), but not to (2a). The term “topicalization”, on the other hand, refers to a discourse phenomenon and more specifically to the idea of information flow as defined by Chafe (1994: 53ff.).<sup>11</sup> Chafe (1994: 73) considers information flow in terms of “activation cost”: information is either active (given), semiactive (accessible)

9. This observation is confirmed by Revithiadou & Spyropoulos (2006), who argue that clitic-doubled NPs are always mapped onto separate prosodic constituents set off by a pause.

10. The definition of boundary pauses is notoriously difficult and cannot be used on its own as a marker of intonation-unit boundaries, as noted by Chafe (1994: 59) and Cruttenden (1997: 32).

11. For a more recent account see Chafe (2001). Although Chafe’s work on information flow has been and still is very influential, the study of information structure has of course a much longer tradition, especially in functionalist approaches to language such as Jan Firbas’ Functional Sentence Perspective, M.A.K. Halliday’s Systemic-Functional Grammar and Simon Dik’s Functional Grammar.

or inactive (new) at some point in discourse. Activation cost is determined primarily by “the speaker’s assessment of changing activation states in the mind of the listener” (Chafe 1994: 81). The flow of speech is to a large extent determined by the flow of information into and out of both “focal” (active) and “peripheral” (semiactive) consciousness (Chafe 1994: 30). In many languages, especially those with a so-called “free” word order such as Greek, the flow of speech generally moves from active to semi/inactive information (Sornicola 1994: 4634). This explains, of course, why topicalized constituents are normally found at the beginning of the sentence.

Since clitic doubling marks the clitic doubled NP as active (given) or at least semi-active (accessible) information, it stands to reason to formulate the typology of clitic-doubling constructions in Modern Greek in terms of information flow. Clitic-doubling involving the backing of the object NP without the presence of a boundary pause as in (1a) will be called *backgrounding*, a term implied by the definition of Holton et al. (1997: 432) quoted at the beginning of this section and used by Kornfilt (1997: 206) to describe a comparable phenomenon in Turkish grammar. Backgrounding involving the verbalization of the clitic doubled NP as a separate intonation unit as in (1b) will be called *topic right-dislocation*, although a good alternative would be *afterthought*, since a topic dislocated to the end of the sentence “always sounds like an afterthought aiming at clarification” (Holton et al. 1997: 437). Clitic doubling involving the fronting of the object NP without the presence of a boundary pause as in (2a) will be called *topicalization*, again following common practice. Topicalization involving the verbalization of the object NP as a separate intonation unit as in (2b) will be called *topic left-dislocation*. Both topic right- and topic left-dislocation are of course well-established terms in the study of information structure and are preferable to clitic right- and left-dislocation, as it is the topic that is dislocated, not the clitic. A special case of topic left-dislocation is called *hanging topic left-dislocation*, a term that is adopted in the literature on Modern Greek (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2000: 184ff.). The difference between topic left-dislocation and hanging topic left-dislocation is a matter of case: a hanging topic is in the nominative case, even though it corresponds with an accusative or, in the case of an indirect object, genitive clitic pronoun.<sup>12</sup> Generally speaking, hanging topic left-dislocation is more typical of informal or casual speech, whereas topic left-dislocation is more characteristic of formal or careful speech. The interpretation of both constructions is the same (Holton et al. 1997: 437):

- (2) c. [ti Yarimía]<sub>i</sub> ... tin<sub>i</sub> ayapái  
 art.M.NOM.SG. Yarimia 3SG.F.ACC. he loves  
 ‘as far as Yarimia is concerned, he loves her’

12. Traditionally, a hanging topic is therefore called “hanging nominative”, after the Latin term *nominativus pendens* (cf. Havers 1922).

The following table summarizes the typology of clitic-doubling constructions:

<i>topicalization</i>	OV	+ clitic doubling	– boundary pause
<i>topic left-dislocation</i>	OV	+ clitic doubling	+ boundary pause
<i>backgrounding</i>	VO	+ clitic doubling	– boundary pause
<i>topic right-dislocation</i>	VO	+ clitic doubling	+ boundary pause

Non clitic doubled NPs present new information and are unambiguously interpreted as focused.<sup>13</sup> The focus carries the main stress and is usually found at the end of the sentences: “With neutral intonation on an utterance the main stress falls naturally on the last constituent, interpreted as the focus” (Holton et al. 1997: 438). Focused constituents may also be moved to the beginning of the sentence. In such cases, the difference between topic and focus is not expressed by word order, but by the presence versus absence of a corresponding clitic pronoun and by weak versus strong stress respectively. The focused counterparts of (1a) and (2a) are (3) and (4) respectively:

- (3) *ayapái* [ti *Yarimía*]  
 he loves art.F.ACC.SG. Yarimia
- (4) [ti *Yarimía*] *ayapái*  
 art.F.ACC.SG. Yarimia he loves  
 ‘it is *Yarimia* he loves’

If, however, a sentence contains both a topic and a focus at the beginning of the sentence, the topic generally precedes the focus: “The preferred arrangement in such cases is to start with the topic and place the focus immediately before the verb” (Holton et al. 1997: 439), as in the following examples (where the topic is in both cases left-dislocated):

- (5) a. [o *Xópis*] ... [ti *Yarimía*] *ayapái*  
 ‘as for Hopi, it is *Yarimia* he loves’
- (6) a. [ti *Yarimía*]<sub>i</sub> ... [o *Xópis*] *tin<sub>i</sub> ayapái*  
 ‘as for *Yarimia*, it is *Hopi* who loves her’

There are several exceptions to this general principle: active information may not be expressed at all in the case of the subject, Greek being a pro-drop language, or it may be expressed by a clitic pronoun in the case of the object, which in Greek exhibits “special” syntax in the sense of Zwicky (1977: 6). If the referents of Hopi and Yarimia were both given in the immediately preceding context and if the idea of loving had to

13. Compare Joseph & Philippaki-Warbuton (1987: 96ff.), Kallulli (2000: 219ff.).

be activated, (5a) and (6a) could be verbalized as (5b) or (6b) (cf. Holton et al. 1997: 435f.), but more likely it would be verbalized as (7):<sup>14</sup>

- (5) b. [o Xópis] ... [ti Yarimía]<sub>i</sub> tin<sub>i</sub> ayapái polí  
'as for Hopi, he loves Yarimia *very much*'
- (6) b. [ti Yarimía]<sub>i</sub> ... [o Xópis] tin<sub>i</sub> ayapái polí  
'as for Yarimia, Hopi loves her *very much*'
- (7) Ø tin<sub>i</sub> ayapái polí  
'he loves her *very much*'

Information may be also expressed contrastively, crosscutting the active-semi/inactive dimension (Chafe 1994: 76ff.). In the following example, the referents of all four NPs may be active, but the contrastive object NPs are not clitic doubled:<sup>15</sup>

- (8) a. [o Xópis] \*tin<sub>i</sub> ayapái [ti Yarimía]<sub>i</sub> ke [i María] (\*ton<sub>i</sub>) ayapái [to Níko]<sub>j</sub>  
'Hopi loves Yarimia and Maria loves Nick'
- b. [o Xópis] (\*tin<sub>i</sub>) ayapái [ti Yarimía]<sub>i</sub> ke [i María] [to Níko]  
'Hopi loves Yarimia and Maria Nick'

It should be noted, however, that the contrastive object NPs will be clitic doubled if they occur in preverbal position:

- (9) a. [ti Yarimía]<sub>i</sub> tin<sub>i</sub> ayapái [o Xópis] ke [to Níko]<sub>j</sub> ton<sub>j</sub> ayapái [i María]  
'Hopi loves Yarimia and Maria loves Nick'
- b. [ti Yarimía]<sub>i</sub> tin<sub>i</sub> ayapái [o Xópis] ke [to Níko] [i María]  
'Hopi loves Yarimia and Maria Nick'

Last but not least, intonation may overrule the "normal" flow from active to semi/inactive information, as has already been observed.

### 3. Clitic placement from Ancient to Modern Greek

In the clitic-doubled examples given so far, the clitic pronoun is always placed immediately before the (finite) verb. This has indeed become the rule in Standard Modern Greek (Holton et al. 1997: 304), but the situation is different in earlier stages of the language and in many Modern Greek dialects. The position of clitics or, to be more precise, enclitics in Ancient Greek is not related to the verb, but subject to what has come to be known as "Wackernagel's Law" (Wackernagel 1892). According to this "Law", enclitic pronouns and other enclitic elements tend to cluster together in sentence-second or,

14. Note again that the difference between topic and focus is not expressed by word order in the case of (5b) and (6b) as in the case of (5a) and (6a).

15. Cf. Joseph & Philippaki-Warbuton (1987: 62) for a similar example.

more precisely, clause-second position.<sup>16</sup> One of the oldest instances of such a clause-second enclitic cluster occurs in second-millennium Mycenaean Greek:<sup>17</sup>

- (10) *da-mo-de-mi pa-si [...] o-na-to e-ke-e* (PY Ep 704.5)  
*δαμός δέ μιν φᾶσι [...] ὀνατὸν ἔχεέν*  
*dāmos de min p<sup>h</sup>āsi [...] onāton <sup>h</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>en*  
*damos but.CL. 3SG.M/F.ACC. they say lease she has*  
 ‘but the *dāmos* says that she [the priestess Erīthā] has lease [...]’

In this particularly interesting example, the enclitic particle *de* and the enclitic pronoun *min* are graphically attached to the preceding sentence- c.q. clause-initial word *dāmos*, contrary to the disyllabic enclitic verb *p<sup>h</sup>āsi* (Ruijgh 1967: 30). This graphical liaison suggests that the sequence *da-mo-de-mi* represents, in fact, a phonological word (Janse 1995–96: 163). Remarkably, the phonological dependence of the enclitic pronoun *min* does not coincide with its syntactic dependence on the infinitive *<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>en*, from which it is separated by four other words (two omitted).

The asymmetry between the phonological and syntactic dependence of enclitics indicates that in Ancient Greek their placement is not a matter of syntax, but rather of (discourse) phonology.<sup>18</sup> As I have argued in previous publications, Wackernagel’s Law is thus best defined with reference to (discourse) phonological units, i.e., intonation units, instead of to syntactic units such as sentences and clauses, although the two may and in fact often do coincide.<sup>19</sup> Enclitics are attracted to foci, the most salient pieces of new (inactive) or contrastive (whether active or semi/inactive) information which are heavily stressed and typically placed at the beginning of an intonation unit.<sup>20</sup> Consider the following two verses from Homer’s *Odyssey*:<sup>21</sup>

16. Cf. Janse (1994b) and Zwicky & Halpern (1996) among many others.

17. The first line is a transcription of the Mycenaean syllabic script, the second a transcription into alphabetic Greek, the third a phonological transcription (Ruijgh 1967: 314). The term *dāmos* is almost certainly used to refer to a formal institution (cf. *Lfgre* s.v. δᾶμος 1b “die Teilnehmer e[iner] öffentl[ichen] Versammlung”, i.e., “public assembly”); *onāton* is translated as “lease (of uncultivated plots)” following the now standard interpretation of Mycenaeanologists. I wish to thank one of the anonymous reviewers for calling this to my attention.

18. More on discourse phonology in Gibbon & Richter (1984).

19. Cf. especially Horrocks (1990) and Janse (1990, 1993a, 1993b, 1994b, 1995, 2000); see also Taylor (1996, 2002). The reinterpretation of Wackernagel’s Law can be traced back to the work of the German philologist Eduard Fraenkel (Janse 1990).

20. Cf. Horrocks (1990: 39ff.) and Janse (1990: 2648, 1993a: 22, 2000: 233f.).

21. The transcription of Ancient Greek is actually a slightly simplified transliteration based on Allen (1987) and Horrocks (1997: xix–xxi). A *caesura* or verse break is indicated with a vertical line | and is roughly equivalent to a boundary pause.



- (11) a. κύκλωψ | εἰρωτᾷς μ' ὄνομα κλυτόν | αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοι  
*kyklōps ... eirōtāis m' onoma klyton ...*  
 cyclops you ask 1SG.ACC. name glorious  
*autar egō toi ...*  
 and I 2SG.DAT.  
 'Cyclops ... you ask me .. my glorious name ... and I ...'
- b. ἐξερῶ | σὺ δέ μοι δὸς ξείνιον [...] (Hom. Od. 9.365f.)  
*eksereō ... sy de moi ... dos kseinion*  
 I will tell you but.CL. 1SG.DAT. give present  
 'I will tell you ... but you .. give me a friendly gift [...]'

The three enclitic pronouns *m(e)*, *toi* and *moi* are each attracted to the focus of the respective intonation units ("cola" in metrical terminology):<sup>22</sup> the (finite) verb *ērotāis* in (11a), which contrasts with the (finite) verb *eksereō* in (11b), and the so-called "emphatic" subject pronouns *egō* in (11a) and *sy* in (11b), which contrast with each other. The position of *m(e)*, phonologically attached to the verb with which it is connected syntactically, would be "ordinary" in the sense of (Zwicky 1977: 6), the positions of *toi* and *moi*, phonologically detached from the verbs with which they are connected syntactically, would be "special". Note that *egō* is not the first word within its intonation unit, but is preceded by the prepositive particle *autar*.

Much more noteworthy is the fact that *autar egō toi* constitutes a separate intonation unit, since the verse is a "self-contained unit [...] at the end of which prosodic connection is interrupted" (West 1982: 5). As a result, the enclitic pronoun *toi* is separated from the verb *eksereō* with which it is connected syntactically. This implies that *toi* can have no phonological connection with *eksereō*. By implication, *moi* will have no phonological connection with *dos*, even though it is syntactically connected with it, as *toi* is with *eksereō*. In other words, *toi* and *moi* are truly enclitic pronouns, contrary to their Modern Greek equivalents, which are proclitic. The Ancient Greek equivalent of (7) would be either (12a) or (12b), but not (12c) or (12d):<sup>23</sup>

- (12) a. ἀγαπᾷ αὐτὴν πολὺ  
*agapāi autēn poly*  
 b. πολὺ αὐτὴν ἀγαπᾷ  
*poly autēn agapāi*

22. Cf. West (1982: 5). The term "colon" was first linked to the idea of "intonation unit" by Fraenkel (1932, 1933; cf. Janse 1990).

23. For similar examples see Dover (1960: 2f.).

- c. \*αὐτὴν ἀγαπᾷ πολὺ  
     \**autēn agapāi poly*
- d. \*αὐτὴν πολὺ ἀγαπᾷ  
     \**autēn poly agapāi*

The dependence asymmetry between enclitic pronouns and their syntactic hosts on the one hand and their phonological hosts on the other becomes particularly evident in the following equivalents of (11a) and (11b), where the enclitic pronouns *soi* (Homeric *toi*) and *moi* are phonologically attached to the emphatic subject pronouns *egō* and *sy*, but separated by a quotation verb from the verbs with which they are connected syntactically:

- (13) ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοι, ἔφη, ἐρῶ (Plato, *Symposium* 206b)  
     *all' egō soi ... ep<sup>h</sup>ē ... erō*  
     but I 2SG.DAT. she said I will tell  
     '... but I ... she said ... I will tell you'
- (14) σύ μοι, φησίν, αὔλησον (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 4.44.5)  
     *sy moi ... p<sup>h</sup>ēsīn ... aulēson*  
     you 1SG.DAT. he says play the flute  
     '... you .. he says ... play the flute for me!'

This syntactic disconnection can be rather extreme, as in the following example from the *Odyssey*, where the enclitic pronoun *me* (15a) is separated by no less than thirteen words (and one verse) from the (finite) verb *apēura* (15b) on which it depends syntactically:<sup>24</sup>

- (15) a. ἀλλά με | σὸς τε πόθος | σά τε μήδεα | φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ  
     *alla me ... sos te pot<sup>h</sup>os ...*  
     but 1SG.ACC. your and.CL. longing  
     *sa te mēdea ... p<sup>h</sup>aidim' Odysseu*  
     your and.CL. counsels noble Odysseus  
     'but me ... longing for you ... and your counsels ... noble Odysseus'
- b. σὴ τ' ἀγανοφροσύνη | μελιγδέα θυμὸν ἀπηύρα (Hom. *Od.* 11.202–203)  
     *sē t' aganop<sup>h</sup>rosynē ... meliḡdea t<sup>h</sup>ūmon apēurā*  
     your and.CL. kindness honey-sweet spirit it reft away  
     'and your kindness ... it reft my honey-sweet spirit away'

Although the situation is basically the same in Classical Greek (5th–4th c. BC), there is a clear tendency towards “verb-centered” syntax (Marshall 1987: 120), i.e., a tendency

24. Note also the fact that *apēurā* agrees in number with *sē (t') aganop<sup>h</sup>rosynē*, not with the preceding NPs in (15a), which proves that the verse is indeed a “self-contained unit” (West 1982: 5).

not to separate enclitics from the verbs with which they are connected. In the case of the personal pronouns, Marshall (1987: 121) notes a tendency towards postverbal placement, but his statistics are inconclusive and at any rate do not apply to Plato, to name just one prolific author from this period. He concludes that in Classical Greek, “there are two preferred positions (which may coincide) for *q* [enclitics – MJ] in a sentence, (i) peninitial in sentence, clause or colon [intonation unit – MJ], (ii) directly postverbal” (1987: 15f.). In the case of minimal sentences, comprising just the verb and one or more enclitic pronouns, the two will always coincide:

- (16) ἄγει μ' ἄγει τις ἄγει μέ τις (Euripides, *Alcestis* 259)

*agei m' ... agei tis ...*  
he takes 1SG.ACC. he takes someone.CL.

*agei me tis*  
he takes 1SG.ACC. someone.CL  
'he's taking me ... someone is taking ... someone is taking me ...'

- (17) μῆλον ἐγὼ· βάλλει με φιλῶν σέ τις (Plato, *Epigrams* 5.80.1)

*mēlon egō ... ballei me ...*  
apple I he throws 1SG.ACC.

*philōn se tis*  
loving 2SG.ACC. someone.CL.

'an apple am I ... someone who loves you ... is throwing me'

Postverbal (ordinary) syntax could be considered the natural order, since the phonological dependence of the enclitic pronouns then coincides with their syntactic dependence.<sup>25</sup> It should come as no surprise that postverbal syntax would become a major factor in the development of the Greek language. Wifstrand (1949: 178ff.) confirms the tendency noted by Marshall for post-Classical Greek. In the Septuagint (3rd-2nd c. BC) and the New Testament (1st c. AD) postverbal placement is by far the preferred order.<sup>26</sup> In both cases, the general tendency towards postverbal syntax is of course reinforced by the Semitic substrate languages, Hebrew and Aramaic, which have pronominal suffixes instead of enclitic pronouns. As an example, consider the following quotation from the Hebrew psalms:

- (18) a. למה עזבתני (Psalm 22.2)

*lā-mâ 'āzavtā-nî*  
to-what you have forsaken-me  
'why have you forsaken me?'

25. Cf. Horrocks (1990: 38ff.) and Janse (1993a: 19; 2000: 234).

26. Cf. Janse (1993b: 85ff.; 2000: 237ff.; 2002a: 379ff.).

The translation of the Septuagint copies the word order (or rather morpheme order) of the Hebrew original:

- (18) b. ἵνατί ἐγκατέλιπές με; (Psalm 21.2)  
*hina-ti enkatelipes me*  
 for-what you have forsaken 1SG.ACC.

Interestingly, the word order is reversed in Matthew's translation:

- (18) c. ἵνατί με ἐγκατέλιπες; (Matthew 27.46)  
*hina-ti me enkatelipes*  
 for-what 1SG.ACC. you have forsaken

The textual tradition of Mark's translation even varies between post- and preverbal position:

- (18) d. εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με; (Mark 15.34  $\aleph$  B  $\Psi$  059 *pc*)  
*eis ti enkatelipes me*  
 to what you have forsaken 1SG.ACC.
- e. εἰς τί με ἐγκατέλιπες; (Mark 15.34 A C  $\Theta$   $f^{1,13}$  157  $\mathfrak{M}$ )  
*eis ti me enkatelipes*  
 to what 1SG.ACC. you have forsaken

What we have here is a perfect illustration of the two options of "verb-centered" syntax in post-Classical Greek: postverbal position (18b) versus preverbal position in accordance with Wackernagel's Law (18c). The question is why Wackernagel's Law should still be operative at all in the Septuagint and the New Testament where the Semitic substrate languages induce postverbal syntax, which is supposed to be the preferred order in post-Classical Greek anyway. At this point, it should be noted that a statistical approach to what is the "preferred" order is not very revealing without contextual information. In minimal sentences such as (16) and (17), there is no "preferred" order as the alternative order would be ungrammatical:<sup>27</sup>

- (16\*) \*μ' ἄγει \*τις ἄγει, \*τις μ' ἄγει  
*\*m' agei ... \*tis agei ...*  
 1SG.ACC. he takes someone.CL. he takes  
*\*tis m' agei*  
 someone.CL 1SG.ACC. he takes

27. In the case of (16\*), the alternative order is of course not only ungrammatical, but unmetrical as well.

- (17\*) μῆλον ἐγώ· | \*με βάλλει | \*τις σε φιλῶν [...]
- |              |            |     |            |               |     |
|--------------|------------|-----|------------|---------------|-----|
| <i>mēlon</i> | <i>egō</i> | ... | <i>*me</i> | <i>ballei</i> | ... |
| apple        | I          |     | 1SG.ACC.   | he throws     |     |
- 
- |             |           |                          |
|-------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| <i>*tis</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>p<sup>h</sup>ilōn</i> |
| someone.CL. | 2SG.ACC.  | loving                   |

The same applies to sentences, clauses or intonation units in which the verb comes first such as (12c), since the alternative (12d) would be ungrammatical as well. The key to the answer, then, lies in the nature of the word (or constituent) preceding the verb to which the enclitic pronouns are attracted, resulting in preverbal syntax. The situation in the Septuagint and the New Testament is particularly revealing in this respect, precisely because of the pressure from the Semitic substrate languages. At this stage in the development of the Greek language, there are no rules for preverbal syntax, just tendencies. Yet these tendencies are of major importance in our understanding of the development of a major split among the Modern Greek dialects.

In Septuagint and New Testament Greek, Wackernagel's Law is optionally triggered by the presence, in preverbal position, of a focused word or constituent. In many, if not most, cases of preverbal (special) position, there are variant readings exhibiting postverbal (ordinary) syntax, but not vice versa. Although any focused word or constituent may occasion the application of Wackernagel's Law, certain categories are so to speak focused, hence heavily stressed, "by nature" (Janse 1993a: 21).<sup>28</sup> One such category has just been illustrated in (18b) to (18e): interrogative pronouns. As a further example, compare the postverbal syntax in the minimal sentence (19a) with the preverbal syntax triggered by the presence of the interrogative pronoun in (19b):

- (19) a. ἤψατό μου τις (Luke 8.46)
- |                           |            |             |
|---------------------------|------------|-------------|
| <i><sup>h</sup>ēpsato</i> | <i>mou</i> | <i>tis</i>  |
| he touched                | 1SG.GEN.   | someone.CL. |
| 'someone touched me'      |            |             |
- 
- b. τίς μου ἤψατο; (Mark 5.31)
- |                   |            |                           |
|-------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| <i>tis</i>        | <i>mou</i> | <i><sup>h</sup>ēpsato</i> |
| who               | 1SG.GEN.   | he touched                |
| 'who touched me?' |            |                           |

28. Cf. also Horrocks (1990: 41, 43).

Negatives have the same effect on the position of enclitic pronouns. An example similar to (19b) is the following, although one important manuscript (*Codex Vaticanus*) offers a variant reading:

- (20) a. μή μου ἅπτου (John 20.17)  
*mē mou haptou*  
 not 1SG.GEN. you touch  
 ‘do *not* hold on to me!’
- b. μὴ ἅπτου μου (John 20.17 B)  
*mē haptou mou*  
 not you touch 1SG.GEN.  
 ‘do *not* hold on to me!’

The third category comprises the emphatic personal pronouns, as illustrated in (11a), (11b), (13) and (14). In the following pair, the negative compound *oudeis* contrasts with the subject pronoun *egō*:<sup>29</sup>

- (21) a. οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν; (John 8.10)  
*ou-d-eis se katekrinen*  
 not-even-one 2SG.ACC. he has condemned  
 ‘has *no-one* condemned you?’
- b. οὐδ’ ἐγὼ σε κατακρίνω (John 8.11)  
*ou-d’ egō se katakrinō*  
 not-and I 2SG.ACC. I will condemn  
 ‘then neither shall *I* condemn you’

The fourth category comprises the demonstrative pronouns and the etymologically related relative pronouns:

- (22) a. ὃ δὲ ἔχω, τοῦτό σοι δίδωμι (Acts 3.6)  
*ho de ekho touto soi didōmi*  
 what but.CL. he takes that 2SG.DAT. I give  
 ‘but what I have ... I give *it* to you’
- b. ποίησον ὃ σοι λέγομεν (Acts 21.23)  
*poiēson ho soi legomen*  
 do what 2SG.DAT. we say  
 ‘do *what* we tell you’

29. Note that in (21b) *egō* is not the first word, but is preceded by the prepositive negative compound *oud(e)*, just as *egō* is preceded by *autar* in (11a).

Etymologically related to the demonstrative pronouns as well are the subordinating conjunctions. Note the order of the enclitic cluster *tis se* in preverbal position as opposed to *se* (*me, mou*) *tis* in postverbal position as in (16), (17) and (19a):

- (23) οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχεις ἵνα τίς σε ἐρωτᾷ (John 16.30)  
*ou khreian ekheis ... hina tis se erōtāis*  
 not need you have that someone.CL. 2SG.ACC. he asks  
 ‘you have no need for anyone to question you’

The examples just quoted illustrate the attraction of enclitic pronouns to words which are inherently (at least historically) focused. They all belong to categories which Dover (1960: 20) calls “preferential words”, i.e., words “disproportionately common at the beginning of a clause”. It stands to reason to assume that their preference for clause-initial position is related to their information status, which is either new (inactive) or contrastive (whether active or semi/inactive), and that the strong stress associated with their information status is responsible for the attraction of the unstressed enclitic pronouns (Janse 2000: 236). Preferential words, then, are first-position words, as opposed to enclitics, which are second-position words. (It should be noted, again, that first and second position are here defined with reference to intonation units which may or may not coincide with syntactic units such as clauses.) The very frequency of combinations of first- and second-position words is such that it is justified to speak of “collocations” (Janse 2000: 236). Examples (11a), (13) and (14) show that these collocations can and are realized as separate intonation units.

As the Mycenaean example (10) shows, it is not just first-position words that attract clitics into second position. Any other focused word (or constituent) is able to do so optionally, as in the following example, where the NP <sup>h</sup>*o kosmos* and the subject pronoun *egō* are contrasted:

- (24) a. καὶ ὁ κόσμος σε οὐκ ἔγνω (John 17.25a)  
*kai <sup>h</sup>o kosmos se ouk egnō*  
 and the world 2SG.ACC. not he has known  
 ‘and *the world* doesn’t know you ...’  
 b. ἐγὼ δέ σε ἔγνω (John 17.25b)  
*egō de se egnōn*  
 I but.CL. 2SG.ACC. I have known  
 ‘but *I* know you’

The situation in Medieval Greek is basically the same as in post-Classical Greek, except that the syntax of the enclitic pronouns is now completely verb-centered: “the clitic object pronoun ceased to be a freely moving part of the clause and instead became part of the

verb phrase” (Mackridge 1993: 339). Whether or not the Medieval Greek clitic pronouns were still *enclitic*, as in Ancient Greek, or had become *proclitic*, as Rollo (1989: 136) would have it, is a moot question, although the fact that preverbal syntax is impossible in minimal sentences (Mackridge 1993: 340) seems to suggest the former. The tendencies for preverbal syntax identified for Classical and post-Classical Greek are now labelled “rules” which are “more or less obligatory” by Mackridge (1993: 340). He maintains that these “rules” can be explained “in purely syntactical terms” (1993: 329). Preverbal syntax is obligatory in the presence of four categories of first-position words: subordinating conjunctions, negatives, interrogative and relative pronouns. Preverbal syntax is optional in the presence of focused words or constituents belonging to other word-classes, including the emphatic personal pronouns (*ibid.*). On the basis of these observations, it is safe to conclude that in Medieval Greek there were still two preferred positions for clitic pronouns: immediately postverbal, the unmarked option, or immediately preverbal, the marked option under certain syntactic and/or discourse conditions.<sup>30</sup>

As already remarked, this situation would eventually result in a major split among the Modern Greek dialects: “the tendency toward placement to the left became stronger and stronger, eventually becoming the only possibility in Standard Modern Greek” (Joseph 1990: 129). This process implies a reanalysis of the phonological dependency of the originally *enclitic* pronouns in realignment with their syntactic dependency:

- (25) a. [eyó s'] [ayapáo] ⇒  
           I       2SG.ACC. I love  
       b. [eyó] [s'] ayapáo] ⇒  
       c. [Ø] [s'] ayapáo]

The process can be schematized as follows (after Wanner 1996: 538):

- (26) [<sub>s</sub> [X = clitic] [V] Z<sub>s</sub>] ⇒ [<sub>s</sub> [X] [clitic = V] Z<sub>s</sub>]

A number of Modern Greek dialects, however, have generalized the postverbal instead of the preverbal pattern. In Pontic, this generalization has resulted in the morphologization of the erstwhile enclitic pronouns, which have become pronominal suffixes (Janse 2002b: 215). In Cappadocian, a closely related Asia Minor Greek dialect, the situation is basically the same as in Medieval Greek.<sup>31</sup> Preverbal syntax is governed by syntactic constraints, viz. the presence of interrogative or relative pronouns, subordinating

30. On Medieval Greek see also Horrocks (1990: 47ff.) and Pappas (2001a, 2001b, 2004, 2005).

31. Cf. Janse (1994a: 435ff.; 1998a: 259ff.).



conjunctions, negative and modal particles (derived from subordinating conjunctions). However, preverbal syntax is also optionally triggered by focused words or constituents. The following examples illustrate the phenomenon:

- (27) a. *čís s' épce mávro?*  
 who 2SG.ACC. he made black  
 'who made you black?'
- b. *etá m' épce mávro*  
 she 1SG.ACC. she made black  
 'she made me black' (Araván D334)
- (28) a. *tíala du píris?*  
 how 3SG.ACC. you took  
 'how did you win her?'
- b. [*mi du mélu-s*] *du píris*  
 with the brains-2SG. 3SG.ACC. you took  
 'with your brains you won her' (Mistí D388)

In dialects like Cappadocian, Wackernagel's Law has survived to the present day.<sup>32</sup>

#### 4. Clitic doubling in Ancient and Medieval Greek

In the preceding section, the relation between focusing and clitic placement was discussed. The subject of the present section is the relation between topicalization and clitic doubling in Ancient and Medieval Greek. The use of pronouns to refer back or forwards to a coreferential NP within the same sentence is rather common in Ancient Greek. The doubled NPs are always unambiguously interpreted as topics which are either left- or right-dislocated. Although the term "topic left-dislocation" was not current in their time, Kühner & Gerth (1898: 660) describe and explain the phenomenon in the following words:

- (29) Die Personalpronomen und die Demonstrativpronomen [haben] sehr häufig auch zurückweisende kraft, indem in demselben Satze nach einem vorausgegangenen Substantive oder Substantivpronomen teils der Deutlichkeit wegen, z. B. wenn zwischen dasselbe und das dazu gehörige Verb ein längerer Zwischensatz getreten ist, teils des rhetorischen Nachdrucks wegen ein solches Pronomen gesetzt wird, welches das vorausgegangene Substantiv oder Substantivpronomen noch einmal aufnimmt und entweder wieder ins Gedächtnis ruft oder nachdrucksvoll der Aufmerksamkeit vorhält.

32. A similar split has occurred in the history of the Romance languages (Janse 2000: 251ff.).

Of particular relevance is the last part: the function of the pronoun referring back to the preceding NP (or pronoun) is to bring it back into “focal” (active) consciousness, to use Chafe’s terminology. Emphatic or demonstrative pronouns are used to do this *nachdrucksvoll*, in which case they are focused, since the information they express has become semiactive because of the distance, both in space and time, between the antecedent and coreferential (anaphoric) pronoun. Since clitic doubling in Modern Greek obviously involves clitic rather than emphatic pronouns, it will be obvious that the phenomenon of pronominal doubling in Ancient Greek is not always the same as in Modern Greek. It will be seen, however, that the principles underlying clitic doubling in Modern as well as Medieval Greek can be traced back to Ancient Greek.

In the following quotation from Euripides’ *Phoenician Women*, the emphatic personal pronoun *emoi*, which is in the dative, is separated from its verb *dokeis* by a long subordinate clause and therefore doubled by its enclitic counterpart *moi* (itself attached to the focused *ksyneta*) in the main clause:<sup>33</sup>

- (30) a. ἐμοὶ<sub>i</sub> μὲν, εἰ καὶ μὴ καθ’ Ἑλλήνων χθόνα τεθράμμεθ’,  
*emoi<sub>i</sub>      men      ei      kai      [...]*  
to me    prt.CL.    if      even  
‘to me at least, even though we were not brought up on Greek soil’
- b. ἀλλ’ οὖν ξυνετά μοι<sub>i</sub> δοκεῖς λέγειν (Eur., *Phoen.* 497f.)  
*all’    oun    ...    ksyneta    moi<sub>i</sub>    dokeis    legein*  
but    prt.CL.    sensibly    1SG.DAT.    you seem    speak  
‘still, you seem to me to speak *sensibly*’

A very similar situation is found in the following excerpt from Demosthenes’ speech against Evergus and Mnesibulus:

- (31) a. οὗτοι γὰρ ᾤοντο [...], ἐμέ, εἰ πολλά μου λάβοιεν ἐνέχυρα,  
*<sup>h</sup>outoi    gar    ōionto [...]*    ...    *eme<sub>i</sub>    ...*  
they    for.CL.    they thought    me  
*ei    polla    mou    laboien    enekhyra    ...*  
if    many    1SG.GEN.    they took    security  
‘for they thought ... that I ... if they took a large quantity of goods from me as security ...’

33. It should be noted that *emoi* echoes the *emoi* in *<sup>h</sup>ōs emoi dokei* “as it seems to me” in the preceding verse (496).

- b. ἄσμενον ἀφήσειν με<sub>i</sub> τοὺς μάρτυρας (Dem. 47.74)  
*asmenon ap<sup>h</sup>ēsein me<sub>i</sub> tous martyras*  
 glad release 1SG.ACC. the witnesses  
 ‘I would gladly release the witnesses’

It would seem that in the preceding cases, the doubling of the emphatic personal pronouns by their enclitic counterparts is indeed “for clarity’s sake”, as Kühner & Gerth observed in (29). At the same time it is clear that both *emoi* (*men*) in (30a) and *eme* in (31a) are separate intonation units functioning as left-dislocated topics.

The question is whether the use of the enclitic pronouns in (30b) and (31b) can be taken as evidence for clitic doubling in Ancient Greek? I think the answer has to be negative: the doubling of left-dislocated topics is never obligatory in Ancient Greek and is only done for the sake of clarity. It is very likely, however, that cases such as (30) and (31) form the discourse basis for what was to become a syntactic pattern in the further evolution of the Greek language.

An additional piece of evidence against the clitic-doubling hypothesis for Ancient Greek comes from the doubling of enclitic personal pronouns by enclitic personal pronouns, as in the following excerpt from Aristophanes’ *Acharnians*:

- (32) a. νῦν οὖν με<sub>i</sub> πρῶτον πρὶν λέγειν  
*nyn oun me<sub>i</sub> prōton prin legein*  
 now prt.CL. 1SG.ACC. first before speak  
 ‘Therefore ... first ... before I speak ...’
- b. ἔασατε ἐνσκευάσασθαι μ<sub>i</sub> οἷον ἀθλιώτατον (Aristoph. *Ach.* 383f.)  
*easate enskeuasast<sup>h</sup>ai m<sub>i</sub> hoion at<sup>h</sup>liōtaton*  
 permit dress 1SG.ACC. as possible most piteous  
 ‘permit me to dress in the most piteous guise’

Compare also the doubling of left-dislocated topics by demonstrative pronouns under exactly the same conditions. In the following example from Herodotus’ *Histories*, the demonstrative pronoun <sup>h</sup>*outos*, a subject NP, is used to refer back to <sup>h</sup>*o Magos* because of the long intervening relative clause:

- (33) a. [ὁ δέ μοι Μάγος]<sub>i</sub>, τὸν Καμβύσης ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδεξε,  
*[<sup>h</sup>o de moi Magos]<sub>i</sub> ton [...] ton*  
 that but.CL. 1SG.DAT. Magian whom  
 ‘but that Magian ... whom Cambyses made overseer of his house ...’
- b. οὗτος<sub>i</sub> ταῦτα ἐνετείλατο (Herod., *Histories* 3.63)  
*<sup>h</sup>outos<sub>i</sub> tauta eneteilato*  
 he that he ordered  
 ‘he gave me this charge’

Note how the enclitic pronoun *moi* is separated from its verb *eneteilato* and is attracted by the (originally demonstrative) article *ho*, because the NP *ho Magos* contrasts with *Smerdis* in the preceding context. Because the demonstrative pronoun is focused in this particular context, it often attracts enclitic pronouns as well (so that *moi* could have been attached to *houtos* instead of to *ho*). As a further example, compare (22a) above.

Topic right-dislocation is also attested in Ancient Greek. Kühner & Gerth (1898: 658) offer the following characterization of the phenomenon:

- (34) Die Personalpronomen und die Demonstrativpronomen stehen oft in enger Beziehung zu einem folgenden Substantive, indem sie entweder nachdrücklich darauf hinwiesen und es gleichsam vorbereiten oder darin als in einer epexegetischen Apposition ihre nachträgliche Erklärung finden.

As with topic left-dislocation, emphatic and demonstrative as well as enclitic pronouns are found, as in the following examples from Homer:<sup>34</sup>

- (35) [...] ἡ<sub>i</sub> δ' ἔσπετο | [Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη]<sub>i</sub> (Hom., *Od.* 1.125)  
<sup>h</sup>*e*<sub>i</sub>      d'      <sup>h</sup>*espeto*      ...      [*Pallas At<sup>h</sup>ēnē*]<sub>i</sub>  
 she      and.CL.      she followed      Pallas      Athene  
 'and *she* followed, Pallas Athene'
- (36) [...] ἵνα μιν<sub>i</sub> παύσειε πόνοιο || [δῖον Ἀχιλλῆα]<sub>i</sub> (Hom., *Il.* 21.249f.)  
<sup>h</sup>*ina*      *min*<sub>i</sub>      *pauseie*      *ponoio*      ...  
 that      3SG.M/F.ACC.      he keeps back      from labour  
 [*dīon Ak<sup>h</sup>illēa*]<sub>i</sub>      ...  
 noble      Achilles  
 '[...] that he might keep *him* back from his labour ... noble Achilles'

Example (36) is particularly interesting, because the right-dislocated topic occurs as the first word of a new verse line, a phenomenon called “enjambement”. The enjambed constituent is focused, like *eksereō* in (11b). In this particular case, the NP *dīon Ak<sup>h</sup>illēa* is focused because it contrasts with the following word *Trōēssi* “Trojans” and the contrast is verbalized by the enjambement and the juxtaposition of the two contrasting constituents.

The evidence discussed so far indicates that in Ancient Greek, clitic doubling has no direct relation to topic dislocation, whether left or right, but again it should be emphasized that clitic doubling *as a syntactic phenomenon* finds its origins in the discourse phenomena just described.

The first evidence for the syntacticization of clitic doubling is found in post-Classical Greek. The following examples illustrate the phenomenon of hanging topic

34. Note that *hē* is again a subject NP just like *houtos* in (33b).

left-dislocation: left-dislocated topics in the nominative which co-occur with coreferential enclitic pronouns in an oblique case:

- (37) a. [ὁ νικῶν]<sub>i</sub>, ποιήσω αὐτόν<sub>i</sub> [...] (Revelation 3.12)  
 [<sup>h</sup>o nikōn]<sub>i</sub> ... poiēsō auton<sub>i</sub> [...]
   
the conquering.NOM. I will make 3SG.M.ACC.
   
'as for the one who conquers ... I will make him [...]'
- b. [ὁ νικῶν]<sub>i</sub>, δώσω αὐτῷ<sub>i</sub> [...] (Revelation 3.21)  
 [<sup>h</sup>o nikōn]<sub>i</sub> ... dōsō autōi<sub>i</sub>
  
the conquering.NOM. I will give 3SG.M.DAT.
   
'as for the one who conquers ... I will give him [...]'

In cases like these, the manuscript tradition often varies between hanging and plain topic left-dislocation and, in the latter case, between clitic-doubling and the absence of a coreferential enclitic pronoun. In the following variants, the majority of the textual witnesses offer a plain left-dislocated topic, whereas one manuscript (*Codex Bezae*) has a hanging topic:

- (38) a. [τῷ θέλοντι ...]<sub>i</sub>, ἄφες αὐτῷ<sub>i</sub> [...] (Matthew 5.40)  
 [tōi <sup>th</sup>elonti ...]<sub>i</sub> ... ap<sup>h</sup>es autōi<sub>i</sub>
  
to the wanting.DAT. leave 3SG.M.DAT.
   
'to the one who wants ... leave him ...'
- b. [ὁ θέλων ...]<sub>i</sub>, ἄφες αὐτῷ<sub>i</sub> [...] (Matthew 5.40 D)  
 [<sup>h</sup>o <sup>th</sup>elōn ...]<sub>i</sub> ... ap<sup>h</sup>es autōi<sub>i</sub>
  
the wanting.NOM. leave 3SG.M.DAT.
   
'the one who wants [...] ... leave him ...'

In a similar passage from Luke's version of the pericope on retaliation, only a minority of the witnesses offers a left-dislocated topic with clitic doubling:

- (39) a. [τῷ τύπτοντί σε ...]<sub>i</sub>, παρέχε  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> [...] (Luke 6.29)  
 [tōi <sup>ty</sup>ptonti se]<sub>i</sub> ... parek<sup>h</sup>e  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub>
  
to the slapping.DAT. 2SG.ACC. offer
   
'to the one who slaps you [...] ... offer [...]'
- b. [τῷ τύπτοντί σε ...]<sub>i</sub>, παρέχε αὐτῷ<sub>i</sub> [...] (Luke 6.29 D φ α)  
 [tōi <sup>ty</sup>ptonti se ...]<sub>i</sub> ... parek<sup>h</sup>e autōi<sub>i</sub>
  
to the slapping.DAT. 2SG.ACC. offer 3SG.M.DAT.
   
'to the one who slaps you [...] ... offer him [...]'

In examples (38a) and (39b), the length of the nominalized participial clause might be taken to have occasioned the clitic doubling in the main clause, so it will be more

profitable to look for shorter left-dislocated topics similar to (37a) and (37b). A very interesting example can be found the book of Revelation:

- (40) a. [τῷ νικῶντι]<sub>i</sub> δώσω αὐτῷ<sub>i</sub> [...] (Revelation 2.7)  
 [tōi nikōnti]<sub>i</sub> ... dōsō autōi<sub>i</sub> [...] ...  
 to the conquering.DAT. I will give 3SG.M.DAT.  
 'to the one who conquers, I will give him [...]'
- b. [τῷ νικῶντι]<sub>i</sub> δώσω  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> [...] (Revelation 2.7 *N al*)  
 [tōi nikōnti]<sub>i</sub> dōsō  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> [...] ...  
 to the conquering.DAT. I will give  
 'to the one who conquers I will give [...]'

Cases like (38a), (39b) and (40a) are very close to clitic doubling as found in Modern Greek, with the obvious exception of the position of the clitic pronoun. The use of the enclitic pronoun in these examples cannot be explained as Semitic interference, as the phenomenon is found in non-Biblical texts as well (Moulton 1908: 85). Consider, for instance, the following papyrus text:

- (41) [Λάμπωνι μυοθηρευτῇ]<sub>i</sub> ἔδωκα αὐτῷ<sub>i</sub> [...] (POxy. 2.299)  
 [Lampōni myo-t<sup>h</sup>ēreutēi]<sub>i</sub> ... edōka autōi<sub>i</sub> [...] ...  
 to Lampo.DAT mouse-hunter.DAT. I gave 3SG.M.DAT.  
 'to Lampo the mouser, I gave him [...]'

The question is whether (40a) and (41) are instances of topicalization comparable to (2a) or cases of topic left-dislocation comparable to (2b) – a question which cannot be answered definitely without prosodic information. The interpretation, however, of the constructions as cases of topic left-dislocation is without any doubt correct. The same order is found in Medieval Greek, where clitic doubling has definitely become a *syntactic phenomenon*. As Mackridge (1994: 906ff.) has shown, topicalized object NPs are always clitic-doubled, whereas focused object NPs are not. The doubling clitic is said to be "obligatorily placed after the verb" (Mackridge 1993: 328), an observation confirmed in an independent study by Rollo (1989: 139f.). The following example from the Escorial *Digenes Akrites* is quoted by Mackridge (translation his):

- (42) [τὸν Διγενῆν]<sub>i</sub> ἐπῆράν τον<sub>i</sub> [οἱ βάρυες] (DAE 328)  
 [ton Digenin]<sub>i</sub> ... epíran ton<sub>i</sub> [i vájes]  
 the Digenes.ACC. they took 3SG.M.ACC. the maids  
 'As for Digenes ... the maids took him'

It should be noted, however, that the clitic pronouns occur in preverbal position under the syntactic conditions specified at the end of §3. Examples (43) and (44) are taken from

two Byzantine versions of the Greek Alexander romance (*Historia Alexandri Magni*) and illustrate preverbal syntax in the presence of a modal and negative particle:

- (43) [τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον]<sub>i</sub> νὰ τὸν<sub>i</sub> σεβάσωμεν (Alexander E, 41.3.4)

[*ton Aléksandron*]<sub>i</sub> ... *na ton<sub>i</sub> sevásomen*  
 the Alexander.ACC. prt 3SG.M.ACC. we respect

‘As for Alexander ... let us respect him’

- (44) [τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον]<sub>i</sub> νὰ μὴ τὸν<sub>i</sub> ἔχωμεν [...] (Alexander E, 37.3.3)

[*ton Aléksandron*]<sub>i</sub> ... *na mí ton<sub>i</sub> éxomen*  
 the Alexander.ACC. prt not 3SG.M.ACC. we have

‘As for Alexander ... we won’t have him [...]’

The following case is particularly interesting, because it contains a double topic:

- (45) a. ἐγὼ [τὴν γυναῖκα σου] καὶ [τὴν θυγατέραν σου]

*egó* ... [*tin jinékan su*] *ke* [*tin θiyatéran su*]  
 I the wife your and the daughter your

‘As for me ... your wife and your daughter’

- b. καὶ [τὰ πράγματά σου]<sub>i</sub> ὅλα σὲ τὰ<sub>i</sub> θέλω δώσει (Alexander E, 109.3.5)

*ke* [*ta práymatá su*]<sub>i</sub> ... *óla se ta<sub>i</sub> thélo dósi*  
 and the things your all 2SG.ACC. 3PL.N.ACC. I want to give

‘and your things ... I want to give them *all* to you’

What we have here, is a topic left-dislocated subject NP *egó*, followed by three coordinated object NPs. The clitic cluster *se ta* is attracted into preverbal position by the focused adjective *ola* which is placed in preverbal position. Double topics are rather common:

- (46) ἐσὺ ἐμένα<sub>i</sub> [παιγνιαδικὸν παιγνίδιν] μὲ ἔστειλες (Alexander E, 34.8.5)

*esí* ... *eména<sub>i</sub>* ... [*peyniaðikón peyníðin*] *me<sub>i</sub> éstiles*  
 you me childish toy 1SG.ACC. you have sent

‘As for you, to me, *a children’s toy* you have sent me!’

The doubling clitic *me* identifies *eména* as a topic, not as a focus: it is the NP *peyniaðikón peyníðin* which is focused in (46). Contrast, for instance, the following quotation, where *esí eména* in (47a) and *egó* ... *eséna* in (47b) are contrastive, hence not clitic-doubled:

- (47) a. καὶ ἂν  $\emptyset_i$  σκοτώσης ἐσὺ ἐμένα<sub>i</sub> [...]

*ke an*  $\emptyset_i$  *skotósís esí eména<sub>i</sub>*  
 and if you kill you me

‘and if *you* kill *me* [...]’

- b. εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ  $\emptyset_i$  σκοτώσω πάλι ἐσένα<sub>i</sub> [...] (Alexander E, 98.1.14)  
*i*    *ðe*    *εγὼ*     $\emptyset_i$     *skotóso*    *páli*    *eséna\_i*  
 if    but    I                    I kill    again    you  
 ‘but if I kill you’

I conclude with some examples illustrating the different forms of topicalization found in Medieval Greek. The first is the by now familiar case of topic left-dislocation:

- (48) ἐμένα<sub>i</sub> οὖν φαίνεται μου<sub>i</sub> [...] (Bessarion, *Ep.* 59.534.1)  
*eména\_i*    *un*            ...    *fénete*    *mu\_i*  
 me            prt.CL.            it seems    1SG.GEN.  
 ‘as for me ... it seems to me [...]’

It should be noted, however, that in the absence of prosodic information, it is also possible to consider examples such as (42), (43), (44) and (48) as cases of strong topicalization instead of topic left-dislocation. This interpretation is suggested by the existence of cases of what is probably best taken as weak topicalization instead of cases of topic right-dislocation. The following examples both have a preverbal focus and a postverbal topic:<sup>35</sup>

- (49) a. τοῦτο μὲ<sub>i</sub> φαίνεται ἐμένα<sub>i</sub> (Alexander E, 37.9.1)  
*túto*    *me\_i*            *fénete*    *eména\_i*  
 that    1SG.ACC.    it seems    me  
 ‘that is what I think, as far as I’m concerned’  
 b. ἔτσι μοῦ<sub>i</sub> φαίνεται ἐμένα<sub>i</sub> (Alexander E, 60.8.6)  
*etsi*    *mu\_i*            *fénete*    *eména\_i*  
 thus    1SG.GEN.    it seems    me  
 ‘this is how it seems to me, as far as I’m concerned’

I conclude with an example of hanging topic left-dislocation quoted by Rollo (1989: 139<sup>23</sup>). The use of the hanging nominative *εγὼ* is remarkable in the presence of the by then obsolete dative *μοι*:

- (50) ἐγὼ<sub>i</sub> οὖν φαίνεται μοι<sub>i</sub> (Leontius, *Chronicle* 318)  
*εγὼ\_i*    *un*            ...    *fénete*    *moi\_i*  
 I            prt.CL.            it seems    1sg.DAT.  
 ‘as for me ... it seems to me’

35. Note *mu* (49b) vs. *me* (49a), the latter being the result of the case syncretism that is characteristic of the Asia Minor and Northern Greek dialects. The Ancient Greek ternary opposition between genitive vs. dative vs. accusative is reduced to a binary opposition between genitive-dative vs. accusative in Modern Greek and reduced to a single oblique case (formally the ancient accusative) in Asia Minor and Northern Greek dialects.



## 5. Clitic doubling in Asia Minor Greek

The geographical designation Asia Minor Greek has gained wide currency since the publication of Thomason and Kaufman's celebrated 1988 monograph on language contact.<sup>36</sup> It was adapted from the title of Dawkins' *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* who, however, explicitly restricted his investigation to dialects which were "native to Asia" or at least "pre-Turkish" (Dawkins 1916: 5). These include Pontic, Farasiot, Cappadocian, Lycaonian (Silli), Lycian (Livisi), Bithynian, but also Cypriot, Chian and Dodecanesian Greek (Dawkins 1916: 213). As a matter of fact, Dawkins' book deals only with Lycaonian, Cappadocian and Farasiot, or East Asia Minor Greek in his terminology (*ibid.*).<sup>37</sup> The relationships between the East Asia Minor Greek dialects is summarized in Figure 1 (Dawkins 1916: 204ff.; Janse 2008: §1.4, 1.5.2).<sup>38</sup>

Several dialects show contact phenomena. Farasiot and Lycaonian have features in common with Cappadocian, even though the former is more closely related to Pontic and the latter to Lycian Greek (Dawkins 1916: 204ff.).<sup>39</sup> What is more conspicuous, however, is the degree of Turkish interference in Asia Minor Greek, especially in Cappadocian. In some Cappadocian dialects the degree of Turkish interference is such that Thomason & Kaufman conclude that they "may be close to or even over the border of nongenetic development" (1988: 93f.). In other words, they can no longer be considered Greek *dialects* in the full genetic sense, but rather Greek-Turkish *mixed languages* in the sense of Thomason (2001: 11).<sup>40</sup>

One of the many remarkable Turkish features in Cappadocian is its so-called differential object marking (Janse 2004: 4): the tendency to mark object NPs that are high in animacy and definiteness and, conversely, not to mark object NPs that are low in animacy

36. Cf. especially Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 215ff.).

37. For discussion see Janse (2008), who tentatively used the term Inner Asia Minor Greek in an earlier publication (1998b).

38. I use the term Proto-Cappadocian, because the geographical designation Cappadocia used to include Pontus in Antiquity (Strabo, *Geography* 12.1.1). Condoravdi & Kiparsky use the term Proto-Pontic in an entirely different interpretation, viz. "Later Classical Greek" (2001: 31).

39. Apart from these "native" dialects, there are many more non-native ones, i.e., dialects of populations which had been settled in Asia Minor in post-Turkish times before the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in the 1920s. Of these three deserve special mention: Propontis Tsakonian, Smyrniot and the dialect of Aivali-Moschonisi.

40. Dawkins seems to think of Asia Minor Greek in terms of languages rather than dialects as well: "These Asiatic dialects have been separated so long from the rest of the Greek world that they require a quite separate treatment; almost as the Romance languages have to be studied separately, and find a connexion only in their common parent" (1916: vii). Drettas (1997: 19) takes a similar view of Pontic (cf. Janse 2002b: 226).

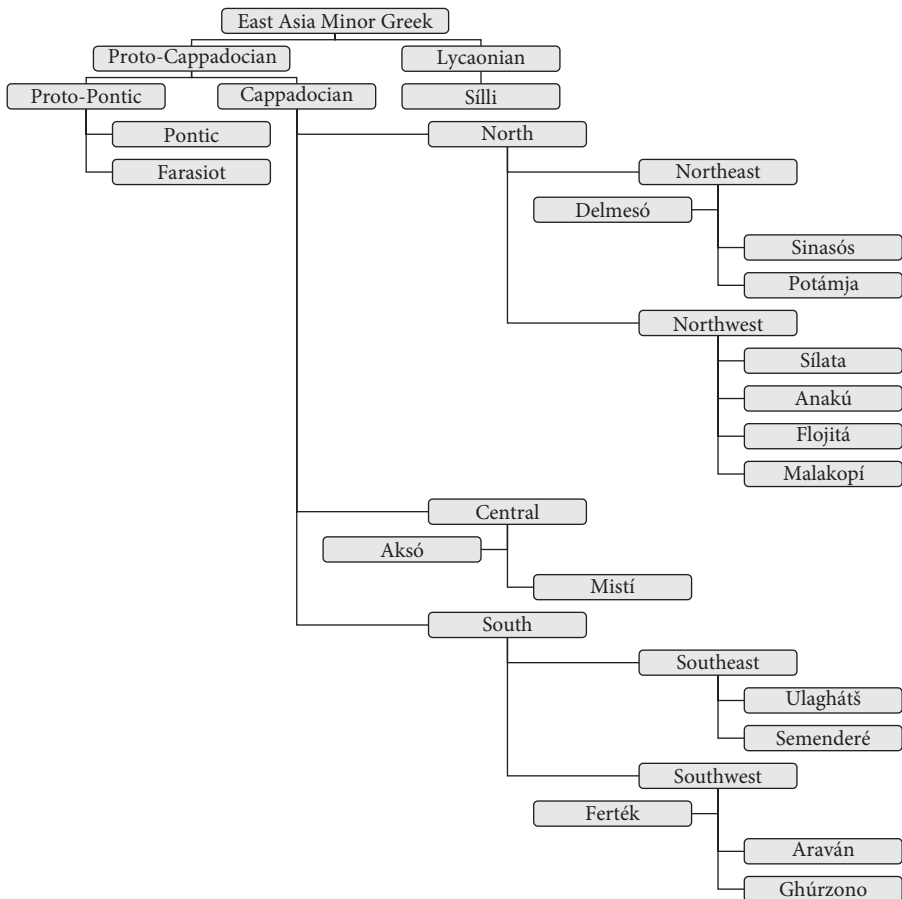


Figure 1.

and definiteness. Turkish object NPs take the accusative suffix only if they are definite or specific. Indefinite (specific or nonspecific) object NPs are not marked for case and are morphologically identical with subject NPs. In Cappadocian, indefinite animate object NPs are identical with subject NPs as well, which means that they are morphologically marked as opposed to definite animate object NPs. Since the nominative case is now associated with indefiniteness, the definite article is never used with subject NPs, even if they are definite.<sup>41</sup> Consider the following examples (Janse 2004: 16):

- (51) a. *θorí* [ena *devrěš-is*]  
 he sees a dervish-NOM./INDEF.ACC.SG.  
 'he [the boy] sees a dervish'

41. Note that this applies to masculine and feminine nouns only, inanimate nouns being assigned to the neuter class.

- b. [to devreš-Ø]<sub>i</sub> léi to<sub>i</sub>  
 [the dervish-DEF.ACC.SG.]<sub>i</sub> he says 3SG.ACC.<sub>i</sub>  
 ‘he [the boy] says to the dervish’
- c. ístera devreš-is psófsen  
 later dervish-NOM./INDEF.ACC.SG. he died  
 ‘later the dervish died’
- d. šikosén do<sub>i</sub> [to devreš-Ø]<sub>i</sub>  
 he took up 3SG.ACC.<sub>i</sub> [the dervish-DEF.ACC.SG.]<sub>i</sub>  
 ‘he [the boy] took up the dervish’ (Flojitá, D414)

Other Asia Minor Greek dialects have variations on the same theme. Lycaonian has no differential object marking, but the definite article is used with definite animate object NPs only, whereas Farasiot has differential object marking, but the definite article is used with definite animate object *and* subject NPs (Janse 2004: 13f.). The following examples are taken from a Farasiot version of the well-known tale of the Cyclops (Janse 2004: 20f.):

- (52) a. ítun [am babá-s]  
 there was a priest-NOM./INDEF.ACC.SG.  
 ‘there was a priest’
- b. ívre [lem babá-s]  
 he found another priest-NOM./INDEF.ACC.SG.  
 ‘he found another priest’
- c. xítse [o tepekózi-s]  
 he ran the cyclops-NOM./INDEF.ACC.SG.  
 ‘the cyclops ran along’
- d. épsise [tóina tom babá-Ø]  
 he roasted the-one the priest-DEF.ACC.SG.  
 ‘he roasted one priest’ (Fárasa, D550)

Pontic has differential *subject* marking (Janse 2004: 25f.): definite animate subject NPs take the accusative case, as in the following example:

- (53) [o palaló-n] ípen palaló-s k<sup>h</sup>-íme  
 the fool-ACC./DEF.NOM.SG. he said fool-INDEF.NOM.SG. not-I am  
 ‘the fool said: I am not a fool’ (Drettas, 1997: 120)

In Cappadocian, the use of the indefinite accusative, whether or not accompanied by the indefinite article, signals new (inactive) information and indefinite objects typically

occur in postverbal position, as in (51a) and (52b). If the subject is also verbalized, the normal order is SVO:

- (54) [ena xerífo-s] éjišge [ena fšáx]  
a man- NOM./INDEF.ACC.SG. he had [a child]  
‘a man had a son’ (Ulaghátš, D364)

- (55) [ena áθropo-s] íferén me  
a man-NOM./INDEF.ACC.SG. he brought 1SG.ACC.  
[ena partšalanmíš áθropo-s]  
a mangled man-NOM./INDEF.ACC.SG.  
‘a man brought me a mangled man’ (Sílata, D448)

Indefinite objects can also be presented as accessible information, in which case they are placed in preverbal position. This is particularly evident in the case of contrastive objects. The following example is from the same text as (55):

- (56) a. kótša [ena áθropo-s]<sub>i</sub> érapśa to<sub>i</sub> ce  
lately [a man-NOM./INDEF.ACC.SG. I sewed 3SG.ACC. and  
b. [etá to kundúra]<sub>i</sub> na mí to<sub>i</sub> rápso  
that the boot- NOM./ACC.SG. prt not 3SG.ACC. I sew  
‘lately I sewed up a man and I couldn’t sew up that boot?’ (Sílata, D448)

Note that the postverbal indefinite objects in (54) and (55) are not clitic-doubled, contrary to the preverbal indefinite object in (56a).

Definite objects present either given (active) or accessible (semiactive) information. When they occur in preverbal position, they present given information and are always clitic-doubled. If the subject is also expressed, the normal order is SOV as in (51b) and (56b), which is also the unmarked order in Turkish (Kornfilt 1997: 91). Other examples include the following:

- (57) a. patišáx-is [tši néka-t]<sub>i</sub> píren do<sub>i</sub>  
king-NOM./INDEF.ACC.SG. the wife-3SG. he took 3SG.ACC.  
‘the king took the wife’  
b. xerífo-s [ta fšáxa]<sub>i</sub> píren da<sub>i</sub>  
man-NOM./INDEF.ACC.SG. the children he took 3PL.ACC.  
‘the man took the children’ (Delmesó, D318)

- (58) a. ablá-t [do döšéi-t]<sub>i</sub> píren do<sub>i</sub>  
sister-3SG. the bed-3SG. he took 3SG.ACC.  
‘his sister took his bed’ (Ulaghátš, D370)  
b. do fšáx [do döšéi-t]<sub>i</sub> távrisén do<sub>i</sub>  
the boy the bed-3SG. he pulled 3SG.ACC.  
‘the boy pulled his bed’ (ibid.)

- (59) a. *do peí [do cirjás]<sub>i</sub> ésecén do<sub>i</sub> [do kaná-t]*  
 the boy the meat he put 3SG.ACC. the wing-3SG.  
 ‘the boy put the meat on her [the bird’s] wing’ (Ulaghátš, D372)
- b. *[do leró]<sub>i</sub> ésecén do<sub>i</sub> [d’ alo-t to kaná-t]*  
 the water he put 3SG.ACC. the other-3SG. the wing-3SG.  
 ‘the water he put on her other wing’ (*ibid.*)

In the absence of prosodic information, it is difficult to decide whether SOV is simply the unmarked order in Cappadocian (as in Turkish) if both subject and object present given information, or if the subject is in fact a left-dislocated topic. Drettas discusses similar cases in Pontic and uses the term “double thématization” (1997: 251), i.e., “double topicalization”. His translation seems to suggest that topicalization here implies topic left-dislocation:

- (60) *eyó ... [avút to koríts]<sub>i</sub> ... ayapó-ato<sub>i</sub>*  
 I that the girl I love-3SG.N.ACC.  
 ‘moi, cette fille, je l’aime’ (Drettas 1997: 251)

The intonation pattern is confirmed by the following, recently recorded, example from Cappadocian. The double topic was announced in Greek by the narrator before she actually started her narrative:

- (61) *[da klátša-mas]<sub>i</sub> ... škólja ... dén da<sub>i</sub> sáldanam polí*  
 the children-1PL. school not 3PL.ACC. we sent much  
 ‘our children, we didn’t send them to school that much’ (Mistí, June 2005)

In cases like these, the focus is on the verb phrase. If the subject is focused, it is placed immediately before the verb and the object is necessarily left-dislocated. Kesisoglou (1951: 49) presents the following contrasting pair:

- (62) a. *[do peí] [do vavá-t]<sub>i</sub> çórsen do<sub>i</sub>*  
 the boy the father-3SG. he saw 3SG.ACC.  
 ‘the boy saw his father’ (Ulaghátš)
- b. *[do peí]<sub>i</sub> ... vavá-t çórsen do<sub>i</sub>*  
 the boy father-3SG. he saw 3SG.ACC.  
 ‘as for the boy, it was *his father* who saw him’ (Ulaghátš)

In such cases, the doubling clitic may be attracted into preverbal position by any focused constituent, as in (27b)–(28b), and (45b)–(46). The following examples from Cappadocian and Lycaonian illustrate this:

- (63) *mena<sub>i</sub> ... [túta úla]<sub>j</sub> ... [is çizüris] mu<sub>i</sub> ta<sub>j</sub> róki*  
 me these all a holy man 1SG.GEN. 3PL.ACC. he gave  
 ‘as for me, all these things, it was *a holy man* who gave them to me’ (Silli, D372)

- (64) [itúta ta prámata]<sub>i</sub> ... vúla ta<sub>i</sub> pírin  
 these the things all 3PL.ACC. he took  
 ‘these things, he took them *all*’ (Malakopí, D406)

- (65) etó<sub>i</sub> páli ... ekutšís to<sub>i</sub> píken  
 this again ox-driver 3SG.ACC. he did  
 ‘this again, it was *the ox-driver* who has done it’ (Sílata, D424)

The examples discussed so far exhibit clitic doubling in combination with OV order. When definite objects occur in postverbal position, they either present given or accessible information. VO order in combination with clitic doubling signals given information, but the information is backgrounded, as in (51d). Other examples include the following:

- (66) [me to kama-t] skótosén do<sub>i</sub> [ekú to dév]<sub>i</sub>  
 with the dagger-3SG. he killed 3SG.ACC. that the giant  
 ‘with his dagger he killed that giant’ (Ulaghátš, D354)

- (67) [to peďf] píren da<sub>i</sub> [ecí ta kaidúra]<sub>i</sub>  
 the boy he took 3PL.ACC. those the asses  
 ‘the boy took those asses’ (Flojitá, D418)

- (68) ascér pónesan do<sub>i</sub> [to peďf]<sub>i</sub>  
 soldiers they were sorry 3SG.ACC. the boy  
 ‘the soldiers were sorry for the boy’ (Potámja, D464)

Postverbal definite objects which are not clitic doubled generally present accessible information. The following set is from the same text as (57a)–(57b). The story begins with three sisters who dream of marrying the king’s son. Although neither the king nor his son have been mentioned, they are still presented as accessible information, the king being part of the setting of many Cappadocian stories. (69a) is the lament of the eldest, (69b) the middle sister’s and (69c) the self-confident reaction of the youngest:

- (69) a. na píra [patišáxu to peďf]  
 prt I take king’s the boy  
 ‘I would marry the king’s son’ (Delmesó, D464)

- b. na píra yó [patišáxu to peďf]  
 prt I take I king’s the boy  
 ‘I would marry the king’s son’ (*ibid.*)

- c. [patišáxu to peďf]<sub>i</sub> ... yó na to<sub>i</sub> píra  
 king’s the boy I prt 3SG.ACC. I take  
 ‘the king’s son, I would marry him’ (*ibid.*)

The difference between these three utterances is that the referent of *patišáxu to peđi* is presented as accessible information in (69a)–(69b), whereas it is emphatically presented as given information in (69c). Similar examples of topic left-dislocation include (62b) and the following:

- (70) [etó to aslân]<sub>i</sub> ... tís to<sub>i</sub> skótosen  
 that the lion who 3SG.ACC. he killed  
 ‘that lion, who killed it?’ (ibid.)

Contrastiveness is generally independent of activation cost (Chafe 1994: 77). In Cappadocian, double contrastiveness normally entails SVO word order and the absence of clitic doubling, even if the referents of subject and object are active:

- (71) a. vasiléas píren [to ascéri-t] ce  
 king he took the army-3SG. and  
 b. [to peđi] píren [to yutšá-t]  
 the boy he took the napkin-3SG.  
 ‘the king took his army and the boy took his napkin’ (Potámja, D464)

- (72) a. eyó as páro [to koríts]  
 I prt I take the girl  
 b. eší épar [to pei]  
 you take the boy  
 ‘I will take the girl, you take the boy’ (Ulaghátš, D378)

I conclude with some examples from a Cappadocian version of little Snow-White. The opening is characteristic for this type of story: two indefinite NPs presenting new information in the same order as in (54):

- (73) a. [ena vasiléas] íxa [ena néka]  
 a king he had a wife  
 ‘a king had a wife’ (Sílata, D440)

The referent of the postverbal indefinite object NP *ena néka* is now activated and expressed by the preverbal definite subject *nekát* in the next sentence, where a new referent is introduced by another postverbal indefinite object NP:

- (73) b. néka-t jénsen [ena koríts]  
 wife-3SG. she gave birth a girl  
 ‘his wife gave birth to a daughter’ (ibid.)

The referent of the preverbal indefinite subject NP *ena vasiléas* is activated as well and the same structure appears in the following sentence:

- (73) c. *vasiléas píren [ena álo néka]*  
king he took a other wife  
'the king took *another wife*' (ibid.)

In these three sentences the order is SVO, the flow of speech moving from inactive to inactive information in (73a) and from active to inactive information in (73b)–(73c). In the next sentence, the referents of the postverbal indefinite objects NPs *ena koríts* (73b) and *ena álo néka* (73c) are activated and both appear as preverbal definite NPs, the object NP being clitic doubled:

- (73) d. *[etó néka] [etó to koríts]<sub>i</sub> दें do<sub>i</sub> थेliksen*  
that wife that the girl not 3SG.ACC. she wanted  
'that wife didn't like that daughter' (ibid.)

The same SOV structure is used further on, when the girl refuses to open the door to her evil stepmother for the third time:

- (73) e. *[etó to koríts] [ti θíra]<sub>i</sub> दें do<sub>i</sub> ániksen*  
that the girl the door not 3SG.ACC. she opened  
'that girl didn't open the door' (D442)

Finally, it may be noted that the plural form of the third person clitic pronoun is often used as the unmarked form in East Asia Minor Greek, particularly in Lycaonian and Farasiot (Janse 1998b: 539f.):

- (74) *[tšin iréan tu dadí]<sub>i</sub> zirmunnái ta<sub>i</sub>*  
the.F.ACC.SG. idea of the kindling he forgets 3PL.N.ACC.  
'he forgets about the idea of the kindling' (Silli, D288)
- (75) *kavúšisén da<sub>i</sub> [ti markáltsa]<sub>i</sub>*  
he met 3PL.N.ACC. the.F.ACC.SG. Markaltsa  
'he met the Markaltsa' (Fárasa, D528)

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have traced the history of clitic doubling in the history of the Greek language from Ancient to Asia Minor Greek. I started by presenting the standard account of clitic doubling in Modern Greek based on Philippaki-Warbuton's observation that clitic doubled NPs are as such marked as topics. After reviewing the confusing and partly confused terminology used in the description of the phenomenon in Modern Greek, I proposed a typology of clitic doubling constructions in terms



of information flow based on the parameters of word order (OV versus VO), whether or not in combination with prosodic dislocation (left versus right). Clitic doubling involving the fronting of the clitic doubled NP is called topicalization or, if combined with a boundary pause, topic left-dislocation. Topic left-dislocation is obligatory in the presence of a preverbal focused NP. Clitic doubling involving the backing of the clitic doubled NP is called backgrounding or, if combined with a boundary pause, topic right-dislocation. Right-dislocated topics are interpreted as an afterthought.

In the next section, I have summarized the history of clitic placement from Ancient to Modern Greek and its dialects on the basis of my own previous research. In Ancient Greek, as in other ancient Indo-European languages, clitic placement or, to be more precise, enclitic placement was governed by Wackernagel's Law, which was reinterpreted as follows: in Ancient Greek enclitics are attracted to heavily stressed words placed at the beginning of an intonation unit. In the development of Ancient Greek, enclitic placement became more and more verb-centered, until there were only two competing positions left: pre- or post-verbal, depending on the position of the verb and the presence c.q. absence of a heavily stressed word immediately preceding the verb. Competing motivations account for the generalization of preverbal placement in Standard Modern Greek and many of its dialects, but also for the partial generalization of postverbal placement in many other dialects, including those of Asia Minor. It was shown that the origins of the split can be traced back to Koine Greek and its grammaticalization to Medieval Greek. A number of Asia Minor Greek dialects such as Cappadocian have preserved the Medieval situation.

In the fourth section, I have traced the discourse origins of clitic doubling from Ancient to Medieval Greek. It was shown that in Ancient Greek, clitic doubling was not a grammatical device to mark the clitic doubled NP as a topic, but rather an occasional mnemotechnic device to clarify the referent of a left-dislocated topic usually separated by an intervening clause from the verb on which it depended. It was also shown that topic right-dislocation existed in Ancient Greek as a device to clarify or specify the referent of a clitic pronoun. The grammaticalization of clitic doubling was traced back to the use of hanging topics, i.e., topics without overt grammatical connection to the rest of the sentence, in which case the doubling clitic was needed to specify the grammatical relation of the corresponding hanging topic as direct or indirect object. After a period of optional clitic doubling in post-Classical (Koine) Greek, the construction was finally grammaticalized in the Medieval period, when doubling clitics positively marked clitic doubled NPs as topics.

In the final section, I have presented the first ever description of clitic doubling in Asia Minor Greek, with particular reference to Cappadocian and other East Asia Minor dialects such as Farasiot and Lycaonian. It was shown that clitic doubling serves exactly the same function in East Asia Minor Greek as in Medieval and Standard Modern Greek. One of the major differences between the latter and

East Asia Minor Greek is the availability of an indefinite accusative to mark an object NP as focus and the absence of the definite article in the nominative (only in the case of masculine and feminine nouns) to mark subject NPs as topic. The typology proposed for Modern Greek in section 2 appeared to apply to East Asia Minor Greek as well: topicalization, backgrounding and topic left-dislocation function the Greek way, even though the Turkish influence especially on Cappadocian word order is formidable. Turkish interference and the absence of sufficient prosodic data make it difficult at the present stage of our knowledge to decide whether clitic doubled SOV-constructions with a postverbal clitic actually reflect topic left-dislocated constructions with an additional topic in preverbal position or just copy the unmarked Turkish word order. Clitic doubled OSV-constructions, on the other hand, are unambiguously interpreted as topic left-dislocated constructions with a focused subject in preverbal position. Clitic doubled SVO-constructions were unambiguously interpreted as cases of backgrounding on the analogy of the Turkish, but also the Standard Modern Greek construction.

It turns out, again, that East Asia Minor Greek, and Cappadocian in particular, despite its heavily Turkified state, has retained much of its Ancient and Medieval Greek inheritance with respect to clitic doubling.

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# Object clitic doubling constructions and topicality in Bulgarian\*

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This paper discusses the phenomenon of clitic doubling as it is manifested in formal Bulgarian. It presents certain properties of clitic doubling constructions, including some rules describing clitic placement, examining the distinction between the object constituents in initial and final position on the one hand, and between clitic doubling and “left-dislocated” constructions on the other. On this basis, it then scrutinizes the interaction of clitic doubling with constituent order and information structure.

## 1. Introduction

Compared to other languages of the Balkan Sprachbund, clitic doubling (henceforth CD) in Standard Bulgarian manifests a very weak degree of grammaticalization.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Bulgarian CD is neither subject to the constraints of Macedonian, where all definite direct objects and indirect objects require doubling (Koneski 1982: 262, 334; Friedman, this volume, Tomić 2004 and this volume), nor to the dative parameter constraint, which imposes doubling of the indirect object in Albanian (Kallulli 2000 and this volume). Furthermore, CD in Bulgarian is not dependent on the presence of a preposition-like element before the doubled direct object in

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1. Lopašov (1978: 122) appears to be the first to have set up a grammaticalization continuum for CD for Balkan languages. He set up Bulgarian at one extreme, with the weakest degree of grammaticalization, and Macedonian at the other; between the two, in decreasing order of grammaticalization, we find Albanian, Romanian and Modern Greek (i.e., Macedonian > Albanian > Romanian > Greek > Bulgarian).

postverbal position, or restrictions imposed by semantic features such as animacy, as is the case in Romanian (Farkas & Kazazis 1980; Tasmowski-De Ryck 1987; Dobrovie-Sorin 1990; Hill & Tasmowski, this volume, a.o.). In Bulgarian, CD depends on the speaker's discourse strategies and correlates with topicalization of the object argument.

Depending on the context, in Bulgarian the topicalized object can occupy different positions in the sentence, as can be seen in (1b) and (1c), where the doubled direct object *stenite* 'the walls' occurs respectively in initial and postverbal position while the clitic *gi* agrees with it in person, number and gender:

- (1) a. *Decata bojadisaxa stenite.*  
 children.Art paint.Aor.3PL walls.Art  
 b. *Stenite gi bojadisaxa decata.*  
 walls.Art CL.ACC.3PL paint.Aor.3PL children.Art  
 c. *Decata gi bojadisaxa stenite.*  
 children.Art CL.ACC.3PL paint.Aor.3PL walls.Art  
 'The children painted the walls.'

This does not mean that there are no alternatives for marking the topicality of an object argument. For example, in (1d), the "inverted" constituent order, with the object *stenite* 'the walls' in initial position and no clitic, represents another topicalization strategy.<sup>2</sup> In this latter case, the object is a contrastive topic which appears mainly with a set of (ordered) pair-list answers to the multiple *wh*-question 'Who did (painted) what?' (Arnaudova 2002):

- (1) d. *Stenite bojadisaxa decata (a tavana az).*  
 walls.Art paint.Aor.3PL children.Art (while ceiling.Art I)  
 'The children painted the walls while I painted the ceiling.'

As a general rule, object CD in Bulgarian is optional, except (i) in the impersonal construction *ima/njama* 'there is'/'there is not' with a definite NP/strong personal pronoun associate (see (2)),<sup>3</sup> and (ii) in impersonal constructions where the pronominal accusative or dative clitic is an integral component of the predicate (i.e., it cannot be

2. Similarly, passive and impersonal reflexive constructions may be used to mark the topic semantic object (cf. Desclés & Guentchéva 1993; Desclés, Guentchéva & Shaumyan 1985; Leafgren 1997: 128, 2001, cited by Jaeger & Gerassimova 2002). But as mechanisms for object topicalization resulting from discourse conditions, these different means are certainly not all interchangeable.

3. When the nominal constituent is not accompanied by a definite article, the construction can be interpreted differently (as existential or locative: *Njama raj* 'There is no paradise'/'Paradise does not exist').

omitted: *sram me e* 'I am ashamed', *struva mi se* 'it seems to me', etc.), with a D(irect) O(bject) definite NP/strong personal pronoun associate or an I(indirect) O(bject) *na*-definite NP/strong personal pronoun associate in fronted position (see (3b), (4b)):<sup>4</sup>

- (2) *Njamaše*      *\*(ja)*      *Sarandovica*, *njamaše*      *\*(go)*      *xanăt*.  
 not.there.was CL.ACC.F Proper noun not.there.was CL.ACC.M inn.Art  
 'Sarandovica was no longer there, the inn was no longer there.'
- (3) a. *Boli*      *\*(go)*      *glava(ta)*.  
 hurts.PRES.3SG CL.ACC.M head (Art)  
 'He has a headache.'
- b. *Ivan*      *\*(go)*      *boli*      *glava(ta)*.  
 Ivan CL.ACC.M hurts head (Art)  
 'John has a headache.'
- (4) a. *Ne*      *\*(mi)*      *se*      *čaka*.  
 NEG CL.DAT.1SG REFL wait.PRES.3SG  
 'I don't feel like waiting.' (lit. It does not wait itself for me)
- b. *Na mene*      *ne*      *\*(mi)*      *se*      *čaka*.  
 Prep me.1SG[DAT] NEG CL.DAT.1SG REFL wait.PRES.3SG  
 'Me, I don't feel like waiting.'

In what follows I will discuss object CD in Bulgarian and its interaction with information structure and word order in declarative sentences. I will demonstrate that this phenomenon is a grammatical strategy to establish an information hierarchy determined by the communicative intentions of the speakers in given discourse situations. I will argue that fronted and post-verbal object CD express different degrees of object topicality (see Krapova & Cinque, this volume, for the view that there is no topicalization involved in cases such as (3b)–(4b)). Finally, I will show that fronted object CD and a left-dislocated construction with a resumptive clitic have different semantic structures and involve distinct topicalization domains.

In section 2, I briefly present the properties of clitic doubling constructions including some rules describing clitic placement in Bulgarian. In section 3, I examine some basic facts concerning constituent order. I introduce the topic/focus distinction and incorporate these notions into my analysis of CD and "left-dislocated" constructions. In section 4, I present some mechanisms which in one way or another condition the choice of CD and the discourse environments which give rise to topicalized objects in initial or final position.

4. See Franks & Rudin (2005) for a discussion of these constructions. It should be noted that clitic doubling with an overtly expressed Experiencer is always required and is dependent on specific discourse conditions.



## 2. Properties of Bulgarian clitic doubling constructions

### 2.1 Preliminary remarks on Bulgarian pronominal clitics

Pronominal clitics have a paradigm of accusative and dative forms.<sup>5,6</sup> They are adjacent to the verbal lexeme and form a prosodic word with it. In most cases, they are procliticized to the finite verb, but if the finite verb is a clitic form of the auxiliary *sām* ('be'), they are adjacent to the verbal participle as in (5a), except when the auxiliary is the 3rd person singular *e* 'is', as in (5b). When the lexical verb stays in initial position, pronominal clitics are enclitic to it (6):

- (5) a. *Ti si mu gi dal knigite.*  
you.2SG be.PRES.2SG CL.DAT.3SG.M CL.ACC.3PL given.PPA.M books.Art  
'You have given the books to him.'
- b. *Toj mu gi e dal knigite.*  
he.3SG CL.DAT.3SG.M CL.ACC.3PL be.PRES.3SG given.PPA.M books.Art  
'He has given the books to him.'
- (6) *Kaži im go na tjax!*  
say.IMPER.2SG CL.DAT.3PL CL.ACC.3SG.M PREP them.3PL[DAT]  
'Say it to them!'

Bulgarian clitics can never occupy the sentence initial position and they do not carry stress, except when occurring after the negative particle *ne* (see (8)):

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5. Bulgarian has two series of personal pronouns: strong or full pronouns (Nominative, Accusative and Dative) and short forms or clitics (Accusative and Dative). The strong pronouns have more or less the same distribution as ordinary definite NP for subjects and for objects.

Accusative and Dative tonic pronouns have the following paradigms:

Accusative: *mene* (1SG), *tebe* (2SG), *nego* (3SGMasc), *neja* (3SGFem), *nas* (1PL), *vas* (2PL), *tjax* (3PL);

Dative: *na mene* (1SG), *na tebe* (2SG), *na nego* (3SGMasc), *na neja* (3SGFem), *na nas* (1PL), *na vas* (2PL), *na tjax* (3PL).

*Na* is a preposition signalling the indirect object status of the pronoun. The formally case-marked, prepositionless, forms *mene*, *tebe*, *nemu*, *nej*, *nam*, *vam*, *tjam* are no longer in use.

Accusative and Dative clitics have the following paradigms:

Accusative: *me* (1SG), *te* (2SG), *go* (3SGMasc), *ja* (3SGFem), *ni* (1PL), *vi* (2PL), *gi* (3PL);

Dative: *mi* (1SG), *ti* (2SG), *mu* (3SGMasc), *i* (3SGFem), *ni* (1PL), *vi* (2PL), *im* (3PL).

6. For the analysis of personal pronouns, the reader can consult several comprehensive studies such as Cyxun (1968), Minčeva (1968), Nicolova (1986), Franks & King (2000) among others.

- (7) \**Mu pisax včera pismo*  
CL.DAT.3SG.M write.Aor.1SG yesterday letter

- (8) *Ne mu davam knigata.*  
NEG CL.DAT.3SG.M give.PRES.1SG book.Art  
'I am not giving him the book.'

A sequence of clitics follows a strict order: the dative pronominal clitic precedes the accusative one, and both follow the clitic auxiliary (except for the 3rd person singular *e* 'is', see (5b)) and the interrogative particle *li*:

- (9) *Kaza li mu go na nego?*  
say.Aor.Pf.2SG Q CL.DAT.3SG.M CL.ACC.3SG.M PREP him.3SG[DAT]  
'Did you say it to him?'

## 2.2 Some hypotheses on the origins of CD

It has often been stated that CD in Bulgarian is historically and genetically linked to the loss of its nominal declension system, to the appearance of the article, and to the necessity to distinguish the syntactic functions of subject and object. But as pointed out by Minčeva (1968: 6), cases where the order NP–V–NP has a purely grammatical function cannot justify the analysis of CD as a specific way of marking the object in an atypical position. Indeed, the grammatical relations can remain totally clear without CD even when the direct object occurs in initial position, as in the following example, which is devoid of any ambiguity:

- (10) a. *Decata posreštna Elena.*  
children.Art.PL meet.Aor.Pf.3SG Elena  
b. *Decata gi posreštna Elena.*  
children.Art.PL CL.ACC.3PL meet.Aor.Pf.3SG Elena  
c. *Elena gi posreštna decata.*  
Elena CL.ACC.3PL meet.AOR.Pf.3SG children.Art.PL  
'Elena met the children.'

An exception is provided by transitive constructions such as (11a), in which both nominal constituents are animate and of the same number. In such a case, in the absence of any clear syntactic markers, the sentence is interpreted as SVO order. An initial constituent functioning as a direct object leads then obligatorily to CD, as in (11b):

- (11) a. *Kokoškata klāvna pileto.*  
hen.Art peck.Aor.Pf.3SG chicken.Art  
b. *Pileto go klāvna kokoškata.*  
chicken.art CL.ACC.3SG.M peck.Aor.Pf.3SG hen.Art  
'The hen pecked the chicken.'

Other examples where grammatical, semantic and pragmatic criteria lead to ambiguities (and which are thus in need of a doubling clitic), such as the following (from Popov 1962, 1973: 172), are not frequent:

- (12) a. \**Strandžata izvednaž svali boleštta*  
 Proper noun suddenly knock down.Aor.Pf.3SG illness.ART  
 Lit. Strandžata knocked down the illness suddenly
- b. *Strandžata izvednaž go svali boleštta.*  
 Proper noun suddenly CL.ACC.3SG.M knock.down.Aor.Pf.3SG illness.art  
 ‘Illness knocked down Strandžata suddenly.’

The fact that indirect objects (which are introduced by the preposition *na*) can be clitic doubled provides strong evidence that the CD phenomenon is independent from the grammatical function of the constituents, and that it can be seen as having a discourse function, namely signaling a topicalized constituent, as in (13a–b). Furthermore, the fact that there is but one exception to the possible CD of an indirect object, namely when an initial IO is focused, as in (13c), provides further support for this view:

- (13) a. *Na Ivan mu podarix тази книга вчера.*  
 PREP. Ivan CL.DAT.3SG.M offer.Aor.Pf.1SG this.F book yesterday  
 ‘I offered this book to Ivan yesterday.’
- b. *Tazi книга mu podarix na Ivan вчера.*  
 this.F. book CL.DAT.3SG.M offer.Aor.Pf.1SG PREP. Ivan yesterday  
 ‘I offered this book to Ivan yesterday.’
- c. *NA IVAN (\*mu) podarix тази книга.*  
 PREP. Ivan CL.DAT.3SG.M offer.Aor.Pf.1SG this.F. book  
 ‘I gave this book to IVAN.’

In short, CD cannot be reduced to a constituent order repair, or to a so-called “case-marking” device (see also Jaeger & Gerassimova 2002).

### 2.3 Factors conditioning clitic doubling

Doubling direct and indirect objects in colloquial and formal Bulgarian involves a complex set of interacting factors. The first and perhaps the most important one has to do with the definiteness and specificity of the doubled NP, the degree to which an entity is sufficiently “individualized” in a given situation, and is either D-linked, referring to an object already introduced in the previous discourse, or to an object that is present in a given situation or in the memory of the speakers (Ivanchev 1957, 1978; Nicolova 1986; Penchev 1993; Schick 2000; Assenova 2002; Jaeger & Gerassimova 2002, a.o.). Thus proper names, NPs with a definite article or a demonstrative, and personal pronouns frequently partake in CD constructions:

- (14) *Izprati li go pismoto/\*pismo ?*  
 send.Aor.Pf.2SG Q CL.ACC.3SG.M letter.Art/ letter.Ø  
 ‘Did you send the letter?’

- (15) *Tezi dokumenti gi izpratix včera.*  
 These documents CL.ACC.3PL send.Aor.Pf.1SG yesterday  
 'I did send these documents yesterday.'
- (16) *Mene \*(me) e strax.*  
 me.ACC.1SG CL.ACC.1SG be.PRES.3SG fear  
 'I am afraid.'
- (17) *Čovek ne može da ti ugodī na tebe.*  
 man NEG can.PRES.3SG PART CL.DAT.2SG indulge PREP you.2SG [DAT]  
 'It is hard to please you.'

As Ivanchev (1978: 166) and Assenova (2002: 110–111) point out, CD is more frequent with personal pronouns since the latter are always definite. In this respect it is noteworthy that the source for CD seems to be related to the existence in the language of a double series of personal pronouns (clitics and strong forms) and that the CD phenomenon seems to have started out by applying to personal pronouns (as appears to be the case for Banat Serbian, see Vesku 1958).

CD is also associated with NPs introduced by the indefinite determiner *edin*,<sup>7</sup> whose use crucially depends on the discourse-pragmatic anchoring of the referent, as in (18) and (19), where *edin* NP behaves as a referring expression:

- (18) *Edno dete \*(go) blāsna predi malko kola.*  
 a-certain child CL.ACC.3SG.M knock down.Aor.Pf.3SG before a little car  
 'A (certain) child was run over by a car some time ago.'
- (19) *Na edna studentka i otpusnaxa stipendija  
 za čužbina.*  
 prep a-certain student.Art.F CL.DAT.3SG.F granted.Aor.Pf.3PL scholarship  
 for abroad  
 'A scholarship was granted to a (certain) student.'

In the absence of a referent identifiable by the speaker, *edin* NP cannot get a specific interpretation, which is a necessary condition for CD in Standard Bulgarian. I thus disagree with Schick (2000) as to the grammaticality of the example in (20), which is perfectly acceptable in the 1st person, as given in (21).<sup>8</sup>

7. The so-called indefinite article has the following paradigm: *edin* (Masc), *edna* (Fem), *edno* (Neuter) 'a certain'; the plural *edni* does not have the same semantic properties as the singular forms (Guentchéva 1994, 1997), and functions as an indefinite article only in certain cases. See also Ivanchev (1957, 1978: 145) who does not mention *edni* in his discussion on the "indefinite article" in Bulgarian.

8. I will refrain from discussing clitic doubling of indefinite objects here, as the phenomenon is highly problematic in many respects, as pointed out by Friedman (this volume) and Tomić (this volume) for *Macedonian*.

- (20) *Rada* (?go) *tārsi* *edno pismo.*  
 Rada CL.ACC.3SG looks for.PRES.3SG a letter
- (21) *Tāršja* (go) *edno pismo cjala sutrin.*  
 look for.PRES.1SG CL.ACC.3SG a letter entire morning  
 ‘I have been looking for a letter since this morning.’

Quantified expressions as in (22) through (24) may also be doubled, but such constructions require special consideration: CD is generally out if the cardinalized NP lacks the definite article<sup>9</sup> or when the quantifier is *vseki* (neuter *vsjako*) ‘every’, as shown in (24).

- (22) a. *Pette/\*pet leva gi zagubix.*  
 five.Art/five leva CL.ACC.3PL lose. Aor.Pf.1SG  
 ‘I lost the five levas.’
- b. *Zagubix gi pette/\*pet leva.*  
 lose.Aor.Pf.1SG CL.ACC.3PL five.Art/five leva  
 ‘I did lose the five levas.’
- (23) a. *Vsičkite/\*vsički pari mu gi dadox.*  
 all.Art/all money.PL CL.DAT.3SG.M CL.ACC.3PL give.Aor.Pf.1SG  
 ‘I gave him all the money.’
- b. *Dadox mu gi vsičkite/\*vsički pari.*  
 give.Aor.Pf.1SG CL.DAT.3SG.M CL.ACC.3PL all.Art/all money.PL  
 ‘I gave it to him, all the money.’
- (24) \**Vsjako dete go gleda majka mu*  
 each child CL.ACC.3SG.M look-after Aor.Pf.3SG mother his.POSS

CD can occur in some generic sentences, as in (25), where the clitic cannot be omitted (Ivanchev 1957, 1978: 147, Guentchéva 1994: 79–80). This and other examples of the same kind are conditioned by the discourse context:

- (25) *Ribenoto maslo \*(go) pijat zime.*  
 cod-liver oil CL.ACC.3SG.M drink.PRES.3PL winter  
 ‘Cod-liver oil is consumed in winter.’ (Ivanchev 1958/1978)

In particular, it should be noted that fronted DO-generics may not be doubled when they bear emphatic stress:

- (26) a. *Slonovete \*(gi) obučavat xorata.*  
 Elephants.Art CL.ACC.3PL train.PRES.3PL people.Art  
 ‘Elephants are trained by man.’
- b. *SLONOVETE (\*gi) obučavat xorata.*

9. Contexts in which CD occurs with cardinal numbers without definite article are given in Assenova (2002: 114–115).

An interrogative can optionally be clitic doubled (Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan 1999); in this case the doubled *wh*-phrase must be fronted and CD imposes a presuppositional context, in the sense that the question applies to set of referents given in the discourse (Jaeger 2003):

- (27) *Na kogo (mu) podarixa kniga?*  
 PREP whom CL.DAT.3SG.M give. Aor.Pf.3PL book  
 ‘Whom did they give a book to?’
- (28) *Kogo (kazvaš) sa (go) uvolnili?*  
 Whom.ACC say.PRES.2SG be.PRES.3PL CL.ACC.3SG.M fire.PPA.PL  
 ‘Who do (you say) they fired?’
- (29) *Na kogo (mu) razrešixa da pātuva?*  
 PREP whom CL.DAT.3SG.M authorize.Aor.Pf.3PL PART travel.PRES.3SG  
 ‘Who was authorized to travel?’

With a bare NP, on the other hand, CD is impossible (Assenova 2002: 114):

- (30) *\*Izprati li go pismo?*  
 send.Aor.Pf.2SG Q CL.ACC.3SG.M letter.Ø

### 3. Bulgarian word order and the notions of topic and focus

#### 3.1 Constituent ordering and topicality

The topic/comment distinction captures the essence of the distinction theme/rheme introduced by the Prague school, but it does not coincide with the distinction old/new information. Following Lambrecht (1994: 155–56), I take topic to be the speaker’s choice to overtly signal the constituent which refers to the discourse referent the predication is about. The topic is independent of the constituent’s grammatical function; for instance, it can be a grammatical subject or a grammatical object. Focus, on the other hand, marks the utterance’s most informational domain; the focused constituent has a clear prosodic property: it is accentuated. Focusing boils down to signalling the information “which the speaker believes, assumes or knows that the hearer does not share with him/her” (Hyman & Watters 1984); it establishes a semantically contrastive relationship between the constituent construed as focus and any other possible element of the paradigm (Hagège 1978: 35, fn.39). Focusing highlights a particular element of an utterance and is mainly conveyed by prosodic features.

In Bulgarian the statistically preferred order is SVO, which can occur in isolated sentences and in any position inside a text. Bulgarian has null subjects, the subject function being formally marked on the verb through agreement in person and number

and in gender on the participle.<sup>10</sup> But Bulgarian constituent order is flexible:<sup>11</sup> depending on the context, intonation and morphosyntactic marking, all possible combinations are theoretically admitted (SVO, OVS, VSO, etc.). These different combinations depend on discourse operations, namely topicalization and focalization, resulting in a given order so as to fulfill discourse purposes of the arguments within a predicative relationship.

Let us compare the following examples:

- (31) *Ivan otkradna parite.*  
Ivan steal.Aor.Pf.3SG money.Art
- (32) *Parite otkradna Ivan.*  
money.Art steal.Aor.Pf.3SG Ivan
- (33) *Parite gi otkradna Ivan.*  
money.Art CL.ACC.3PL steal.Aor.Pf.3SG Ivan
- (34) *Ivan gi otkradna parite.*  
Ivan CL.ACC.3PL steal.Aor.Pf.3SG money.Art  
'Ivan stole the money.'
- (35) \**Ivan parite gi otkradna*  
Ivan money.Art CL.ACC.3PL steal.Aor.Pf.3SG

Word order variation in (31) through (35) shows that the utterance is structured both through the network of relations between the syntactic constituents and through the discourse strategy for setting up an information hierarchy determined by the communicative intentions of the speakers:

- i. The canonical SVO structure in (31), with a conclusive intonation contour, is a statement about the subject *Ivan*<sup>12</sup> and serves to encode a topic-comment relation, where *Ivan* is the default topic and the rest belongs to the comment.<sup>13</sup> Let us nonetheless

10. Though as shown by Siewierska & Uhlířová (1998: 106), in other Slavic languages an overt pronominal subject can be required.

11. This does not mean that Bulgarian should be considered as having free word order.

12. It is generally claimed that the SVO order can be conceived of as an answer to questions as *What happened?* Yet, the question-answer test is somewhat problematic because these constructions are not often attested in real life dialogues. As Galmiche (1992: 8) puts it: "in most cases, numerous terms in the question are not repeated in the answers" and Galmiche insists that such tests are ambiguous (Galmiche 1992).

13. But the subject can stand in a postverbal position and is then construed as focused. Particularly revealing from this point of view is the following example from a written text where the subject NP in final position denotes a contrastive focus, preceded by the adverb *dori* "even"

highlight the fact that this constituent order is not incompatible with other construals; for example, in a conversational context, answering the question *Koj otkradna parite?* ‘Who stole the money?’, the subject constituent carries emphatic stress and is then interpretable as a focused argument.

ii. In clause-initial position without CD as in (32), the object NP is construed as a contrastive object topic which corresponds to a *wh*-question ‘Who stole the money?’. As mentioned earlier, this generally occurs in a sentence with two contrastive topics.

iii. As shown in (33) and (34), object CD constructions are compatible with different constituent orders. Thus, the construction in (33) illustrates a non-contrastive, non-emphatic intonation contour: being in initial position, the doubled object does not carry the nuclear stress of the sentence and the subject in final position is integrated into the comment/rhematic segment. The choice to front an object argument that is usually postverbal strongly evokes its informative primacy. By signaling identification with this argument within the predicative relation, the accusative pronominal clitic (which does not have an anaphoric function neither here nor more generally) marks an argument slot and explicitly signals that this argument has a topical function. In (34), on the other hand, the accusative pronominal clitic precedes the doubled direct object argument overtly realized in its standard postverbal position. The clitic also marks an argument slot and signals identification with it, but the *anticipating clitic* signals that subject and object occupy different topical functions. Therefore the doubled nominal constituent *parite* ‘the money’ in final position is interpreted as a secondary topic within the utterance.<sup>14</sup>

iv. Finally, some word orders, such as in (35), are not possible with CD.

Unlike lexical NPs, doubled strong personal pronouns have overt case marking. In both initial and final position, the topic pronominal doubled object (direct or indirect)

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which is prosodically prominent, and is naturally part of the focus component of the utterance:

- (i) *Ne uspjaja da go ubedi*  
 Neg. manage.Aor.3SG PART. CL.ACC.3SGM convince.Pf.  
*dori majka mu*  
 even mother CL.DAT.3SG

‘Even his mother did not manage to convince him’

Particles such as *dori* ‘even’, *samo* ‘only’ highlight the value assigned to *majka mu* ‘his mother’ which is not contrasted with any other alternative entity.

14. L. Tasmowski points out that, according to her informant, a sentence as (34) may answer the question ‘But who stole the money anyway?’ and that in the answer ‘Ivan’ is stressed. I agree with this remark but in this case the subject is focus-associated.



is not generally followed or preceded by an intonation break and it does not carry any particular intonation or stress (although contrastive or emphatic stress is possible):

- (36) *Tjax gi poznavam.*  
 them.ACC.3PL CL.ACC.3PL know.PRES.1SG  
 'I know them.'
- (37) *Poznavam gi tjax.*  
 know.PRES.1SG CL.ACC.3PL them.ACC.3PL  
 'I know them.'
- (38) a. *Na neja i kaza istinata.*  
 PREP her.3SG[DAT].F CL.DAT.3SG.F tell.AOR.Pf.3SG truth.Art  
 'S/he told her the truth.'
- b. *Kaza i istinata na neja.*  
 tell.AOR.Pf.3SG CL.DAT.3SGF truth.Art PREP her.3SG[DAT].F  
 'S/he told her the truth.'

### 3.2 Clitic doubling and clitic dislocation

In recent studies, CD phenomena in Bulgarian are often denoted by the term *clitic dislocation* and then identified with dislocation (left or right) in Romance languages, especially in French. This analysis, in my view, is not correct. Indeed, Bulgarian object CD constructions are different in many respects from Clitic Dislocation constructions (henceforth CLD) or *phrase segmentée*, to use Bally's (1932, 1965) term. Consider (39) and (40):

- (39) *Izborite, opozicijata gi spečeli.*  
 elections.Art opposition.Art. CL.ACC.3PL win.AOR.Pf.3SG  
 'The opposition won the elections.'
- (40) *Tebe, studentite te uvažavat.*  
 you ACC.2SG students.Art CL.ACC.2SG. respect.PRES.3PL  
 'You are respected by the students.'

Examples (39) and (40) are clearly Clitic-Left-Dislocation constructions (henceforth CLLD): the constituents *izborite* 'the elections' and *tebe* 'you' are followed by a sharp intonation break (marked by a comma in written Bulgarian), and the linear order in the segment following the intonation break presents a syntactic structure in which the (left-dislocated) constituent is signaled by an anaphoric mechanism reminiscent of the one by which a referent is retrieved from a preceding utterance (the clitic agrees in person, number, gender and case with the left-dislocated constituent). Because of the clear intonation break at the prosodic level, the juncture between the left-dislocated element and the segment following the pause is incomplete, and the left-dislocated element appears to be syntactically independent. But in fact, the left-dislocated element is *not*

syntactically independent; it plays the role of a presentative and can even be assimilated to “a subordinate clause the nominal term is only a part of” (Bally 1932, 1965: 66). It can be paraphrased by *što se otnasja do* ‘as for’, ‘in so far as X is concerned’, *tăj kato stava дума за* ‘since it is a matter of’. The cohesiveness of the construction is guaranteed by various factors among which clitic agreement (gender, number and person) and intonation. Thus, (39) and (40) represent a single syntactic structure for two predicative relations (bounded by a pause) which are intrinsically linked through the anaphoric relation established by the clitic between an argument slot and the *extraposed* term, which by itself encodes a predicative relation (Guentchéva 1985, 1994): the left-dislocated constituent is the result of an argument extraposition operation or “argument externalization” (Arnaudova 2002, 2003). Therefore, constructions such as (39) and (40) have properties analogous to Clitic Left Dislocation in languages such as French.

On the contrary, in examples (41) and (42) the left-hand constituents *izborite* ‘the elections’ and *tebe* ‘you’ are not followed by an intonational break:

- (41) *Izborite gi spečeli opozicijata.*  
elections.Art.PL CL.ACC.3PL win.Aor.Pf.3SG opposition.Art  
‘The opposition won the elections.’

- (42) *Tebe te uvažavat studentite.*  
You.ACC.2SG CL.ACC.2SG respect.PRES.3PL students.Art  
‘You are respected by the students.’

The direct object (with regard to person, gender and number, and case) which is not in its canonical position, as well as the co-referent pronominal accusative clitic, occur within the same predicative relation (i.e., they are integrated into the utterance). As seen above under 3.1.ii, these constructions illustrate the non-contrastive, non-emphatic intonation contour: being in initial position, the doubled object does not bear nuclear stress and the subject in final position is integrated into the comment/rhematic segment; the clitic marks an argument slot and does not have an anaphoric function. This, in turn, leads to the fact that fronted-object CD in Bulgarian has no syntactic equivalent in languages such as French.

In constructions with clitic anticipation, CD is generally analyzed as optional because structures without clitics are fully productive. Furthermore, it is quite often assumed that this is a case of Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD). For example, Krapova & Cinque (this volume) admit that a doubled object correlates with the topicality of the associate, but they present several syntactic reasons to argue that in constructions such as (43), there is an intonation ‘break’ between the clitic *go* and its associate *tova čuvstvo* ‘this sentiment’:

- (43) *Poznavam go tova čuvstvo.*  
know.PRES.1SG CL.ACC.3SG.M this sentiment  
‘I know this feeling.’

Although the clitic and its associate do not form a single intonational entity, there are nevertheless good reasons to believe that CD with clitic anticipation should be kept separate from right dislocation. It is not evident that the intonational break (marked by the comma before the dislocated NP) which characterizes French right dislocation constructions for example, functions in the same way in the Bulgarian constructions. In Bulgarian, the doubled object (direct or indirect) encoded by a strong personal pronoun is not prosodically detached, as shown in the following examples:

- (44) *Poznavam go nego.*  
 know.PRES.1SG CL.ACC.3SG.M him.ACC.3SG.M  
 'I know him.'
- (45) *Pokazax mu go na nego.*  
 show.AOR.PF.1SG CL.DAT.3SG CL.ACC.3SG PREP. him.3SGM[DAT]  
 'I showed it to him.'

To summarize, I have shown that Clitic-Left-Dislocation and CD both exhibit topic properties and participate in the general mechanism of argument-topicalization: from weak topicalization, where the doubled object constituent is in final position, to strong topicalization with Left-Dislocation; between the two one finds CD with an object in initial position. I have also shown that the corresponding accusative and dative clitic in CD constructions (but not in Clitic-Left-Dislocation) has a non anaphoric function (Guentchéva 1997). Finally, there are good reasons to believe that CD with clitic anticipation should be kept separate from right dislocation.

#### 4. Contextual conditions for clitic doubling in Bulgarian

Although current analyses clearly converge on the claim that CD of fronted objects has a topic-marking function (e.g., Ivanchev 1978; Guentchéva 1985, 1994; Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan 1996, 1999; Leafgren 1997; Rudin 1996 a.o.) and that topicality is a determining factor in CD phenomena, there have been very few studies devoted to the relationship with information structure (Jaeger & Gerassimova 2002; Tisheva & Dzhonova 2002). On the other hand, no account has yet been given of the conditions which trigger doubling obligatorily or optionally. In this section I will discuss some specific types of contexts which license CD and I will argue that its obligatoriness is associated with discourse conditions on the one hand and the speaker's communicative intentions (in the sense of Perrot's (1998) *visée communicative*), on the other hand.

Data collected by Leafgren (2002) show that CD constructions in formal and written Bulgarian are very rare, whereas they are very common in spoken and informal Bulgarian. This raises the question of the pragmatic and contextual conditions

in which objects are doubled. Careful observation of the data makes it clear that in connected narratives, CD plays a role with respect to the backgrounding/foregrounding distinction:

- (46) *Indgé ostavi pljačkata na drugite* – (J. Jovkov, Indgé)  
 Proper Name leave.Aor.Pf.3SG booty.Art PREP. others  
*nemu ne mu trjabvaše pljačka.*  
 him.DAT.3SG.M NEG CL.DAT.3SG.M need.IMP.3SG booty  
 ‘Indgé left the booty to the others – he didn’t need any booty, him.’

In the second part of (46), the fronted object is clearly topicalized and in this context, the fronted strong pronoun *nemu* ‘him’ *must* be doubled, not only for grammatical reasons (the construction being impersonal, the fronted dative strong pronoun is obligatorily doubled) but also because the CD construction is associated with a backgrounded clause. Referring to an inherently definite NP represented by the proper name *Indgé* in the first sentence, CD brings us back to this previous sentence and introduces a comment by the narrator on the event described (*Indgé ostavi pljačkata na drugite* ‘Indgé left the booty to the others’), thus allowing him to explain, at this point in the text, Indgé’s unusual attitude in leaving the booty to the others. The absence of CD in the second sentence would render the text incomprehensible.

In connected narratives, Bulgarian CD is most often associated with foregrounding:

- (47) *Otvednaž na Monkata mu stana zle.*  
 All of a sudden PREP Proper Name CL.DAT.3SG.M become.AOR.3SG unwell  
 ‘All of a sudden, Monkata felt unwell.’

This sentence opens a paragraph of a narrative text in a short story and presents a plot-advancing foregrounded event. Thus, its function is very precise: in conjunction with the adverb *otvednaž* ‘all of a sudden’, CD explicitly signals the change (a downturn in the little boy’s state of health) that breaks with the situation described in the preceding paragraph and suggests the expectation of a fatal situation which the text later confirms. Without CD, the passage would not have shown the dramatic side of the situation.

The following example further confirms the tendency of Bulgarian to exploit the property of CD to mark the prominence of a topical object, which in turn provides saliency to the new foregrounded information in the text:

- (48) *Vladka go pribraxa* (Iv. Vazov)  
 Proper Name.ACC CL.ACC.3SG.M welcome.AOR.PF.3PL  
*edni dalečni srodnici na Vălkana.*  
 indefinite.PL distant relatives PREP Proper Name  
 ‘Vladko was welcomed by distant relatives of Valkana’s.’

In written text dialogues, CD remains the most widespread means for object topicalization. At the same time, it also enforces the use of doubled strong pronouns. As an example, consider the sentence in (49) where the fronted strong pronoun *tjax* ‘them’ is doubled because it emphatically refers to the referential NP ‘money’ mentioned in the previous sentence (*No zetjat ima pari* ‘But the son-in-law has money.’):

- (49) - *Ostavi. Tjax [parite] da ne gi butame.*  
 leave.IMP them.3PL [money.Art] PART NEG. CL.ACC.3PL touch.PRES.IMP.1PL  
 ‘Let it go. (Especially) let no one of us touch it [the money].’

It has often been claimed that a fronted object is obligatorily doubled when it is not in the focused domain.<sup>15</sup> This affirmation is too strong. In certain contexts, in the absence of lexical ambiguity, the speaker can opt for the marked word order without doubled topics, in particular with contrastive topics:

- (50) *Boite (gi) izpisvam ot Germanija, a*  
 paints CL.ACC.3PL bring.PRES.1SG PREP Germany, Conj.  
*platnoto e specialno.*  
 canvas.Art is special

‘I have the paints brought from Germany, whereas the canvas is special.’

So, even though the undoubled constructions provide the main expression of focus, as in (51),<sup>16</sup> the speaker can also use a fronted strong pronoun alone while introducing a contrastive topic. Thus, when the fronted doubled object bears stress, it encodes either the discourse function of contrastive topic as in (52), where it is pragmatically contrasted with other entities, or it functions as an emphatic device, as in (53).<sup>17</sup>

- (51) *Xej momko!... MENE li tãrsiř?*  
 Hay boy me.ACC.1SG Q look-for.PRES.2SG  
 ‘Hey, boy! ... Am I the one you’re looking for?’

15. According to Momčilov (1868: 136), focus was exclusively expressed with constructions like (51); the example is from J. Feuillet (1996: 58).

16. Strong pronouns occurring alone, provide the main expression of focus and may mark contrastive or emphatic focus. In this configuration, the pronoun is stressed and thus becomes a focused argument implying other alternatives:

- (i) a. *Na MENE kaza istinata*  
 PREP me(DAT).1SG tell.AOR.3SG truth.Art  
 ‘It was to me that (s)he told the truth.’  
 b. *NEJA udari Ivan*  
 she.ACC.3SG hit.Aor.Pf.3SG John  
 ‘She is the one John hit.’ (lit. Her, John hit)

17. Note that stress assigned to topical fronted objects and focused fronted objects is different. We leave this for further research.

- (52) *I mene me e majka raždala!*  
 and me.ACC.1SG CL.ACC.1SG be.PRES.3SG mother give birth.PPA  
 'Me too, I was given birth to by a mother!'

- (53) *Na MENE mi kaza istinata.*  
 PREP me.1SG[DAT] CL.DAT.3SG tell.Aor.3SG truth.Art  
 'It is to me that (s)he told the truth.'

But in dialogues, CD can also have other functions besides that of marking the topicalized object. As illustrated in the following example, taken from a short story, CD interacts with discourse structure:

- (54) - [*Ne, lăžete se, gospožice!*] *Mene poveče mi*  
 No, mistake.PRES.2PL REFL. mademoiselle me.1SG[DAT] more CL.DAT.1SG  
*se xaresva da živeja v selo, zaštoto ima xubavi*  
 REFL. please.PRES.2PL PART. live.PRES.1SG in village because there is nice.PL  
*momičeta; v grada njama takiva.* (E. Pelin, "Iglika")  
 girls.PL in town.ART there isn't such  
 '[...]I prefer to live in the country because there are beautiful girls.  
 In the city there are none.'

Marking the prominence of the object, the sentence is intended to provide information about the speaker and above all on his communicative intentions: by showing that he refers to personally experienced feelings, the speaker wants to convince the young girl of the sincerity of his words. In this example, CD of the fronted-object is not obligatory, but without it the effect the speaker is striving for would be lost.

As for postverbal objects, it is often stated that CD is optional when the doubled object occurs in its standard argument position and is thus located inside the VP. Even if omission of the doubling clitic has no consequence on the grammaticality of the construction, data from conversational and oral Bulgarian show that the situation is more complex. For instance, in the following example, CD is required because the speaker makes a statement about the object constituent which functions as a topic:

- (55) [*Mnogo virjat nos mladite! Ne znam de šte mu izleze kraja – reče im*  
*Mladenovijat bašta. –*]  
 ['Young people rebel a bit too much! I don't know what we'll come to', M's father told them]  
*Vidjaxte li go moja sin ? [Šteše da me bie za ništo rabota]*  
 See.Aor.2PL Q CL.ACC.3SG.M my.Poss son  
 'My son, did you see him? [He was about to beat me.]'  
 (Elin Pelin, 'Napast božija')

Without CD, the sentence is transformed into a simple question (*Vidjaxte li moja sin?* 'Did you see my son?') which has different interpretational and intonational

properties. In other words, (55) is a CD construction that makes it possible to elicit the topic discourse function of the object.

The final doubled object tends to appear in injunctions and, focusing on the context beyond the containing clause, it can result in dramatic effect:

- (56) *Ostavi go tozi beznравstvenik.*  
 leave.IMPER.2SG CL.ACC.3SG.M this person without moral sense  
 ‘Forget this immoral creature.’

It is frequently found with a focused subject between the verb and the object, as in the following example:

- (57) *Šte ti kaža az na tebe koj*  
 PART.FUT. CL.DAT.2SG. tell.PRES.Pf.1SG. I PREP. you[DAT] which  
*e predatel.*  
 be.PRES.3S traitor.  
 ‘I’ll show you who’s a traitor.’

Clitic-Left-Dislocation, often introduced by linking particles such as *pāk*, as in (58), can also be used to highlight the argument in a discussion:

- (58) *Ba šte mi gi vārne tja. Neka*  
 Interj. PART.FUT CL.DAT.1SG CL.ACC.3PL give-back.PRES.PF.3SG she let  
*zavede māža si v bolnicata, može da*  
 take.PRES.PF.3SG husband POSS.3SG PREP. hospital may PART.mod.  
*mu pomognat doktorite. A pāk moite pari*  
 CL.DAT.3SG help.PRES.PF.3PL doctors PART. PART.POSS.ART. money  
*šte gi vārne.*  
 PART.FUT. CL.ACC.3PL give-back.PRES.PF.3SG  
 ‘- Oh, yes, she will give it back to me! Let her take her husband to the hospital – they may save him. As for my money, she’ll give it back to me.’

Finally, here is an example often quoted and analyzed as “object tripling in Bulgarian”:

- (59) *a sārцeto// bjas go kāsa nego kleto.*  
 CONJ. heart.Art rage CL.ACC.3SG torn.PRES.3SG him.ACC.3SG poor  
 ‘whereas the (poor) heart, it is torn by rage, it is.’

The sharp intonational break after the full DP *sārцeto* ‘the heart’ clearly shows that it is an extraposed term. The analysis in Guentchéva (1985, 1994) shows that in such constructions, the extraposed term stands in an anaphoric relation not with the clitic but with the doubled object in the predicative relation following the pause. In turn, the object *nego* is represented by the resumptive clitic *go*. The construction is thus a combination of Left-Dislocation and CD.

## 5. Conclusion

In this article I have argued that constituent order in Bulgarian is necessarily marked by the informative structure of the utterance. I have shown that the constituent ordering in the CD construction, which always has a specific prosodic contour, is a grammatical process reflecting information hierarchy. Depending on the object's position, the result involves different degrees of topicalization.<sup>18</sup> Thus, Bulgarian organizes the syntactic structure of an utterance while taking topicality into account. I have also shown that in a CD construction the pronominal clitic cannot be analyzed as an affix or be considered as some kind of objective conjugation (Walter 1965, 1982: 64; Veyrenc 1985). More specifically, the clitic marks an argument slot, does not have an anaphoric function, and links to topicality of the object (Guentchéva 1994, 1997). Finally, I have shown that the distribution of clitic doubled objects is licenced by specific types of context.

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18. On degrees of topicalization in Greek, see Van der Auwera & Haberland (1990).



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PART III

**Morpho-syntactic properties  
and modelling of clitic doubling**



# Clitic doubling, agreement and information structure

## The case of Albanian\*

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Starting from the basic facts presented in Kallulli (2000) on clitic doubling in Albanian, the goals of the present paper are threefold: first, to provide additional arguments in favour of the view that clitic doubled direct object expressions are necessarily interpreted as topical (as opposed to focal) and that topichood – and more generally, information structure – is encoded in narrow syntax; secondly, to explain how several potentially problematic phenomena under this view, such as (apparent) clitic doubling of D-linked *wh*-phrases and certain asymmetries in the distribution of doubling clitics in restrictive relative clauses, can be solved without giving up the core idea that clitic doubling triggers a topical interpretation of the doublee; and thirdly, to provide a formal and uniform account of all patterns of clitic doubling found in Albanian.

### 1. Introduction

Research on clitic doubling of verbal arguments across languages has increasingly focused on the precise interpretive effects of this phenomenon (Anagnostopoulou 1994, Anagnostopoulou & Giannakidou 1995, Uriagereka 1995, Sportiche 1996, Gutiérrez-Rexach 1999, Franks & King 2000, a.o.). As part of this research agenda, in Kallulli (1995, 1999, 2000) I have argued that unlike object agreement markers, clitic doubling of third person direct objects in Albanian (and Modern Greek, henceforth: MG)

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produces information structure in a systematic way, in that doubled DPs are unambiguously interpreted as topics (in the sense “given”, as opposed to “new” information – cf. Schwarzschild 1999). In fact, as this article also underlines, not only do Albanian (third person) accusative clitics license topichood on their doubled DPs, but the latter *must* be clitic doubled in order to be interpreted as topics in this language. Moreover, as I have shown in previous work, this holds irrespective of word order variations.<sup>1</sup> That is, direct object clitic doubling (of third person DPs) is *not* an optional phenomenon. On the other hand, as I have also shown in previous work, dative DPs and first and second person (full) pronouns are invariably clitic doubled in Albanian. So, strictly speaking, the clitic doubling phenomenon is clearly not a totally uniform one, not even within one and the same language. The question, however, is whether and to what extent a unified analysis of direct and indirect object clitic doubling is conceivable.

Starting from these basic facts, the goals of this paper are threefold: firstly, to provide additional arguments in favour of the view that clitic doubled direct object DPs are necessarily topical (as opposed to focal) and that topichood – and more generally, information structure – is encoded in narrow syntax; secondly, to explain how several loose ends left unaccounted for in Kallulli (2000), such as (apparent) clitic doubling of so-called “D(iscourse)-linked” *wh*-phrases and certain asymmetries in the distribution of doubling clitics in restrictive relative clauses, tie in with this view; and thirdly, to provide a formal and uniform account of all patterns of clitic doubling found in Albanian.

This paper is organised as follows. Section 2 summarises some of the basic facts on clitic doubling in Albanian that I have discussed in Kallulli (2000) and presents one additional argument for the claim therein that direct object clitic doubling is a topic licensing operation. Section 3 then extends this claim to the domain of clausal complementation. One important aspect of the discussion in this section involves the correlation between deaccentuation and factivity, a correlation that will be shown to exist across several languages. Importantly, factivity is defined in terms of presuppositionality (Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970), which as I discuss in this section is related to givenness. The discussion of the correlation between deaccentuation and factivity in clitic doubling constructions is motivated by the hypothesis that the clitic doubling parameter might relate to other properties of languages that manifest this phenomenon, namely prosodic ones. Section 4 then investigates clitic doubling under what at first sight appears to be *wh*-movement. In section 5, relying on the idea that direct object clitics induce topichood on their doubles, I propose a solution for certain asymmetries in the distribution of doubling clitics in restrictive relative clauses. In section 6 then I discuss the Albanian patterns with invariable clitic doubling,

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1. This point is especially important in view of the claims that doubling in other Balkan languages is obligatory with (left- or right-)dislocated constituents (see the contributions in this volume by Cornilescu & Dobrovie-Sorin for Romanian and Krapova & Cinque for Bulgarian).

which in view of this property (i.e., the obligatoriness of the doubling clitic in them) seem hard to account for in terms of information structure. Finally, section 7 outlines a structural implementation of clitic doubling, which though building on Sportiche (1996), differs from it in ascribing to the so-called “clitic doubling parameter” the status of a universal strategy (i.e., principle).

## 2. Clitic doubling and topichood

According to a long-established tradition in generative grammar focus is regarded as a syntactic feature on phrases, interpretable both at the LF and the PF interfaces (Jackendoff 1972, Horvath 1986, Rochemont 1986, Brody 1990, i.a.). However, as I have suggested in Kallulli (2000), in view of the fact that a sentence may lack a topic (e.g., so-called *out-of-the-blue* sentences) but will always have a focus, it seems sensible to assume that the so-called [+focus] feature is in fact the unmarked value in a markedness theory for natural language and that its complement, i.e., the [–focus] or [+topic] feature is the marked value.<sup>2,3</sup> Derivational syntax in terms of checking theory (Chomsky 1995) then renders this feature significant. In other words, topics need to be licensed, an idea that is also brought to bear in Reinhart (1996) and Neeleman & Reinhart (1998) in their discussion of scrambling. From a semantic perspective, the view that topics (in the sense: “given” material) rather than foci are interpretable has perhaps most outspokenly been defended in Schwarzschild (1999), who writes: “By establishing givenness as the mainstay of our theory, we break ranks with those who assume that focus provokes interpretation.”<sup>4</sup> In this context, the view that clitic doubling is a topic-licensing (i.e., anti-focusing) operation assumes novel importance.<sup>5</sup>

### 2.1 Complementarity of doubled and non-doubled pairs

The Albanian examples in (1) constitute a minimal pair; they differ only with respect to the absence versus presence of the clitic element doubling the direct object (in (1b)).

- (1) a. *Ana lexoi libr-in.* (Kallulli 2000: 218)  
       *Ana<sub>NOM</sub> read book-the<sub>ACC</sub>*  
       ‘Ana read the book.’

2. Informally speaking, I take “topic” to be the complement of focus (that is, givenness; see Schwarzschild 1999, and Kallulli & Tasmowski, this volume).

3. The notion of markedness here is used in an abstract sense, namely in terms of interpretation rather than morphological and/or other marking.

4. See also Krifka (2001) and Sauerland (2005).

5. Note that for Schwarzschild (1999) givenness is complementary to focus – see also footnote 2.



- b. *Ana e lexoi libr-in.*  
 Ana<sub>NOM</sub> 3s,CL,ACC read book-the<sub>ACC</sub>  
 'Ana read the book.'

As I have shown in Kallulli (2000), the felicity conditions for the sentences in (1a) and (1b) are complementary, as elicited through the question-answer pairs in (2) through (5). Specifically, when the object is focus or part of the focus domain (as brought out by the contexts provided in (2A) and (3A)), a doubling clitic is not tolerated. Crucially, the doubling construction may only be a felicitous reply to the questions in (4A) and (5A), where the direct object DP is part of the presupposition (i.e., a topical expression), but not to the questions in (2A) and (3A).<sup>6</sup> Moreover, note that the presence of the doubling clitic in these cases (i.e., in the contexts provided by (4A) and (5A)) is not only sufficient, but indeed necessary.<sup>7</sup> That is, direct objects in Albanian need to be clitic doubled in order to be interpreted as topics.

- (2) A: What did Ana do? B: *Ana (\*e) lexoi libr-in.*  
 (3) A: What did Ana read? B: *Ana (\*e) lexoi librin.*  
 (4) A: Who read the book? B: *Ana \*(e) lexoi librin.*  
 (5) A: What did Ana do with/to the book? B: *Ana \*(e) lexoi librin.*

Thus, strictly speaking, clitic doubling of direct objects is *not* an optional phenomenon.

## 2.2 (Non-)doubling in 'transitive expletive' constructions

Reinhart (1995: 85) remarks that "even in view of the massive varieties of opinions regarding what topics are, there is one context all studies agree upon: the NP in 'there'

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6. Direct object clitic doubling in Albanian is obligatory in questions with *wh*-subjects under their non-pair-list reading (Kallulli 1995, 2000), but impossible under the pair-list reading. This latter fact is illustrated in (i).

- (i) *Kush (\*i) solli librat dhe kush lulet?*  
 who 3PL, CL, ACCbrought books.the and who flowers.the  
 'Who brought the books and who (brought) the flowers?'

These facts follow naturally under my proposal in Kallulli (1999), namely that this is due to the fact that clitics are by their very nature incapable of bearing stress (Zwicky 1977), which is required for contrastive focusing (as in the case of pair-list readings), which in turn is fundamentally correlated with stress prominence at PF (Brody 1990).

7. This contrasts with MG, where a doubling clitic is a sufficient, though not a necessary condition for marking the direct object as topical (Agouraki 1993; Kallulli 1999, 2000).

sentences can never be topic”. If direct object clitics in Albanian license topichood of the DPs they double, then we expect that the object of the verb “to have” may not be clitic doubled in Albanian existential constructions. As the example in (6) illustrates, this prediction is borne out.

- (6) (\*I)            *kishte minj në gjithë apartament-in.*  
          3PL, CL, ACC had   mice<sub>ACC</sub> in   all   apartment-the  
          ‘There were mice all over the apartment’

In fact, the generalisation is that existential bare plurals may not be clitic doubled (Kallulli 1999, 2006). Similarly, while singular nouns with overt determiners may be clitic doubled irrespective of their definiteness feature, so-called countable bare singulars cannot be clitic doubled. Constructions with clitic doubled bare singulars are simply ungrammatical, as illustrated in (7a) versus (7b).

- (7) a. *An-a            (\*e)            bleu fustan.*  
          Ana-the<sub>NOM</sub> 3s, CL, ACC bought dress  
          ‘Ana bought a dress’  
       b. *An-a            (e)            bleu një fustan / fustan-in.*  
          Ana-the<sub>NOM</sub> 3s, CL, ACC bought a dress / dress-the<sub>ACC</sub>  
          ‘Ana wanted to buy a dress’ / ‘Ana wanted to buy the dress’

In Kallulli (2006) I argue that this is so because bare singulars and existential bare plurals are necessarily focus phrases (that is, they cannot be topical expressions), as has been argued for independently for existential bare plurals in Cohen & Erteschik-Shir (2002).<sup>8</sup>

### 3. Doubling, factivity and topichood (or givenness)

#### 3.1 Factivity and factivity triggers: The role of doubling

Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970) argue that factive verbs differ from non-factive ones in that the truth of the clausal complements of the former is presupposed, whereas the truth of the clausal complements of the latter is asserted. Consequently, negating the complement clause of a factive verb yields a contradiction, as in (8), whereas negating the complement clause of a non-factive verb does not, as in (9).

- (8) I regretted that John left (\*but in fact he didn’t).

8. As I have shown in Kallulli (1999, chapter 3), bare singulars are property-denoting expressions (type ⟨e, t⟩), that is, they are necessarily non-specific. Thus, the link between non-specificity and focus is suggested, which in turn suggests a connection between specificity and topichood.

- (9) I believed that John left (but in fact he didn't).

However, also for non-factive verbs factivity can be triggered, for instance, by a modal, as in (10b) and (10c) (as opposed to (10a)), and/or by a so-called pleonastic or correlative pronoun 'doubling' the embedded clause, as in (11).<sup>9</sup>

- (10) a. I believed that John left (but in fact he didn't).  
 b. Can you believe that John left? \*In fact, he didn't.  
 c. I can believe that John left (\*but in fact he didn't).
- (11) I didn't believe it that John left. [i.e., in the sense: It's incredible that John left.]  
 \*In fact he didn't.

The same pattern is replicable in German. Thus, the sentence in (12b) differs formally from the sentence in (12a) only in that the former contains a so-called correlative pronoun, namely *es* 'it', which seems to be responsible for the factivity of the verb *glauben* 'believe' here.

- (12) a. *Er glaubte, dass Peter verstarb (aber tatsächlich lebt er noch).*  
 he believed that Peter died (but factually lives he still)  
 'He believed that Peter died (but in fact he is still alive).'
- b. *Er glaubte es, dass Peter verstarb (\*aber tatsächlich lebt er noch).*  
 he believed it that Peter died (but factually lives he still)  
 'As for the fact that Peter died he believed it (\*but actually he is still alive).'

Similarly, across several so-called clitic doubling languages such as Albanian and MG, factivity is triggered by clitic pronouns doubling the clausal complement, as shown in (13b) vs. (13a) and (14b) vs. (14a) for Albanian and MG, respectively.<sup>10</sup>

- (13) a. *Besova se Beni shkoi (por në fakt ai nuk shkoi).*  
 believed-I that Ben left (but in fact he not left)  
 'I believed that Ben left (but in fact he didn't)'
- b. *E besova se Beni shkoi (\*por në fakt ai nuk shkoi).*  
<sub>CL, ACC</sub> it believed-I that Ben left (but in fact he not left)  
 'I believed the fact that Ben left (\*but in fact he didn't)'

9. The latter fact is discussed by Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970) themselves, albeit under a non-pleonastic treatment of the pronoun *it*.

10. I thank Marika Lekakou (personal communication) for providing the MG data.

- (14) a. *Pistepsa oti o Janis efije (ala stin pragmatikotita*  
 believed-I that the Janis left (but in.the reality  
*den ejine kati tetio).*  
 NEG happened something such)
- b. *To pistepsa oti o Janis efije (\*ala stin pragmatikotita*  
 it<sub>CL,ACC</sub> believed-I that the Janis left (but in.the reality  
*den ejine kati tetio).*  
 not happened something such)

If doubling clitics mark their doubled associates as [+topic]/[+given], as shown in the previous section, and in view of the fact that clitic doubling triggers factivity, which is in turn defined in terms of presupposition, one question that arises is what the connection (if any) between givenness and presupposition is. As has been suggested to me by Manfred Krifka (personal communication), a proposition can shift from being contextually given to being presupposed. That is, to say that a sentence is presupposed can mean one of two things: either it is assumed to be true, or the proposition expressed by the sentence (“der Gedanke” in the sense of Frege) has been mentioned before. For instance, it seems that the correlate *es* ‘it’ in German is not satisfied with a situation in which the proposition is just given in context; it must also be true, as (15) shows.<sup>11</sup>

- (15) [Context: Hans has certainly heard in his geography class that Sydney is not the capital of Australia and that Toronto is not the capital of Canada.]

*Dennoch GLAUBT er (??es), dass Sydney die Hauptstadt*  
 still believes he it that Sydney the capital  
*von Australien ist.*  
 of Australia is

‘Still, he believes that Sydney is the capital of Australia.’

But in spite of this, this distinction mostly seems to be blurred, in the sense that propositions that are presupposed (i.e., assumed to be true) are given (either in the immediate context, or via world knowledge), and that contextually given propositions are most often taken to be true.<sup>12</sup> In view of this, the difference between the factive and the non-factive uses of ‘believe’ (across Albanian, English, German and MG) may be reasonably stated in terms of information structure, a view that is further motivated by the prosodic findings detailed in the next section.

11. The context and example in (15) are due to Manfred Krifka.

12. I thank M. Krifka (p.c.) for having helped me articulate this idea in its present form. It is precisely this blurring that also accounts for the fact that it is not always the case that the complements of the Albanian counterparts of so-called factive verbs (such as *know* and *regret*) are invariably clitic doubled.

3.2 The prosody of doubling constructions:  
Some cross-linguistic facts

A look at the prosodic realisation of the factive and the non-factive versions of the example sentences introduced in section 3.1 across Albanian, English and German reveals clear correlates of factivity in prosodic structure. Strikingly, as Fig. 1 through Fig. 6 clearly show, the prosodic structuring and the prosodic differentiation of the sentences with comparable information structure (i.e., with a verb used once as factive and once as non-factive) is comparable in all the three languages under consideration. Crucially, all the sentences with factive *believe/glauben/besoj* have a nuclear pitch accent on the matrix verb.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, the nuclear pitch accent (i.e., stress) in the sentences with non-factive *believe/glauben/besoj* in all three languages is not on the matrix verb, but on the embedded one.

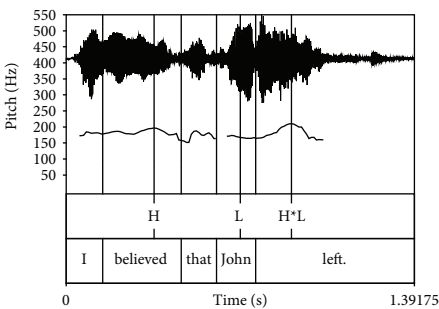


Figure 1. English: non-factive, e.g., (10a).

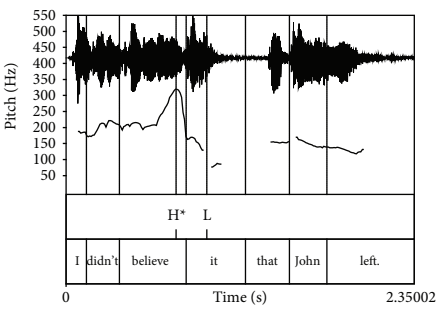


Figure 2. English: factive, e.g., (11).

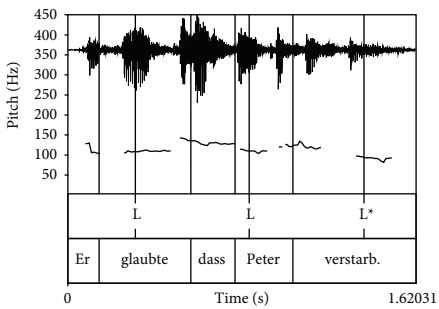


Figure 3. German: non-factive, e.g., (12a).

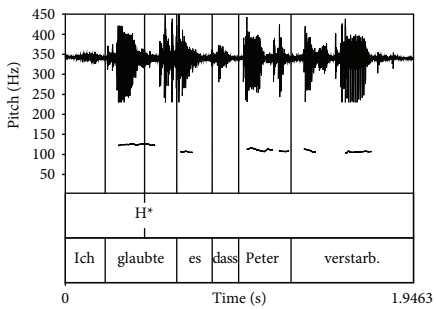


Figure 4. German: factive, e.g., (12b).

13. Here I have left out the prosodic structures of (10b,c), but these are also rather similar to the one in Fig. 2.

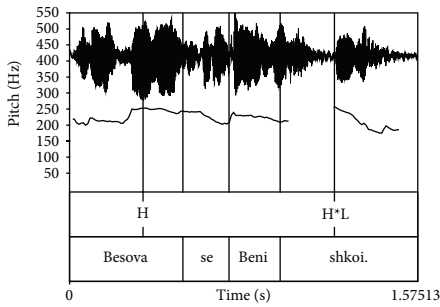


Figure 5. Albanian: non-factive, e.g., (13a).

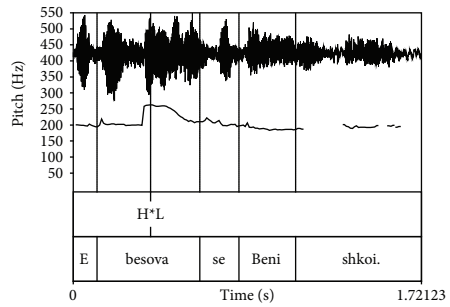


Figure 6. Albanian: factive, e.g., (13b).

Moreover, while correlative pronouns and/or modals are sufficient to trigger factivity in English and German, they are not necessary. Factivity in both languages can also be induced in the absence of these elements, provided that the matrix verb (here: *believe/glauben*) carries nuclear stress. To show this, consider first the contexts in (16) and (17), which were provided to the test subjects in order to elicit the factive reading of the verb in the italicized sentences in them.

- (16) I didn't see John leave my party, but then he called me from his home phone. Now it was obvious. *I believed that John left.*
- (17) Ich gab bekannt (die Tatsache), dass Peter verstarb. Zuerst wollte Hans nichts davon wissen. Dann zeigte ich ihm die Todesanzeige, und nun sah er die Sache anders. *Er glaubte, dass Peter verstarb.*
- 'I made known (the fact) that Peter died. At first Hans didn't want to hear of it. Then I showed him the death certificate and now he saw the matter differently. He believed that Peter died.'

The prosodic structure of the underlined sentences in (16) and (17) is shown in Fig. 7 and Fig. 8, respectively. Again, the factive *believe/glauben* here clearly carry a nuclear

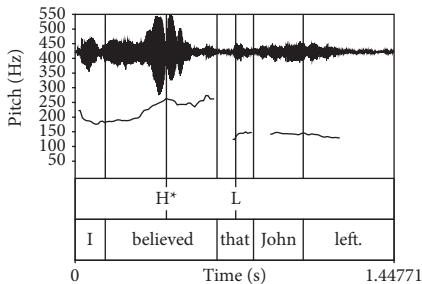


Figure 7. English: factive, e.g., (16).

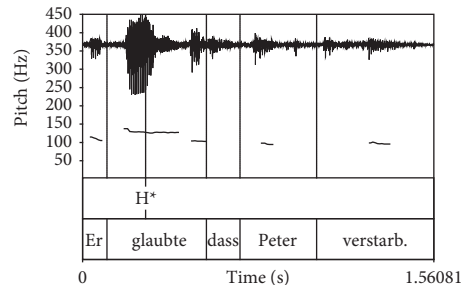


Figure 8. German: factive, e.g., (17).

pitch accent. In other words, the prosodic structures of the relevant sentences in (16) and (17), in which *believe/glauben* is factive, are quite similar to the prosodic structures in Fig. 2 and Fig. 4, respectively. This fact is of course not surprising, since correlative and/or pleonastic pronouns, like clitics, are phonologically light.

It is obvious from Fig. 2,4,6,7 and 8 that the (factive) embedded clauses are deaccented, and as is well-known, deaccenting is one means of expressing presupposition, or discourse binding (see for instance Krifka (2001) on the role of deaccenting in determining the restrictor of an adverbial quantifier). Of course accent on the verb can also come about because the verb is focused, or *f*-marked (Selkirk 1995). Crucially, however, deaccenting of the CP and focus on the verb do *not* exclude each other. In other words, the implication is only one way: in order to get a factive reading, the verb must carry nuclear pitch accent, but nuclear pitch accent on the verb does not entail factivity.

In sum, the data presented in this section show that the prosodic structuring and the prosodic differentiation of the sentences with comparable information structure (i.e., with a verb used once as factive and once as non-factive) is comparable in all three languages. Only in Albanian there is always a mechanism in the overt syntax that restricts the information structure and the prosodic structure, namely the clitic (pronoun).<sup>14</sup> In English and German there is no pronoun (or modal element) always, but in view of factivity/non-factivity and prosodic structure correspondences, the relevant features are obviously manifested prosodically. Crucially however, this is still an overt manifestation. The question then is how the correlation between deaccenting and factivity (and more generally, topichood or givenness) should be modelled syntactically.<sup>15</sup> I turn to this in the next section.

### 3.3 On the relation between deaccentuation and factivity:

#### A “best case” model

The systematicity of the PF/LF correlation with respect to the phenomenon of (induced) factivity described in section 3.2 is captured straightforwardly if prosodic information is encoded in the syntax, or as part of the numeration itself, which is what syntax manipulates. Thus, adopting a non-lexicalist framework such as Distributed Morphology, prosodic information (in the case at hand, deaccentuation), may be viewed as instantiating (or realizing) an abstract morpheme (Embick & Noyer 2007). This conception

14. For the situation in MG, see note 7.

15. The correlation between deaccentuation and factivity described in this section mimics – or is a subcase of – a more general pattern, namely the correlation between deaccentuation and givenness, which holds not only for clitic doubling languages, but also for languages that do not exhibit (overt) clitic doubling.

enables us to derive the correlation between factivity and deaccentuation in accordance with Chomsky (2004: 107):

“the best case is that there is a single cycle only [...] and the [...] components of the derivation of  $\langle \text{PHON}, \text{SEM} \rangle$  proceed cyclically in parallel.  $\mathbf{I}$  contains operations that transfer each unit to  $\Phi$  and to  $\Sigma$ . At the best case, these apply at the same stage of the cycle. Assume so.”

Note, moreover, that this conception is in line with other basic tenets of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995 et seq.), such as the non-creationist nature of syntax.

I contend that the status of an embedded clause as [+presupposed] must be expressed. This is achieved syntactically by way of functional structure. Specifically, the head hosting the relevant syntactic feature (abstract morpheme), which is realized overtly by some expletive-like element (such as a clitic, a pronoun, a modal element, etc.), or simply by deaccentuation, is a probe for the goal (here: CP) with an OCC feature. These and other issues relating to the technical implementation of doubling structures are discussed in detail in section 7.

#### 4. Doubling of D-linked *wh*-phrases: Fact or fiction?

If direct object clitics license non-focussing of the DPs they double, *ceteris paribus* we expect doubling clitics to be unable to associate with interrogative words under the standard view that *wh*-words are foci. This expectation is largely borne out, with one important exception: doubling of so-called D-linked *wh*-phrases (Pesetsky 1987) seems to be possible. The minimal pair in (18) from Albanian illustrates a well-known asymmetry found in many languages: while *wh*-phrases cannot be clitic doubled (or resumed, see e.g., Sharvit 1999 for Hebrew), as in (18a), D-linked *wh*-elements can, as in (18b).

- (18) a. *Çfarë (\*e) solli Ana?*  
           what 3s, CL, ACC brought Ana  
           ‘What did Ana bring?’
- b. *Cil-in libër (e) solli Ana?*  
           which-the<sub>ACC</sub> book 3s, CL, ACC brought Ana  
           ‘Which book did Ana bring?’

In order to approach the question of what this asymmetry is due to, let us focus on (18b) in its non-doubled and doubled varieties, as given in (19a) and (19b), respectively.

- (19) a. *Cil-in libër solli Ana?*  
           which-the<sub>ACC</sub> book brought Ana  
           ‘Which book did Ana bring?’



- b. *Cil-in libër e solli Ana?*  
 which-the<sub>ACC</sub> book 3s, CL, ACC brought Ana  
 'Which book is such that Ana brought it?'

As the English translations of the sentences in (19) suggest, there are very clear interpretive differences between the sentence in (19a) and that in (19b). Both (19a) and (19b) presuppose that Ana brought a certain book. Indeed under the analysis of *which*-phrases as definite expressions (Katz & Postal 1964; Kuroda 1969), it is predicted that these, like definite expressions, are presuppositional. The *which*-words in (19a) and (19b) could then be viewed as the source of the presupposition that these sentences carry, namely that Ana brought a certain book. What is puzzling, however, is the fact that, while this presupposition can be cancelled for (19a), it cannot for (19b), as shown in (20) and (21), respectively.

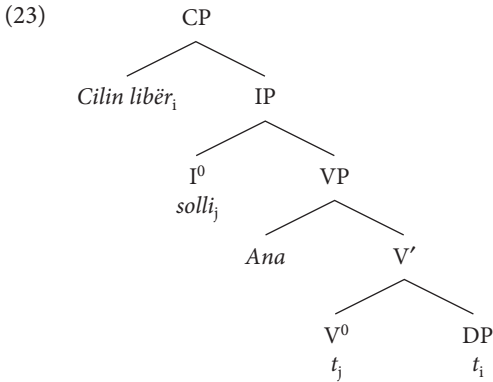
- (20) a. *Cil-in libër solli Ana?*  
 which-the<sub>ACC</sub> book brought Ana  
 'Which book did Ana bring?'  
 b. *√Në fakt (Ana) nuk solli asnjë libër.*  
 in fact Ana not brought no book  
 'As a matter of fact, An/she brought no book.'
- (21) a. *Cil-in libër e solli Ana?*  
 which-the<sub>ACC</sub> book 3s,CL,ACC brought Ana  
 'Which book is such that Ana brought it?'  
 b. *#Në fakt Ana nuk solli asnjë libër.*  
 in fact Ana not brought no book  
 'As a matter of fact, Ana/she brought no book.'

Strikingly, while the *wh*-phrase in (19a) can appear in its base position, the *wh*-phrase in the clitic construction in (19b) cannot do so. This contrast is illustrated in (22a) vs. (22b).<sup>16</sup>

- (22) a. *Ana solli cil-in libër?*  
 Ana brought which-the<sub>ACC</sub> book  
 'Ana brought which book?'  
 b. *\*Ana e solli cil-in libër?*  
 Ana 3s, CL, ACC brought which-the<sub>ACC</sub> book

16. Relevant in this context is also the fact that, unlike (22a), (22b) cannot be interpreted as an echo-question, i.e., echos don't preserve the structure.

To account for the data presented in this section, I follow a proposal in Kallulli (1999), according to which the meaning differences between (19a) and (19b) are related to structural differences between them. Specifically, abstracting away from the issue of the trace versus the copy theory of movement, I claim that only the sentence in (19a) but not that in (19b) is derived from the (mono-clausal) structure in (23).



In contrast, I claim that the sentence in (19b) involves a bi-clausal structure. Specifically, I propose that the sentence in (19b) is derived from a construction involving a (concealed) *such that* relative clause within a deleted (or silent) copular constituent.<sup>17</sup> That is, I contend that the sentence in (19b) has the same structure as the overtly bi-clausal one in (24).

- (24) *Cil-i libër është i tillë që e solli Ana?*  
 which-the<sub>NOM</sub> book is such that 3s, CL, ACC brought Ana  
 ‘Which book is such that Ana brought \*(it)?’

As witnessed by the fact that the *wh*-phrase in (24) bears nominative case and not accusative case like the doubling clitic, it cannot be the *wh*-phrase in the specifier of the matrix CP that the clitic in the relative clause doubles here, but a phonetically null embedded object, specifically *pro*, which is anaphoric with this *wh*-phrase, as rendered in (25).

17. Note in this context the obligatory presence of the resumptive pronoun even in English. And though not the only type of resumption, clitic doubling is certainly a form of resumption (contrary to what an anonymous reviewer seems to imply), as is evidenced by the fact that the counterpart of constructions with object resumption in all non-doubling languages necessarily involves clitic doubling in the doubling languages.

- (25) [<sub>CP</sub> *cili libër<sub>i</sub>* *është* *i tillë libër<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>CP</sub> *që e* *solli* *Ana pro<sub>i</sub>*]]  
 which book<sub>i</sub> is such book<sub>i</sub> that 3s, CL, ACC brought Ana pro<sub>i</sub>

Turning to (19b), I propose that it has the same structure as (24), the major difference between (19b) and (24) being that the copular constituent containing the (elided) relative head while spelled out in the latter is not spelled out in the former, as in (25) versus (26), respectively. So crucially, the *wh*-phrase in the specifier of the matrix CP is not raised from inside the relative clause but is merged in the matrix CP.

- (26) [<sub>CP</sub> *cilin libër<sub>i</sub>* *është* *i tillë libër<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>CP</sub> *që e* *solli* *Ana pro<sub>i</sub>*]]  
 which book<sub>i</sub> is — such book<sub>i</sub> that 3s, CL, ACC brought Ana pro<sub>i</sub>

The fact that the *wh*-element *cilin libër* ‘which book’ in (19b) and (26) bears accusative, not nominative case as in (24), can be accounted for straightforwardly under a framework such as Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993): basically, the bound morpheme *-in*, which signals case, definiteness and gender, not being able to attach to the phonetically null (i.e., *pro*) embedded object in (24), will attach to its recovering element *cili libër* ‘which book’ in the matrix.<sup>18</sup> The idea then is that *pro*’s case shows up on the phonetically realized element that it is linked with (or recovered by).

The ungrammaticality of (22b) is predicted under my claim that (19b) is bi-clausal. Under this hypothesis, the constituent *cilin libër* ‘which book’ is not raised from the object position of the verb *solli* ‘brought’, which is the verb of an embedded clause, but is merged inside the matrix CP. As such, it will not be expected to appear in the object position of this verb.

Further evidence for the bi-clausal structure of constructions like (19b) comes from lack of weak crossover and Principle C effects in such constructions, discussed in Kallulli (2008).<sup>19</sup>

In sum, clitic doubling of seemingly D-linked *wh*-phrases is restricted to (sometimes concealed) relative clauses. Hence, the piece of data in (18b) is only an apparent counterexample to my claim in Kallulli (2000) that (direct object) clitic doubling is a topic-licensing operation.

18. Note that as Rizzi (1986: 519–520) argues, *pro* needs to be case marked.

19. A reviewer suggests an alternative analysis of sentences of the type in (19b). According to this reviewer, there is a way of representing the observation that only the *wh*-portion of the phrase is focused while the rest is topical in (covert) syntax, by placing the restriction of the *wh*-operator in the topic position and the *wh*-operator itself in the focus/[+wh] slot. However, since this alternative cannot account for the fact that the clitic interferes with binding relations, it is to be discarded on empirical and theoretical grounds.

## 5. Asymmetries in the distribution of direct object clitics in restrictive relatives: The role of information structure

Direct object clitic doubling in *që* 'that' restrictive relative clauses in Albanian is sensitive to the (in)definiteness of the associate of the relative clause.<sup>20</sup> More specifically, clitic doubling of the direct object associate of the relative clause is licit when the latter is indefinite and illicit when it is definite. This is illustrated in (27a) vs. (27b).<sup>21</sup>

- (27) a. *Lexova një libër që e mora në bibliotekë.*  
 read-I a book that 3s, CL, ACC got-I in library  
 'I read a book that I got from the library.'
- b. *Lexova librin që (\*e) mora në bibliotekë.*  
 read-I book-the that 3s, CL, ACC got-I in library  
 'I read the book that I got from the library.'

The question then is whether and how the analysis of direct object doubling clitics as topic-licensing operators that I have outlined above can account for the asymmetry illustrated in (27a) versus (27b). I contend that such an analysis is indeed necessary to explain at least one portion of the data, namely the pattern in (27a), which to the best of my knowledge cannot be accounted for under existing analyses of restrictive relative clauses. As will be laid out below, one of the outcomes of this venture into relative clause territory will be that a uniform account of restrictive relative clauses is untenable, as also espoused in other studies (Åfarli 1994, Bhatt 2002, Aoun & Li 2003, Sauerland 2003, Hulsey & Sauerland 2006, among others).

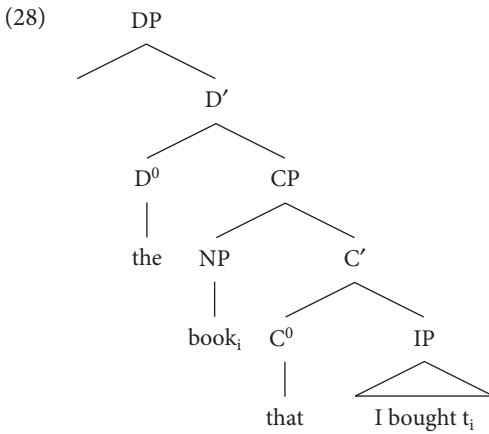
The fact that the doubling clitic is illicit when the relative clause associate is definite can in fact be captured by the head-raising analysis of relative clauses (Schachter 1973, Vergnaud 1974, Kayne 1994), according to which the relative clause is merged

20. Following Åfarli (1994), I use the term *associate* to refer to the nominal expression with which the restrictive relative clause is associated (e.g., the expression *the shoes* in: *I bought the shoes that I liked*). I prefer this term to *head* (of the relative clause) as the latter seems to me to be more confusing.

21. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2000) credit Stavrou (1984) for having observed the same facts in Greek, as illustrated in (i) and (ii) below.

- (i) *diavasa ena vivlio pu to pira apo ti vivliothiki.* (A & A 2000: 48)  
 read-I a book that it<sub>CL, ACC</sub> got-I from the library  
 'I read a book that I got from the library.'
- (ii) \**diavasa to vivlio pu to pira apo ti vivliothiki.*  
 read-I the book that it<sub>CL, ACC</sub> got-I from the library  
 'I read the book that I got from the library.'

with a determiner and the associate of the relative clause raises to Spec of CP as shown in (28).



In other words, the determiner and the associate of the relative clause do not form a constituent in (28). For the case at hand, namely the sentence in (27b), this means that what raises to Spec of CP is not a null operator, but a bare NP. The impossibility of clitic doubling it then follows from the generalization that bare nouns cannot be doubled, as was described in section 2.2 (see also Kallulli 1995 et seq.).<sup>22</sup>

While the piece of data in (27b) indeed serves as evidence for the Kayneian account of relative clauses, the rest of the paradigm in (27) – that is, (27a) – cannot be readily explained by this analysis. This has in fact been pointed out in Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2000), who argue for Greek (see note 21) that when the associate of the relative clause is indefinite, then what raises to Spec of CP is not a bare NP but a QP. Abstracting away from the general objections to the head-raising analysis of relative clauses (see Hulsey & Sauerland 2006), I have the following objections to Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou's (2000) account of the asymmetry under discussion. Firstly, the analysis in Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2000) does not explain the fact that when the relative clause associate is indefinite it can be clitic doubled, an issue that is especially important in view of the fact that these authors claim that clitic doubling of indefinite direct object DPs is ungrammatical in Greek simple clauses.<sup>23</sup> That is, their hypothesis attempts to deal with only half of the relevant data. Secondly, the

22. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2000) suggest precisely this for the relevant case in Greek.

23. However, Kazasis & Pentheroudakis (1976) provide examples with clitic doubling of indefinite DPs in Greek simple clauses, which is acknowledged by Anagnostopoulou (1994) herself (see also the discussion of this point in Kallulli 2000).

asymmetry illustrated in (27) is not replicated in Albanian when relative clauses restrict a predicate nominal DP. In other words, when relative clauses restrict a definite predicate nominal DP, a doubling clitic in the relative clause is licit, as shown in (29).<sup>24</sup>

- (29) *Ky është libri që (e) solli Ana.*  
 this is book-the that 3s, CL, ACC brought Ana  
 ‘This is the book that Ana brought.’

If we were to extend Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou’s (2000) analysis of relative clauses that restrict a definite object to relative clauses restricting predicate nominals, the clitic in (29) would be a counterexample.<sup>25</sup>

Let us consider another set of facts that bear on the discussion here. In Albanian, restrictive relative clauses are of two types: one type is introduced by *që* ‘that’, as was illustrated in (27), and the other type is introduced by a *wh*-relative pronoun, as in (30).

- (30) *Lexova një libër të cil-in \*(e) mora në bibliotekë.*  
 read-I a book agr which-the 3s, CL, ACC got-I in library  
 ‘I read a book which I got from the library.’

Note that there is a definite determiner suffixed to the relative pronoun, so clearly the relative pronoun cannot be in the  $C^0$  slot as it shows phrasal characteristics (for instance, it agrees with the indefinite head in phi-features). Therefore the relative pronoun in (30) has to be in some specifier position. But if Spec of CP is already occupied by the indefinite relative clause associate *a book*, another Spec position

24. One could attempt to analyse sentences of the type in (29) as specificational sentences. As Higgins (1979) points out, a distinguishing mark of specificational sentences is the fact that the subject and the predicate complement can apparently change places. But as (i) shows, this is possible for (29) only in the absence of the doubling clitic. This might be taken to imply that the DP *libri* ‘the book’ in (29) is indeed a predicate nominal and not a subject, as it seems to be in (i).

- (i) *Libri që (\*e) solli Ana është ky.*  
 book-the that 3s,CL,ACC brought Ana is this  
 ‘The book that Ana brought is this (one).’

If the structure of (i) is the one given in (ii), then the fact depicted in (i) is not that surprising.

- (ii) [<sub>IP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> libri] [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N]<sub>i</sub> q<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> solli [<sub>VP</sub> Ana t<sub>i</sub>]]]] është [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> ky]]].

25. Note that data like (29) constitute strong evidence that the relative clause here is indeed restrictive.

lower than Spec of CP is needed for the relative pronoun. Like in English, the relative pronoun in Albanian involves a *wh*-element, which in this language is preceded by some agreement morpheme (glossed *agr* in (30)), which is lacking when the *wh*-word is used for question formation. This agreement morpheme, which also agrees with the associate of the relative clause in phi-features, necessarily precedes genitive modifiers of nouns as well as a lexically idiosyncratic group of adjectives. Nothing may intervene between this agreement morpheme and the noun or adjective that it precedes. In view of these facts, at least one (agreement) projection lower than the CP is needed. Alternatively, the raised indefinite associate does not occupy Spec of CP but some higher position. The question of course arises what the trigger for such a movement would be, if movement is actually involved. I suggest, however, that the associate of the relative clause is indeed higher than Spec of CP when it is indefinite, but not as a result of movement.

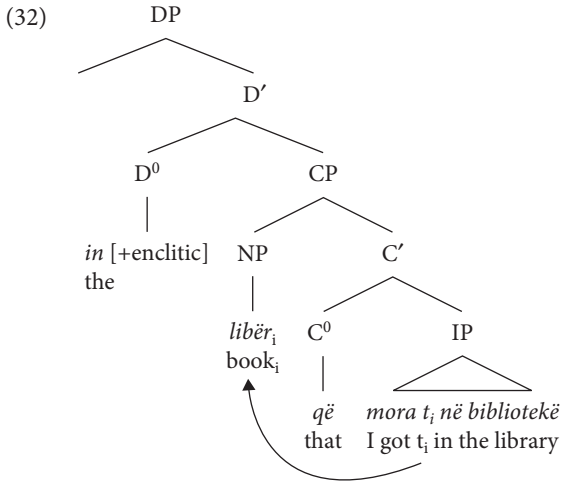
Before going into the details of my analysis, let me draw attention to two startling facts: First, the relative pronoun cannot introduce a relative clause whose associate is definite. Relative clauses whose associates are definite are exclusively introduced by *që* 'that', as is illustrated in the examples in (31).

- (31) a. *Lexova libr-in që (\*e) mora në bibliotekë.*  
 read-I book-the that 3s, CL, ACC got-I in library  
 'I read the book which I got from the library.'
- b. \**Lexova libr-in të cil-in (e) mora në bibliotekë.*  
 read-I book-the agr which-the 3s, CL, ACC got-I in library  
 'I read the book which I got from the library.'

Second, the doubling clitic is obligatory when the relative clause is introduced by a relative pronoun (in which case the associate of the relative clause cannot be definite), as is indicated in (30).

What these facts suggest is that the position of the associates of restrictive relative clauses might indeed be different depending on their (in)definiteness feature, in line with Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2000). I propose that the difference, however, lies in the fact that while the definite associate of a restrictive relative clause (see (31a)) might raise from the embedded clause to the matrix clause possibly in the way Kayne proposes, the indefinite associate in (30) is *not* raised from the embedded clause but is merged with the verb (i.e., is the object of the verb) in the matrix clause. The discourse referent that this indefinite expression establishes is then picked up by a relative pronoun in the embedded clause. That is, the relative pronoun in the embedded clause is (D-)linked with the indefinite direct object of the matrix clause.

The structural difference between the sentence in (31a) and that in (30) is depicted graphically in the tree diagrams in (32) and (33), respectively.



This analysis would explain among other things why the relative pronoun in Albanian (as in Greek) has definite form (i.e., it is suffixed with a definite determiner): it resumes the discourse referent that *a book* establishes. Consequently, the clitic does not double the indefinite *a book*, but the relative pronoun that is linked with the indefinite. The obligatoriness of the doubling clitic in (30) follows from the requirement that in Albanian, direct object DPs need to be clitic doubled in order to be marked [+Topic] (Kallulli 2000).<sup>26</sup>

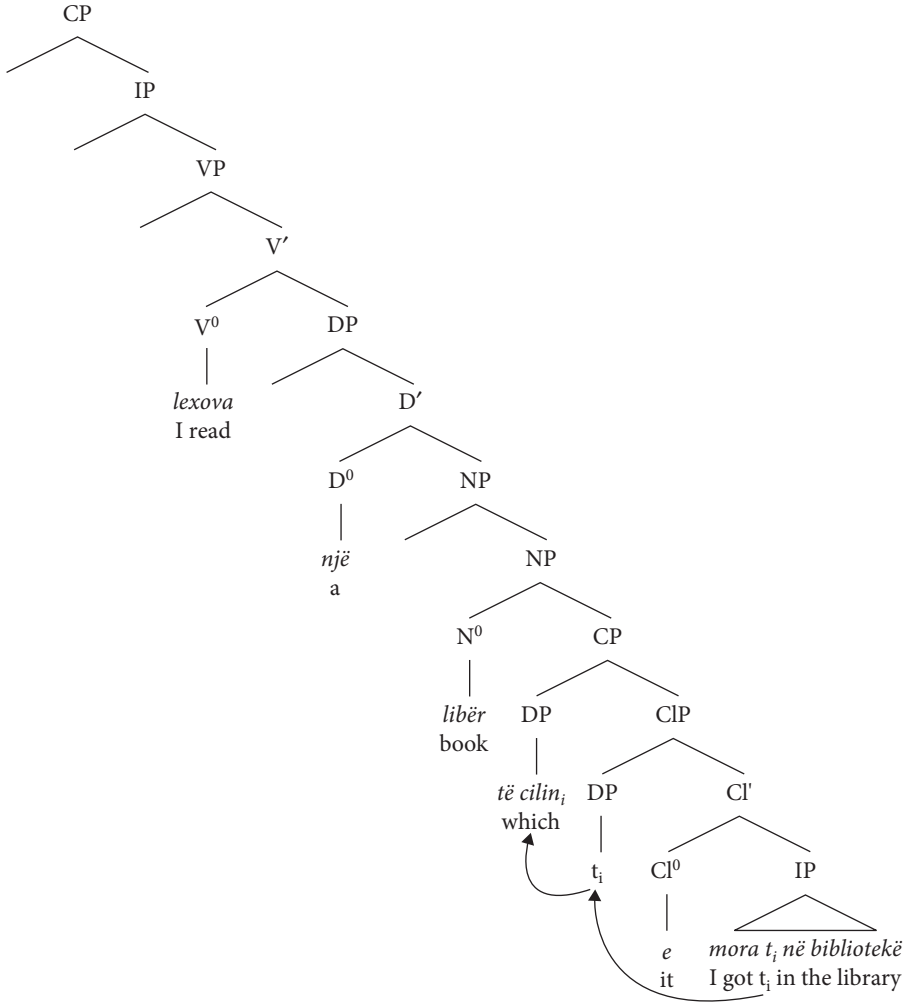
But how can the analysis that I have developed so far account for the asymmetry observed in (27a) versus (27b)? Note that in these examples the relative clause is introduced by the so-called complementizer *që*, not by a relative pronoun as in (30). The analysis outlined here can account for the asymmetry in (27) only if a double-status is assigned to the element *që*: while *që* occupies the C<sup>0</sup> slot in (27b) with a definite associate, it occupies Spec of CP in (27a) when the doubling clitic is present. That is, in the latter case *që* is not a complementizer but a relative pronoun.

That *që* can be a complementizer is confirmed by the fact that like *that* in English, it also introduces non-relative complement clauses, as in (34).

26. It is legitimate to ask why a *pro* approach along the lines of (26) in section 4 is unavailable for relative clauses with a definite associate, since if it were available, clitic doubling should occur in (27b) as well. I suggest that precisely this difference is a very strong indication for the idea that the head of the relative clause in (27b) is raised from inside the relative clause in the way depicted in (32), and that moreover *që* in restrictive relatives with definite direct object associates cannot be in the Spec of CP, as I discuss below.



(33)



- (34) *An-a e kuptoi që kishte parë ëndërr.*  
 Ana-the<sub>NOM</sub> 3s, CL, ACCrealized-3s that had-3s seen dream  
 'Ana realized that she had had a dream.'

However, the fact that *që* can be a complementizer (that is, occupy the C<sup>0</sup>-position) is neither necessary nor sufficient evidence against the idea that it can also occupy a phrasal position. The fact that *që* is morphologically opaque (i.e., it is invariable, or does not encode overt phi-features) cannot be viewed as conclusive evidence that it is exclusively a head element. For instance, *que* in French is clearly a complementizer and just as clearly a pronoun (i.e., a phrasal element), as is obvious from the examples in (35).

- (35) a. *Je regrette que Marie parte demain.*  
 I regret that Mary leaves tomorrow  
 'I am sorry that Mary is leaving tomorrow.'
- b. *Que voulez-vous?*  
 what want you  
 'What do you want?'

Another argument for the proposed double status of *që* (i.e., that it can be both a head and a phrase) can be adduced. One of Emonds' (1976) arguments against the phrasal nature of *that* in English involves the fact that it cannot occur in non-restrictive relatives. However, this argument does not carry over to Albanian: *që* here can freely occur in non-restrictive relatives, as the example in (36) illustrates. This is also the case for *que* in French, as shown in (37).

- (36) *Ana, që kishte patur ditëlindjen një ditë përpara, nuk përgjigjej.*  
 Ana, that had had birthday a day before, not answered  
 'Ana, whose birthday had been the day before, was not answering.'
- (37) *Cette maison, que nous préférons tous, est trop chère.*  
 this house which we prefer all is too expensive  
 'This house, which we all prefer, is too expensive.'

Thus, we have a straightforward account for the asymmetry observed in the distribution of direct object clitic doubling in restrictive relative clauses in Albanian: while *që* occupies the  $C^0$  slot in relative clauses restricting definite associates, it may occupy Spec of CP in relative clauses restricting indefinite associates. In the latter case, it may be clitic doubled.<sup>27</sup>

But how does this analysis account for the facts in (29) (repeated here for ease of reference), where as mentioned earlier, a doubling clitic is licit in spite of the fact that the associate of the relative clause is definite?

- (29) *Ky është libri që (e) solli Ana.*  
 this is book-the that 3s, CL, ACC brought Ana  
 'This is the book that Ana brought.'

As mentioned earlier, Kayne's analysis of relative clauses does not readily account for the fact in (29). And while the analysis that I have presented in this section to capture the asymmetry between (27a) and (27b) cannot explain the facts in (29) either, these can be accounted for in a straightforward manner under the analysis developed in section 4. The basic idea here was that the clitic in sentences such as (29) doubles an object *pro* in the relative clause, and not a constituent in the main clause, as also witnessed by the fact that no constituent in the matrix bears accusative case marking.

27. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, the same reasoning can in principle also be extended to *pu*, the Greek counterpart of the Albanian *që* (see note 21).

A specific conclusion emerging from the data and the analysis that I have laid out here is that definite heads cannot combine with a phrase in the specifier of CP. While this seems to be a valid generalisation (see also Kallulli 2008 for a lengthier discussion of this point), we still need to find out why this is so.

## 6. Invariable clitic doubling: Datives and dative-likes

As discussed in Kallulli (1995, 2000), unlike direct objects, indirect (dative) objects are invariably clitic doubled in Albanian (that is, irrespective of person and number features). In (38a) this applies to a definite expression, in (38b,c) to an indefinite expression, in (38d) to a *wh*-dative, in (38e) to a quantified dative. The opposition (38b) vs. (38c) shows that dative clitic doubling is insensitive to so-called “VP-internal scrambling of objects” (Massey 1991).

- (38) a. *Ev-a*      *\*(i)*      *dërgoi* *An-ës*      *lule*.  
           Ev-the<sub>NOM</sub> 3s, CL, DAT sent An-the<sub>DAT</sub> flowers  
           ‘Eva sent Ana flowers.’
- b. *Ben-i*      *\*(i)*      *dërgoi* *një vajze*      *lule*.  
           Ben-the<sub>NOM</sub> 3s, CL, DAT sent a girl<sub>DAT</sub> flowers  
           ‘Ben sent a girl flowers.’
- c. *Ben-i*      *\*(i)*      *dërgoi* *lule*      *një vajze*.  
           Ben-the<sub>NOM</sub> 3s, CL, DAT sent flowers a girl<sub>DAT</sub>  
           ‘Ben sent a girl flowers.’
- d. *Kujt*      *\*(i)*      *foli*      *mësues-i?*  
           who<sub>DAT</sub> 3s, CL, DAT talked teacher-the<sub>NOM</sub>  
           ‘Who did the teacher talk to?’
- e. *Ben-i*      *\*(u)*      *blen gjithë vajzave*      *lule*.  
           Ben-the<sub>NOM</sub> 3PL, CL, DAT buys all girls<sub>DAT</sub> flowers  
           ‘Ben buys all (the) girls flowers.’

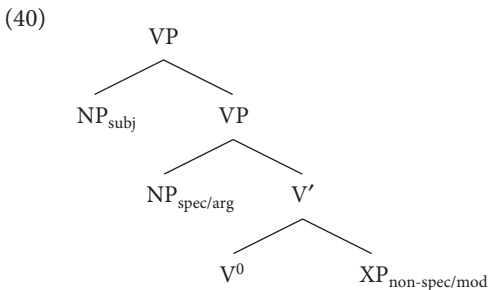
Given that dative objects are obligatorily doubled in all contexts in Albanian, it is hard to think of dative clitics as anything other than pure object agreement markers. The same fact holds for direct objects instantiated by first and second person full pronouns: like datives, these must always be clitic doubled in Albanian, as illustrated in (39).<sup>28</sup>

- (39) *Mua*      *\*(më)* / *ty*      *\*(të)* /      *ne*      *\*(na)* /  
           me<sub>1p,ACC</sub> me<sub>CL</sub> you<sub>2s,1p,ACC</sub> you<sub>2s,CL,ACC</sub> us<sub>1p,ACC</sub> us<sub>CL,ACC</sub>  
           *ju*      *\*(ju)* *pyeti*.  
           you<sub>2p,1p,ACC</sub> you<sub>CL</sub> asked<sub>3s</sub>  
           ‘S/he asked me/you/us’

28. This is so irrespective of the position of the full pronoun in the clause.

Several questions arise. Firstly, if the nature of agreement and topic markers is indeed substantially different, why are clitics employed as means for fulfilling such different functions? Second, why are datives and direct objects instantiated by first and second person pronouns always doubled? While I am not able to conclusively address these questions, I will however attempt to offer some ideas that might be worth pursuing in further research on these topics. As one of the reviewers suggests, concerning the first question, a hypothesis worth entertaining is that, in fact, clitic doubling is always a spell-out of agreement, and that the verb agrees with a third person direct object only when the latter is topical. Such a perspective is useful, as it basically means that the first question reduces to the question of why third person direct objects must be topical for object-verb agreement to obtain, which I tackle further down in this section.

Concerning the second question, there must be some property that dative objects and first and second person full pronouns share, which is presumably responsible for the fact that they are invariably clitic doubled. Concerning this latter point, I have suggested in unpublished work (Kallulli 1999) that the property that dative objects and direct objects instantiated by full pronouns have in common hinges on the nature of the (phrase-structure) positions in which they are initially merged. More specifically, I have argued that while datives and full pronoun direct objects are initially (i.e., externally) merged in specifier positions of verbal projections, direct objects instantiated by third person full pronouns and non-pronominal (phonologically non-empty) DPs can merge either in specifier position or in a sister-to-V (i.e., complement) position, depending on their [ $\pm$ specific] feature (which as suggested in note 9 is directly related to the [ $\pm$ topic] feature). Drawing on Rapoport (1987, 1995), I have argued that specific direct objects function as true arguments of the verb, whereas non-specific objects function as verb modifiers. This difference in function corresponds to a distinction in licensing requirements, in phrase structure position, and in interpretation. Crucially, while the specific direct object is projected in the specifier position of VP, the non-specific direct object is a sister of  $V^0$ , that is, a complement of  $V^0$ , as illustrated in (40).



For instance, bare singulars, which are necessarily non-specific (Kallulli 1999, 2000), are exclusively merged in the complement (i.e., XP) position. Crucially, bare

singulars cannot occur as subjects or dative objects, but only as predicate nominals and direct objects.<sup>29</sup> This is then additional evidence that the status of the direct object is somewhat special, a specialness that is in this account related to a variance in phrase structure position.

Additionally, as has often been hinted in the literature, unlike direct objects, datives always seem to be presupposed, or given (see Kallulli & Tasmowski, this volume).<sup>30</sup> One could then tie the invariable doubling of datives to their presupposed status, thus coming one step closer towards a unified analysis of direct and indirect object doubling. This account extends naturally to doubling of direct objects instantiated by first and second personal pronouns, since these are necessarily given in the discourse.

Finally, note that the asymmetry discussed in section 5 (namely, the (im)possibility of doubling the direct object head of a relative clause depending on its (in)definiteness feature) does not arise with indirect objects, which as mentioned earlier are invariably clitic doubled in Albanian.

## 7. Syntactic modelling of clitic doubling constructions

In this section, I deal with the issue of how to model clitic doubling constructions syntactically. I first introduce the essentials of Chomsky's (2000) probe-goal mechanics, and then provide a structural implementation of clitic doubling in terms of 'Agree' in the probe-goal relation.

### 7.1 Agree and the probe-goal relation

According to Chomsky (2000), a probe is a set of uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features that are valued and deleted by establishing an Agree relation with a goal containing matching interpretable  $\phi$ -features. Further, Agree is constrained by standard locality conditions, as in (41).

(41) *Locality Condition* (Chomsky 2000):

Agree holds between P and G just in case G is the closest set of features in the domain  $D(P)$  of P that match those of P. The domain  $D(P)$  of P is the sister of D, and G is closest to P if there is no  $G'$  matching P such that G is in  $D(G')$ .

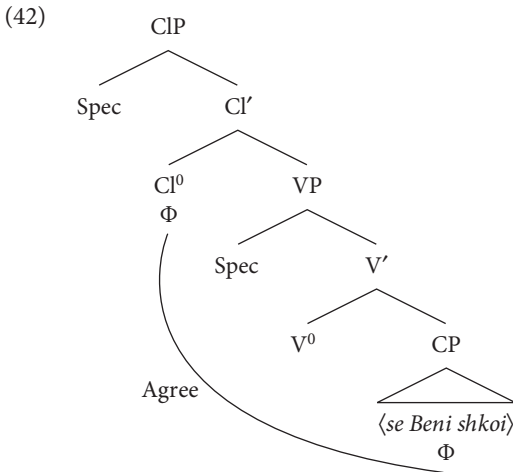
29. For details on the syntax and semantics of bare singulars in Balkan and Mainland Scandinavian languages, see Kallulli (1999, chapter 3).

30. See the discussion in section 3 on the relation between presuppositions and givenness.

The category with the probe-feature can also have an EPP- or an OCC-feature. OCC in turn is the condition that an XP is an occurrence of a probe and licenses information structure. For Chomsky (2004), the OCC-feature of a head gets saturated by moving the required category in the domain of H(ead). However, Collins (1997) and Bowers (2002) argue that the OCC-feature of a head can in addition get saturated by merging an expletive with H.

## 7.2 Clitic doubling as Agree in the probe-goal relation

Adopting Sportiche's (1996) configurational approach to clitics, according to which clitics head their own maximal projections, I assume that a clitic head is a probe for the goal (DP or CP). Furthermore, the probe may have an OCC-feature, as shown in (42).<sup>31</sup>



Further, I submit that (clitic) doubling is a universal strategy, as formulated in (43).

- (43) *The (Clitic) Doubling Principle – A Universal Strategy*  
 $Cl^0$  must be filled by information on prosodic realization (where ‘prosodic realization’ means ‘deaccent (goal)’).

Thus, while some languages (e.g., Albanian) need an overt expletive-like element (such as a clitic) in order to obey this principle, others (e.g., English, German) do not always need such an element.

Turning to the question of why (clitic) pronouns are some of the seemingly preferred means that languages systematically choose to trigger givenness and/or

31. The OCC feature might be further specified as [+Topic] and/or [+Destress].

presupposition (and consequently, factivity), I assume that a (definite) pronoun naturally has the characteristic [+topic]/[+given]. Therefore, it can mark a constituent as such. A side conclusion then, relating to the discussion in section 3, is that factives have indeed more structure than non-factives, as also espoused by Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970), and against de Cuba (2006).

### 7.3 On the locus of parametric variation

Unlike in English and German, in Albanian and other languages givenness of object DPs is achieved through doubling clitics, which in turn entail deaccenting of their doubled associate. I suggest that this state of affairs is due to the fact that, while English and German allow free deaccenting, Albanian does not. Nonetheless, however, English and German are similar to Albanian with respect to ‘doubling’ of object CPs. As was discussed in section 3.2, both English and German display the ‘clitic’ strategy (recall the use of the pleonastic *it* and correlate *es*, respectively). This is potentially due to bigger sentence length, or heavier phonological weight (see also Féry & Samek-Lodovici (2006) for the idea that pitch accents are also related to phonological weight and not necessarily to f-marking).

### 7.4 A further extension: Determiners and deaccentuation

One of the central claims of this paper, namely that the [+topic] status of syntactic constituents must be expressed through deaccenting and/or a doubling clitic/(correlative) pronoun is reminiscent of the use of definite articles in Spanish and other languages to mark what in English is expressed by deaccentuation, as in (44) versus (45), respectively.<sup>32</sup> Note in this context also the well-known morphological affinity between clitics (and more generally, pronouns) on the one hand, and determiners, on the other (Postal 1969 and subsequent literature).

- (44) a. *Los vaqueros mascan tabaco.* (Laca 1990)  
           the cowboys chew tobacco  
           ‘Cowboys usually chew tobacco.’  
       b. *Los vaqueros mascan el tabaco.*  
           the cowboys chew the tobacco  
           ‘What cowboys usually do with tobacco is: they chew it.’
- (45) a. Cowboys chew TOBACCO.  
       b. Cowboys CHEW tobacco.

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32. I thank Manfred Krifka (personal communication) for drawing my attention to this point.

## 8. Conclusion

In this paper, I have adduced further evidence in favour of the view that direct object clitics necessarily mark their doublees as topics (Kallulli 2000). This fact has important consequences in various domains. For instance, I have shown that clitic doubling of an argumental CP correlates with factivity, which is expected under this view, since factivity, like topichood, is defined on the basis of presupposition, which in turn is related to givenness. I have also worked out how the idea that direct object clitics mark their associates as given can account for asymmetries in the distribution of clitics in restrictive relative clauses and *wh*-constructions. Consequently, the analysis of clitics that I have provided has repercussions for the analysis of relative clauses and *wh*-constructions, among other things, some of which I have discussed in detail in the respective sections. Specifically, I have drawn an asymmetry between *wh*-relatives and *that*-relatives. This dual analysis of relativization in Albanian (and Greek, to which the same analysis can be extended) should prove useful in debates on the representation of relative clauses in general, and on issues of reconstruction across the two types of relatives in particular.

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# Clitic reduplication constructions in Bulgarian\*

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This paper discusses clitic reduplication constructions in Bulgarian. In contrast to traditional analyses, it distinguishes clitic doubling proper, which is restricted to clauses with psych and physical perception predicates, from other constructions that involve reduplication of an argument by a clitic, notably, left and right dislocation, focus movement, and the hanging topic construction. Several properties of clitic doubling proper are identified, among which obligatory doubling of quantifiers, *wh*-phrases, and focus phrases. These are argued to be the distinguishing features of this construction in Bulgarian, given the cross-linguistic evidence from Romance and other languages.

## 1. Introduction

Both in the traditional literature and in some contemporary studies on Bulgarian the reduplication of an argument by a clitic (whether the argument precedes the clitic, as in (1)–(3), or follows the clitic, as in (4)–(5)), is considered a unitary phenomenon, referred to as “clitic doubling”.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See, for example, Assenova (1980, 2002), Guentchéva (1994), Leafgren (1997), Franks & Rudin (2005). Some authors (Minčeva 1969; Lopašov 1978) refer to (1) through (3), in which the full NP precedes the clitic, as cases of *reprisa* (resumption), and to the constructions in (4) and (5), in which it follows, as cases of *anticipatio* (anticipation).

- (1) *Tja i bez tova ne moga da ja*  
 she.NOM and without that not can.1SG Mod.prt her.CL.ACC  
*nakaram da jade.*<sup>2</sup>  
 make.1SG Mod.prt eat.3SG  
 ‘Her, anyway, I cannot make her eat.’ (colloquial)
- (2) *Na Maria njama da i piša.*  
 to Maria will-not Mod.prt her.CL.DAT write.1SG  
 ‘To Maria I will not write.’
- (3) *Samo na Ivan ne mu se speše.*  
 only to Ivan not him.CL.DAT REFL was-sleeping  
 ‘Only Ivan didn’t feel like sleeping.’
- (4) *Poznavam go tova čuvstvo.*  
 know.1SG it.CL.ACC this sentiment  
 ‘I know this sentiment.’
- (5) *Ne mu se speše samo na Ivan.*  
 not him.CL.DAT REFL was-sleeping only to Ivan  
 ‘Only Ivan didn’t feel like sleeping.’

Here, we will argue that (1)–(5) do not represent a unitary phenomenon, but in fact five separate cases, with clearly distinct properties: (1) Hanging Topic, (2) Clitic Left Dislocation, (3) Focus Movement, (4) Clitic Right Dislocation, (5) Clitic Doubling proper. We will eventually focus our attention on the one exemplified in (5), which we refer to simply as *Clitic Doubling* (henceforth CD).

It is possible that Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), CD, and perhaps Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD), will eventually turn out to be different manifestations, at a more abstract level, of one and the same structure, possibly with the clitic and the associate merged together as a single constituent (for different variants of this idea cf. Kayne 1972, 2001; Uriagereka 1995; Torrego 1995; Papangeli 2000; Franks & Rudin 2005).<sup>3</sup> However, we believe that before trying any higher order unification of the above

2. This, as well as all the other examples referred to as “colloquial” in the text below, are taken from the corpus of colloquial Bulgarian utilized in Džonova (2004), subsequently digitalized and made available at [www.bgspeech.bg](http://www.bgspeech.bg).

3. If Sportiche (1999) is correct in merging D separately from NP and higher in the structure of the clause, then the clitic double will also have to be merged higher (essentially as in Sportiche 1996). Any attempt at a unification of such constructions will also have to derive the differences among them discussed below, and in Cinque (1990, chapter 2), Iatridou (1995, 11f), Krapova & Cinque (2005), among others.

constructions, it is important to consider the syntactic and pragmatic properties of each separately.

We begin with (1) and (2), which, following more recent literature on Bulgarian and other languages, we will call Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD) and Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), respectively.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Hanging topic versus Clitic Left Dislocation

Hanging Topics have clear pragmatic, prosodic and structural properties that distinguish them from CLLD Topics. First of all, from a pragmatic point of view, the relation of this type of Topic and the following Comment is rather loose, i.e., the HT creates only a general context for the Comment, which is why in Guentchéva (1994) and Assenova (2002) such constructions are also referred to as *extraposition Topics*, *segmented phrases* (in the sense of Bally 1932, 1965) or *thématisation forte* ('strong Theme'). Additionally, from a prosodic point of view, there can be a sharp intonational break between the left dislocated phrase and the rest of the sentence. Despite these peculiarities, HTLD may be hard to distinguish from CLLD when the dislocated phrase is a simple DP without overt Case marking. Therefore, it is important to consider those syntactic properties that diagnose each construction as distinct from the other.

One first distinction between HTLD and CLLD has to do with the fact that while HTLD can be found only in root contexts (see the contrast in (6)),<sup>5</sup> CLLD appears in both root and non-root contexts. See (7):

- (6) a. *Toj ne mogat da go prikrepjat kam nikogo* (HTLD)  
 he.NOM not can.3PL MOD.PRT him.CL.ACC attach.3PL to nobody  
 'Him, they cannot attach him to anyone.'<sup>6</sup>
- b. *\*Ivan kaza če toj ne mogat da go prikrepjat kam nikogo.*  
 Ivan said that he.NOM not can.3PL MOD.PRT him.CL.ACC  
 attach.3PL to nobody  
 'Ivan said that him they cannot attach him to anyone.'

4. Cf. Rudin (1986, 33ff), Arnaudova (2002, 2003, 165f), Krapova (2002), and, for Romance, Cinque (1977, 1990, chapter 2), Benincà (1988, 130ff), Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), Samek-Lodovici (2005), among others.

5. This can be seen when the presence of other properties (like lack of Case connectivity – see below) rules out the possibility of having an instance of CLLD as well.

6. In the translation, we rendered the Bulgarian HTLD with English 'Left Dislocation', which appears to be its closest correspondent. See Rudin (1986, chapter 2).

- (7) a. *Na Marija ti s ništo ne si i* (CLLD)  
 to Maria you.NOM with nothing not be.2SG her.CL.DAT  
*pomogнал.*  
 helped.PART  
 ‘Maria, you haven’t helped her at all.’
- b. *Ivan kaza, če na Marija ti s ništo ne*  
 Ivan said that to Maria you.NOM with nothing not  
*si i pomogнал.*  
 be.2SG her.CL.DAT helped.PART  
 ‘Ivan said that Maria you haven’t helped her at all.’

A second difference between CLLD and HTLD is the presence vs. absence of Connectivity effects (cf. in particular Rudin 1986, 33ff, who uses the terms Topic construction and Left Dislocation, respectively). One class of Connectivity effects involves Case matching between the dislocated phrase and the resumptive element inside the clause.<sup>7</sup> Since in Bulgarian only pronouns show overt Case distinctions, Connectivity effects will be visible only with this type of DPs. Pronouns qua Hanging Topics do not exhibit Case connectivity with the resumptive element and consequently the Topic appears in the default Nominative case (*Nominativus pendens*) – cf. (8) (“#” indicates a pause which is often optional):

- (8) a. *Ti(#) ne mogat li da te prikrepjat* (colloquial)  
 you.NOM not can.3PL Q MOD.PRT you.CL.ACC attach.3PL  
*kām njakoj?*  
 to someone  
 ‘You, can’t they attach you to someone?’
- b. *Tja i bez tova ne moga da ja*  
 she.NOM and without that not can.1SG Mod.prt her.CL.ACC  
*nakaram da jade.*  
 make.1SG MOD.PRT eat.3SG  
 ‘Her, I cannot make her eat anyway.’ (colloquial)

In the CLLD construction on the other hand, Case connectivity effects show up obligatorily. This is illustrated by (9), which is identical to (8) except for the overt Accusative Case marking on the topicalized pronoun:

7. In addition to Case connectivity, which is the only type of connectivity considered here, Bulgarian CLLD shows various other types of connectivity effects (category matching, bound anaphors, bound pronominals, etc.), much like its Romance equivalent (for which see Cinque 1977, 1990, chapter 2).

- (9) a. *Az mislia, če \*ti/tebe ne mogat da te*  
 I think that you.NOM/ACC not can.3PL MOD.PRT you.CL.ACC  
*prikrepjat kām njakoj.*  
 attach.3PL to someone  
 'I think that they can't attach you to anybody.'
- b. *Ivan kaza, če \*tja/neja i bez tova ne može*  
 Ivan said that she.NOM/ACC and without that not can.3SG  
*da ja nakara da jade.*  
 Mod.prt her.CL.ACC make.3SG MOD.PRT eat.3SG  
 'Ivan said that he cannot make her eat anyway.'

A third property distinguishing HTLD from CLLD is the type of the resumptive element. In HTLD the resumptive element can be any DP (a clitic pronoun, a tonic pronoun, a definite description, a quantifier, etc.). All of these possibilities exist in colloquial speech and are exemplified in (10):

- (10) a. *Marija nikoj ne ja običa.*  
 Maria nobody not her.CL.ACC love.3SG  
 '[As for] Maria, nobody loves her.'
- b. *Marija znaeš li, če nikoj ne govori s neja ot godini.*  
 Maria know.2SG Q that nobody not talk.3SG with her since years  
 '[As for Maria], do you know that nobody has talked to her for years?'
- c. *Marija az izobšto njama da govorja s taja patka veče.*  
 Maria I at-all will-not MOD.PRT talk.1SG with this fool already  
 '[As for] Maria, I will not talk to this fool any more.'
- d. *Toj njama nikoj da dojde.*<sup>8</sup>  
 he.NOM will-not nobody MOD.PRT come.3SG  
 'Nobody will come.'

8. The negative quantifier can also be found before the auxiliary (i), or in the inverted subject position (ii). Being a quantifier, *nikoj* cannot be dislocated and therefore must be assumed to occupy one of the possible subject positions in (10d), as well as in (i)/(ii).

- (i) *Toj nikoj njama da dojde.* (colloquial)  
 He nobody will-not MOD.PRT come.3SG 'Nobody will come'
- (ii) *Toj njama da dojde nikoj.* (colloquial)  
 He will-not MOD.PRT come.3SG nobody 'Nobody will come'



Only (10a) above is ambiguous between HTLD and CLLD since as can be seen in (11a) below, CLLD is compatible only with a clitic resumptive element:<sup>9</sup>

- (11) a. *Ivan kaza, če Marija nikoj ne ja običa.*  
 Ivan said that Maria nobody not her.CL.ACC loves.3SG  
 ‘Ivan said that [as for] Maria, nobody loves her.’
- b. \**Ivan kaza, če Marija nikoj ne govori s neja ot godini.*  
 Ivan said that Maria nobody not talk.3SG with her since years
- c. \**Ivan kaza, če Marija izobšto njama da govori s taja patka veče.*<sup>10</sup>  
 Ivan said that Maria at-all not-will MOD.PRT talk.3SG with  
 this fool any more
- d. \**Ivan kaza, če toj njamalo nikoj da dojde.*  
 Ivan said that he.NOM will-not.evid. nobody MOD.PRT come.3SG

On the basis of the above examples we can generalize that regardless of its grammatical function, the dislocated phrase in the HTLD construction can only be a (Nominative case marked) DP. This restriction is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (12b) where the dislocated phrase is a PP resumed by a tonic pronoun (as well as by a clitic). Compared to the otherwise similar case of (10b), the ungrammaticality of (12b) shows that PPs are not available as Hanging Topics. On the other hand, PPs can freely appear in CLLD, as illustrated by (13b). More generally, the only requirement that CLLD poses is for the dislocated phrase to be matched by a resumptive clitic (with the same Case and phi-features). Cf. (13c). Given that HTs cannot be PPs, nor CPs, we can conclude that wherever we encounter a simple non pronominal DP in a left dislocated position, as in (13a) below, this DP will always be ambiguous between a HTLD and a CLLD Topic.

- (12) a. *Ivan otdavna ne sa mu plaštali.* (colloquial)  
 Ivan for-a-long-time not be.3PL him.CL.DAT paid.PART.PL  
 ‘Ivan has not been paid for a long time.’
- b. \**Na Ivan šte mu se obadja na nego.*  
 to Ivan will him.CL.DAT REFL call.1SG to him.

9. This can be seen only if we exclude a HTLD source (e.g., by setting the dislocated phrase in an embedded context).

10. The sentence is ungrammatical under the intended reading that *Marija* and *taja patka* refer to the same individual.

- (13) a. [<sub>DP</sub> *Pismoto*] *go napisax az.*  
 letter.Art it.CL.ACC wrote.1SG I  
 'The letter, I wrote it.'
- b. [<sub>PP</sub> *Na Ivan*] *otdavna ne sa mu plaštali.*  
 to Ivan for-a-long-time not be.3PL him.CL.DAT paid.PART.PL  
 'Ivan, he has not been paid for a long time.'
- c. [<sub>CP</sub> *Če Rusia ni e osvobodila ot tursite*],  
 That Russia us.CL.ACC be.3SG liberated.PART from Turks.ART  
*go znajat i decata.*  
 it.CL.ACC know.3PL also children.Art  
 'Even children know that Russia has liberated us from the Turks.'

Yet another property of Hanging Topics is their insensitivity to (strong) islands such as the Complex NP island (as in (14a)) or the Adjunct island (as in (14b)).

- (14) a. *Ivan(#)* *poznavas li onova momiče, koeto/deto mu dava knigi?*  
 Ivan know.2SG Q that girl who/that him lend.3SG books  
 (Complex NP island)  
 [As for] Ivan, do you know that girl that lends him books?
- b. *Ivan# Marija izbjaga, kato mu dade rozata.*  
 Ivan, Maria ran-away.3SG when him.CL.DAT gave.3SG rose.Art  
 (Adjunct island)  
 '[As for] Ivan, Maria ran away after giving him the rose.'

CLLD, on the other hand, does show sensitivity to (strong) islands (Arnaudova 2002, 2003, 179f):

- (14) a'. \**Na Ivan poznavas li onova momiče, koeto mu dava knigi?*  
 to Ivan know.2SG Q that girl who/that him.CL.DAT lend.3SG books  
 (Complex NP island)
- b'. \**Na Ivan Marija izbjaga, kato mu dade rozata.*  
 to Ivan Maria ran-away.3SG when him.CL.DAT gave.3SG rose.ART  
 (Adjunct island)

In case a Hanging Topic co-occurs with a CLLD Topic, the former precedes the latter. The opposite linear order between the two topicalized expressions is impossible, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (15b) where the Nominative Hanging Topic pronoun *az* 'I' follows the CLLD-ed tonic pronoun *mene* 'me', in clear violation of the ordering generalization.

- (15) a. *Az# mene ošte me e jad, če togava ne te*  
 I.NOM me. ACC still me.CL.ACC is anger that then not you.CL.ACC  
*poslušax.*  
 listened.1SG  
 ‘Me, I am still angry that I didn’t listen to you then.’
- b. \**Mene az ošte me e jad, če togava ne te poslušax.*  
 me.ACC I.NOM still me is anger that then not you.CL.ACC listened.1SG

While there can only be a single HT per clause, multiple CLLD Topics are perfectly possible (Krapova & Karastaneva 2002; Arnaudova 2002). Cf. (16) and (17):

- (16) \**Ti, Maria, predstavil li te e Ivan na naja.*  
 you.NOM Maria introduced Q you.ACC is Ivan to her  
 ‘You, Maria, has Ivan introduced you to her?’
- (17) a. *Tija knigi na vas koj vi gi e*  
 these books to you.DAT who you.CL.DAT them.CL.ACC be.3SG  
*pratil?*  
 sent.PART.SG  
 ‘These books, who sent them to you?’
- b. *Na vas tija knigi koj vi gi e pratil?*  
 to you.ACC these books who you.CL.DAT them.CL.ACC be.3SG sent.PART.SG

From these contrasts we can thus conclude that CLLD and HTLD are two different types of Topic constructions, which are possible with any type of predicate.<sup>11</sup>

11. To be more precise, HTLD and CLLD should be distinguished from another (root-only) topic construction – the *kolkoto do* DP ‘as for DP’ construction, not only because the three constructions can co-occur (in the order *kolkoto do* DP > HTLD > CLLD – see (i)a–c), but also because CLLD and HTLD phrases count as occupants of the first position with respect to Tobler-Mussafia effects (proclisis vs. enclisis) while *kolkoto do* DP phrases do not – see (ii)a–c. We interpret this last fact as suggesting that while CLLDed phrases and Hanging Topics are hosted in the CP space, presumably in the specifier position of dedicated functional projections, *kolkoto do* phrases are outside of the clause altogether:

- (i) a. *Kolkoto do Ivan, toj nego nikoj ne go običa.*  
 As for Ivan, he him.ACC nobody not him.CL.ACC love.3SG  
 ‘As for Ivan, him nobody likes.’
- b. \**Kolkoto do Ivan, nego toj nikoj ne go običa.*  
 As for Ivan, him.ACC he.NOM nobody not him.CL.ACC love.3SG
- c. \**Toj, kolkoto do Ivan, nego nikoj ne go običa.*  
 he.NOM, as for Ivan, him.ACC nobody not him.CL.ACC loves

### 3. Focus movement versus CLLD

CLLD should also be kept distinct from the construction standardly called Focus movement, which also involves a left peripheral constituent construed with an IP-internal position. In addition to the contrastive nature of the focused phrase, Focus movement differs from CLLD in not allowing a clitic to resume it. So, for example, in (18) which is a case of Focus-moved PP, as also indicated by the focusing adverb *samo* 'only', the presence of a resumptive clitic leads to an ungrammatical, or at least marginal, result (Nitsolova 2001). Example (18) thus contrasts with (2) above (repeated below for convenience) where the clitic is perfectly fine due to its being inside a CLLD construction:

- (18) *Samo na Marija njama da (??i) piša.*  
 only to Maria will-not Mod.prt her.CL.DAT write.1SG  
 'I will not write only to Maria.'
- (2) *Na Maria njama da i piša.*  
 to Maria will-not Mod.prt her.CL.DAT write.1SG  
 'To Maria I will not write.'

The only exception to the generalization regarding the distribution of clitic resumption is provided by those cases to which we refer here as CD, where a doubling clitic remains obligatory regardless of the type of construction – CLLD or Focus movement. This basically shows that the Topic-Focus distinction is irrelevant for the characterization of CD.

- (19) *Samo na Ivan ne \*(mu) se speše.*  
 only to Ivan not him.CL.DAT REFL was-sleeping.3SG  
 'Only Ivan didn't feel like sleeping.'

### 4. Clitic Doubling and Clitic Right Dislocation

Going back to examples (4) and (5) (repeated below for convenience) in which the clitic precedes the associate, we find good reasons to treat them as belonging to two

- 
- (ii) a. *\*Kolkoto do mene# me pokanixa na sreštata ošte včera.*  
 As for me, me.CL.ACC invited.3PL to meeting.Art already yesterday  
 (cf. *Kolkoto do mene# pokanixa me na sreštata ...*)
- b. *Az me pokanixa ošte včera na sreštata.*  
 I.NOM me.CL.ACC invited.3PL already yesterday to meeting.Art
- c. *Mene me pokanixa na sreštata ošte včera.*  
 Me.ACC me.CL.ACC invited.3PL to meeting.Art already yesterday

quite different cases: (4) is an instance of Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD), while (5) is an instance of CD proper:

- (4) *Poznavam (go) tova čuvstvo.*  
 know.1SG it.CL.ACC this sentiment  
 'I know this sentiment.'
- (5) *Ne \*(mu) se speše samo na Ivan.*  
 not him.CL.DAT REFL was-sleeping only to Ivan  
 'Only Ivan didn't feel like sleeping.'

Similarly to what we saw above in the case of HTLD and CLLD, in the CLRD construction doubling is optional, it does not depend on the type of predicate involved, and whenever it is present, it correlates with Topicality of the associate, which cannot be wh-moved, nor be contrastively focused, nor contain a (non-specific) indefinite quantifier.

In the case exemplified by (5), instead, doubling is obligatory, crucially depends on the predicate involved rather than on word order (cf. also Franks & Rudin 2005; Guentchéva this volume), and more importantly, the reduplicated element (the clitic's associate) can carry new information (i.e., bear the nuclear stress of the sentence), can be wh-moved and contrastively focused; additionally, a (non-specific) indefinite quantifier can be used as the associate of the clitic. It is to this case that we reserve the term Clitic Doubling (CD).

The predicates that trigger *obligatory* CD in Bulgarian are given in the list below:<sup>12</sup>

#### (A) Psych and physical perception predicates with dative experiencers

- i. Verbs: *xaresva mi* 'it appeals to me', *domāčnjava mi* 'I feel sad', *lipsva mi* 'I miss', *dosažda mi* 'it bothers me', *doskučava mi* 'I feel bored', *dotjaga mi* 'I am bored with/I am fed up with', *xrumva mi* 'it occurs to me', *omrāzva mi* 'I get tired of', *teži mi (na dušata)* 'my heart is heavy', *dokrivjava mi* 'feel out of sorts'; *prizljava mi* 'it makes me sick', *pričernjava mi* 'feel faint', *primaljava mi* 'feel/grow faint', *prilošava mi* 'feel faint/unwell' (Rožnovskaya 1959: 413, 1971: 229–230; Manolova 1979: 147)).
- ii. Adjectives: *skučen mi e* 'I find him/it boring', *māčen mi e* 'I find it difficult', *skučno mi e* 'I am bored', *māčno mi e* 'I miss/I am sad', *lošo mi e* 'I feel faint', *studenno mi e* 'I am cold', *toplo mi e* 'I am hot', etc. (Maslov 1982: 291–292);
- iii. Adverbs: *dobre mi e* 'I feel good' (lit. 'well to me is'), *zle mi e* 'I feel bad', etc.
- iv. Nouns: *žal mi e* 'I feel sorry' (lit. 'pity to me is'), etc. (Maslov 1982, 304)

12. The predicates in boldface are those that will be exemplified below.

## (B) Psych and physical perception predicates with accusative experiencers

- i. Verbs: *mārzi me/ domārzjava me* 'feel lazy', *dostrašava me* 'be afraid of', etc. *trese me* 'I am feverish', *sārbi me* 'it's itching', *prerjazva me* 'I feel a sudden sharp pain', *izbiva me (na plač)* 'I feel like crying', etc.
- ii. Nouns: *jad me e* 'I am mad at', *sram me e* 'I am ashamed of', *strax me e* 'I am afraid', *gādel me e* 'I am ticklish' ...

## (C) Predicates with possessor datives:

*olekva mi (na sārčeto)* 'my heart lightens; feel relief'; *bučat mi ušite* 'my ears ring'; *pari mi (na ezika)* 'my tongue is burning' ...

## (D) Predicates with possessor accusatives:

*boli me (glavata)* 'my head is aching',<sup>13</sup> *sviva me (sārčeto)* 'my heart is aching', *probožda me (sārčeto)* 'I have a shooting pain', *vārti me (ramoto)* 'I have a stitch in the shoulder', *stjaga me (sārčeto)* 'I am sick at heart', *grize me (sāvestta)* 'my conscience pricks me' ...

(E) Predicates in the *feel-like* construction:<sup>14</sup>

*spi mi se* 'I feel like sleeping'; *pie mi se* 'I feel like drinking', *jade mi se* 'I feel like eating', *iska mi se* 'I feel like', *idva mi da* 'I feel like'...

## (F) (Certain) modal predicates:

*nalaga mi se* 'I have to', *trjabva mi* 'I need', *slučva mi se* 'it happens to me', *vāzmožno mi e* 'it is possible for me', *neobxodimo/nužno mi e* 'it is necessary for me'.

## (G) Predicates indicating presence/absence:

*ima* 'there is', *njama* 'there isn't' (Cyxun 1968: 71; Lopašov 1978: 30; Assenova 1980).

The examples in (20) below show that doubling is obligatory with each one of the above classes of predicates even when the DP carries new information and nuclear

13. We add the clitic to the impersonal verb, following the Bulgarian grammatical tradition, which takes the clitic to be part of the lexical item.

14. This construction is productive throughout Slavic with transitive and intransitive verbs, and is used to express the fact that someone (the dative experiencer) 'feels like V-ing', e.g., *spi mi se* ('I feel like sleeping' lit.: it sleeps to me). For a recent discussion of this construction in Slavic cf. Rivero & Sheppard (2003, section 5) and Marušič & Žaucer (2003a,b; 2005, among others).

stress, and under no circumstances can it stand alone.<sup>15</sup> Quite different is the notion of obligatoriness of the clitic in Clitic Left Dislocation contexts reviewed in section 2 (e.g., *Ivan vsički* \*(go) *poznavat* lit. 'Ivan all him know'), since in this case, the presence of the clitic is epiphenomenal on the choice of the construction: if the object is not Clitic Left Dislocated, it need not be doubled and can very well stand alone, as in *Vsički poznavat Ivan* 'Everybody knows Ivan'. In what we call CD proper, on the other hand, the clitic has to be present irrespective of the choice of construction.

- (20) a. *Filmăt* \*(mu)            *xaresa*            *na Ivan*.  
film-Art him.CL.DAT appealed.3SG to Ivan  
'Ivan liked the film.'
- b. *Jad* \*(go)            *e Ivan*.  
anger him.CL.ACC is Ivan  
'Ivan is angry.'
- c. *Olekna*            \*(mu)            *na nego*.  
relieved.3SG him.CL.DAT to him  
'He felt relief.'
- d. *Boli*            \*(go)            *glavata Ivan*.  
hurt.3SG him.CL.ACC head.Art Ivan  
'Ivan's head is hurting.'
- e. *Spi*            \*(mu)            *se na Ivan*.  
sleep.3SG him.CL.DAT REFL to Ivan  
'Ivan feels like sleeping.'
- f. *Naloži*            \*(mu)            *se na Ivan da zamine za Sofia*.  
was-necessary him.CL.DAT REFL to Ivan Mod.prt leave.3SG for Sofia  
'Ivan had to leave to Sofia.'
- g. *Ima*            \*(go)            *Ivan v spisăka*.  
there-is him.CL.ACC Ivan in list.Art  
'Ivan is [present] in the list.'

The examples in (21)–(23) below further show that with precisely the same class of predicates the associate of the clitic can be (contrastively) focused with such focusing adverbs as *samo* 'only', *dori* 'even', *i* 'also' (see (21)), can be wh-moved ((22)), and can contain a (non-specific) indefinite quantifier (see (23)).<sup>16</sup>

15. Strictly speaking, only with Clitic Left Dislocated-DO is the resumptive clitic obligatory, as the contrast between *Ivan vsički* \*(go) *poznavat* 'Ivan all him know' vs. *Na Marija az mnogo sâm (i) pomagal* 'To Maria, I have helped her (CL.DAT) a lot' shows. See Cinque (1990, §2.3.5) for a possible account of the corresponding contrast in Romance.

16. This recalls Psych and Possessor Dative CD in Spanish, Romanian, and the Veneto dialects of Northern Italy, where obligatoriness of the clitic correlates with the possibility for the associate to be new information and bear nuclear stress, to be focused, to be wh-moved, and to be an

- (21) a. *Filmăt \*(mu) xaresa dori na Ivan.*  
film-Art him.CL.DAT appealed even to Ivan  
'Even Ivan liked the film.'
- b. *Jad \*(go) e samo Ivan.*  
anger him.CL.ACC is only Ivan  
'Only Ivan is angry.'
- c. *Šte \*(mu) olekne naj-nakraja i na nego.*  
will him.CL.DAT become-lighter at last and to him.ACC  
'He will finally feel relief as well.'
- d. *Ne \*(go) boli glavata samo Ivan.*  
not him.CL.ACC hurts head.Art only Ivan  
'Only Ivan's head is not hurting.'
- e. *Spi \*(mu) se samo na Ivan.*  
sleep.3SG him.CL.DAT REFL only to Ivan  
'Only Ivan feels like sleeping.'
- f. *Šte \*(mu) se naloži dori na Ivan da*  
will him.CL.DAT REFL be-necessary even to Ivan Mod.prt  
*poraboti malko.*  
work.3SG little  
'Even Ivan will have to work for a while.'
- g. *Njama \*(go) samo Ivan v spisāka.*  
there isn't him.CL.ACC only Ivan in list-Art  
'Only Ivan is not [present] on the list.'
- (22) a. *Na kogo \*(mu) xaresa filmăt?*  
to whom him.CL.DAT appealed.3SG film-Art  
'Who liked the film?'
- b. *Kogo \*(go) e jad?*  
whom him.CL.ACC is anger  
'Who is angry?'
- c. *Na kogo šte \*(mu) olekne naj-nakraja?*  
to whom will him.CL.DAT feel-relief.3SG at last  
'Who will finally feel relief?'
- d. *Kogo \*(go) boli glavata?*  
whom him.CL.ACC ache.3SG head-Art?  
'Who has a headache?'

---

indefinite quantifier (see Jaeggli 1982, 1986, 24; Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, 1994; Cordin 1993 among others). The fact that Accusative CD has different properties from Dative CD in those Romance languages and dialects that allow it can possibly be related to independent requirements on the preposition/case marker which precedes the associate (in addition to the above references, see Suñer 1988; Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, 1994; Brugè & Brugger 1996).



- e. *Na kogo \*(mu) se spi?*  
to whom him.CL.DAT REFL sleep.3SG  
'Who feels like sleeping?'
- f. *Na kogo šte \*(mu) se naloži da poraboti malko?*  
to whom will him.CL.ACC REFL is-necessary Mod.prt work.3SG a little  
'Who will have to work a little?'
- g. *Kogo \*(go) njama v spisāka?*  
whom him.CL.ACC there-isn't in list.Art  
'Who is not [present] on the list?'
- (23) a. *Filmāt ne \*(mu) xaresa na nikogo.*  
film.Art not him.CL.DAT appealed.3G to nobody  
'Nobody liked the film.'
- b. *Ne \*(go) e jad nikogo.*  
Not him.CL.ACC is anger nobody  
'Nobody is angry.'
- c. *Ne \*(mu) olekna na nikogo.*  
not him.CL.DAT felt-relief to nobody  
'Nobody felt relief.'
- d. *Ne \*(go) boli glavata nikogo.*  
not him.CL.ACC hurts head.Art nobody  
'Nobody has a headache.'
- e. *Ne \*(mu) se speše na nikogo.*  
not him.CL.DAT REFL slept to nobody  
'Nobody felt like sleeping.'
- f. *Ne \*(mu) se naloži na nikogo da raboti.*  
not him.CL.DAT REFL was-necessary to nobody Mod.prt work.3SG  
'Nobody had to work.'
- g. *Njama \*(go) nikogo v spisāka.*  
there-isn't him.CL.ACC nobody in list.Art  
'Nobody is [present] on the list.'

We take the properties illustrated in (21) through (23) by the predicates listed under (A)–(G) to be characteristic of CD proper (Cf. Jaeggli 1982, 1986). Conversely, in the CLRD construction neither of these properties are present. Thus, the associate of the clitic cannot be focussed (24a); cannot be wh-moved (24b), cannot be a non-specific indefinite quantifier (24c):<sup>17</sup>

17. Not all of these properties, however, seem to be necessary conditions for CD. For example, as noted, there are varieties of Spanish where the associate of a doubling *accusative* clitic can be

The two constructions (CD and CLRD) also differ intonationally. Thus, for example, (4) requires an intonational break between the clitic and its associate, which is parsed as a separate prosodic unit (Arnaudova & Krapova 2007).<sup>19</sup>

- In the real clitic doubling cases, on the other hand, the verb, the clitic and the associate form one prosodic domain, as illustrated in (26):<sup>20</sup>

- (26)  $[Boli\ go\ samo\ Ivan]_{\varphi} [glavata]_{\varphi}$

new information focus, but cannot be wh-moved, nor can it be a non-specific indefinite quantifier (see Jaeggli 1986, 39ff, and references cited there). Furthermore, in all varieties of Spanish doubling is obligatory with pronominal direct and indirect objects (cf. Jaeggli 1982, 1986). Only obligatoriness of the clitic (independently of the construction), and the ability of the associate to count as new information (bearing the nuclear stress of the sentence) thus seem bona fide diagnostics distinguishing CD from Clitic Right Dislocation.

18. See Benincà (1988, 130ff), and Samek-Lodovici (2005) for relevant discussion.

19. If there is no clitic, the in situ object can be parsed either as forming one phrase together with the verb, or as an independent phrase. No such option is available for the clitic right dislocation construction, which only has the second option.

- (i) Poznavam tova čuvstvo az.  $\rightarrow$  [Poznavam tova čuvstvo] $\phi$  [az] $\phi$  VOS  
[Poznavam] $\phi$  [tova čuvstvo] $\phi$  [az] $\phi$

Note that in (i) a sentence-final focussed subject is added, which does not affect the information structure of the sentence. It is intonationally distinct from the CLRD construction and is parsed as a separate prosodic unit. Thus Anagnostopoulou's argument (1994, 1999) that the possibility of having a focused subject after the associate of a clitic indicates clitic doubling and not CLRD does not hold for Bulgarian (even if it holds in Greek; see Philippaki-Warbuton et al. 2004, and the text below).

20. The subject, if present, cannot participate in the same domain, but is parsed as a separate prosodic unit and is necessarily destressed (marginalized or CLRD-ed).

The fact that the putative cases of DO-CD in Greek discussed in the literature (e.g., *Ton idha ton Petro* ‘Him I saw Peter’, Anagnostopoulou 1999: 762) do not allow the associate to be new information bearing nuclear stress (Androulakis 2001: 93), to be a wh-phrase (27a), a focused phrase (27b) and a (non-specific) indefinite quantifier (see Iatridou 1995: 25, and Philippaki-Warburton et al. 2004: 981, for discussion) would seem to suggest that they should be analysed as cases of CLRD rather than cases of CD proper.<sup>21</sup>

- (27) a. *Pion (\*ton) idhes?* (Iatridou 1995: 25; cf. also Kallulli 1999: 31) (Greek)  
 who him saw.2SG  
 ‘Whom did you see?’
- b. *(\*Ton) idha ton KOSTA* (Iatridou 1995: 25; cf. also Androulakis 2001: 93)  
 him saw.1SG the Kosta (focus)  
 ‘I saw Kostas.’

Anagnostopoulou (1999, 765f) and Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2000) take the apparent possibility of clitic doubling an ECM subject (as in (28a)), and an object in the presence of a focused inverted subject (as in (28b)), as evidence that such cases must be genuine CD rather than CLRD cases:

- (28) a. *O Jannis tin ekane [tin Maria] na klapsi.* ECM  
 the Jannis her.CL.ACC made the Maria MOD.PRT cry.3SG  
 ‘Jannis made M. cry.’
- b. *Tin efaghe tin turta o JANNIS.* (focus)  
 her.CL.ACC ate.3SG the cake the Jannis  
 ‘It was John who ate the cake.’

This evidence however is not conclusive, not only in light of the facts just reviewed but also because Italian, which has CLRD but no productive CD (apart from the limited cases mentioned in Cinque 1990: 178 fn4 and fn5) appears to allow forms corresponding to (28a–b), with properties characteristic of CLRD. See (29a–b) (see also the acceptability of a focused subject after a CLRDed object in the Bulgarian sentence (i) of fn.19).<sup>22</sup>

21. Albanian direct object clitic doubling appears to behave like its Greek analogue (see Kallulli 1999, chapter 2).

22. Revithiadou & Spyropoulos’s (2003) experimental evidence, quoted in Philippaki-Warburton et al. (2004, 974), shows that in cVOS cases such as (27b) V and O belong to different prosodic units (suggesting a CLRD configuration).

Note that in Greek, as in Bulgarian, psych and physical perception predicates do appear to constitute genuine cases of CD as doubling with them is obligatory, and the associate can be focused, can be wh-moved and can be an indefinite quantifier. See section 6. below for some examples.

- (29) a. *Io non l' ho mai lasciáta/vísta, Maria, piángere.* (Italian)  
 I not her have.1SG ever let.PART/see.PART Maria cry  
 'I never let/saw Maria cry.'
- b. *Non l' ha mangiáta, la torta, neanche GIANNI.* (focus)  
 not it has.3SG eat.PART the cake not even Gianni.  
 'Not even Gianni ate the cake.'

## 5. CD with tonic pronouns

The type of clitic doubling discussed above, which was seen to require a doubling clitic even with full DPs, should be differentiated from another, and more complex, type of clitic doubling available in Bulgarian, where the associate of the clitic is a tonic pronoun. Both the clitic and the tonic pronoun are morphologically marked for Case – see the examples in (30):

- (30) a. *Poznavam go nego.* (topic)  
 know.1SG him.CL.ACC him (tonic.ACC)  
 'I know him.'
- b. *Pitaj go NEGO – na men* (focus)  
 ask.IMP.2SG him.CL.ACC him(tonic.ACC) – to me  
*ne mi e kazval.*  
 not me.CL.DAT be.3SG tell.PART  
 'Ask HIM – to me he hasn't said anything.'

Clitic doubled pronouns, particularly frequent in colloquial speech, are typically used as topics (Ivančev 1978: 166; Maslov 1982: 304–5; Nitsolova 1986: 53, 2001: 82; Guentchéva 1994: 111 and this volume). Depending on context, they can also be used as contrastive topics,<sup>23</sup> or as contrastive foci,<sup>24</sup> accompanied by appropriate contrastive stress (Meľničuk 1971: 190).

23. Nitsolova (2001, 82) gives the following context to illustrate the contrastive topic feature of the pronominal construction:

(i) [KAKVO STANA]<sub>F</sub> s našite prijateli? – 'What happened to our friends?'  
 [Nego]<sub>T</sub> [go izbraxa (za DIRECTOR)<sub>F</sub>] a [neja]<sub>T</sub>  
 him him.CL.ACC elected.3PL for director while her  
 [ja UVOLNIXA]<sub>F</sub>.  
 her.CL.ACC fired.3PL  
 'He was elected director, while she was fired.'

24. CD in focalization contexts should be differentiated from reduplication/'anticipatio' in topicalization contexts. Ivančev (1978, 166) has noted that while the former is an optional phenomenon, the latter is always obligatory. Cf. his example: *IVAN \*(go) vižda nego.* 'It is Ivan

The function of contrastive focus can also be achieved by the tonic pronoun, undoubled by the clitic, as in (31)a–b:

- (31) [-Who do you know, Peter or Maria?]  
 a. *-Poznavam NEGO/\*nego.*  
     'I know him.'  
 b. *-Poznavam (samo) NEGO.*  
     know.1SG only him.  
     'I know only him.'

In view of the pragmatic conditions under which (30) and (31) are felicitous, we can generalize that the type of focus in (30) is specified as [+contrastive], while the one in (31), although still available under the contrastive reading, has the specification [+exhaustive]. The exhaustive reading requires that the object argument be identified as the only element for which the predicate phrase actually holds, to the exclusion/cancellation of all other potential candidates (Kiss 1998). The notion of exhaustiveness (Vallduvì & Vilkkuna 1998: 84) can explain the frequent use of operators/exclusive particles like *samo* 'only' (or the implicit presence thereof) with undoubled tonic pronouns.

The parallel existence of (30) and (31) shows that clitic doubling with accusative tonic pronouns is optional save for information structure purposes. However, this is not the right generalization, as the following two cases of accusative-dative asymmetries show.

The first asymmetry derives from the fact that despite the optionality of clitic doubling with indirect object arguments,<sup>25</sup> which seems to be parallel to that of direct object arguments, there is a subset of predicates taking indirect object arguments

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who sees him.' As discussed in section 3. above, we believe that this latter type of reduplication should be associated with CLRD, and not with CD, given the completely different pragmatic conditions, semantic-communicative role and intonation structure in (i) (necessarily flat intonation) as opposed to (ii):

- (i) *Lelja Tsvetanka dnes \*(mi) donese [F SMOKINI] na men.* CLRD  
     auntie Tsvetanka. today me.CL.DAT brought.3SG figs to me  
     'Aunt Tsvetanka brought me figs today.'
- (ii) *Lelja Tsvetanka dnes (mi) donese smokini [F NA MEN].* CD

25. For example dative arguments with verbs like *obaždam se* 'call', *davam* 'give', *donasjam* 'bring', *kazvam* 'say', *zapovjadvam* 'order', *napomnjam* 'remind', *spomenavam* 'mention', *podarjavam* 'donate' can optionally take a doubling clitic (highly preferred in colloquial speech):

- (i) *Ivan (mu/mi) se obadi na nego/mene.*  
     Ivan (him/me.CL.DAT) REFL called.3SG to him/me  
     'Ivan called him/Ivan called me.'

which require doubling regardless of information structure. These arguments feature non-experiencer datives with psych predicates like *radvam se na X* 'be happy with X', *sārdja se na X* 'be angry with X', *jadosvam se na X* 'be mad at X', benefactive/malefactive datives, and possessive datives:<sup>26,27</sup>

- (32) a. *Tja taka \*(mu) se zaradva na nego, če ne se*  
 she so him.CL.DAT REFL got-happy to him that not REFL  
*stārpja i go celuna.*  
 restrained.3SG and him.CL.ACC kissed  
 'She was so happy to see him that she could not restrain herself and kissed him.'
- b. *Šte \*(i) napravja inžekcia na neja i šte vidiš,*  
 will her.CL.DAT make.1SG injection to her and will see.2SG  
*če šte se uspokoi.*  
 that will REFL calm-down.3SG  
 'I will give her an injection and you will see that she will calm down.'
- c. *Az \*(mu) udarix edin šamar na nego.*  
 I him.CL.DAT slapped one slap to him  
 'I slapped him in the face.'
- d. *Vidjax \*(ti/i) liceto na tebe/na neja.*  
 saw you/her face.Art of you/of her  
 'I saw your/her face.'

The second asymmetry regards the use of the focusing particle *samo* 'only' which, as hinted above, and illustrated in (34), is incompatible with clitic doubled accusative

26. This restriction is relevant only for clitic doubled pronouns. Cf. (i), which shows that optionality of the clitic gets restored with full DPs (as opposed to the psych predicates discussed in section 3, where also full DPs are obligatorily clitic doubled):

(i) *Ivan (mu) udari edin šamar na Petăr.*  
 Ivan (him.CL.DAT) slapped one slap to Peter

27. Somewhat less clear are cases selecting a possibly Benefactive dative such as *pomagam* 'help', *karam se* 'scold', *prigotviam* 'prepare', *zapoviadvam* 'order', *slagam* 'put', *otdavam se* 'dedicate oneself', *radvam se* 'rejoice', etc., with which a 1st or 2nd (but not 3rd) person Dative tonic pronoun is obligatorily doubled:

(i) *Az pomognax na nego*  
 I helped.1SG to him 'I helped him.'

(ii) *Toj \*(mi) pomogna na mene*  
 He me.CL.DAT helped.3SG to me 'He helped me.'

tonic pronouns. The contrast between (33) and (34) with respect to the status of the doubling clitic shows however that this generalization does not extend to the case of clitic doubled dative pronouns which are perfectly compatible with *samo*:

- (33) *Tja (mu)           pomaga samo na nego.*  
       she him.CL.DAT help.3SG only to him
- (34) *Tja (\*go)           običa samo nego.*  
       she him.CL.ACC love.3SG only him

We seem therefore, to be having a parameter which distinguishes between Accusative and Dative pronouns. Even a superficial look at the data reveals that other parameters are also involved in the distribution of clitic doubling in standard Bulgarian and in Bulgarian dialects.

Although clitic doubling with pronouns is widespread in Bulgarian dialects, there is a dialectal area (subpart) referred to by Stojkov (1963a,b) as “the periphery zone of the Bulgarian linguistic territory,” which includes “bigger or smaller parts of the North-Western, South-Western, and South-Eastern Bulgaria” and which contains a number of archaic (and common Slavic) features, where clitics are available but clitic doubling is either lacking or at least severely restricted (cf. Krapova & Tisheva 2006 for a recent overview of the distribution of the various types of reduplication across the Bulgarian dialectal territory). One such case is provided by the South-Western dialect of Ixtiman which, as reported by Mladenov (1965),<sup>28</sup> appears to have clitic doubling with 3rd person (dative) tonic pronouns, but not with 1st and 2nd person (dative) pronouns, which suggests that a distinction between 1st/2nd person and 3rd person is relevant for this dialect. See (35) and (36).<sup>29,30</sup>

28. Dialects with restrictions on clitic doubling include the area of Kjustendil in South-West Bulgaria (as reported by Umlenski 1965), the dialectal area of Gjumjurdžina in Eastern Thrace (as reported by Bojadžiev 1972, 1991), the North-Western dialect of Godeč (as reported by Videnov 1978), as well as the Rhodope dialects in the area of Smoljan (Ivanov 1978).

29. Note that, apart from the lack of a clitic, in (36) there is no preposition *na* ‘to’ to introduce the indirect object even if the verb *scold* requires an indirect object. Since, as in standard Bulgarian, the dative form of 1st and 2nd person pronouns is differentiated from the accusative form only through the preposition *na*, there is no way to tell apart a dative from an accusative 1st and 2nd person pronoun. Given the lack of doubling with such pronouns, as well as with dative DPs, which are always preposition-less in this dialect, Mladenov (1965) hypothesizes that there is a correlation (in this and other dialects) between morphological Case marking and clitic doubling. This is confirmed by the fact that only 3rd person pronouns, which systematically differentiate dative (*nim*) from accusative Case (*nix*), have also obligatory clitic doubling (with datives).

30. The Accusative vs. Dative distinction (see (ii) vs. (iii) below), and the 1st/2nd vs. 3rd person distinction (see (i) vs. (ii) is also found in French, where, however, differently from standard

- (35) a. *Kazvame \*(im)                    nim                    maslofki.*  
 call.1PL    them.CL.DAT them(tonic.DAT) maslofki  
 'We call them maslofki.'
- b. *Kakvo \*(im)                    trekne                    nim                    taka pravat*  
 what    them.CL.DAT occur.3SG them(tonic.DAT) so    do.3PL  
 'They do whatever occurs to them to do.'
- (36) a. *Učitela                    se                    pak nas                    kara.*  
 teacher.Art    REFL again us(tonic) scold.3SG  
 'The teacher scolds us again.'
- b. *Sega po plana                    da                    ja                    dadat nas.*  
 now in plan.Art Mod.prt it.CL.ACC give.3PL us(tonic)  
 'Now, according to the plan, they should give it to us.'
- c. *Posadix                    tebe                    i                    mene                    po                    edno cvete.*  
 planted.1SG you(tonic) and me(tonic) each one flower  
 'I planted a flower for you and for me.'

Yet another distinction, namely [+human] vs. [-human], is manifested, it seems, in the Bulgarian dialects spoken in the Romanian regions of Oltenia and Muntenia (as well as in Romanian). As reported by Mladenov (1993), clitic doubling in these dialects is obligatory with human (or animate) nouns, accusative pronouns and quantifiers referring to humans but only in the presence of the animacy marker *pă*, which is a direct borrowing from Romanian *pe*:

- (37) a. *Či gu                    izedi                    pă negu;*  
 will himCL.ACC eat.3SG pe him(tonic)  
 'He will be furious with him.'
- a'. *Az gu                    ištef                    pă negu.*  
 I him.CL.ACC looked-for.1SG PE him(tonic)  
 'I was looking for him.'

Bulgarian, and the Bulgarian dialects, 1st/2nd person pronouns are obligatorily doubled while 3rd person pronouns are only optionally doubled. See (i) to (iii). All three examples are from Kayne (2001):

- (i) *?Je connais LUI (mais pas son frère)                    vs. Je le                    connais lui.* (French)  
 I know him (but not his brother) vs. I him.CL.ACC know him
- (ii) *\*Jean connaît MOI. vs. Jean me                    connaît moi/MOI.*  
 Jean knows me vs. Jean me.CL.ACC knows me
- (iii) *Jean parle volontiers à MOI (mais pas à mon frère).*  
 Jean talks willingly to me (but not to my brother)



- b. *Tejku jā                    ze    pǎ maminata    majka;*  
 dad   her.CL.ACC took   PE mother's.Art mother  
 'Dad took my grandmother.'
- b'. *Senne,                    kǎd   gi                    ubil                    pǎ   sičkite. ...*  
 sat-down.3SG after   them.CL.ACC killed.3SG   PE   all.Art  
 'He sat down after killing them all.'

## 6. Some Balkan parallels

Clitic doubling with pronominal objects is a widespread Balkan phenomenon, as the examples below show.

- (38) a. *Otan \*(me)                    vlepete   emena*                    (Modern Greek, Ilievski 1988: 167)  
 when   me.CL.ACC see.2PL me  
 'when you see me.'
- b. *Ai \*(më)                    njeh    mue.*                    (Albanian, Ilievski 1988: 167)  
 he   me.CL.ACC knows me.ACC  
 'He knows me.'
- c. *Am            asteptat-            \*(o)            pe ea*                    (Romanian, Gierling 1996: 121)  
 have.1SG waited.PART her.CL.ACC PE her.ACC  
 'I have waited for her.'
- d. *\*(Mu)            dadov   nemu.*                    (Standard Macedonian, Ilievski 1988: 169)  
 him.CL.DAT gave   him.DAT  
 'I gave him.'

In his study of Balkan dialects back in the early 20th century, Selišev (1918) notes that doubling of tonic pronouns is to be found across the entire Balkan territory (in the dialects of Bulgaria, especially in Western Bulgaria, in Modern Greek, in Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and in the Daco-Romanian dialects) and is particularly prominent (obligatory) in all dialects of Albania (1918, 1981: 255) and (South-)Western Macedonia. Reduplication of nouns on the other hand, referred to in the text above as CLLD and CLRD, seems more unevenly distributed and is most frequent in the South-Western parts of the Balkan Peninsula, an area currently said to have constituted the centre of innovations w.r.t. this and other common Balkan phenomena (see also Lindstedt 2000; Tomić 2006; Assenova 1977: 28–29, 2002: 116). Selišev (1918, 1981: 250–253) further notes that immediately outside of this area, as one leaves the dialectal boundaries of Macedonia, the conditions on doubling begin to change and further north and northwest one finds fewer and fewer cases of doubling, as well as other patterns of variation, especially word order differences (adjacency between the two pronominal forms, lack of proclitics, preverbal position of the tonic pronoun,

etc.; cf. also the examples in (39) below).<sup>31</sup> Thus, in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects (in Old Serbia and South-Eastern Serbia, the Morava basin, Kosovo and along the Timok river)<sup>32</sup> only pronominal doubling exists and no reduplication of nominal arguments at all.<sup>33</sup> In other words, what we have here referred to as CD (i.e., obligatory doubling in the conditions specified in section 4 above) need not depend on DP reduplication and can exist in the absence of it.

Contemporary studies on South-Eastern Serbian dialects and more generally, on cross-Balkan syntactic variation not only confirm Seliščev's accurate observations but also reveal that the linguistic situation in the Balkan Slavic area has not changed considerably in the last century (cf. e.g., Sobolev 1998: 142; Tomić 2006, 2007). The examples in (39) below are taken from Seliščev's work (1918, 1981: 249–253):

- (39) a. *kaži mi mene; imaš me mene*  
 tell.IMP me.CL.DAT me; have.2SG me.CL.ACC me  
 'Tell me' 'You have me' (Struga – S.W. Macedonia)
- b. *mi dade i na mene nogu pari* (Voden – W. Macedonia)  
 me-CL.DAT gave.3SG and to me much money  
 'He gave a lot of money to me as well.'
- c. *koj te tebe zapoveduje?* (Dolni Polog – N.W. Macedonia)  
 who you.CL.ACC you give-orders.3SG  
 'Who gives you orders?'
- e. *Blago majke što ga njega rodi!* (Kosovo)  
 lucky mother.DAT who him.CL.ACC him gave-birth.3SG  
 'Lucky the mother who gave birth to him!'
- f. *kuj te tebe pije, bez nevesta spije.*  
 who you.CL.ACC you drink.3SG., without bride sleep.3SG  
 'He who drinks from you[r waters], sleeps without a bride/[alone].'  
 (the Middle Timok river)

31. Naturally, these correlations need to be studied in a more systematic way.

32. The South-Eastern Serbian dialects (also known as the Prizren-Timok group) constitute a typologically well-defined area which has incorporated a number of Balkan features after having gone through a convergent development, marking their full-fledged membership into the Balkan Sprachbund (Sobolev 1998, 142, but see Assenova 2002).

33. In all of the Balkan languages pronominal doubling seems much older than doubling with DPs (Mirčev 1966; Minčeva 1969; Ilievski 1988; Assenova 2002). In Bulgarian manuscripts it is attested since the 13th–14th c. (Rusek 1963), in Macedonian since the 16th c. (Ilievski 1988). Plausibly, this means that the phenomenon has been established at the time, if not earlier. When observed in translations of Greek canonical texts, doubling is often used despite the lack of such construction in the original. This, alongside other factors, points to a parallel but independent development (independent also from the emergence of the definite article).

- g. *šo mi mene ti napra(j)i?* (Skopska Černa Gora, Serbia)  
 what me.CL.DAT me you did.2SG  
 'What did you do to me?'
- h. *ostail go na mira nego.* (South-Western Bulgarian dialects)  
 left him.CL.ACC at peace him  
 'He left him in peace.'

In recent work, Olga Tomić (cf. Tomić 2007) summarizes the complex areal distribution of the doubling phenomena in the western part of the Balkan Slavic dialectal continuum in the following way: "in all the South-Eastern Serbian dialects we have pronominal Clitic-doubling, in the eastern boundary of these dialects, and the Easternmost Macedonian dialects there is optional DPs clitic-doubling, in the majority of the Macedonian dialects DPs are also clitic-doubled, whereas in the South-Westernmost Macedonian dialects clitic-doubling of (at least indirect) objects becomes almost obligatory".<sup>34</sup>

In certain cases reduplication of DP arguments, as opposed to pronominal doubling seems to depend on the syntactic function of the argument (Dative vs. Accusative objects). Thus, as reported by Topolinjska (2001), in the entire Prizren dialect (Kosovo) pronominal doubling is obligatory, while DP reduplication is found only with Dative objects; with Accusative objects this Balkan innovation is inexistent. Examples are given in (40):

- (40) a. *Poslje ne sabraše nas.*  
 then us.CL.ACC gathered.3SG us.ACC  
 'Then he would gather us together.'
- b. *Ona mi zbori mene.*  
 she me.CL.DAT talk.3SG to me.DAT  
 'She is talking to me.'
- c. *Ja gi vikam ženama.*  
 I them.CL.DAT say.1SG women.DAT  
 'I am saying to the women.'

While there nevertheless seems to be (considerable) variation w.r.t. reduplication of DP arguments in both CLLD and CLRD (and in particular in the latter type of construction),

34. The author relates these conclusions to Poletto's (2006) implications, according to which if in a given dialect DPs are doubled, tonic pronouns are also doubled; if QPs are doubled, both tonic pronouns and DPs are doubled.

due to the degree of involvement of features such as definiteness/specificity or Topicality (cf. Assenova 2002, 2004, 2005; Lopašov 1978; Rudin 1994; Franks & King 2000; Alboiu 2000; Tomić 2006, a.o.), the type of doubling which seems strictly obligatory across the entire Balkan territory is the one in which a psych or a physical perception predicate is involved.<sup>35,36</sup> The Bulgarian data which we have examined above (cf. sections 4 and 5) find exact parallels in all the other Balkan languages and dialects. See examples (41)–(46):

- (41) a. *\*(Tu) aresi tu Yani* (Modern Greek, Papangeli 2000: 485)  
 CL.GEN. likes the Yanni.GEN  
*i musiki.*  
 the music.NOM  
 'Yani likes the music.'
- b. *Ton Yánni \*(ton) ponái* (Modern Greek, Kallulli 1999: 20)  
 the Yanni him.CL.ACC. hurt.3SG  
*to kefáli tu.*  
 the head his  
 'Y. has a headache.'
- (42) a. *Jan-it \*(i) mungojnë* (Albanian, Kallulli 1999: 19)  
 Jan-the.DAT him.CL.DAT. miss  
*dhjetë libra.*  
 ten books  
 'Jan is missing ten books.'
- b. *Ben-in \*(e) mërzit vetmia.* (Albanian, Kallulli 1999: 20)  
 Ben-the.ACC him.CL.ACC bores solitude  
 'Solitude bores Ben.'
- c. *Atë \*(e) trëmb puna.* (Albanian, G. Turano, p.c.)  
 he.ACC him.CL.ACC frightens work.Art.NOM  
 'The work scares him.'
- d. *Atij \*(i) dhemb koka.* (Albanian, G. Turano, p.c.)  
 him.DAT him.CL.DAT aches head.NOM  
 'He has a headache.'

35. Also shared by the Balkan languages is the fact that doubling is required by inalienable possession arguments and other constructions which involve an indirect object or a quirky subject, not discussed here.

36. Few very interesting exceptions exist in the above mentioned Bulgarian dialects of Ixtiman, Kjustendil, Gjurmurdžina, and Godeč (cf. fn. 28), where clitic doubling is absent even in this type of construction (for examples and a discussion see Krapova & Tisheva 2006).

- (43) *Nu-\*(l) doare capul* (Romanian, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994: 197)  
 not him.CL.ACC aches head.Art  
*pe băiatul ăsta.*<sup>37</sup>  
 PE boy.Art this  
 'This boy does not have a headache.'
- (44) a. *Glavata \*(go) boli (samo) PETRE* (Macedonian)  
 head.the him.CL.ACC aches (only) Peter  
 'Only Petre has a headache.'
- b. *Teško \*(mi) e samo na mene.*  
 Difficult me.CL.DAT is only to me  
 'It is hard only for me.'

These comparative data would seem to further justify the already well-established opinion that Clitic reduplication is one of the most characteristic Balkan phenomena (Balkanisms) (cf. e.g., Assenova 2002), were it not for the fact that, as is well-known, in Spanish and/or its dialects one also finds a similar situation: doubling is obligatory with psych predicates and with accusative and dative tonic pronouns, with indirect object of inalienable possession, but is optional for non-pronominal indirect objects, and either impossible or optional for non-pronominal direct objects, depending on the particular variety involved (Jaeggli 1982; Gierling 1996). Be as it may, the cross-linguistically common restrictions as well as the factors which are at the basis of the obligatoriness vs. optionality of clitic doubling need a more systematic investigation, once the constructions have been singled out which is what we hope to have done for Bulgarian. The great cross-linguistic variability of the phenomenon shows that it is subject to constraints of different kinds, which can be traced down to two main classes. The first class regards the grammatical function carried by the doubled phrase: direct vs indirect object. The second class regards its semantic features. Different languages in fact show different conditions which govern doubling, based on the presence of features such as [+/-pronominal], [+/-human], [+/-definite], [+/-possessor], etc. (cf. also Gierling 1996).

37. For Romanian Tasmowski (1987, 395) has noted that Experiencers (even (-def)(-spec) like *nimeni* 'nobody' and *cine* 'who') trigger obligatory clitic doubling as in (ia). Cf. also Dobrovie-Sorin (1994, 197) from which the examples below have been taken:

- (i) a. *Pe cine- l doare capul?* (Romanian)  
 pe whom CL.ACC aches.3SG head.Art. 'Who has a headache?'
- b. *\*Pe cine l- ai văzut?*  
 pe whom him.CL.ACC have.2SG seen.PART 'Whom have you seen?'

## 7. Conclusion

In this paper, we have been able to identify two cases of CD proper in Bulgarian: (1) with psych and physical perception predicates, and (2) with tonic pronouns, and while discussing these cases we have also identified the presence of the following parameters summarized informally in (45):

- (45) a. Pronominal vs. Full Phrase (DP);
- b. Indirect vs. Direct object;
- c. 1st/2nd person vs. 3rd person;
- d. Animate vs. Inanimate argument;
- e. Definite vs Indefinite argument.

These parameters of variation seem to be instantiated not only in Bulgarian, which has been the main object of this study, but also in the other Balkan languages and dialects, and although their manifestations may turn out to have different prominence and uneven distribution, we may be dealing with a common Balkan development. In any case, one or another parameter, or some combination of parameters can be held responsible for shaping the exact conditions under which CD may occur in each particular language system. Needless to say, the exact identification of each parameter, as well as its manifestation in each particular language or dialect system requires an extensive research which we believe is worth undertaking.

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# Clitic doubling, complex heads and interarboreal operations\*

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Romanian, as well as certain varieties of Spanish (but not Iberian Spanish, French or Italian) allow the clitic doubling of direct objects (indirect objects will be left out here),<sup>1</sup> a phenomenon that is subject to clear crosslinguistic differences: in Spanish, but not in Romanian, clitic doubling is blocked by contrastive Focus and quantificational features. Our analysis of this contrast will rely on the following theoretical ingredients: (i) (most cases of) Head-Movement will be analyzed in terms of Head to Head Merge (Dobrovie-Sorin 2000; Dobrovie-Sorin & Galves 2000); (ii) clitic placement will be analyzed as a Spec-Head agreement configuration with a null pronoun *pro* sitting in the Spec of (the complex head containing) the clitic (revised version of Sportiche 1996); (iii) clitic doubling will be analyzed as resulting from an interarboreal operation (Bobaljik & Brown 1997) that merges a complex head  $Cl+Vv+T(ense)$  with the  $vP$  containing the clitic doubled DP; (iv) the contrasts between Romanian and (River Plate) Spanish will be analyzed as being due to the fact that in Spanish,  $Spec,CP$  is distinct from  $Spec,Cl+Vv+T$ , whereas in Romanian,  $Comp$  is part of the complex functional head clustering around  $T$ , and correlatively,  $Spec,C$  is not distinct from, but rather a slot inside the Spec of the complex head  $Comp+Cl+Vv+T$ .

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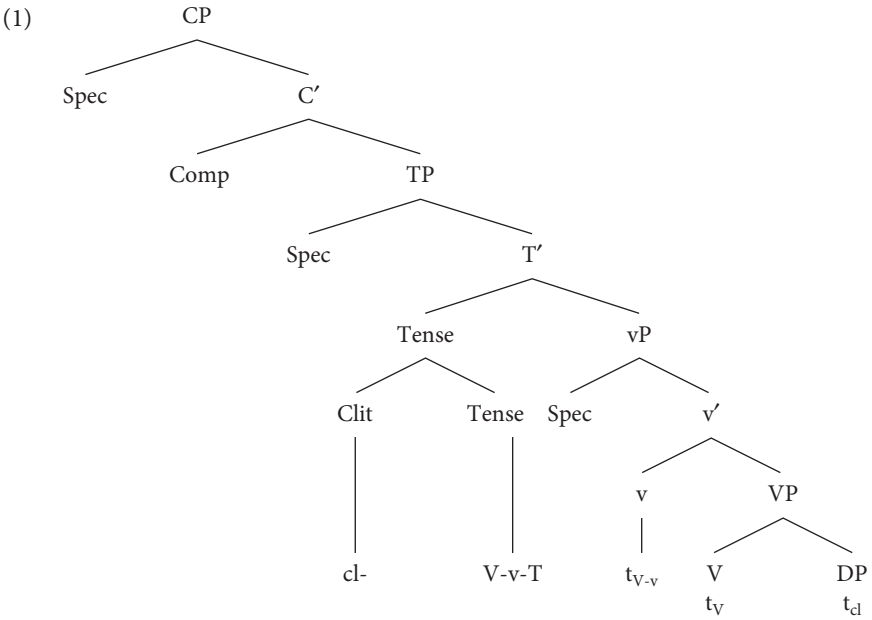
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1. It is well-known that the clitic doubling of direct and indirect objects obey distinct constraints (see in particular Dobrovie-Sorin 1994).

1. Complex heads: Movement or merge?

1.1 Head to Head movement

Empirical evidence and theory-internal reasoning have led to the assumption that inside the sentential domain there are at least three functional categories (*v*, Tense and Comp) for just one lexical category, the verb:



The current assumption is that each of these functional categories project independent functional projections, with independent Spec positions, as can be seen in (1). According to (a revised version of) Kayne’s (1975) analysis of cliticization, pronominal clitics move from a canonical argument position and attach to Tense, hence indirectly to V, which itself raises to Tense.<sup>2</sup> This analysis relies on the Head-Movement of V and of the clitic, which independently raise to Tense. However, Head-Movement (HMvc) is a theory-internal assumption that is theoretically problematic (violation of Chomsky’s (1995: 327–328) *Extension Condition*, among many other problems, recently reviewed in Matushansky 2006). Particularly problematic are the HMvcs of Vv to T(ense) and of Cl to (Vv+)T.<sup>3</sup>

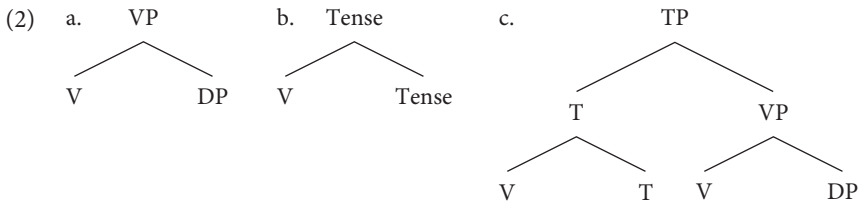
2. Many other analyses of clitic-placement can be found in the literature, some of which will be briefly discussed below. The proposal in (1) is only meant as a starting point of the discussion.

3. The movement of T-to-C(omp) does not violate the Extension Constraint, since in this case movement is “at the root”: the Comp node can be assumed to be inserted in the derivation

According to Matushansky (2006), Head-Movement is to be analyzed as a complex operation made up of a “canonical” type of A-movement (e.g., movement to Spec, T), followed by a Restructuring operation labelled “m-Merger”, which is meant to account for the fact that the moved head and its host form a complex  $X^0$  constituent (which can subsequently be moved as a whole). This derivation complies with the Extension Condition (since the first step is A-movement of the clitic to Spec,T, an operation which targets the edge and “extends the tree”), but is nevertheless confronted with two problems: (i) the clitic counts as both an XP (it moves as an XP to Spec) and an  $X^0$  (it is subject to m-Merger). Although such a double status is allowed by Bare Phrase structure, a more constrained theory is in principle better, if at all possible: one may assume that certain constituents may be both max and min (e.g., proper names), without allowing a constituent (in particular, a pronominal clitic) to change its status in the course of the derivation; (ii) the result of a PF operation (the complex  $X^0$  constituent Cl+Vv+T, resulting from m-Merger) should not be allowed to be the input of syntactic operations (movement to Comp).

## 1.2 Head to Head Merge

In what follows we will propose an analysis of cliticization that does not rely on Head Movement but rather on Head to Head Merge (Dobrovie-Sorin 2000 and Dobrovie-Sorin & Galves 2000) combined with an “inter-arboreal operation” (Bobaljik & Brown 1997):<sup>4</sup> we first construct two pieces of the structure, VP on the one hand, and (a copy of) V+Tense on the other hand, which are subsequently merged together:



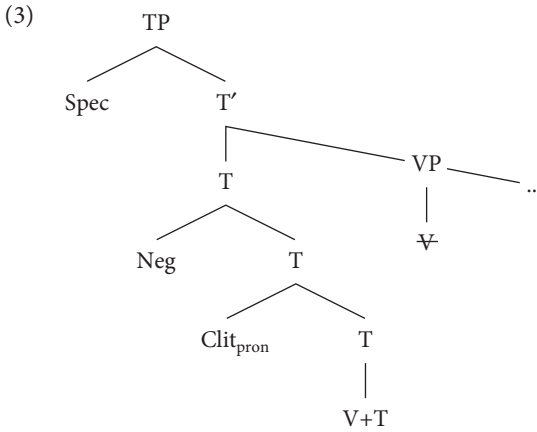
Dobrovie-Sorin (2000) and Dobrovie-Sorin & Galves (2000) extended this kind of derivation to the other functional categories related to the verb: once V+Tense is formed, it may expand further, by merging with clitics, neg, and even  $C^0$ ; it is the resulting

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simultaneously with Tense-to-Comp movement (see Fanselow, in press). Furthermore, T-to-C does not correlate with restructuring (no complex head formation).

4. “Sideward movement” is a similar procedure used by Nunes (1995, 1998) for the analysis of DP-movement.

complex head that will merge with VP (or rather with vP, under more recent versions of minimalism; this refinement will be ignored whenever it is irrelevant):



Under such an analysis, the Extension Constraint is not violated, because the TP constituent is not yet formed at the moment at which the verb and the clitic merge with Tense. Note that in this configuration, there are no intermediate Spec positions, but only one such position, inserted in the Spec position of the complex head.

One may imagine an alternative derivation: (i) the clitic merges with the Verb and further with little *v*, forming Cl+Vv; (ii) a copy of Cl+Vv subsequently merges with Tense and with Neg. The data in (4)a–b constitute evidence against this derivation:

- (4) a. \**Crezi că poate Ion îl ajută pe vărul meu?* (Romanian)  
       [do you] think that can John him help PE cousin my?  
       b. *Crezi că îl poate Ion ajută pe vărul meu?*

The example in (4)a illustrates a generalization that holds in all Romance languages: clitics cannot attach to the lexical Verb in those configurations in which the lexical Verb does not move to Tense.<sup>5</sup> The grammaticality of the example in (4)b can be captured by assuming that the clitic directly merges with Tense, and only indirectly with (a copy of) *poate* ‘can/may’, which itself raises to Tense; the lexical V stays inside VP (or vP).

5. Romance languages differ as to which configurations block the movement of lexical verbs: in French, for instance, *pouvoir* and *vouloir* subcategorize for full TP constituents, and therefore clitics attach to the lexical V (which moves to the embedded T°), whereas Tense and Mood auxiliaries (*avoir* ‘have’ and the conditional auxiliary) subcategorize for VPs, and therefore clitics show up on the auxiliary rather than on the main V. In Romanian, the examples built with *a putea* ‘can, may’ followed by an infinitival VP constitute the only configuration containing a VP constituent out of which V does not raise (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, chapter 4).

The data thus indicate that clitic placement is not a by-product of the movement of (Cl+)*Vv* to Tense; rather, the Clit independently merges with/moves to Tense.<sup>6</sup>

Let us come back to the definition of Head to Head Merge (HH Merge henceforth). As proposed in Dobrovie-Sorin (2000) and Dobrovie-Sorin & Galves (2000), HH Merge is driven by subcategorization features (C-selection features): Tense subcategorizes for *V* (or rather *v*, which in turn subcategorizes for *V*) and *V* subcategorizes for various kinds of complements. The only difference from more canonical frameworks is that C-selection features are allowed to be satisfied not only by XPs but also by *X*°s with the relevant categorial features, a possibility that is allowed, although not exploited within minimalist accounts. The complex head inherits from its daughters those C-selection features that have not yet been checked: T selects *Vv*, yielding *Vv+T*, which inherits the C-selection features of *V*, and therefore may further merge with complement clitics, yielding *Cl+Vv+T*, labelled T; Neg selects T, and as such it merges with T, yielding a constituent of the form *Neg+Cl+Vv+T*, labelled T.

Insofar as HH Merge is driven by selectional features, it qualifies as set-Merge (Merge by substitution, as opposed to Merge by adjunction). However, HH Merge does not change the bar-level, and as such – given current definitions – it qualifies as Merge by adjunction. We are thus led to a contradiction, which can be solved by assuming that bar-level labelling does not distinguish between substitution and adjunction.<sup>7</sup>

HH Merge is a possible, though not an obligatory choice for functional categories, which may differ crosslinguistically as to whether they merge with a complement or with another functional *X*° category. We can thus assume a universal characterization of functional categories in terms of their selectional features (Comp selects Neg, Neg selects Tense and Tense selects *V*), together with a parametrization as to whether these selectional features are satisfied by merging with maximal projections (NegP, TenseP and VP) or with Heads (Neg, Tense and *V*). This parametrization could be correlated with morphological properties of Tense: one might thus assume that morphologically rich Tense is allowed to merge directly with *V*° and the other sentential functional projections, whereas poor Tense cannot do so. We can thus derive the fact that the

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6. In order to account for clitic-placement in auxiliary configurations (including *a putea* in Romanian), Movement analyses are forced to resort to excorporation: the clitic is merged in an A position, then attached to *V* and *v*, whence it is excorporated in order to move on its own to Tense (see in particular Roberts (2006)).

7. For readability reasons we use *X*'-type labels, but the reader should bear in mind that they have no theoretical status. Within Bare Phrase Structure, the notions of minimal and maximal projection are contextually defined at each step of the derivation, and they are not exclusive of each other:

- (i) A category that is not dominated by a category of the same type is maximal.
- (ii) A category that does not dominate any category is minimal.



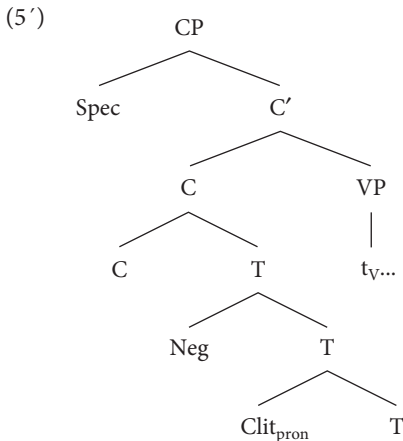
relative hierarchical order between C, Neg and Tense is the same across languages, regardless of whether the functional categories merge into complex  $X^0$  constituents or project independent maximal categories.

### 1.3 Comp inside the complex head clustering around Tense

Let us now consider a language in which Tense does not have an EPP feature. Such a language need not (maybe cannot) project the Spec,TP position, and our system allows  $C^0$ , which has a T selectional feature, to merge with the complex functional  $X^0$  constituent, which is labelled T. The resulting complex Head is merged with the VP, as above.

The derivation postulated here can be observed in Romanian subjunctive and infinitival clauses (Dobrovie-Sorin 2000). The sequences in (5) qualify as clitic clusters, more precisely as complex  $X^0$  constituents, because no XP-element can appear inside them. Some elements may be absent, e.g., Neg or Pron, in which case the other elements preserve their relative positions with respect to each other.<sup>8</sup>

- (5) Comp - Neg - Pron - V+Infl
- a. *să nu o văd* (Romanian)  
     that subj not her see1sg  
     ‘that [I] should not see her’
- b. *a nu o vedea*  
     to not her see  
     ‘not to see her’



8. For arguments that *să* is a complementizer see Dobrovie-Sorin (1994).

The representation in (5') raises two related problems. The first one is the Merge between a complex  $X^\circ$  constituent labelled  $C^\circ$  and VP. Since  $C^\circ$  does not select for V, how come this kind of Merge is allowed? The assumption required here is that a complex  $X^\circ$  element inherits the selectional features of the lowest simple functional  $X^\circ$  contained in it. The second problem comes from the fact that the relation between V and its trace does not obey the c-command constraint. We may assume that branching nodes internal to complex  $X^\circ$  constituents do not count for the computation of c-command, or, alternatively that the V-feature percolates up to the highest node of the complex category.

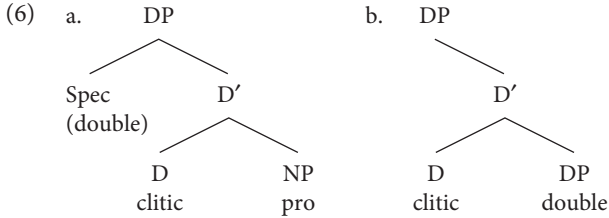
## 2. Clitic placement

We have so far derived a complex  $X^\circ$  constituent by applying Merge between V, Tense, pronominal and negative clitics. The resulting complex  $X^\circ$  element then merges with VP, and a chain is created between the verb in the complex  $X^\circ$  and the verb in VP. In this section we turn to the characterization of the relation between pronominal clitics and the argument position with which they are associated.

### 2.1 Previous analyses of pronominal cliticization

Two types of analyses of clitics can be found in the generative literature starting with Kayne (1975), who proposed that clitics are generated (first merged) as pronominal DPs in the canonical syntactic positions characteristic of arguments, whence they move and attach to the verb. According to later refinements of this analysis (as in Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, 1999, Bosković 2002, Rouveret & Nash 2002, Matushansky 2006, among others), the clitic attaches to T(ense), and only indirectly to the verb, due to the fact that V itself raises to T. This analysis is confronted with a number of problems: (i) the clitic changes its category during the derivation: it starts out as a full DP and ends up as an  $X^\circ$  attached to Infl.; (ii) since two DPs cannot be generated in one and the same position, Clitic Doubling (CD-ing henceforth) is wrongly predicted to be blocked in all languages that have clitics. As already mentioned in passing above, the first problem was solved by 'brute force' in certain versions of the minimalist program (Bare Phrase Structure), which allow constituents to be simultaneously 'minimal' (i.e., heads) and 'maximal' (i.e., phrasal). This relaxed view of phrase structure allows us to treat, *inter alia*, proper names, which (in languages where proper names do not carry definite articles) are  $X^\circ$  elements from the point of view of their internal structure, but XPs with regard to their distribution. Note however, that unlike what is postulated for clitics, proper names do not change their X-bar status in the course of the derivation. We will therefore discard this type of solution (for a recent implementation, see Matushansky 2006).

In order to allow for clitic doubling, Uriagereka (1995), apparently following Torrego (1995), proposed an analysis that has come to be known as the *big DP hypothesis*, which comes under two variants:



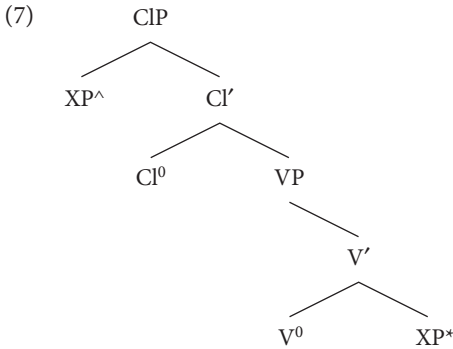
In these configurations, the clitic and the doubled DP are generated inside the same “big DP”, in which the clitic occupies the Det position and the doubled DP is in the Spec, as in (6a) (Uriagereka 1995: 81) or in the complement position, as in (6b) (Boeckx 2001, Papangeli 2000 for Greek, and Cornilescu 2002 for Romanian).<sup>9</sup> The structure in (6b) seems well motivated for Greek, where unsplit constituents of the type [Det + DP] can be found, but is problematic for those languages, e.g., Romanian or Spanish, where such constituents cannot be found. The structure in (6a), proposed by Uriagereka (1995), is itself problematic insofar as it relies on the hypothesis that the parameter allowing for clitic doubling concerns the features of Det: strong Det’s are able to legitimate an empty NP complement, and as such can appear in clitic doubling structures of the type shown in (15a). The Romanian data cannot be captured by this proposal: the suffixal definite articles (-l, -i, -a and -le) do not qualify as ‘strong’,<sup>10</sup> and as such should not allow CD-ing, and yet they do.

9. Papangeli (2000) argues that, in the big DP structure, the double is the complement of the determiner (as in (6b)). She claims that determiners (clitic pronouns) and strong pronouns have the same selectional properties and that only languages where determiners and strong pronouns may select DP complements allow for the CD-ing of DPs. Thus, Greek overtly allows constituents of type D+DP, where D is a strong pronoun (from Papangeli (2000: 12):

(i) O Janis idhe afton ton andra me ta makria malia ne perni (Greek)  
 TheJanis saw this the man with the long hair subj. take  
 tis karamelis  
 the sweets  
 ‘Janis saw the man with long hair taking the sweets.’

10. Strong determiners in Uriagereka’s acceptance are those which license a *pro*-NP modified by a relative clause or a PP, corresponding to the English *one* in *the one who came* or *the one from France*. Weak determiners do not license a null modified *pro* NP, but typically license *en/ ne* cliticization. In this description, French and Italian, which lack CD, have weak determiners, given the ungrammaticality of French *\*le/la pro qui vient* (note however that *le* does license a null NP modified by adjectives, e.g., *le jaune* ‘the yellow [one]’) and the existence of *en*-cliticization.

Although the “big DP” hypothesis seems problematic for at least some of the languages that allow clitic doubling, it is undeniable that third person accusative clitics in Romance languages have a similar or identical form to determiners, to which they are moreover diachronically related: third person clitics and determiners in Romance derive from the same source, namely Latin demonstratives, i.e., *illum*, *illam* etc. It is however possible to assume that clitics are Determiners, without assuming the big DP hypothesis. Thus, according to Torrego (1999: 14, 51, 58–72), doubling accusative clitics signal/host/provide the “active” D-feature on little *v*. Torrego’s analysis thus combines the hypothesis that clitics are Determiners with Sportiche’s (1996) proposal, according to which clitics are assumed (i) to be functional categories<sup>11</sup> (referred to as “Clitic Voices”) in the extended VP, (ii) to project their own independent projections (ClP), and (iii) to bind an empty category of type *pro* in the argument position. In (7) we use Sportiche’s labels (Cl<sup>o</sup>, Cl’, ClP), which will be changed to *v*<sup>o</sup>, *v*’ and *v*P as we proceed towards our revised version of his analysis:



According to Sportiche, clitics themselves never appear in the verb’s complement position, but their argumental properties can nevertheless be captured, since the presence of clitics correlates with XP-movement: an XP\* phrase (the DP/PP-double) fills the verb’s complement position, and is  $\theta$ -marked by the verb. This XP\* is case-licensed by moving, overtly or covertly, to the specifier of the clitic-headed projection, to satisfy a constraint labeled the Clitic Criterion, comparable to Rizzi’s (1991) *Wh*-Criterion, both of which can be subsumed under a Generalized Licensing Criterion, which holds at LF:

- (8) a. A [+F] head must be in a Spec-head relationship with a [+F] XP.
- b. A [+F] XP must be in a Spec-head relationship with a [+F] head.

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Spanish and Galician which are CD languages, have strong determiners, as shown by the possibility of structures like *el/ la pro de Francia*, or *el /la pro que vino*.

11. Other implementations of this hypothesis can be found in Jaeggli (1982) and Borer (1984).

The structure in (7) directly accounts for clitic doubling configurations and pronominal cliticization can be analyzed as a particular case of clitic doubling, involving the (overt or covert) movement of a null DP. The fact that pronominal cliticization occurs in all Romance languages, whereas clitic doubling is a parametric choice can be captured by assuming that the covert movement of overt DPs is subject to stronger constraints than that of a null DP.

## 2.2 A revised version of Sportiche's (1996) analysis

Sportiche's important insight is that, since clitics are functional elements, they are not supposed to *deprive* the verb of its case-assigning abilities; on the contrary, they play a role in licensing the lexical double, which, whether it is a DP or a PP, is the *real argument* of the verb, which checks Case in the domain of the clitic. Note also that the relation between the clitic and its *pro* associate is not analyzed as the representational counterpart of a movement relation between the clitic itself and an empty category in argument position, but rather as a Spec-Head agreement relation.

Granting that object clitics can be analyzed as object agreement morphemes (clear parallelisms indeed exist between, e.g., Romanian clitic doubling and Hungarian object agreement) Sportiche's proposal that clitics are functional categories that project CIP can be viewed as an extension of Pollock's (1989) hypothesis that subject/verb agreement is to be analyzed as a functional head that projects AGRP. This hypothesis will however not be adopted here (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Chomsky 1995)<sup>12</sup> and correlatively we will reject Sportiche's proposal that clitics are functional categories taking VP/vP as complements.

The second problem concerns the position of pronominal clitics inside the complex Head to which they belong:

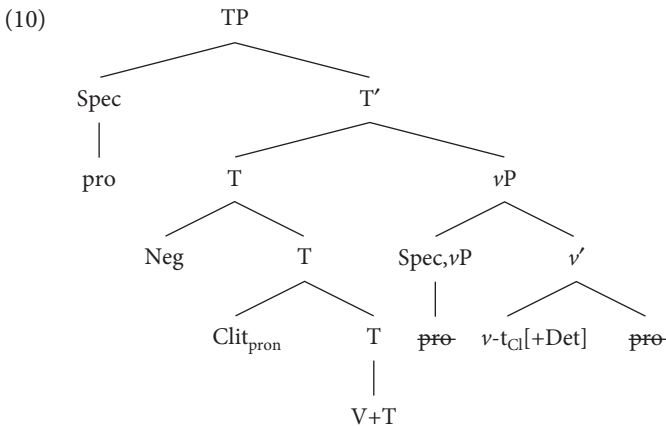
- (9) a. Je [<sub>T'</sub> [<sub>T</sub> l'ai] [<sub>AuxP</sub> t<sub>Aux</sub> [<sub>CIP</sub> pro [<sub>t<sub>Cl</sub></sub> [<sub>vP</sub> examiné t<sub>pro</sub>]]]]] (French)  
 b. Je [<sub>T'</sub> [<sub>T</sub> l'examine] [<sub>CIP</sub> pro [<sub>t<sub>Cl</sub></sub> [<sub>vP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>pro</sub>]]]]]

The empirical generalization underlying examples (9a–b) is that pronominal clitics attach to whatever verbal element raises to Tense, either Aux or lexical V. However, the base position of the clitic with respect to Aux and V (see the trace of the clitic and the traces of Aux and V, respectively) is different, which forces one to assume different

12. Agreement features can instead be analyzed as resulting from a copying mechanism occurring in a Spec-Head configuration, where the Head is Tense – rather than AGR. Note that in Romance at least, object clitics cluster around exactly the same element (the Tense-bearing verb, whether lexical or auxiliary) as subject agreement morphemes. In pro-drop languages, subject Agreement features may legitimate an empty category in subject position (labelled *pro*), much like clitics legitimate an empty category in object positions.

derivational steps. Various technical possibilities are of course available, but they seem stipulative to us.

In what follows we will assume a revised version of Sportiche's analysis that will allow us to preserve its desirable aspects and avoid its shortcomings: (i) as proposed in section 1 above, we will assume that pronominal clitics directly merge by HH Merge (Dobrovie-Sorin 2000 and Dobrovie-Sorin & Galves 2000) with Tense and indirectly with the other elements that attach to Tense, but we will *not* assume that clitics project their own functional projection: at no point in the derivation is there a CLP projection and correlatively no genuine Spec,Cl position either, but merely a complex Spec,T position, which might arguably host both subject DPs (licensed by  $AGR_s$ , not represented in (10)) and the null *pro* that is doubled by clitics; (ii) parallel to the formation of this complex head, a  $\nu P$  constituent is built, which looks very much like Sportiche's CLP, *modulo* a change of label: the functional category little  $\nu$  presumably containing a copy of the clitic (or marked with the Det feature, as proposed by Torrego 1995), which replaces Sportiche's Cl head, combines with a VP that contains a copy of V that merges with a null category *pro*; (iii) the two sub-trees are then merged together via an interarboreal operation:



This proposal is similar to Sportiche's (1996) view according to which the clitic does not first merge in a VP-internal position, but differs from it insofar as: (i) the clitic merges with a Head rather than with a phrasal constituent; (ii) the clitic is not a sentential functional category that subcategorizes for TenseP, but instead it is a Det(erminer))<sup>13</sup> constituent that realizes some of the case-features of Vv+T; (iii) it is Vv+T, rather than the clitic, that projects. It is because the clitic is directly merged with Tense that,

13. We assume that the clitic is labelled  $D^\circ$ , but we do not follow the "big DP" hypothesis in so far as we do not assume that  $D^\circ$  is pulled out of a DP merged in a VP-internal position.

although it is of category Det, it cannot project a DP-constituent (a DP constituent cannot be merged with Tense, but only with V). It is because the clitic is of category Det that it cannot project any kind of sentential projection (in other words the clitic cannot take TenseP nor any other sentential projection as a complement). Further differences are in line with technical changes in the minimalist framework itself: covert movement can now be viewed as an instance of the Agree relation.

As shown in (10), we propose that the null *pro* associated to the clitic must overtly raise (rather than raise covertly/be checked via Agree, as proposed by Sportiche) to Spec,T, where it can check its features with the Clit contained inside T. For obvious locality reasons, this movement must pass through Spec,vP. The hypothesis that the *pro* doubled by clitic moves overtly relies on the following motivations: (i) pronouns are known to scramble out of their Merge position in Germanic languages, and clitic-placement seems to have a role similar to the scrambling of weak pronouns; (ii) in terms of information structure, the null argument associated to the clitic counts as old information, and as such it has to be pulled out of the VP, to which Focus projects (see Cinque 1993); compare postverbal DPs, which are either narrow Focuses or belong to the Focus projection. If we want to propose a more technical explanation as to why *pro* must raise overtly, it seems reasonable to assume that

- (11) Null categories cannot be subject to Agree, because they lack  $\phi$ -features.

This follows from the logic of Agree: the unvalued features of a probing formal head cannot be valued by a category that lacks features. Since a null category cannot be subject to Agree, it must occur in a configuration of specifier-head agreement with the overt head, the clitic in this case, with subsequent feature sharing (concord), leading to the identification of the null category. Overt DPs, on the other hand, may be subject to an Agree relation with Cl (in Sportiche's terms, DPs move covertly to Spec, Cl) or raise to Spec,VP and from there to Spec,TP.

Matushansky's (2006) analysis of clitic placement as relying on DP-movement from an A-position to Spec resembles Sportiche's proposal under the revised version proposed here. However, the two analyses differ in several correlated respects: we assume that (a) both the clitic and *pro* are in the numeration, whereas for Matushansky, (a') only the clitic is in the numeration; for us, (b) (i) clitic placement results from first Merge (purely syntactic operation) of the clitic with Tense combined with (ii) a Spec-Head Agree relation between the Clitic and *pro*, raised from a VP-internal position to Spec, whereas for Matushansky, (b') clitic placement is the result of Cl-movement from an A-position to Spec, followed by m-Merging into VvT.

- (12)  $[_{TP}[_{Spec,TP} \text{Cl}_i] [_{T'} \text{Cl}_i - \text{Vv} - \text{T} [_{vP} \dots \text{Cl}_i \dots]]]$  (Matushansky (2006))

### 2.3 Conclusions

In this section we have proposed a revised version of Sportiche's (1996) analysis of cliticization, which combines the hypothesis that clitics are functional categories with the hypothesis of HH Merge, an operation that allows us to build a complex Head constituent that contains the clitic. The obvious advantage of this revision is that it avoids Head Movement and correlatively accounts for complex Head formation without resorting to restructuring mechanisms. The second important advantage is that the position to which the doubled DP raises is not Spec,Cl, but rather the Spec of the complex Head itself. Since the complex Head may vary from one Romance language to another (Comp is Head Merged with the complex T° constituent in Romanian, but not in the other Romance languages), Spec positions will vary accordingly and since Spec positions are crucial for the legitimation of clitic doubled constituents, our proposal will allow us to account for crosslinguistic differences regarding clitic configurations (see section 4 below). Compare Sportiche's own analysis, in which the only position that is crosslinguistically available for the legitimation of clitic doubled DPs is Spec,Cl.

### 3. Clitic Doubling

It is well-known that Romance languages, which all have pronominal clitics, differ as to whether or not they allow overt DPs in argument positions to be clitic doubled.<sup>14</sup> Apparently, doubling by the clitic is crosslinguistically available if the doubled DP occupies a left peripheral position, as in the CLLD (label and original analysis by Cinque) or a right peripheral position, in the clitic right dislocation structure (as extensively shown in Villalba 2001). It has proved to be difficult to distinguish between clitic doubling, i.e., the case where the clitic doubles a DP that occupies a vP-internal argument position, and CLRD, where the clitic doubled DP is in an adjunct position, especially when the only empirical difference between the two is the intonational contour. Thus, in the particular case of Balkan languages like Albanian and Greek, a majority of analysts (e.g., Anagnostopoulou 1994, 1999; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999; Papangeli 2000; Kallulli 1999, 2000) insist that these languages possess a genuine CD

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14. Following Aoun (1981), some theorists attribute the difference between clitic doubling and non-clitic doubling languages (e.g., Romanian vs. French) to the nature of the clitic itself: those languages that have referential clitics (R-clitics) do not allow for CD-ing, an option that is available in those languages that have non-referential (non-R) clitics. Quite clearly, in CD-ing configurations, the clitic behaves more as an inflectional element (comparable to AGR°) rather than a pronominal element. However, it is not clear that this difference in the nature of the clitic is a primitive difference, rather than one induced by the CD-ing parameter itself.



construction, while others argue that the clitic is the “true argument” while the double is an adjunct, attached at higher or lower V-projections (for the view that in Greek, CD is in fact CLRD see Philippaki-Warbuton et al. 2004). Advocates of the big DP hypothesis adopt a middle course position: the double is “adjunct-like” in that its  $\phi$ -features are inert (Kayne 2001; Boeckx 2001) and the clitic is necessary as a means of valuing the  $\phi$ -features of Tense.

Romanian is a language which clearly distinguishes between CD-ing and CLRD-ation: Prepositional-Accusative marking is necessary for the CD-ing of direct objects, i.e., for those configurations in which the doubled DP is in an A-position, but not for their CLRD-ation,<sup>15</sup> (nor for CLLD-ations, see § 3.2. below).

In this section, we will briefly introduce the core data regarding clitic doubling in Romanian and propose a structural analysis that will allow us to turn to our main empirical problem, the crosslinguistic variation among genuine clitic doubling languages (see section 4 below).

### 3.1 The Doubled DP Occupies an A-position

The example in (13), in which a doubled DP is the subject of a small clause in an ECM construction, constitutes the best evidence in favor of the analysis according to which Romanian clitic doubled DPs occupy A-positions:<sup>16</sup>

- (13) *Le consider pe studentele acestea prea încrezătoare în ele însele.*  
 them consider(I) PE students.the these too confident in them themselves  
 ‘I consider these students too confident in themselves.’

15. These generalizations are illustrated below:

- (i) *Maria l-a adoptat, #copilul.* (Romanian)  
 Maria him-has adopted child.the  
 ‘Maria adopted the child.’
- (ii) \**Maria l-a adoptat copilul.*  
 Maria him-has adopted child.the  
 ‘Maria adopted the child.’
- (iii) *Maria l-a adoptat pe copil.*  
 Maria him-has adopted PE child  
 ‘Maria adopted the child.’

16. Krapova & Cinque (this volume) challenge this type of evidence for languages such as Greek or Bulgarian, supplying comparable examples from Italian, a language that lacks clitic-doubling. Crucially, there is no intonational break in the Romanian example, unlike what happens in Italian (and possibly in Greek and Bulgarian, although for Greek Anagnostopoulou (1999) insists that the intonational contour is unmarked).

Note also that the double can serve as the antecedent of a reflexive pronoun. This indicates that it must be in an A position, since reflexives are bound from A-positions.

There are transitive verbs which require that a strong reflexive pronoun should co-occur with the reflexive clitic in order to get the reflexive reading of the verb. The strong pronoun is obligatory with interpretations where the co-reference of the subject and the object is unexpected. The obligatory nature of the strong reflexive pronoun accompanying the clitic shows that it cannot be an adjunct.

- (14) a. *Ion se deplînge pe sine mai mult decît pe ceilalți.* (Romanian)  
 Ion REFL pities PE himself more much than PE the others  
 'Ion pities himself more than the others.'
- b. \**Ion se deplînge mai mult decît pe ceilalți.*  
 Ion REFL pities more much than PE the others
- c. *O femeie necăsătorită se are pe sine/ pe ea însuși și atât.*  
 a woman unmarried REFL has PE herself/PE her herself and nothing else.  
 'An unmarried woman has only got herself and no one else.'
- d. \**O femeie necăsătorită se are (și atât).*  
 a woman unmarried REFL has (and nothing else)
- e. *Bolnavul nu s-a putut indica pe el însuși/ pe sine în fotografie.*  
 sickman.the not REFL-could indicate PE him himself/ PE himself in picture.  
 'The sick man could not point to himself in the picture.'
- f. ?*Bolnavul nu s-a putut indica în fotografie.*  
 sickman.the not REFL-could indicate in picture

An interesting correlation seems to exist between the type of position occupied by the doubled DP and the nature of the clitic: if the DP occupies a canonical object position, then the properties of the clitic resemble those of inflectional morphemes; if the DP occupies a peripheral position, then the properties of the clitic resemble those of pronominal arguments. Indeed, Franco (2000) proposes a battery of tests for diagnosing the role of the clitic and the role of the double, attempting to distinguish situations where the double is an argument from those where the double is an adjunct and the clitic counts as the syntactic argument. As shown in Cornilescu (2002), Romanian data support Franco's conclusion that in CD languages, clitics are more like agreement markers, occupying a certain position on a cline that goes from strong pronouns to affixes. Correlatively, in CD languages, the double behaves like a true argument.

### 3.2 The doubling parameter and prepositional accusatives

According to an observation known as “Kayne’s Generalization”, prepositional Accusatives constitute a necessary condition on clitic doubling: CD-ing is allowed only if a language has overt Case marking, e.g., prepositional Accusatives (Spanish and Romanian vs Italian), or morphological Accusative Case (Greek and Albanian). Languages such as French and Italian, which do not have prepositional Accusatives, do not allow clitic doubling either:

- (15) a. *Ieri l-am întâlnit pe Ion/ pe un prieten la teatru.*  
 yesterday [I] him-have met PE John/ PE a friend at theatre.  
 (Romanian; *id.* River Plate Spanish)
- b. *\*Hier je l’ai rencontré Jean/ un ami au théâtre.* (French)  
 (same meaning as (15a))

Although this generalization has been questioned (see in particular Anagnostopoulou 1999, Tsakali & Anagnostopoulou, this volume), we will assume here that it is basically correct, since it covers the data in Romance languages.

The quite complex constraints on the use of prepositional Accusatives in Romanian is beyond the scope of the present paper.<sup>17</sup> Relevant for our understanding of CD-ing are only the consequences of Kayne’s Generalization: since *PE*-marking is a necessary condition on CD-ing, we expect that whatever constraints apply to prepositional accusatives, they transfer to CD-ing itself. Also, by comparing CD-ed and non CD-ed prepositional accusatives we can clarify the respective effects of these two markers.

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17. More important than the so-called “Person constraint” (see the comment below), the presence of the preposition *PE* (homophonous with the preposition meaning ‘on’) has clear semantic effects, which could be summed up as in (i)–(ii):

- (i) In Romanian, *pe*-marking is obligatory only for those DPs that can only be of type *e* (proper names and pronouns).
- (ii) Indefinite DPs marked as prep acc’s have a specific reading.

The constraint in (i), suggested by Niculescu (1965) was first clearly formulated by Dobrovie Sorin (1994, 1997) and further elaborated in Cornilescu (2001): within the appropriate class of nouns (i.e., those marked as [+Person]), the prep acc is a filter on DP denotations, eliminating the predicative, property denotation  $\langle e, t \rangle$ . In other words, the prep acc blocks semantic incorporation. Note that the necessity of using *pe* with pronouns overrides the so-called “Person constraint”: direct object pronouns (see personal pronouns, but also demonstrative or possessive Determiners followed by empty NPs) must be marked with *PE*, regardless of whether they refer to animates or inanimates. The Person constraint can thus be viewed as a consequence of the generalization in (i) rather than as a primitive constraint on the use of *pe*: animate DPs, and especially DPs referring to humans tend to be treated as *e*-type expressions or as generalized quantifiers, not as properties  $\langle \langle e, t \rangle$  -type).

The fact that CD-ing depends on prepositional accusatives is suggested not only by the crosslinguistic generalization mentioned above, but also by language-internal observations. Thus, inside Romanian itself, CD-ing is blocked for lexical DPs referring to inanimates (recall that pronouns must be *pe*-marked, see footnote 17), which cannot be marked with the Prepositional Accusative :

- (16) *Ion a citit-(\*o) cartea asta într-o zi.* (Romanian)  
John has read-(\*it) book this in one day.

It is important to note that the necessity of prepositional-accusative marking holds only for A-positions, but not for CLLD (or CLRD) configurations, which seem to exist (although under different guises, as shown in section 4 below) in all the languages that have clitics. Thus, although postverbal inanimate objects cannot be clitic doubled (see (16)), they can, viz. must, do so when they occur in a left peripheral position:

- (17) *Cartea asta Ion a citit-\*(o) într-o zi.* (Romanian)  
book this John has read-\*(it) in one day.<sup>18</sup>

It should also be mentioned that the prepositional accusative is older than the CD construction and has developed independently (Rosetti 1986: 500–501). However,

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18. In (17), the dislocated DP is definite, and as such it must be resumed by a clitic. Left dislocated indefinite DPs must or cannot be resumed by a clitic, depending on whether they are strong (specific or partitive) or weak (non-specific/non-partitive). Note that the clitic is optional with dislocated generic indefinites:

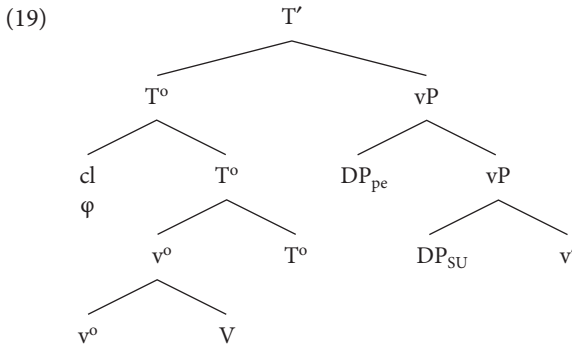
- (i) *O carte am pus pe raft, nu două* (weak, cardinal)  
A book (I) put on shelf, not two  
*\*o carte am pus-o pe raft nu două.*  
A book (I) put-it on shelf, not two
- (ii) *O carte am pus-(o) pe raft și o altă pe birou.* (specific)
- (iii) *Una dintre cărți am pus-o pe raft.* (partitive)  
One of book (I) put it on shelf.  
*\*Una dintre cărți am pus pe raft*
- (iv) *O carte bună (o) citești foarte repede.* (generic)  
A book good (you) (it) read very fast.

These examples, together with (20), show that the distribution of clitics resuming left peripheral “integrated” DPs (by “integrated” DPs we mean left peripheral constituents that are not separated by a comma intonation; see English Left Dislocations or ‘Hanging Topics’ in French) is not determined by different structural positions at the left periphery (e.g., Focus vs. Topic) nor by distinct constructions (e.g., CLLD vs English Topicalization), but rather by the internal features of the DP (Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, 1994).

in contemporary Romanian *pe* accusatives tend to be systematically doubled (Ruxăndoiu 2002).

The correlation between prepositional accusatives and clitic doubling can be captured by an updated version of Jaeggli's (1982, 1986) account in terms of Case:

- (18) a. Pronominal clitics absorb abstract Case-features (which are presumably carried by little *v*).
- b. A doubled DP argument on the edge of the vP must enter an Agree relation with the clitic.
- c. Overt Case marking is a PF constraint: vP is sent to the PF component before the interarboresc Merge with the complex Head, and therefore before Agree with the clitic can apply; but vP cannot go to PF until the doubled DP has checked off its Case feature. Overt Case marking is a way of checking the Case feature independently of little *v*.



The fact that the CLLD configuration does not depend on prepositional accusatives is also explained: at the point when vP is shipped to PF, it contains a trace of the left peripheral DP/PP constituent, and traces are not visible at PF. Dislocated DP constituents leaving the vP edge land in Spec,T (as shown in the analysis of Clitic Placement in (10) above), a configuration of Spec-Head agreement (rather than of Agree) with the clitic, in which the dislocate is duly case-licensed.

### 3.3 Weak cross over

Those prepositional accusatives that are not CD-ed exhibit crossover effects, whereas CD-ed prepositional accusatives do not. For instance, in sentences (20)–(21) the subject phrase includes a pronoun which should be bound by the object. The examination of these examples shows that binding into the subject in SVO orders is possible only if the object is CD-ed, as in examples (20b, 20f, 21b); compare examples (20a, 20d, 21a),

where the pre-verbal subject cannot be bound from the object position occupied by a prepositional accusative that is not CD-ed.<sup>19</sup>

- (20) a. \*?*Prietenii lui<sub>i</sub> ajută pe fiecare<sub>j</sub>*.<sup>20</sup> (Romanian)  
 friends.the his help PE everyone  
 his friends help everyone
- b. *Prietenii lui<sub>i</sub> îl<sub>i</sub> ajută pe fiecare<sub>j</sub>*.  
 friends.the his him help PE everyone  
 'His friends help everyone.'
- c. *Prietenii lui<sub>i</sub> cei bogați ajută pe oricine<sub>j</sub>*.  
 friends.the his the rich help PE anyone.  
 'His rich friends help anybody.'
- d. \**Prietenii lui<sub>i</sub> cei bogați ajută pe oricine<sub>i</sub>*.  
 friends.the his the rich help PE anyone.  
 his rich friends help anybody.
- e. *Prietenii lui<sub>i</sub> cei bogați ajută pe oricare<sub>j</sub>*.  
 friends.the his the rich help PE anyone.  
 'His rich friends help anybody.'
- f. *Prietenii lui<sub>i</sub> cei bogați îl<sub>i</sub> ajută pe oricare<sub>j</sub>*.  
 friends.the his the rich him help PE anyone.  
 'His rich friends help anybody.'
- (21) a. \**Prietenii lor<sub>i</sub> ajută mulți<sub>i</sub> (copii)*.  
 friends-the their help many (children)  
 their friends help many children.
- b. *Prietenii lor<sub>i</sub> îi<sub>i</sub> ajută pe mulți<sub>i</sub> (copii)*.  
 friends-the their them-help PE many (children)  
 'Their friends help many children.'

19. The Romanian data pattern like Greek (Anagnostopoulou 1999) and differ from Spanish (Ordóñez 1998), where binding possibilities do not seem to depend on the presence of the clitic.

20. A reviewer observes that example (20a) is ungrammatical regardless of the indicated coindexing. Indeed, in some idiolects prepositional accusatives are obligatorily clitic doubled, but note that this is not true for all speakers of contemporary Romanian and it was certainly not true for the Romanian spoken at the beginning of the 20th century, when clitic doubling of prepositional accusatives was much less used than nowadays.

The lack of WCO effects with CD-ing can be explained if it is assumed that at some point in the derivation, the doubled object is in a c-commanding position with respect to the subject. Assuming that the latter is still in Spec,vP, doubled prepositional accusatives behave as if they are out of the vP (the same structure is suggested by parasitic gaps, cf. Cornilescu 2002). This is not unexpected. The argument bound by the clitic (i.e., the DP whose features match those of the clitic) must be accessible to the clitic (attached to T<sup>0</sup>). In terms of current phasal locality principles (see Richards 2004), the internal argument bound by the clitic must be on the edge of the lower vP, so as to be still available for computation after the spell-out of the vP. A DP/PP in its thematic position will spell-out before the interarboreal operation merging T<sup>0</sup> and vP and will thus be inaccessible to the clitic. The argument bound by the clitic must therefore be an edge constituent. To formalize this requirement, it may be assumed that a v<sup>0</sup> head whose D/ϕ set is realized as a clitic must incorporate an EPP (edge) feature.

We will thus assume the configuration in (19) above, where the prepositional DP is accessible to the clitic. With respect to information structure, the role of the clitic is to pull the DP out of the focus domain, i.e., out of the vP.

#### 4. Differences among Clitic Doubling Languages

Clitic doubling is subject to clear crosslinguistic differences: in Spanish, focused DPs and QPs cannot be clitic doubled, whereas they can in Romanian. A parallel split between Romanian and Spanish can be observed for CLLDs. Our proposal will be that the two languages differ regarding the complex Head containing the clitic, which correlates with a difference regarding the position occupied by CLLD-ed constituents.

##### 4.1 Focused DPs

Contrastively focused direct objects cannot be clitic doubled in Spanish or in Greek and Albanian (as described in Kallulli 2000), which behave like Spanish in most of the contexts examined in this paragraph:

- (23) a. (\*lo) vi a JUAN, no a Pedro. (Spanish)  
[I] (\*him) saw a John, not a Pedro
- b. (lo) vi a Juan.  
[I] (him) saw John

Romanian clearly differs from Spanish: clitic doubling is not sensitive to contrastive Focus, but only to the internal properties of the DP itself. In particular, proper names must be clitic doubled, regardless of whether they are focused or not:

- (24) a. \*(l-) am văzut pe ION, nu pe Petru. (Romanian)  
b. \*(l-) am văzut pe Ion. (same glosses as (23a–b))

In Spanish (see (25)), CD-ing is not possible in all-focus sentences. There is no such restriction in Romanian (see (26)), where a CD-ed constituent may represent the rhematic focus, or may be part of an extended focus phrase:

- (25) a. –What happened here (at the trial)?  
 b. –*También (\*la) acusaron a su esposa de corrupción.* (Spanish)  
 [they] also (\*her) charged a his wife of corruption  
 ‘They also charged his wife of corruption.’
- (26) a. –What happened at the trial?  
 b. –*Au învinuit-o și pe nevastă-sa de corupție.* (Romanian)  
 [they] have charged-her also PE wife-his of corruption  
 ‘They also charged his wife of corruption.’

Finally, direct object accompanied by focus particles such as *only*, *even* cannot be CD-ed in Spanish, but they can be in Romanian:

- (27) *Juan sólo (\*la) encontró a su prima en el cine.* (Spanish)  
 Juan only (her) has met A cousin-his at the cinema.
- Ion a întâlnit-o numai pe vară-sa la cinema* (Romanian)  
 Ion has met her only PE cousin-his at the cinema  
 ‘Ion met only his cousin at the cinema.’

#### 4.2 Quantifier Phrases

In the unmarked case, QPs cannot be clitic doubled in Spanish (Agüero-Bautista 2005):

- (28) a. *No lo vieron* a Juan ‘Juan’ (Spanish)  
 not CL-ACC see-past 3PL \*a cada candidato ‘each candidate’  
 ‘They didn’t see....’ \*a ningún hombre ‘no man’  
 \*a nadie ‘nobody’  
 \*a todos ‘everybody’  
 a este perro ‘this dog’  
 a mi tío ‘our uncle’  
 a un hombre de aquí ‘a man from here’
- b. (\*Los) Entrevistaron a muchos/varios candidatos.  
 them-ACC-M 3PL interviewed A many/ several candidates.  
 ‘They interviewed many/several candidates.’
- c. (\*Los) Entrevistaron a la mayoría de los candidatos.  
 them-ACC-M 3PL interviewed A the majority of the candidates.  
 ‘They interviewed most of the candidates.’



It should be noted that some of these examples become grammatical if (i) the doubled QP is a partitive QP,<sup>21</sup> provided that the doubling clitic is plural,<sup>22</sup> or if (ii) *juntos* 'together' is inserted.<sup>23</sup> These modified versions of the examples in (28) trigger a type-shifting operation, which turns the QP into a group-denoting expression, and this explains why clitic doubling is allowed (Agüero-Bautista 2005). Romanian contrasts with Spanish insofar as the counterparts of the examples in (28) are grammatical:

- (29) a. *Ion i-a ajutat pe mulți studenți români.* (Romanian)  
 John them-has helped PE many students Romanian.  
 b. *Il vom examina pe fiecare candidat de două ori.*  
 him [we] will examine PE each candidate two times.  
 'We will examine each candidate twice.'

Quite clearly, these examples have partitive and group readings, much like the grammatical Spanish examples in footnotes (22–23). But the relevant difference between the two languages is that in Spanish the type-shifting operation can only be induced by using

- 
21. (i) *\*El médico lo examinó a cada paciente.* (Spanish)  
 the physician him-ACC examine-past3s. A each patient.  
 'The doctor examined each patient.'  
 (ii) *El médico los examinó a cada uno de los pacientes.*  
 the physician them-ACC examine-past3s. A each one of the patients.  
 'The doctor examined each one of the patients.'  
 (iii) *El médico los examinó a varios/muchos de los pacientes.*  
 the physician them-ACC examine-past3s. A several/many of the patients.  
 'The doctor examined several/many of the patients.'
22. Note the contrast between (ii) in the preceding footnote and the example below, where the plural clitic has been replaced with a singular clitic :
- (iv) *\*El médico lo examinó a cada uno de los pacientes.*  
 the physician him-ACC examine-past3s. A each one of the patients.  
 'The doctor examined each one of the patients.'
23. (i) *Los entrevistaron juntos a la mayoría de los candidatos que vinieron*  
 them-ACC-M 3PL-interviewed together A the majority of the candidates that came  
 'They interviewed most of the candidates that came together.'  
 (ii) *Los entrevistaron juntos a unos pocos de los candidatos que vinieron*  
 them-ACC-M 3PL-interviewed together A a few of the candidates that came  
 'They interviewed a few of the candidates that came together.'  
 (iii) *Los entrevistaron juntos a muchos/varios candidatos que vinieron*  
 Them-ACC-M. 3PL-interviewed together A many/several candidates that came  
 'They interviewed many/several candidates that came together.'

overt partitivity markers or group adverbs such as *juntos* ‘together’, whereas in Romanian it is clitic doubling itself that can trigger the type-shifting of QPs:

- (30) a. *A întrebat câțiva băieți, dar niciunul / nimeni n-a știut să îi spună.*  
(Romanian)  
b. *I-a întrebat pe câțiva băieți, dar*  
‘[He] them asked PE some boys, but  
*niciunul/nimeni n-a știut să îi spună.*  
no one/nobody could SBJ him answer.’

In the absence of clitic doubling, both *nimeni* ‘nobody’ and *niciunul* ‘no one-the’ (meaning something close to “none of them”) can be used, but *nimeni* ‘nobody’ is ruled out if the antecedent is clitic doubled. This is so because *nimeni* cannot be contextually restricted, which clashes with the use of clitic doubling, which necessarily correlates with a partitive reading (i.e., with the introduction of a contextually restricted superset of children).

In Romanian, the only *pe*-marked objects that do not allow clitic doubling are bare quantifiers such as *nimeni*, *nimic*, *cineva* ‘nobody, nothing, somebody’:

- (31) a. *Am văzut pe cineva intrînd.* (Romanian)  
have(I) seen PE somebody entering  
‘I saw somebody entering.’  
b. *\*L-am văzut pe cineva intrînd*  
him-have(I) seen PE somebody entering.  
‘I saw somebody entering.’

#### 4.3 CLLD-ed focused DPs and QPs

The contrasts observed between Spanish and Romanian are also found in CLLDs. In the Spanish counterparts of (33) and (34), the clitic must be absent:

- (32) a. *A JUAN, (\*lo) vi, no a Pedro.* (Spanish)  
b. *A Juan, (\*lo) vi ayer.*  
‘John, (him) I saw yesterday, not Peter.’ Contrastive Focus
- (33) a. *PE ION \*(l-) am văzut, nu pe Petru.* (Romanian)  
b. *Pe Ion \*(l-) am văzut ieri.* (same glosses as (32a,b))
- (34) a. *Pe fiecare candidat \*(il) vom examina de*  
‘Each candidate (him) [we] will examine  
*două ori.* QuantifierPs  
two times.’  
b. *Pe nici un candidat nu-\*(l) vom examina de trei ori.*  
‘No candidate (him) [we] will examine three times.’

Note finally that in Spanish, CLLD-ed constituents are separated from the rest of the sentence by a comma intonation, in contrast with Romanian (see (32) vs. (33)–(34)). This indicates that the left peripheral position that hosts the DP doubled by a clitic is not the same in the two languages.

#### 4.4 *Wh*-phrases

The clitic doubling of direct object *wh*-phrases is obligatory or impossible in Romanian, depending on the internal structure of the *wh*-phrase and on the features of the *wh*-determiner itself. Clitic doubling may also be optional, with notable differences in interpretation:

- (35) a. *Ce roman ai citit?* (Romanian)  
           ‘What novel have (you) read?’  
       b. \**Ce roman l-ai citit?*  
           what novel it-have (you) read
- (36) a. *Pe care băiat l-ai văzut?*  
           PE which\ boy him-have [you] seen  
           ‘Which boy did you see?’  
       b. \**Pe care băiat ai văzut?*
- (37) a. *Câte femei<sub>i</sub> regretă că ai iubit e<sub>i</sub>?*  
           how many women<sub>i</sub> do you regret that (you) have loved e<sub>i</sub>  
       b. *Pe câte femei<sub>i</sub> regretă că le<sub>i</sub>-ai iubit e<sub>i</sub>?*  
           PE how many women<sub>i</sub> do you regret that (you) them-have loved e<sub>i</sub>

The questions in (37a) and (37b) can be respectively paraphrased by “what is the number of women such that you regret that you loved them” and “how many among the women you loved are such that you regret that you loved them”. These two readings are truth-conditionally identical, but differ in that the set of loved women is introduced in (37b) but not in (37a).

Spanish clearly differs from Romanian in that *wh*-phrases cannot be doubled:

- (38) *¿A cuál niño (\*lo) has visto?* (Spanish)  
           ‘Which boy did you see?’

#### 4.5 Basic generalizations

All the contrasts between Spanish and Romanian concern the doubling of various types of quantificational expressions: Focused DPs, QPs and *wh*-phrases. In Spanish, CD-ing is a means of backgrounding a DP by moving it from the position where Focus (nuclear stress) is normally assigned, whereas in Romanian, it is a grammaticalized structure, which no longer has a clear role with respect to information structure. Doubling systematically accompanies those DPs that have only strong readings, becoming part of a strong Accusative Case checking strategy. The contrasts hold for doubled DPs

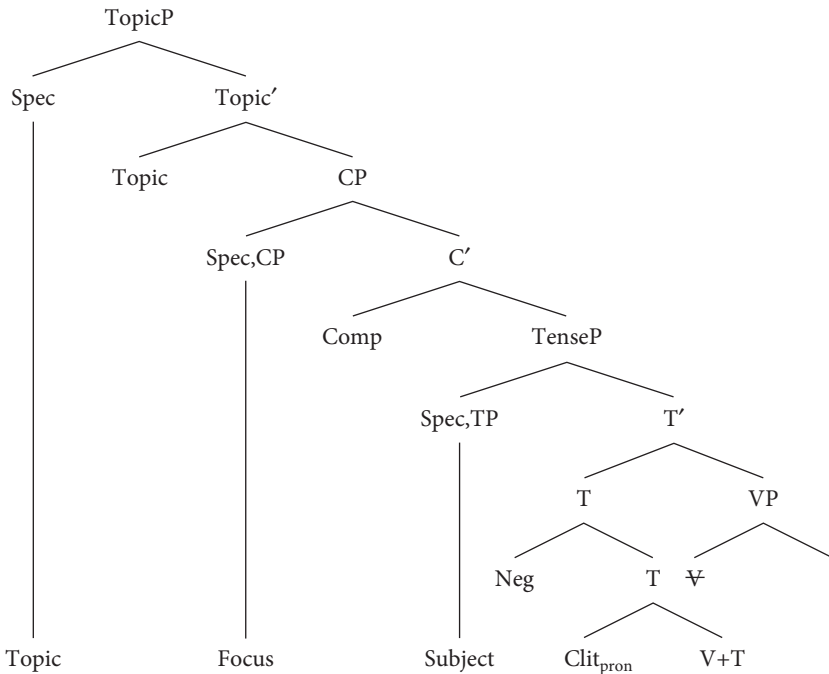
in both postverbal and left peripheral positions. The pattern shown by Spanish CLLDs can also be found in Italian, a language that does not have CD-ing *per se*, i.e., clitic doubling of a postverbal, presumably vP-internal, direct object. Our analysis should therefore be able to account for the restrictions on CLLD-ed configurations regardless of whether a particular language has CD-ing. However, the proposed account should extend to CD-ing in those languages that have this option.

#### 4.6 CLLDs: Complex specifiers and multiple specifiers at the left periphery

The contrasts between Spanish and Romanian presented above suggest that the positions that host CLLD-ed constituents are not the same in these two languages. Under the proposal made here, different Spec,Cl positions can be postulated, depending on the type of complex T head.

Following the current literature, we will assume that the Spanish left periphery is structured as shown in (39), a configuration which can be found in most Romance languages, regardless of whether they allow clitic doubling or not:

(39)

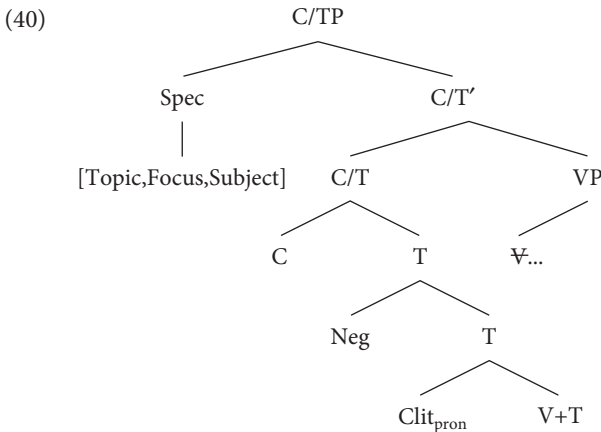


Given this structure, the ungrammaticality of the CLLD-ation of QPs, Focused DPs or *wh*-phrases can be attributed to the fact that a clitic doubled QP needs to check distinct features (Case and quantificational) non-locally, via Agree with two distinct elements,

Cl (in Cl+Tense+Vv) on the one hand and some other functional category, presumably C°, on the other hand. In other words, the derivation in (39) is ruled out because the Q-features of QP remain unchecked because QP cannot move further up once it has checked its Case features in Spec,TP.

Note that this explanation holds not only for CD-ing languages such as River Plate Spanish, but also for Italian or Iberian Spanish, which do not allow CD-ing: the doubling of QPs is legitimate or illegitimate depending on the geometry of the complex Tense, regardless of whether the doubled QPs occupy a vP-internal or left-periphrastic position. CD-ing itself depends on the availability of overt Case marking.

Turning now to Romanian, we will assume the CP configuration in (40), which corresponds to the internal make-up of Romanian Comp' constituents proposed by Dobrovie-Sorin (2000) and Dobrovie-Sorin & Galves (2000) and introduced in section 1 above:



This structure crucially differs from the Spanish type of CP insofar as Comp belongs to the Complex Head that also contains Tense, and correlatively, Spec,CP is not distinct from Spec,Tense. Instead, several left peripheral elements are hosted inside the same structural position, the Spec of the complex Head. Although this type of complex Spec position has not been explicitly proposed in the previous literature, it is in line with suggestions by Dobrovie-Sorin (1990), Alboiu (2000), Cornilescu (2000, 2003), Hill (2002).

The complex head in (40) has multiple features to be checked (from V, v, T and Cl), hence the necessity of a complex Specifier constituent, with separate slots corresponding to the features of the complex Head: Topic would correspond to AGR (not visualized in (40)), as well as to the various Clit Heads, Focus to Comp and Subject to Tense. We will assume that the order Topic-Focus-Subject, which is parallel to the hierarchical order of the corresponding functional heads, is determined by information structure (Neeleman & van de Koot 2005).

Given the structure in (40), the clitic doubling of QPs and Focused definite DPs in left peripheral positions can be explained: because the Spec,TP position is hierarchically indistinguishable from Spec,CP, Case- and quantificational features can both be checked. The clitic doubling of *which*-phrases is furthermore expected, if indeed there is no designated Spec,C° position that would prevent the *wh*-phrase from entering a Spec-Head Agreement relation with the Clitic under Tense°.

Let us finally observe that the configurations proposed here for Spanish on the one hand and for Romanian on the other are different not only for Focused constituents and QPs, but also for referential DPs. Although left-peripheral referential DPs are clitic doubled in both languages, they might be argued to occupy distinct positions, because of a clear difference in intonation: a comma intonation is present in Spanish, but not in Romanian. Such a difference is expected given the structures proposed in (39) vs. (40): in Romanian, left peripheral DPs sit in Spec,C/T, hence they are no more separated from the rest of the clause than preverbal subjects, whereas in Spanish they sit in Spec,Top, a position that is higher than Spec,Tense.

Quite interestingly, Albanian seems to pattern with Romanian insofar as it allows some *wh*-phrases to be clitic doubled, but clearly differs from Romanian in that Focused constituents cannot be clitic doubled (see Kallulli, this volume). This type of data suggests that Albanian *wh*-phrases go, depending on their features, either to Spec,C or to Spec,Top, whereas Spanish *wh*-phrases would be forced to go to Spec,C.

There is yet another problem raised by Balkan languages: they all have particles comparable to the Romanian subjunctive particle *să*, which have an ambiguous status between Comp and Tense/Mood. The existence of such particles suggests that Comp is not a separate head, but instead merges with T°, just as in Romanian. But then, we would expect the CD of Focused constituents and of QPs to be allowed in Balkan languages. This is an incorrect expectation (Kallulli 1999, 2000, this volume, Guentchéva, this volume, Krapova & Cinque, this volume, etc.). This then suggests that the internal make-up of CP-structure is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for the clitic doubling of Focused constituents and QPs. We may also wonder whether in Albanian (and other Balkan languages) left peripheral referential DPs sit in Spec,T (as in Romanian) or rather in Spec,Top (as in Spanish).

#### 4.7 Clitic Doubling and the Complexity of Tense

Turning now to the clitic-doubling of vP-internal DPs, the contrasts between Romanian and Spanish can be accounted for in basically the same way as above. The only difference is that what goes wrong is not movement but the Agree relation between the doubled constituent and the clitic. The clitic doubling of vP-internal QPs is legitimate in Romanian, because the doubled QP checks both Case and Q-features via Agree in the same domain, the one created by the complex head that incorporates Comp. In Spanish, on the other hand, doubled QPs would have to check their Case in Spec,T and their

Q-features in Spec,Comp. What seems to be prohibited is for a QP to check distinct features (Case and quantificational) non-locally, via Agree with Cl (in Cl+Tense+Vv) on the one hand, and with some other functional category, presumably C°, external to this complex Head, on the other. In other words, the derivation (38) is ruled out because the Q-features remain unchecked. As an alternative explanation, we may suggest that Agree with Cl and Agree with an operator (e.g., C°) are incompatible, because the former yields *pronominal* features, and the latter *quantificational* features. No violation arises if one of the two checking relations, namely Case checking is local: the configurations without CD-ing are legitimate, because in this case, the Case features of little *v* are not absorbed by the clitic, and are thus available for the local Case-checking of the QP; only Q-features are checked non-locally, in the domain of Comp.

Our analysis also accounts for the data in Romanian, because in this language Q-features are checked in the same position as Case-features. The only *pe*-marked QPs that cannot be doubled in Romanian are [+Person] bare quantifiers:

- (41) a. *Am văzut pe cineva intrînd.* (Romanian)  
 Have(I) seen PE somebody entering
- b. \**L-am văzut pe cineva intrînd*  
 him-have(I) seen PE cineva entering.  
 'I saw somebody entering.'

The ungrammaticality of (41b) can be explained as being due to the following constraint on the Agree relation:

- (42) The Agree relation between CL and QP is legitimate only if the two elements show overt agreement in *gender, number and case*.

This requirement is violated in (41b), where the clitic is specified for gender, but the BQ is not. Our account also explains why the clitic doubling of Dative BQs is allowed:

- (43) *I-am dat cuiva un caiet.* (Romanian)  
 Him(DAT)-have(I) given to someone a copybook  
 'I gave someone a copybook.'

In this example, the constraint in (42) is not violated, because Romanian Dative clitics are not specified for gender.

## 5. Conclusions

In this paper we have proposed an analysis of cliticization based on the hypothesis that complex Heads, and in particular the complex Tense° that hosts clitics are not the result of Head-to-Head movement, but rather of Head-to-Head Merge combined

with an interarboreal operation that puts together the complex Head and the vP constituent that is built separately. Against this background, the contrasts between two clitic doubling languages, Romanian and River Plate Spanish, were analyzed as being due to a difference between their complex Tense Heads : in Spanish,  $\text{Comp}^\circ$  is distinct from  $\text{Tense}^\circ$  and correlatively  $\text{Spec}, \text{C}^\circ$  is distinct from  $\text{Spec}, \text{T}^\circ$ , whereas in Romanian,  $\text{Comp}^\circ$  is part of the complex  $\text{Tense}^\circ$  that hosts clitics; correlatively,  $\text{Spec}, \text{C}^\circ$  is not a distinct position, but rather a slot inside a single complex Spec at the left periphery.

Although we have mentioned that the existence of genuine CD-ing is still an issue for certain languages, we have assumed that this phenomenon does exist in River Plate Spanish (this seems to be assumed by all theorists who analyzed this language). Another option would be to say that the possibility to double Focused constituents and QPs constitute diagnostic tests for genuine CD-ing (see Krapova & Cinque, this volume). This line of investigation seems to be suggested by one observation made above, namely that the position of CLLD-ed referential DPs seems to be different in Romanian and in Spanish (the basic evidence is presence vs. absence of comma intonation). Since referential DPs have no Q-features, no difference between the two languages is expected if left-peripheral clitic doubled DPs sit in  $\text{Spec}, \text{Tense}$ , or more precisely in the Spec of a complex head,  $\text{Neg-Cl-Tense-Vv}$ . A more radical option then would be to assume that this position is accessible to left-peripheral clitic doubled DPs in Romanian, but not in Spanish. We leave this line of investigation open for further research.

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# Rethinking the Clitic Doubling parameter

## The inverse correlation between clitic doubling and participle agreement\*

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This study focuses on the parameters that regulate the cross-linguistic distribution of clitic doubling and attempts to derive the availability of object clitic doubling on the basis of the systematic link between clitic doubling and participle agreement. The claim to be defended is that the presence of participial agreement determines the availability of clitic doubling: Participle Agreement excludes Clitic Doubling and vice versa (language internally as well as construction-specifically). The analysis relies crucially on the checking relations of phi-features that hold in clitic-languages. We argue that the presence of participle agreement in clitic-languages induces split-checking, which forces associates of the clitic to be null (*pro*). When no split-checking is required, a language may optionally be a clitic doubling language. The theory that emerges allows us to account for the clitic omission stage that occurs in child language. L1 learners undergo a stage (up to the age of 3) in which they are unable to establish split-checking relations between an XP and the functional heads involved. As a result, in languages in which such operations are required, clitic omission will arise.

### 1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is twofold: on the one hand, to present a critical review of the major developments in the theory of Clitic Doubling (CID), focusing on the issue of the Clitic Doubling parameter. The discussion shows that the main answers to the

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question of the parameter regulating the cross-linguistic distribution of doubling that have been suggested in the literature so far are incomplete. On the other hand, to outline the beginnings of a new approach towards the Clitic Doubling parameter, exploring the correlation that there is a systematic link between the (un)availability of object Clitic Doubling and the (un)availability of participle agreement across languages (Tsakali 2006). The cross-linguistic investigation of the two phenomena in Romance, Greek, and Semitic leads to the conclusion that they are in complementary distribution:

- (1) *The Doubling/Agreement Correlation:*  
 If a language has clitic doubling it lacks participle agreement.  
 If a language has participle agreement it lacks clitic doubling.

It will be argued that the *doubling/agreement correlation* in (1) provides the key to an understanding of the clitic doubling parameter.<sup>1</sup> The general idea is that syntactic principles of economy allow bundles of phi-features in the functional domain to enter Agree with overt DPs in a chain of only two at a time, preventing “tripling” within a clause (or within the same syntactic domain). As a result, clitics, (participial) agreement and DPs are not allowed to form three-membered chains, which explains why doubling clitics and participle agreement never co-occur.<sup>2</sup> We will present supporting evidence from a developmental study, which in a nutshell, shows that children are able to produce a doubling construction as soon as they have acquired the checking relations that apply in their adult language.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we compare and contrast Clitic Doubling to two related constructions, namely Clitic Left Dislocation and Clitic Right Dislocation. In section 3, we present the classic analysis according to which the Clitic Doubling parameter is a function of the Case requirement of the doubled

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1. The correlation in (1) focuses on clitic doubling of object arguments and does not generalize over subjects. The impact of the correlation to external arguments is subject to further research.

2. As will be discussed in Section 4, the correlation in (1) is bidirectional in the sense that when a language exhibits participle agreement it will not have Clitic Doubling and vice versa, that is, if a language has Clitic Doubling, it means that it lacks object agreement with the participle. However the correlation is not bi-conditional, that is, if a language does not have participle agreement it does not mean that Clitic Doubling will be present. Similarly, the absence of clitic doubling constructions in a language does not entail that participle agreement will be morphologically overt. Thus, participle agreement and Clitic Doubling are mutually exclusive but the lack of one does not entail the presence of the other. Therefore the correlation is meant to describe the prerequisite for the presence of Clitic Doubling, namely the lack of participle agreement in a particular language; it is not meant to be understood as the sufficient condition for the presence of Clitic Doubling.

DP (*Kayne's Generalization*). Following the discussion in Anagnostopoulou (1994, 1999, 2003, 2005), we argue against this approach on the basis of two considerations. First, in order to account for the crosslinguistic distribution of doubling in terms of Kayne's Generalization a number of stipulations are necessary which lack independent justification. Second, this approach is strongly undermined by the existence of numerous counterexamples crosslinguistically. In the next subsection (3.2), we present a number of developments in the research on Clitic Doubling which have led to the influential theory of clitics advanced in Sportiche (1996). In section 4, we establish the correlation in (1) which, in our view, underlies the crosslinguistic distribution of direct object doubling, and develop an account for this correlation. The analysis is supported by theoretical as well as by empirical evidence. In section 4.4, we discuss common interpretational properties of Clitic Doubling and constructions with participle agreement, suggesting that both constructions are associated with certain presuppositions. Section 5 presents empirical evidence from developmental studies supporting the correlation in (1). Finally, section 6 addresses some questions for further investigation.

## 2. Clitic Doubling and related constructions

Clitic Doubling is a construction in which a clitic co-occurs with a full DP in argument position forming a discontinuous constituent, as is illustrated in (2) and (3) from Greek and Spanish, respectively.

- (2) *To agorase to forema o Petros.* (Greek)  
 it-CL-ACC buy-past-3rd the dress-ACC the Peter-NOM  
 'Peter bought the dress'
- (3) *Lo vimos a Juan.* (Rioplatense Spanish)  
 him-CL-ACC saw-1st PL A Juan  
 'We saw Juan'

Clitic Doubling has been observed to exist in Romance, Semitic, Slavic, Albanian and Greek.<sup>3</sup> However, the construction displays intriguing cross-linguistic variation. In particular, while some languages (e.g., Spanish, Romanian and Greek) tolerate Clitic Doubling of objects, others (including French, Italian and Serbian) lack this option.

3. See among many others, Strozer (1976), Rivas (1997), Aoun (1981, 1999), Jaeggli (1982, 1986), Drachman (1983), Borer (1984), Philippaki-Warbuton (1987), Suñer (1988), Fykias (1988), Uriagereka (1988, 1995), Dobrovie-Sorin (1990), Massey (1992), Sportiche (1996, 1998), Agouraki (1993), Anagnostopoulou (1994, 2003), Torrego (1998), Bleam (1999), Kallulli (1999), Petkova Schick (2000).

(4) illustrates this contrast for indirect and direct object Clitic Doubling in Spanish (see (4a,b)) and its ungrammatical counterparts from French (see (4c,d)); data from Jaeggli (1982):

- (4) a. *Miguelito (le) regaló un caramelo a Mafalda.* (Spanish-all dialects)  
 Miguelito CL-DAT gave a candy to Mafalda  
 ‘Miguelito gave Mafalda a candy’
- b. *Lo vimos a Juan.* (Rioplátense Spanish)  
 him-CL-ACC saw-1st PL a Juan  
 ‘We saw Juan’
- c. *Jean (\*lui) a donné des bonbons à Marie.* (French)  
 Jean CL-DAT has given some candies to Mary  
 ‘Jean gave Mary the candy’
- d. *Je (\*l’) ai vu l’assassin.* (French)  
 I-NOM him-CL-ACC have-1st SG seen, the murderer  
 ‘I saw [him] the murderer’

Further cross-linguistic differences in the availability of Clitic Doubling will be discussed below. Before entering the discussion of the licensing conditions for Clitic Doubling, it is necessary to clarify the differences between Clitic Doubling and related constructions such as Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) and Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD), which have created some confusion in the literature.

## 2.1 Clitic doubling versus Clitic Left Dislocation

Clitic doubling should be distinguished from two constructions that superficially look very similar, i.e., Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) and Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD). CLLD is a construction in which a clitic co-occurs with an XP to its left. An example of CLLD is provided in (5) from Italian (Cinque 1990):

- (5) *Gianni, lo vedrò domani.* (Italian)  
 John, CL-ACC will see-1st SG tomorrow  
 ‘I will see John tomorrow’

CLLD is an unbounded dependency that is selectively sensitive to islands and shows connectedness effects (see Cinque 1990; Iatridou 1991; Anagnostopoulou 1994, 1997 and the various contributions to Anagnostopoulou, van Riemsdijk & Zwarts 1997). Given the similarity between CLLD of objects in (5) and Clitic Doubling, a natural question that arises is whether CLLD results from fronting of a clitic doubled DP to a position in the left-periphery of the clause. Sportiche (1996), Agouraki (1993), Kayne (1994) and Grohmann (2003), among others, argue in favor of an analysis along these lines, while Cinque (1990), Iatridou (1991) and Anagnostopoulou (1994, 1997) defend

the position that the two constructions are transformationally unrelated. In this paper, we will adopt the latter approach for the following reasons.

First, Cinque (1990) presents a strong argument against deriving CLLD from clitic doubling by pointing out that many non-clitic-doubling languages still display CLLD. The typological distribution therefore indicates that the presence of CLLD in a language does not necessarily entail the existence of Clitic Doubling, suggesting that the analyses for the two phenomena should not involve a common doubling component. Second, as will be seen in section 3, Clitic Doubling contrasts with CLLD in that only the former depends on the availability of participial agreement in a language.<sup>4</sup> Third, Iatridou (1990) observes that there are semantic classes of NPs that can appear in CLLD structures but cannot be doubled by a clitic (examples from Iatridou 1990):

- (6) a. *Tria provlimata mono o Kostas ta elise.* (Greek)  
 three problems-ACC only the Kostas them-CL-ACC solve-past-3rd SG  
 'Only Kostas solved three problems'
- b. *Mono o Kostas (\*ta) elise tria provlimata.*  
 only the Kostas them-CL-ACC solve-past-3rd SG three problems-ACC  
 'Only Kostas solved three problems'

In a similar vein, there are languages that have an animateness requirement on Clitic Doubling but not on CLLD constructions:

- (7) a. *(lo) vimos a Juan.* (Rioplatense Spanish)  
 him saw-1st PL Juan  
 'We saw Juan'
- b. *\*lo vimos el/al libro*  
 it saw-1st PL the book
- (8) *el libro lo compramos ayer.* (Spanish)  
 the book it bought-1st PL yesterday  
 'the book, we bought it yesterday'

A final argument comes from parasitic gap constructions. The O-S-V order in Greek, which results from movement, licenses parasitic gaps, while O-S-CL-V fails to do so. The parallelism between (9) and (10) can be taken to show that there is an A'-trace following the verb *arhiotetise* ('filed') in (10) but not in the CLLD construction (11):

- (9) a. Which article did you file EC(vbl) without reading EC(pg)  
 b. This article Mary filed EC(vbl) without reading EC(pg)

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4. To the best of our knowledge there is no clitic-language that does not have Clitic Left Dislocation constructions.



- (10) a. *Afto to arthro i Maria arxiothetise xoris na dhiavasi.* (Greek)  
           this the article the Mary filed without reading  
       b. Op V EC(variable) [...parasitic gap...]
- (11) a. \**Afto to arthro i Maria to arxiothetise xoris na diavasi*  
           this the article Mary it filed without reading  
       b. Op V EC(pro) \* [...parasitic gap...]

To summarize, we have presented arguments in support of a base-generation analysis of CLLD. The discussion in this section argues against the claim that CLLD is derived from a clitic doubling construction and that, therefore, all clitic languages have Clitic Doubling at some level of the derivation. It is crucial, for present purposes, that only a subset of clitic languages has doubling, and that this subset lacks participle agreement.

## 2.2 Clitic Doubling versus Clitic Right Dislocation

Right Dislocation is a construction in which a clitic co-occurs with a phrase to its right as illustrated in (12) with an example from French:

- (12) *Je l'ai vu, l'assassin.* (from Jaeggli 1986) (French)  
       I him-CL-ACC have-1st SG seen the murderer  
       'I have seen the murderer'

Given the similarity between right dislocation of objects and Clitic Doubling, the question once again arises whether the two constructions can be given a uniform analysis. In the literature, both positions have been entertained. According to one view (Hurtado 1984; Aoun 1981, 1999; Philippaki-Warbuton 1987; Kayne 1994 and subsequent literature), there is no formal difference between Clitic Doubling and Right Dislocation. In both constructions, the phrase associated with the clitic is an adjunct. According to another view (Strozer 1976; Rivas 1977; Jaeggli 1982, 1986; Borer 1984; Anagnostopoulou 1994; Sportiche 1996), the object is generated as a complement of the verb in Clitic Doubling constructions, but serves as an adjunct (to VP or IP) in Right Dislocations. In the present discussion, the latter approach will be adopted. Right dislocation is found in (probably) all clitic-languages and can be easily mistaken for Doubling. It is therefore necessary to present here a more complete picture of Right Dislocation, as opposed to Clitic Doubling. Below we summarize the main arguments from the literature against collapsing Clitic Doubling and Right Dislocation (see Anagnostopoulou 2005 for detailed discussion on the differences of the two constructions).

Jaeggli (1986) argues against the adjunct analysis of Clitic Doubling on the basis of three systematic differences between CLRD and Clitic Doubling: (i) presence of an intonational break in CLRD; (ii) lack of requirement for a preposition in front of

the “doubled” element in CLRD, and (iii) crosslinguistic variation observed only in Cl(itic) D(oubling) but not in CLRD constructions.

- i. To begin with, in right dislocation, the dislocated phrase is set off from the rest of the sentence with a sharp intonational break, while no such break is required before the object in Clitic Doubling.<sup>5</sup>
- ii. Second, right dislocation appears to be exempt from Kayne’s Generalization, which describes properties of Clitic Doubling at least in certain languages. For instance, right dislocated elements do not require the presence of a preposition preceding the doubled phrase in French (see (12)), while Clitic Doubling is subject to this restriction (see example (3) from Rioplatense Spanish).
- iii. Third, there are languages that exhibit CLRD but disallow Clitic Doubling. French presents such a case. This language freely allows CLRD, as illustrated in (12), while lacking CID, as can be seen from the ill-formedness of (4b).

In conclusion, even though a clitic co-occurs with an object to its right in both CID and CLRD,<sup>6</sup> Clitic Doubling is subject to Kayne’s Generalization (i.e., it takes place with pronouns or DPs preceded (in Spanish) by the preposition *a* associated with animacy), while right dislocation takes place with DP objects of any kind. Moreover, doubled objects have the intonation and distribution of arguments, while right dislocated objects have the intonation and distribution of peripheral elements. These differences can be straightforwardly expressed in an analysis according to which the former occupy argument slots and the latter are right-adjoined elements.

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5. The argument becomes stronger if we look at constructions with doubled CPs (Tsakali 2006). In Greek, clitic doubling of direct CP-objects is possible, while in Argentinean Spanish doubled CPs are ungrammatical without the intonational break, despite the fact that both languages have clitic doubling of direct objects. The difference is illustrated in the following examples (where # indicates the obligatory intonational pause):

(i) *No lo puedo creer, # que se hayan ido.* (Argentinean Spanish)  
 NEG it-CL-ACC can believe-1st SG that SE have-subjunctive-3rd PL gone  
 ‘I can’t believe it, that they left’

(ii) *To pistevo oti efige.* (Greek)  
 It-CL-ACC believe-1st SG that leave-3rd SG  
 ‘I believe that he left’

6. More recent explorations of the information structure of the two constructions have shown that they cannot be collapsed, providing more refined diagnostics for distinguishing between the two constructions (see Zubizarreta 1994, 1998). Under this view, Catalan differs from Spanish in that it does not possess genuine clitic doubling (see Vallduví 1990). It is relevant here to note that Occitan is most likely like Catalan (subject to further investigation), as one reviewer pointed out to us that Occitan might be a counter example to the correlation in (1).

### 3. Previous attempts to derive the Clitic Doubling parameter

#### 3.1 Kayne's Generalization and the Clitic Doubling Parameter

Up to the late 80's Clitic Doubling was seen as a marked phenomenon (see Jaeggli 1982 for theoretical discussion): it is found in varieties of Spanish and Romanian, while it is totally absent in French and Italian.<sup>7</sup> Initially, it was believed that the property regulating the cross-linguistic distribution of doubling is linked to what Jaeggli (1982) called Kayne's Generalization: an object NP may be doubled only if it is preceded by a special preposition. Thus, any theory of cliticization should be flexible enough to allow for the Clitic Doubling option, but restrictive enough to treat doubling as a specific choice limited to Kayne's Generalization environments (Jaeggli 1982, 1986 and Borer 1984). The common assumption was that clitics absorb the Case feature of the verb (see Jaeggli 1982, 1986 and Borer 1984 for alternative implementations), and Clitic Doubling is ruled out as a Case Filter violation (Chomsky 1981) unless a special preposition is present which assigns Case to the doubled NP. Kayne's Generalization was thus linked to Case theory.

This approach has been highly influential and is still widely believed to be correct (see e.g., Baker 1996 who basically adopts this approach for non-configurational polysynthetic languages), even though it has been criticized by a number of researchers (Suñer 1988; Sportiche 1996; Anagnostopoulou 1994, among many others). However it has inter- and intra-linguistic limitations. In the next two subsections we review the variation in Clitic Doubling as it has been accounted for in the spirit of Kayne's Generalization. In section 3.1.1 we present some of the crosslinguistic problems for Kayne's proposal, while in section 3.2 we discuss the developments of Sportiche's (1996) reconciliation approach and the implications that his theory has for deriving Clitic Doubling.

##### 3.1.1 *Shortcomings of and empirical counter examples to Kayne's Generalization*

Accounting for the crosslinguistic variation on CID in terms of Kayne's Generalization (that is, in terms of Case-theory), we are faced with two types of problems. The first one concerns stipulations that need to be made in accounting for data from languages of the same family (i.e., Standard Spanish, Argentinean Spanish and French), while

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7. Later research has shown that Clitic Doubling is not completely absent from dialects of French and Italian (see Kayne 2000 for Clitic Doubling in French, and Manzini & Savoia 2005, for Italian).

the second one concerns clear counterexamples to this generalization from unrelated languages (discussion from Anagnostopoulou 2005).

- A. Explaining cross-linguistic variation in terms of the properties of prepositions has shortcomings.

(a) *Direct object doubling*

The contrast between Rioplatense Spanish and Standard Spanish is problematic. Direct object doubling is allowed in Rioplatense Spanish with animate, specific objects, which are introduced by the special preposition *a* (13a). It is disallowed in Rioplatense Spanish when the object is inanimate and a preposition in front of it is impossible (13b). Doubling is ruled out in French and Italian, where the option of inserting *a* is unavailable, as illustrated in (14c) for French. Finally, in Standard Spanish direct object doubling is ruled out, even though animate, specific objects are introduced by *a* (15b) (examples from Anagnostopoulou 2005):

- (13) a. *Lo vimos a Guille.* (Rioplatense Spanish)  
 him-CL-ACC see-1st PL-PAST a Guille  
 'We saw Guille'
- b. *\*La vimos la casa de Mafalda*  
 it-CL-ACC see-1st PL-PAST the house of Mafalda  
 'We saw the house of Mafalda'
- (14) a. *\*Je le vois Jean* (French)  
 I him-CL-ACC see-1st SG Jean  
 'I am seeing Jean'
- b. *Je vois Jean.*  
 I see-1st SG Jean
- c. *\*Je vois à Jean*
- (15) a. *\*Lo vimos a Guille* (Standard Spanish)  
 him-CL-ACC see-1st SG a Guille  
 'We saw Guille'
- b. *Vimos a Guille.*  
 see-1st PL-PAST a Guille

The contrasts between (13a) and (13b) in Rioplatense Spanish, on the one hand, and (13a) in Rioplatense Spanish vs. (14a) in French (and Italian), on the other, can be straightforwardly linked to the presence vs. absence of *a*. When *a* is present, Case can be assigned to the NP complement of V. In the absence of *a*, the NP cannot be assigned Case, violating the Case Filter.

The contrast between Rioplatense Spanish (13a) and Standard Spanish (15a), however, does not follow naturally from Kayne's Generalization. It has to be stipulated that *a* cannot assign Case to direct objects in Standard Spanish (Jaeggli 1982, 1986).<sup>8</sup>

(b) *Indirect object doubling*

The contrast between Spanish versus French and Italian is problematic. Indirect object doubling is permitted in all dialects of Spanish and is disallowed in French and Italian. The relevant examples are repeated from above, for Spanish and French respectively:

- (4) a. *Miguelito (le) regaló un caramelo a Mafalda.* (Spanish-all dialects)  
 Miguelito CL-DAT gave a candy to Mafalda  
 'Miguelito gave Mafalda a candy'
- b. *Jean (\*lui) a donné des bonbons à Marie.* (French)  
 Jean CL-DAT has given some candies to Mary  
 'Jean gave Marie a candy'

The problem posed by this contrast is that in both Spanish and French/Italian, indirect objects must be preceded by *a*, and yet doubling is ruled out in the latter group of languages.<sup>9</sup>

B. The necessity of the prepositional case-assigner is not universal. In what follows we discuss data from languages that do not need a preposition preceding the doubled element.

(a) *Porteño Spanish*

Suñer (1988) argues against the view that *a* is a Case assigner licensing Clitic Doubling in Spanish, providing data from Porteño Spanish, where direct object clitic doubling is possible in the absence of *a* (Suñer 1988):

- (16) a. *Yo la tenía prevista esta muerte.* (Porteño Spanish)  
 'I had foreseen (it) this death'

8. In a similar fashion Borer (1984) accounts for the differences that preposition *šel* (in nominal doubling in Hebrew) exhibits in comparison to *a* for Spanish and *pe* for Romanian. On the basis of this differences Borer concludes that if a preposition-like element rescues a CID construction without providing evidence that it is a preposition, then it is inserted at PF.

9. To account for this difference, Jaeggli (1982, 1986) suggested that *à* is a case marker in French, i.e., the realization of dative Case and not a Case assigner. He provided two pieces of evidence based on co-ordination that distinguish French *à* from Spanish *a* (Vergnaud 1974; see Jaeggli 1982 for details).

- b. *Lo último que escuché, claro que la encontré pesada la audición,  
fue el reportaje*  
'The last thing I listened to, of course I found (it) boring the  
radio-program, was the interview' (Barrenechea y Orecchia 1979)
- c. *Yo lo voy a comprar el diario justo antes de subir.*  
'I (it) am going to buy the newspaper just before coming up'

Suñer argues that these examples are not right-dislocations because they are uttered with the same unbroken intonation curve they would have without the clitic, they occur in embedded or parenthetical clauses as in (16b), as well as in non-peripheral positions as in (16c). She concludes that *a* is not a Case assigning preposition but rather a marker of animacy or "distinctiveness" (Ramsey 1956) and that the presence of *a* is not a necessary condition for clitic doubling in Argentinean Spanish, contrary to what is widely assumed in the literature. According to Suñer, the existence of examples like (16) show that although direct object clitic doubling of inanimates in Spanish is less general than doubling of animates, neither animacy nor the presence of *a* are required for Clitic Doubling (see also Cuervo 2003).

(b) *Balkan Languages/Modern Greek*

All Balkan languages that have been claimed to have Clitic Doubling (e.g., Bulgarian, Albanian, Macedonian and Modern Greek) as well as Berber, and Lebanese Arabic<sup>10</sup> fall in this group. We present here the discussion concerning Greek (from Anagnostopoulou 1994, 2003, 2005).

In Greek, indirect objects bearing genitive case and direct objects bearing accusative can be doubled:

- (17) (Tu) (to) *edosa tu Jiani to vivlio.* (Greek)  
him-CL-GEN it-CL-ACC give-1st SG-PAST the Jiani-GEN the book-ACC  
'I gave John the book'

Greek instantiates a further Clitic Doubling pattern, distinct from Spanish/Romanian, that does not observe Kayne's Generalization. As shown in (17), Clitic Doubling in Greek does not take place in the presence of a preposition. On the contrary, Clitic Doubling in Greek is blocked when the indirect object is a PP (see Dimitriadis 1999 for discussion):

- (18) a. \**Tu edosa to vivlio s-ton Jiani* (Greek)  
him-CL-GEN give-1st SG-PAST the book-ACC to-the Jiani  
'I gave the book to John'

10. For an analysis of Clitic Doubling in Lebanese Arabic in conformity with Sportiche's theory see Choueiri (2002), a different account from that of Aoun (1999).

- b. \**Tu pira to vivlio apo ton Jiani*  
 him-CL-GEN take-1st SG-PAST the book-ACC from the Jiani  
 'I took the book from John'

The relevant observation (Anagnostopoulou 1994) is that Greek looks like the reverse of Spanish and Romanian: *Doubling is actually not allowed in the presence of a preposition*. This cross-linguistic difference between Romance and Greek raises the question whether Greek possesses genuine Clitic Doubling of DPs at all. Indeed, one might argue that what superficially resembles Clitic Doubling in fact manifests a case of Right Dislocation, which is found in (probably) all clitic languages, regardless of whether they have Doubling or not, and which is not subject to Kayne's Generalization (see section 1.2 above). And Greek definitely has right dislocation, i.e., a natural way of uttering (17) is with the intonation peak falling on the verb cluster, resulting in an emphatic interpretation of the verb, as illustrated in (19).

- (19) (*Tu*) (*to*) *EDOSA # tu Jiani # to vivlio.* (Greek)  
 him-CL-GEN it-CL-ACC give-1st SG-PAST the Jiani-GEN the book-ACC  
 'I gave John the book (I did give John the book)'

Nevertheless, Anagnostopoulou (1994, 1999, 2003) argues extensively that Greek employs Clitic Doubling productively. The main arguments come from the following observation (see also section 2.2). In Greek, objects can be doubled in environments in which the object precedes the subject, as in (20b) and (21b).

- (20) a. *Pjos tin efage tin turta?* (Greek)  
 who-NOM it-CL-ACC eat-3rd SG-PAST the cake-ACC?  
 'Who ate the cake?'  
 b. *Tin efaghe tin turta o Jiani.*  
 it-CL-ACC eat-3rd SG-PAST the cake-ACC the Jiani-NOM  
 'John ate the cake'
- (21) a. *o Petros aghorase ena vivlio.*  
 the Petros-NOM buy-3rd SG-PAST a book-ACC.  
 'Peter bought a book'  
 b. *Ke tin ali mera, to katestrepse to vivlio*  
 and the next day, it-CL-ACC destroy-3rd SG-PAST the book-ACC  
*enas mathitis tu.*  
 a student-NOM his  
 'And the next day, a student of his destroyed the book'

In both cases, the object is de-accented and the subject bears main sentence stress. The context provided by (20a) and (21a) furthermore ensures that the subjects in (20b) and (21b) are not presupposed. Moreover, it can be shown that subjects in strings like (20b)/(21b) with the order CI-VOS reside *in situ*. From this it follows that the object associated with the clitic cannot be right-dislocated. Hence, it can be concluded that Greek possesses genuine clitic doubling.

Following Cinque (1993), Zubizarreta (1994) and Alexiadou (1999), Anagnostopoulou (2003) builds on the observation that in VOS strings the subject necessarily

bears main sentence accent and take this to indicate that the subject is the most deeply embedded argument which remains in its VP-internal base-position. Furthermore, objects may bind subjects to their right, as schematized in (22a) and illustrated in (22c) (example (22b) provides the context for (22c)):

- (22) a. [OBJ]<sub>i</sub> ... [[<sub>SUB</sub> *pron*<sub>i</sub>] [*t*<sub>i</sub> ...]]  
 b. *Pjos sinodepse to kathe pedhi?* (Greek)  
 who-NOM accompanied the every child?  
 'Who accompanied every child?'  
 c. *Sinodepse to kathe pedhi<sub>i</sub> i mitera tu<sub>i</sub>.*  
 accompany-3rd SG-PAST the every child the mother his  
 'His mother accompanied every child'

Thus, the object in (22) must have reached its surface location by overt leftward A-movement to a position above the subject. Versions of this analysis for VOS orders are widely adopted in the literature (see Zubizarreta 1994, 1998 for Spanish; Ordóñez 1998, 1997 for Spanish and Catalan; Cardinaletti 1997 for Italian; Alexiadou 1999 for Greek). Crucially for present purposes, the subject also bears main stress when the object is doubled as in (20b), (21b). This entails that objects in Cl-VOS configurations are not right-dislocated. But from this it also follows that Greek qualifies as a genuine Clitic Doubling language.

Crosslinguistic evidence that the facts in (20) and (21) indeed constitute an argument that Greek has Clitic Doubling comes from languages that have limited CLD of direct objects such as Standard Spanish and Catalan. In Standard Spanish and Catalan, doubling of objects preceding post-verbal subjects carrying main sentence stress is permitted with indirect objects (Ordóñez 1997), and with pronominal direct objects (Zubizarreta 1998), as illustrated in (23):

- (23) a. *Se lo dio a* (Standard Spanish)  
 him-CL-DAT it-CL-ACC give-3rd SG-PAST A  
*Juan María, el libro.*  
 Juan Maria-NOM, the book  
 'Maria gave Juan the book'  
 b. *Lo castigó a él la madre de Juan.*  
 him-CL-ACC punish-3rd SG-PAST a him the mother of Juan  
 'Juan's mother punished him'

In these languages, Clitic Doubling of direct object DPs is ruled out. Accordingly, doubling of *a la profesora* in a position preceding the subject is ruled out in (24):

- (24) \**La saludó a la Profesora Juan* (Standard Spanish)  
 her-CL-ACC greet-3rdSG-PAST A the Professor Juan-NOM  
 'Juan greeted the professor'



Note that in (23a) the direct object *el libro* is “doubled” by a clitic but, crucially, it occurs in a position after the subject, i.e., in a right dislocated position.

To sum up, VOS configurations in which the subject bears main stress provide diagnostic environments for Clitic Doubling as opposed to Right Dislocation.

Summarizing the discussion so far, we have seen that inter- and intra-linguistic variation in doubling cannot be accounted for in approaches that capitalize on Kayne’s Generalization. The variation within Romance crucially relies on auxiliary assumptions/stipulations:

i. *Auxiliary assumption 1:*

When a preposition-like element is a preposition, doubling is possible.  
Otherwise not.

This explains why indirect object doubling is well-formed in Spanish but not in French and Italian.

ii. *Auxiliary assumption 2:*

When a preposition-like element is a preposition that can assign Case, doubling is possible. Otherwise not.

This explains why direct object doubling is well-formed in Rioplatense Spanish but not in Standard Spanish.

Even more importantly, Kayne’s Generalization also has a number of important counterexamples, e.g., in Greek<sup>11</sup> and in Balkan languages more generally.

### 3.2 Sportiche’s Theory of Doubling and its roots

Suñer (1988) pointed out that direct object Doubling has interpretational effects. Specific animate DPs can be doubled by accusative clitics in Porteño Spanish while non-specific animate DPs cannot (Suñer 1988).

- (25) a. [+anim,+spec,+DEF] (Porteño Spanish)  
*La oían a Paca/ a la niña/ a la gata.*  
 her hear-3rd PL-PAST A Paca/ A the girl/ A the cat  
 ‘They heard Paca/the girl/the cat’

11. The only way to make Greek fit under Kayne’s Generalization is by proposing that an empty Case-assigning preposition is present in clitic doubling constructions. The presence of overt case morphology in Greek nominals could be viewed as licensing this zero preposition, or even as being the overt realization of a preposition affixed on nouns. In fact, Dobrovie-Sorin (1990) adopts this proposal for dative arguments in Romanian, which undergo clitic doubling without being preceded by a special preposition. We do not adhere to this view, however, as there are numerous environments in which the presence of overt accusative or nominative case morphology on Greek nouns clearly does not signify obliqueness.

- b. [+anim,+spec,-DEF]  
*Diariamente, la escuchaba a una mujer que*  
 daily, her-CL-ACC listen-to-3SG-PAST A a woman-ACC who  
*cantaba tangos.*  
 sang tangos  
 'He listened daily to a woman who sang tangos'
- c. [+anim,-spec,+DEF]  
 \**Lo alabarán al niño que termine primero*  
 him-CL-ACC will praise-3rd PL A the boy who finishes first  
 'They will praise the boy who finishes first'
- d. [+anim,-spec,-DEF]  
 \**No lo oyeron a ningún ladrón*  
 not him-CL-ACC hear-3rd PL-PAST A any thief  
 'They didn't hear any thief'

She further observed that indirect object/dative Clitic Doubling differs from direct object/accusative Clitic Doubling in not being subject to specificity (see also Sportiche 1996). Any indirect object can undergo Doubling in Spanish, as shown below, unlike direct objects which must be specific:

- (26) a. [+human,+spec,±DEF] (Porteño Spanish)  
*le ofrecí ayuda a la niña / a una estudiante.*  
 her-CL-DAT offer-1st SG-PAST help A the girl/ A a student  
 'I offered help to the girl/ to a student'
- b. [+human,-spec,-DEF]  
*les ofrecieron queso y leche a familias de*  
 them-CL-DAT offer-3rd PL-PAST cheese and milk A families of  
*pocos medios.*  
 little means  
 'They offered cheese and milk to low-income families'
- c. [+human,-spec,+DEF]  
*les dejaré todo mi dinero a los pobres.*  
 them-CL-DAT will leave-1st SG all my money A the poor  
 'I will leave all my money to the poor'

Dobrovie-Sorin (1990) has reported similar findings for Romanian. She argued that there are many restrictions on direct object Clitic Doubling in Romanian which stem from the interpretation of NPs, and that indirect object Clitic Doubling differs from direct object Clitic Doubling in not being sensitive to the semantics of NPs.

Anagnostopoulou (1994) noted that Greek direct object Clitic Doubling has interpretive effects, similar to Spanish and Romanian. Greek Doubling is more or less restricted to definites which cannot be understood as accommodative/novel (Heim 1982)

in the presence of Doubling. Moreover, Clitic Doubling is obligatory with so called “epithets” i.e., definite anaphoric DPs as in (27).

- (27) *idha to Jiorgo ke \*(ton) malosia ton ilithio pu dhen me kalese sto parti.* (Greek)  
 see-1st SG-PAST the G.-ACC and him-CL-ACC scold-1st SG-PAST the stupid-ACC  
 that NEG me-CL-ACC invite-3rd SG-PAST in the party  
 ‘I saw George and I scolded the idiot for not inviting me to the party’

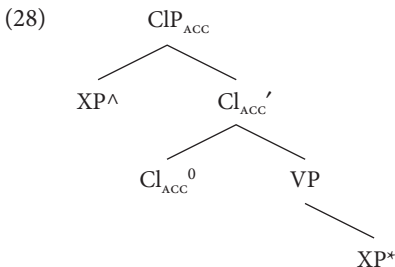
The above mentioned developments led to a significant shift in the treatment of Clitic Doubling in three major respects:

- i. The abandonment of Kayne’s Generalization naturally led to a view of doubling clitics as agreement markers: agreement markers co-occur with argument DPs (as they do not absorb Case).
- ii. After the discovery of the relevance of the interpretive effects of direct object clitics most accounts of direct object Clitic Doubling focused on them.
- iii. The fact that the conditions under which indirect object Clitic Doubling takes place are different from the ones licensing direct object Doubling led some researchers to speculate that the two instances of Doubling do not fall under the same parameter as they seem to be instantiating very different syntactic phenomena (see Bleam 1999 for a spelled-out approach along these lines).

This shift in perspective is crystallized in Sportiche’s Clitic Voice Theory which treats clitics as bundles of phi-features in the functional skeleton of the clause which enter an agreement relationship with their associate DPs. In addition, Sportiche proposes that direct object clitics license specificity on their associates, unlike indirect object clitics which are pure agreement markers.

According to Sportiche, clitics are functional heads heading their own projections in the domain of Infl. These are referred to by the term “Clitic Voices” and are suggested to license a particular property on an agreeing argument: the doubled DP in Clitic Doubling, an object *pro* in simple cliticization.

Sportiche argues that clitic constructions show properties of XP-movement and claims that it would be the null hypothesis to postulate that clitic constructions are identical to all other types of movement configurations, which, in Checking Theory (as proposed by Chomsky 1993, 1995), involve movement demanded by specifier-head licensing. The structure Sportiche proposes for accusative clitics is illustrated in (28):



In (28), the (overt or covert)  $XP^*$  related to the clitic moves to the  $XP^\wedge$  position at some point in the derivation (overt syntax or LF).<sup>12</sup> In this way, agreement between Cl and  $XP^*$  is sanctioned. The agreement relation between the clitic and the  $XP^*$  is derived as a Spec/head relation, and the locality between the clitic and the corresponding  $XP^*$  follows from the movement relationship between the  $XP^*$  and the  $XP^\wedge$ . Clitic doubling minimally differs from non-doubling in that the  $XP^*$  is overt in the former and covert in the latter. This way, the syntax of clitics is fully assimilated to that of other functional heads.

The obvious question to ask is what the trigger of movement of the double is. Sportiche answers this question by pushing the parallelism between the syntax of clitics and that of other kinds of movement. Under the assumption that wh-movement is motivated by the *Wh*-criterion (Rizzi 1991), he attributes the  $XP^*$ -to- $XP^\wedge$  movement to the Clitic Criterion in (29) which, in turn, is subsumed under the Generalized Licensing Criterion in (30):

(29) *Clitic Criterion* (Sportiche 1996)

*At LF*

- a. A clitic must be in a Spec/head relationship with a [+F] XP.
- b. A [+F] XP must be in a Spec/head relationship with a clitic.

(30) *Generalized Licensing Criterion* (Sportiche 1996)

*At LF*

- a. A [+F] head must be in a Spec/head relationship with a [+F] XP.
- b. A [+F] XP must be in a Spec/head relationship with a [+F] head.

In (30), [+F] stands for a set of properties such as *Wh*, NEG, Focus etc. which trigger movement. For direct object clitic constructions, it is proposed that the clitic licenses Specificity on its associate. Indirect object clitic heads are treated as indirect object agreement markers since they do not yield specificity effects (see above). The structure in (28) makes a number of further options available:

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12. In this account, the formal relation between clitics and argument DPs is comparable, to some extent, to the relation between expletives and associates in expletive-associate chains in the framework of Chomsky (1995). Similarly to associates that move to the expletive position at LF, doubled DPs move to the clitic position overtly (in scrambling, see text below or in CLLD, see next footnote) or covertly (in clitic doubling; see Sportiche 1996). It is easy to see that in the framework of Chomsky (2000, 2001) movement of the associate to the clitic can be restated as an Agree relation between the clitic and the doubled phrase (or T and the doubled phrase; in the latter case, the clitic can be viewed as an overt signal of Agree between T and the object). Such an analysis dispenses with actual movement but maintains the locality characteristic of movement (for discussion, see Anagnostopoulou 2005).

- (31) *Clitic Constructions Parameters* (Sportiche 1996)  
 Movement of  $XP^*$  to  $XP^\wedge$  occurs overtly or covertly.  
 Head is overt or covert.  
 $XP^*$  is overt or covert.

By (31) the following cases are predicted:<sup>13</sup>

- i. *Undoubled clitic* constructions as in French and Italian arise when a covert  $XP^*$  moves overtly or covertly to  $XP^\wedge$  with H overt.
- ii. *Clitic Doubling* constructions as in Spanish and Romanian arise when an overt  $XP^*$  moves covertly with H overt.
- iii. *Scrambling* constructions as in Dutch and German arise when an overt  $XP^*$  moves overtly with H covert.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, Sportiche proposes that the *Clitic Doubling Parameter* should be attributed to a filter similar to the Doubly Filled Comp Filter (see Cheng 1991 for crosslinguistic discussion), which he calls Doubly Filled Voice Filter:

- (32) *Doubly Filled Voice Filter* (Sportiche 1996)  
 $*[_{HP} XP [H...]]$   
 where H is a functional head licensing some property P,  
 and both XP and H overtly encode P.

Assuming (32) to hold universally, Sportiche speculates that Clitic Doubling arises in Kayne's Generalization languages where the presence of the preposition makes the doubled DP sufficiently dissimilar to the property P encoded by the clitic. Another option would be that clitic doubling is licit in a language when  $XP^*$  movement may be delayed until LF, since this is the one way of preventing a violation of (32) with an overt  $XP^*$  in the presence of an overt clitic.

We saw however that Kayne's Generalization is problematic. Moreover, there is no independent evidence that (DP and/or *pro*) associates move overtly in languages not licensing doubling, i.e., French and Italian, and covertly in languages licensing

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13. According to Sportiche, there is another option, namely that an overt  $XP^*$  moving overtly with H overt will give some object agreement constructions such as might be found in Lebanese Arabic. Clitic Left Dislocation construction of Cinque (1991) may also be such a case or a case of overt movement of  $XP^*$  to  $XP^\wedge$  and then beyond, as is found in Romanian or in Spanish wh-question. We do not discuss this option in the main text because we do not take CLLD to be a movement construction.

14. Note that Sportiche unifies the syntax of cliticization/Clitic Doubling with that of scrambling, which has also been claimed to display interpretational effects (Diesing 1992; de Hoop 1992). This idea was further explored in Anagnostopoulou (1994) and Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1997).

doubling, i.e., Spanish, Greek, Bulgarian, Albanian, Romanian. Even more problematically, one is led to stipulate arbitrary variation within one and the same language. It would have to be claimed, for instance, that in e.g., Standard Spanish (i) indirect object DPs and direct object pronouns can delay their movement to the clitic position until LF, explaining why Clitic Doubling with these elements is allowed, while (ii) direct object DPs must move to the clitic position overtly, explaining why direct object DP doubling is disallowed.

#### 4. Clitic doubling interacting with participle agreement

Having presented the main approaches towards the Clitic Doubling parameter that have been developed in the literature so far, we now proceed to the discussion of an intriguing correlation: the observation that the availability of Clitic Doubling correlates with the unavailability of Participle Agreement and vice versa.

It is an extensively discussed fact in the literature of cliticization that clitics trigger participial agreement in languages that show object agreement, e.g., French, Italian and Catalan. It has been argued that participle agreement is activated by the movement of the clitic in the preverbal position, an instance of Spec/head agreement. There is no principled explanation in the literature, however, as to why agreement on the verb is triggered by overt movement of the clitic and not as a result of Agree with the *in situ* object. We will come back to this in subsection 4.2.

In what follows, we argue that the overtness of participle agreement depends on the checking properties of the language. Moreover we will propose that when participle agreement is activated, DP-objects cannot be overt in clitic doubling constructions. This will explain the absence of Clitic Doubling in languages which show participial agreement with clitics.

##### 4.1 The cross-linguistic picture: Clitic doubling and participle agreement in complementary distribution

The data in (33)–(38) show that languages with productive clitic doubling of direct objects (i.e., Greek, Albanian, Bulgarian, Spanish, Romanian and Taqbaylit Berber<sup>15</sup>) lack participle agreement with direct objects.<sup>16</sup>

15. We are grateful to Jamal Ouhalla for pointing out these data to us.

16. Contrary to what Joseph & Philippaki-Warbuton (1989) have claimed, we argue, following Iatridou (1995) that Greek (like Spanish, Czech and Slovakian) does not have Participle Agreement.

- (33) *Tin eho agorasi tin turta.* (Greek)  
her-CL-FEM-ACC have-1st SG bought the cake-ACC-FEM  
'I bought the cake'
- (34) *John e ka lyer (atë/derën).* (Albanian)  
John her-CL-FEM-ACC has-3rd SG painted it/door-the-ACC  
'John has painted it'
- (35) *Az sām ja pročel (knigata).* (Bulgarian)  
I am it-CL-FEM-ACC read-SG-masc book-the  
'I have read the book'
- (36) *La he visto (a ella/a María).* (Spanish )  
her-CL-FEM-ACC have-I seen A her-full pronoun/A María  
'I have seen her/Maria'
- (37) *L-am văzut pe ministru.* (Romanian)  
him-CL-ACC have-I seen PE minister  
'I have seen the minister'
- (38) *zri-x = t umcic.* (Taqbaylit)  
saw-I = it cat  
'I saw the cat.'

The above facts should be contrasted with the data in (39)–(42) below, where direct object Participle Agreement is present and Clitic Doubling is ruled out:

- (39)  $(* = T)$  *t-lsa (= t) tfruxt.* (from Ouhalla 2004) (Tarifit)  
(= it<sub>ACC</sub>) 3F-wear (= it<sub>ACC</sub>) girl  
'The girl wore it'
- (40) *l' he vista (\*la noia).* (Catalan)  
her-CL-ACC have-I seen-PPagr the girl  
'I have seen her [the girl]'
- (41) *l'ho vista (\*la ragazza).* (Italian)  
her-CL-ACC have-I seen-PPagr the girl  
'I have seen her [the girl]'
- (42) *Paul les a repeintes (\*les tables).* (French)  
Paul them-CL-ACC has-3rd SG repainted-PPagr the tables  
'Paul has repainted them [the tables]'

Thus, languages with grammatical direct object participial agreement have ungrammatical direct object Clitic Doubling and vice versa. The complementarity of clitic doubling and participle agreement in clitic languages is summarized in Table (1):<sup>17</sup>

17. Table (1) contains a language, i.e., Serbo-Croatian, which lacks both clitic doubling and participle agreement. As discussed in footnote 2, lack of participle agreement in a language does not entail that clitic doubling will appear obligatorily.

Table 1. The complementarity between Clitic Doubling and participle agreement

	Clitic doubling	Participle agreement
Greek	YES	NO
Argentinean Spanish	YES	NO
Catalan	NO	YES
Romanian	YES	NO
Albanian	YES	NO
Bulgarian	YES	NO
French	NO	YES
Italian	NO	YES
Serbo-Croatian	NO	NO
Taqbaylit	YES	NO
Tarifit	NO	YES

#### 4.2 The proposal: Split checking prevents Clitic Doubling

The data discussed in the preceding section provide empirical support for the Doubling/Agreement correlation in (1), repeated here, which calls for an explanation:<sup>18</sup>

- (1) *The Doubling/Agreement Correlation:*  
 If a language has clitic doubling it lacks participle agreement.  
 If a language has participle agreement it lacks clitic doubling

In this section, we develop an account for (1) based on a constraint on Agree. The general idea is that syntactic principles of economy allow pronominal/agreement elements to enter into an agree-relation with an overt DP-object in a chain of two at a time. As a result, while Doubling is permitted, “tripling” is excluded. This restriction entails that agreement markers and/or clitics, agreement suffixes on the verb and full DP-objects may appear in the following schemata:<sup>19</sup>

18. The generalization in (1) holds for direct object Clitic Doubling. It remains unaddressed how the generalization affects Clitic Doubling of indirect objects, given that participles shows agreement only with direct objects in all known languages. The answer is not clear to us at this point; however it seems to be the case that there are no languages that have participle agreement, lack Clitic Doubling of direct objects but exhibit Clitic Doubling of indirect objects. Thus it seems that the correlation with participle agreement is relevant to indirect Clitic Doubling as well.

19. The Doubling/Agreement correlation is meant to capture the absence of object clitic doubling in languages with participial agreement. Whether or not it extends to subject clitics is at this stage unclear, as there seem to be Italian dialects that allow “tripling” with subject clitics, overt DP-subjects and subject agreement on the verb. One possible way to account for this difference is that participial object-agreement is [*-person*], a property that is responsible for split-checking, while subject agreement on the verb is [*+person*]. The variation languages exhibit with respect to subject-clitic doubling and the similarities/differences between subject- and object-clitic doubling are questions for further research.



- i. clitic V-Agr (\*DP) (French/Italian)
- ii. clitic V-(\*Agr) DP (Spanish Balkan languages)
- iii. (\*clitic) V-Agr DP (Bantu)

Option (iii) seems to be instantiated by Bantu languages, something that will not be discussed here.<sup>20</sup> In this study we concentrate on structures (i) and (ii), being particularly interested in the derivation of Clitic Doubling and its correlation with Participle Agreement.<sup>21</sup> Following Sportiche (1996), we assume that clitics are heads of ClP. We further assume that Participle Agreement is realised on Agr-O following Chomsky (1991, 1993) among others.

The main and crucial difference between our proposal and Sportiche's is the assumption that checking relations between clitics and DPs vary crosslinguistically. In particular, we propose that clitic-languages fall into two groups depending on whether *phi*-features related to objects form bundles located in a single position in the functional domain or whether they are split, located in more than one position in the tree. More precisely, we propose that clitic languages without participle agreement are *bundling-languages*, i.e., all *phi*-features reside in a single position, while clitic languages with participle agreement are *split-languages*,<sup>22</sup> i.e., *phi*-features are distributed over two different syntactic positions.<sup>23</sup>

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20. Norvin Richards (p.c.) has informed us that cases like (iii) might actually exist in languages like Wampanoag. However in non-configurational languages like Wampanoag, it is particularly difficult to test what is dislocated. This is an issue for further research.

21. The correlation was first pointed out in Tsakali & Wexler (2003), where it was suggested on the basis of acquisition evidence that participle agreement does not show up in Clitic Doubling languages. However Tsakali & Wexler didn't provide a syntactic account for the correlation.

22. Winfried Lechner (p.c.) provided ideas and suggestions on the topic upon which the idea of split-checking for non clitic doubling languages was developed.

23. In our system, *phi*-feature checking of objects in clitic languages is limited to clitic constructions. Case checking cannot be linked to *phi*-feature checking in clitic languages (contra Chomsky 2000, 2001). The two processes should be kept distinct (as in Chomsky 1995) for the following reason: if Case checking were linked to *phi*-feature checking, we would expect, incorrectly, doubling clitics to be obligatory with structural objects in non-split doubling languages, where, by hypothesis, person and gender are checked in ClP. This is possibly a parameter differentiating clitic doubling languages from object agreement languages. In the former, doubling – and hence *phi*-checking – of direct objects is optional, while in the latter object agreement – and hence *phi*-checking – of direct objects is obligatory. *Phi*-checking and Case checking are linked together only in agreement languages. Note, furthermore, that we do not assume that all objects check person features (contra Chomsky 2000, 2001). It seems that in all Romance languages (whether these are split like French and Italian or non-split like Spanish and Romanian) only pronominal objects (1st, 2nd or 3rd person animates) or just 1st and 2nd person pronominal objects, check person features, explaining why clitic doubling of strong pronouns or of 1st and 2nd person strong pronouns is obligatory across Romance.

Turning to the details of our proposal, we propose that in languages without participle agreement, such as Greek, the features [*person*], [*gender*] and [*number*] reside in a single site which can be identified as the head of the Clitic Phrase. On the other hand, languages like French and Italian, which show overt participle agreement, are *split*-languages, and they distribute phi-features over two distinct positions. [*Gender*] and [*number*] are checked in AgrO (the same site where the participle surfaces) and [*person*] in the head of the (higher) clitic position (CIP). Crucially, the feature [*person*] does not reside in AgrO (participial agreement) but in CIP in Italian-type languages, a property which gives rise to split-checking.<sup>24</sup> Thus, overt Participle Agreement arises in *split*-languages, where the object checks [*gender*] and [*number*] features in AgrO, and then needs to move further up to check [*person*] feature with the CIP. In contrast, in languages lacking Participle Agreement, all object features are checked in CIP, AgrO being parametrically inactive. The (in)activity of participle agreement/AgrO is discussed at the end of this section. Intuitively, the idea is that the clitic in clitic doubling languages subsumes some of the functions of object agreement in non-doubling languages.

Turning to the correlation between participle agreement and clitic doubling, (1) can now be restated as in (43):

(43) *The Doubling/Agreement Correlation*

If a language has Clitic Doubling it lacks split phi-checking.

If a language has split phi-checking it lacks Clitic Doubling.

Furthermore, the two conditions in (43) lead to a novel formulation of the Clitic Doubling parameter, which differs from standard approaches in that it disassociates Clitic Doubling from Case Theory.

(44) *Clitic Doubling Parameter*

Overt associates of clitics are limited to non-split (bundling) languages.

Pro-associates are licensed in non-split as well as split languages.

According to (44), full DPs are not allowed to undergo split-checking while phonologically empty elements (*pro*) are not subject to this restriction. In turn, this asymmetry leads to the constraint in (45), which regulates the crosslinguistic distribution of Clitic Doubling:

(45) *Overt DP-associate Constraint*

Overt DPs must enter into an Agree relation all at once.

The question that arises is what accounts for the *Overt DP-associate Constraint* in (45).<sup>25</sup>

24. None of the languages under investigation exhibits morphological realization of person-feature on the participle agreement.

25. Winfried Lechner suggested (p.c.) that (45) derives from locality. On this view, overt DP associates do not permit split-checking, because this would necessitate two independent operations on two distinct subgroups of features. Such “subextraction” or “subagree” of features out

Richards (2001) shows that the well-formedness of Agree relations obeys PF-restrictions. The condition that ensures which part(s) of a chain is pronounced is the *Principle of Unambiguous Pronunciation* stated in (46) (as proposed by Richards, 2001).<sup>26</sup>

- (46) *The Principle of Unambiguous Pronunciation* (Richards 2001)  
 PF must receive unambiguous instructions about which part of a chain to pronounce.

Viewing Agree as an instruction for pronunciation at PF, (46) can derive the Overt DP-associate Constraint in (45), if all-at-once Agree is viewed as an unambiguous instruction for pronunciation at PF. On the other hand, split-Agree between a DP and two distinct sets of phi-features is ambiguous, leading to a violation of (46). This means that in a split-checking derivation the associate receives contradictory information with respect to where it should be pronounced, by both the Clitic Phrase and the Agr-OP. No such problem arises when split-agree takes place with *pro* which is unpronounced. Having derived the Overt DP-associate Constraint in (45) from (46), it is predicted that the associate of the clitic in split-languages is forced to be *pro*.

We will now return to a question raised in the beginning of this section regarding the trigger of the overtiness of participle agreement. One of Sportiche's (1996) motivations for reviving the idea of movement of the associate of the clitic is that participle agreement happens when it moves to the left of the participle.<sup>27</sup> This is considered one

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of a DP, however, would violate locality if it is assumed that the two feature bundles are not equidistant to the probe. As a result, DPs can only enter agree as a whole, as this does not involve "subextraction" or "sub-agree". Doubling, which by definition involves DP associates, can thus not be found in split-agreement languages. Crucially, if *pro* serves as the associate, as in simple (i.e., non-doubling) cliticization constructions, absence of a phonological matrix obviates the island effect if Merchant (2001) is correct that phonologically silent categories impose looser locality conditions than their overt counterparts. This would explain why split-agreement languages permit simple cliticization: split-Agree between the covert category *pro*, [*gender*] in AgrO and [*person*] in Cl would not violate locality. This idea makes certain predictions and implications for the checking properties of DPs as opposed to empty categories, which are subject to further investigation.

26. Originally, principle (46) was proposed in conjunction with the principle in (i):

- (i) A strong feature instructs PF to pronounce the copy in a chain with which it is in a feature-checking relation.

The two principles impose certain restrictions on the possible operations which can be performed in the overt syntax (see Richards 2001 for details).

27. The other main reason for maintaining some version of movement analysis comes from extraction properties of the clitics (see Sportiche 1996, for discussion). The observation involves

of the strongest arguments favouring a movement approach. However the argument is based on a particular view of how agreement is realised. In Sportiche's system agreement is the result of movement of the *pro* to the Spec-CLP at LF, triggered by the need to identify the features of the head of CLP with the clitic. Under the assumption that *pro* will move through all the Spec positions, its movement via Spec of AgrO will trigger the agreement on the participle.

One problem with this approach, common to all movement approaches, is that it predicts that agreement will be overt only when there is movement of the object. However, Italian data from unaccusatives (47a) and from the so-called Absolute Small Clauses (47b) show that agreement can also be activated with objects which remain in situ.

- (47) a. *è partita Maria.* (Italian)  
           have-3rd SG left-FEM-SG Maria-NOM  
           'Maria has left'
- b. *Conosciuta Maria, ...* (from Belletti 2006)  
       known-FEM-SG Maria-ACC  
       'Having known Maria, ...'

In the split-checking system the problem imposed by data like (47) does not arise. According to the present proposal overt agreement will result as long as the [*gender*] and the [*number*] features are checked. Thus participial agreement is feature licensed and its morphological realisation depends on whether the relevant features have been checked in the overt syntax or not; this is expressed in (48), following Guasti & Rizzi (1999):

- (48) If a feature is checked in the overt syntax then it is expressed in the morphology. (Guasti & Rizzi 1999)

According to standard analyses both (47a) and (47b) show participle agreement under the assumption that *Maria* has moved to the Spec of the past participle and then the participle moves to some higher projection (presumably C). This is how the word order is obtained. However the necessity for these movements is not supported by any independent reason; they are employed to explain how objects that appear in situ (i.e., *Maria* in (47)) trigger participial agreement. In the present system agreement morphology on the participle is realised whenever either *pro* or a full DP checks its [*number*] and [*gender*] features, regardless of whether there is movement or not.

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structures with preposition stranding and extractability out of DP. Thus in French, there is no preposition stranding by movement; clitics do not allow preposition-stranding either. Secondly, extraction out of a DP is only permitted when the extracted phrase could otherwise be the Possessor (cf. Giorgi & Longobardi 1991). Similarly cliticization out of a DP is only permitted if the DP is the Possessor.

Under this view, there is no need to postulate movement of the object in participial agreement constructions.

### 4.3 Language specific evidence: French agreement

The Doubling/Agreement correlation in (43) holds at two levels: language internally and at a structure specific level. Thus, as already mentioned if a language has Participle Agreement it does not have productive clitic doubling. Nevertheless, it is known (Kayne 2000) that in some dialects of French, Clitic Doubling is obligatory with 1st and 2nd person pronouns.<sup>28</sup> The predictions of the proposal put forward above would be that even in these less productive cases of Clitic Doubling, Participle Agreement cannot co-occur with a doubled DP. The prediction is borne out, as shown by the following data:

- (49) a. *Il m'a mis moi sur la liste.* (French)  
 b. \**Il m'a mise moi sur la liste*  
 he me-CL-ACC has-3rd SG put me-full-pronoun on the list  
 'He has put me on the list'
- (50) a. *Ils t'auraient repris toi (mais pas ton mari).*  
 b. \**Ils t'auraient reprise toi (mais pas ton mari)*  
 they-NOM you-CL-ACC-FEM would have-3rd PL taken you-full pronoun  
 (but not your husband)  
 'They would have taken you but not your husband'

The comparison between (49a)–(50a) and (49b)–(50b) shows that “tripling” in natural languages is excluded: (49b) and (50b) become ungrammatical when participial agreement is phonologically realised in the presence of an overt associate. This is precisely what we expect.

### 4.4 Interpretational effects of doubling constructions

The intuition behind our interpretation of the proposed correlation in (1) is that the clitic in clitic doubling constructions subsumes the function of the object agreement which is realised morphologically as overt participle agreement in non-clitic-doubling languages. Until the early nineties, it was often assumed that clitic doubling and overt participle agreement will arise optionally.<sup>29</sup> However, attention has been drawn to the

28. Kayne (2000) suggests that Clitic Doubling is obligatory with 1st and 2nd person pronoun because full pronouns have been assigned structural case.

29. This general standpoint does not refer to instances of obligatory clitic doubling that are extensively discussed in the literature. For details see Anagnostopoulou (2005).

following question: to what extent do doubling phenomena and participle agreement have an effect on the interpretation of the sentences?

It was first observed by Obenauer (1992, 1994) and discussed by Adger (1994) and further by Déprez (1998) that the optionality in the distribution of participle agreement in French *wh*-structures involves differences in the interpretation. In the presence of the participle agreement with a *wh*-word like *combien* ('how many') (51a), the *wh*-word is presupposed, that is, D-linked (Pesetsky 1987), while D-linking is not obligatory in the absence of the participle agreement (51b) (examples from Déprez 1998).

- (51) a. *Combien de fautes a-t-elle faites?* (French)  
 b. *Combien de fautes a-t-elle fait ?*  
 'How many mistakes has she made?'

The difference in the interpretation between (51a) and (52b) along the present discussion can be attributed to the option of D-linking available with *combien*. Similar effects can be observed in Clitic Doubling constructions, where the clitic denotes discourse old – that is, D-linked – information and Clitic Doubling can occur only with familiar definite DPs (Anagnostopoulou 1994). Moreover, it can be observed that doubled DPs in clitic doubling constructions have to fulfil an additional requirement: they can be felicitously used only if they are assigned an exhaustive interpretation. To exemplify the effects of exhaustivity, consider the following paradigm:

- (52) a. *Gnorise tus siggenis tis Marias o Petros, ala ohi olus.* (Greek)  
 meet-3rd SG-PAST the relatives-ACC the Maria-GEN the Peter-NOM but not all  
 'Peter met the relatives of Maria, but not all of them'  
 b. *Tus gnorise tus siggenis tis Marias o Petros, #ala ohi olus*  
 them-CL-ACC meet-3rd SG-PAST the relatives-ACC the Maria-GEN  
 the Peter-NOM but not all  
 'Peter met the relatives of Maria, but not all of them'
- (53) a. *Dhiavase ta vivlia tu Chomsky o Kostas, ektos apo ena.*  
 read-3rd SG past the books-ACC the Chomsky-GEN the Kostas-NOM,  
 except from one  
 'Kostas read the books by Chomsky, except for one'  
 b. *Ta dhiavase ta vivlia tu Chomsky o Kostas, #ektos apo ena*  
 them-CL-ACC read-3rd SG past the books-ACC the Chomsky-GEN the  
 Kostas-NOM, except from one  
 'Kostas read the books by Chomsky, except for one'

The difference between (52a) and (52b) is that in (52a) the phrase 'relatives of Maria' (*tus siggenis tis Marias*) does not necessarily imply that every member of the whole group consisting of the relatives of Maria was present, while in (52b), where the object

is doubled by the clitic, only admits the exhaustive reading. Similarly in (53a) the phrase *ta vivlia tu Chomsky* ('books by Chomsky') has two possible readings: it can either refer to the whole set of the books by Chomsky, or it can denote a proper subset thereof. In (53b) the second reading is not available; the phrase *ta vivlia tu Chomsky* ('books by Chomsky') doubled by a clitic forces an exhaustive reading. This observation is supported by the fact that only (52a) and (53a) can be subject to cancellation, while (52b) and (53b) become infelicitous when followed by phrases *ala ohi olus* ('but not all') and *ektos apo ena* ('except from one').

Summarizing, we suggest that all instances of doubling involve presuppositions which appear to be characterised in terms of exhaustiveness. The details of the analysis have to be delegated to future research, though.

## 5. Predictions for developmental studies

The proposal outlined in the previous section is supported by evidence from developmental studies. Comparative research on the acquisition of clitics lead to the conclusion that children acquire some of the clitic properties (i.e., clitic placement, the relative order of clitics) simultaneously, while the acquisition of other properties, such as the emergence of clitics, varies crosslinguistically.<sup>30</sup> There are several hypotheses in the literature to account for the disparity that link the omission of object clitics to a variety of factors, including difficulties in forming A-chains (Guasti 1993/94, extending Borer & Wexler's 1987 work on maturation of A-chains); children's inability to consistently form a full-fledged clausal structure, i.e., truncated clause structure (Hamann, Rizzi & Frauenfelder 1996; Haegeman 1996); problems in coping with Multiple Spell-Out operations (Avram 2000). Nevertheless, none of these proposals can explain the cross-linguistic variation in clitic omission, in particular the correlation between clitic omission and participle agreement.

Wexler, Gavarró & Torrens 2003, Tsakali & Wexler 2003, Tsakali 2006 among others have demonstrated that clitic omission takes place in languages that have participle agreement, while in languages that lack participle agreement no significant clitic omission is attested. More specifically, the cross-linguistic differences that L1 studies

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30. See among others Friedemann (1993, 1994), Guasti (1993, 1994), Hamann, Rizzi & Frauenfelder (1996), Jakubowicz, Müller, Kang, Riemer & Rigaut (1996), Hamann (1997), Jakubowicz, Muller, Riemer & Rigaut (1997), Schaeffer (1997, 2000), Marinis (2000), Wexler, Gavarró & Torrens (2003), Tsakali & Wexler (2003), Tsimpli (2003), Wexler (2004), Babyonyshev & Marin (2005).

on clitics have identified can be summarized by the following properties of what will be called the Clitic Omission Stage (Tsakali & Wexler 2003):

- (54) *Properties of Clitic Omission Stage (CLOS)*
- a. Object clitic arguments are often omitted.
  - b. In the same period object clitic arguments are sometimes produced.
  - c. The participial agreement is sometimes omitted in the same period.
  - d. Children know that clitics have to agree with the participle while the full DP objects do not.

The suggestion made in Tsakali (2006) following Wexler (2004), Tsakali & Wexler (2003), and Wexler, Gavarró & Torrens (2003) derives clitic omission and its cross-linguistic variation from the universal principle that prevents children from carrying out certain computational processes of syntax, namely the Unique Checking Constraint (UCC) (Wexler 1998).

- (55) *Unique Checking Constraint (UCC)*  
The D-feature of a DP can only check against one functional category.

The Unique Checking Constraint prevents checking against two functional categories in child grammar. The essential idea is that whenever double checking of a D-feature takes place, children will fail to compute the derivation. Thus UCC applies to the Grammar as a whole and allows children to accept and produce ungrammatical constructions.

Within the spirit of the Unique Checking Constraint theory, clitic omission will be expected to be attested in *split agreement* languages, i.e., Italian and French, but not in *Clitic Doubling* languages, i.e., Greek and Spanish. The reason is that in split-languages, *pro* needs to check features on two heads (AgrO and Cl) while Cl-dependencies in bundling-languages are exhaustively licensed by a single checking relation (the object checks features against Cl). As a result, the Unique Checking Constraint applies to *split-languages*, where it induces omission, but not to Clitic Doubling languages such as Greek and Spanish. This is borne out by the data as reported by Wexler, Gavarró & Torrens 2003 (for Spanish and Catalan), Tsakali & Wexler 2003; Tsakali 2006 (for Greek), Babyonyshev & Marin 2005 (for Romanian).

However, the syntactic proposal presented above does not include a D-feature that needs to undergo double checking; instead the relevant features are split in two separate functional categories which leads to the reformulation of the Unique Checking Constraint as in (56):

- (56) *Restating the Unique Checking Constraint*  
Phi-features cannot undergo split checking against two functional categories (in child grammar).

(56) predicts that clitic omission will be limited to split-languages. According to the syntactic configuration presented in section 3.2, clitic-languages differ with respect to



their checking properties: on the one hand, in split-languages the clitic is base generated in the Clitic Phrase, while the features of the participial agreement reside in AgrO, and on the other hand, in bundling-languages all the relevant features are located in the Clitic Phrase. Given the two configurations, we have the following possible derivations in child grammar: Derivation Type I (the checking mechanism of bundling-languages) and Derivation Type II (the checking relations in split-languages).

i. *Derivation Type I* (Greek, Spanish, and Romanian)

In this type of derivation the DP-object/*pro* checks all its features with the Clitic Phrase. According to the Restatement of the Unique Checking Constraint in (56), there is no constraint that prevents adult-like checking in child grammar. Thus, clitic omission is not expected. Structures that are produced by this type of derivation are attested in early Greek, Spanish and Romanian.

ii. *Derivation Type II* (French, Italian, and Catalan)

The second type of derivation generates three different options for child language.

*Option 1:* the DP-object/*pro* has to check its [*number*] and [*gender*] feature against AgrO. The next step involves checking of the [*person*] feature against the Clitic Phrase. This is the adult-like derivation that appears optionally in child grammar. The result of this derivation is that both the clitic and the participle agreement (when required) will be present.<sup>31</sup>

*Option 2 :* the DP-object/*pro* checks its [*number*] and [*gender*] feature against AgrO. The next step involves checking off the [*person*] feature against the Clitic Phrase. When *pro* reaches ClP, it will also have to agree with the clitic there, so we see how the agreement properties of the clitic with the participle are transmitted to the clitic through *pro*. This is the point where the Restatement of the Unique Checking Constraint is relevant. Children fail to do split-checking against two functional categories. This derivation results in clitic omission with overt participle agreement.

*Option 3 :* If [*number*] and/or [*gender*] are not eliminated against AgrO then participle agreement will be omitted. The question then in this derivation is what happens with the [*person*] feature on *pro*. Can the child check [*person*] directly without checking first [*gender*] and [*number*]? Although nothing in our discussion so far prevents *pro* from checking its [*person*] feature directly with ClP, the answer to the question is negative. Looking at constructions with overt participle agreement, we observe that whenever the clitic is present in child language so is the participle agreement. In contrast there is no single instance with overt clitic and participle agreement omitted. This issue is elaborated in the next section.

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31. This is an adult-like derivation which is always a statistically limited option in child grammar.

### 5.1 Interaction of clitics with participle agreement in child grammar

If a derivation permits CLP to check the [*person*] feature without its having checked [*gender*] and [*number*] with AgrO, it results in a string with an overt clitic that lacks overt participle agreement. Assuming Chomsky's (2001, 2004 and 2005) and Wexler's (2004) Phase-theory, this would imply that the higher probe (CLP) has access to the DP/*pro* although there is an intervener probe (AgrO).<sup>32</sup> For *pro* to check its [*person*] feature it needs to move to the edge of the first phase to be visible to the higher probe (CLP). Otherwise the implications for the theory would be that children omit AgrOP (or VP), which according to Wexler (2004) is not attested in child language. If the clitic has not moved to the edge of the first phase, it cannot check its features further; thus the clitic will be omitted (and so will participle agreement). If now it has moved to the edge of the phase (that is, it has checked its features with AgrO), it has the option (as given by the Restatement of UCC) of moving higher up and checking [*person*] as well, or staying lower resulting in clitic omission again (but with participle agreement present).

Thus the checking-theory we assume makes strong predictions regarding the interaction of clitics with participle agreement. Crucially it makes the prediction that omission of participle agreement results in omission of the clitic. This has the following implication: whenever the child checks [*person*] with CLP it means that he/she has checked [*gender*] and [*number*] correctly (that is, no agreement errors).

Empirical evidence validating this prediction comes from Italian.<sup>33</sup> In particular, table (2) (from Schaeffer 2000) demonstrates that in early Italian, constructions with overt participle agreement may optionally also include a clitic:

**Table 2.** Proportion of omitted clitics with and without agreement in Passato Prossimo

Age	Mean age	Omission-agreement	Omission-no agreement
2;1–2;6	2;5	20% (2)	80% (8)
3;1–3;11	3;5	100% (1)	0% (0)
4;1–4;10	4;6	0% (0)	0% (0)
5;0–5;11	5;6	0% (0)	0% (0)
Adults	>19	0% (0)	0% (0)

From Table (2) (column *Omission-agreement*) we see that the clitic might be omitted in the presence of participle agreement. More importantly, in the same Table (column

32. Recall that our configuration is Sportiche-like. Thus the CLP does not form a phase with AgrO (or VP) but instead it belongs to the higher TP phase.

33. Unfortunately the studies in French do not provide information of this sort, so the point can only be shown in Italian.

*Omission-no agreement*), we get an indication that when the clitic is omitted so is participle agreement (80% of the times the child omitted both, while 20% of the time the child omitted the clitic but not the participle agreement). However, in order to make sure that the prediction is indeed borne out, one needs to look at data where the participle agreement is overtly realised and observe the distribution of clitics in these contexts.

Looking into Italian again, Schaeffer (1997/2000) reports that Italian children never make agreement errors with overt clitics. Table (3) (from Schaeffer 2000) shows the proportions of overt clitics with correct agreement and agreement errors in *passato prossimo*. In the presence of an overt clitic, agreement is also overtly realised.

Table 3. Proportion of overt clitic and agreement errors

Age	Mean age	Correct agreement	Agreement errors
2;1–2;6	2;5	100% (8)	0% (0)
3;1–3;11	3;5	100% (57)	0% (0)
4;1–4;10	4;6	100% (77)	0% (0)
5;0–5;11	5;6	100% (72)	0% (0)
Adults	>19	100% (130)	0% (0)

To clarify the prediction generated by the current analysis, whenever agreement is overtly marked, presence of the clitic is expected to be optional. But the converse does not hold: whenever the clitic is present, agreement must be overt. In other words, if the first step of the derivation is complete, the second might happen or not; but if the first step of the derivation is not complete the next one cannot be computed. The alternatives of the interaction between participle agreement and clitics are summarized in (57).

- (57)
- a. Participle agreement missing

b. Participle agreement overt
- Clitic missing

→

i. Clitic overt

ii. Clitic missing

The data from Tables (2) and (3) are predicted by the construal of Checking Theory in (56). Under our view, omission of clitics results from the hypothesis that children during the OI stage cannot check phi-features which are split over two functional categories. This hypothesis predicts correctly that problems in the emergence of clitics will only be observed in languages that are split-checking-languages, but not in bundling-languages.

Moreover the hypothesis predicts that in bundling-languages, where no clitic omission is attested (i.e., Greek, Spanish and Romanian), constructions with Clitic Doubling must occur at approximately the same period as single clitic constructions. This is actually borne out in both Spanish and Greek (unfortunately we do

not know about Romanian). Torrens & Wexler (2000) claim that Clitic Doubling is attested at the same period that single clitics are produced. Similarly, Marinis (2000) reports that children start using all clitic constructions at approximately the same age.

## 6. Further issues

In this paper we pursue the intuition that doubling clitics behave more like agreement markers than non-doubling ones (a view that has been sporadically suggested in the literature). The central contribution of the present proposal consists in establishing this view on the basis of a non-trivial correlation between the (un)availability of clitic doubling and the (un)availability of participle agreement, both cross-linguistically and language internally. Thus, the contours of the theory that emerges from the discussion above offers a unified approach towards two at first sight unrelated phenomena: (i) the syntax and acquisition of pronominal clitics, and (ii) their cross-linguistic variation in adult and child grammar.

Finally, two among the various open questions that need to be addressed in future research should be mentioned. First, the analysis treats clitic doubling and participial agreement constructions as two manifestations of “doubling” constructions. Independent support for this assumption was drawn from the semantic/pragmatic similarities that link the two constructions (D-linking effects, see section 4.4). However, the claim that all instances of doubling involve exhaustivity presuppositions still needs to be made more precise, and, if possible, further substantiated. Second it remains an open question to what extent doubling phenomena in non-configurational languages (e.g., Wampanoag) can be analysed in terms of our proposal.

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## PART IV

# Clitic doubling within the DP



# Romanian possessive clitics revisited\*

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This paper questions the view according to which Romanian dative/genitive possessive clitics can be placed both DP-internally and DP-externally. The clitics in the two constructions are argued to be only superficially identical. The clitic within the DP is a possessive clitic, valued genitive, which does not move out of the DP and cannot be doubled. The one placed in the clausal domain, at the left periphery of the clause, is an indirect object, base-generated inside the VP, and valued dative. Its possessive interpretation is context dependent, being semantically (or pragmatically) determined. The difference with respect to the availability of possessive clitic raising and doubling is accounted for within a *Derivation by Phase* framework (Chomsky 1999). The proposal is that DP-internal clitics are ‘frozen’ within the DP phase and consequently cannot move to the left periphery of the clause. Both the impossibility of their moving out of the DP to the clausal domain as well as the ambiguity of the sentences containing clausal dative clitics are accounted for in terms of the Attract Closest condition redefined in terms of phases.

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 The puzzle

Romanian is an optional clitic doubling language, allowing both direct object doubling (1a) and indirect object doubling (1b):

- (1) a. *L-am                                    întîlnit pe Ion.*  
         him.ACC-have.1SG/PL met       PE Ion  
         ‘I/we have met Ion.’

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\*We thank two anonymous reviewers for their challenging comments and suggestions. We tried to improve our text according to their suggestions wherever our present understanding of the data allowed it. We also thank Liliane Tasmowski for reading the text several times and for helping us with challenging questions and insightful suggestions. All remaining errors are exclusively ours.

- b. *I-am vorbit lui Ion despre tine.*  
 him.DAT- have.1SG/PL talked ART.DAT Ion about you.ACC  
 'I have talked to Ion about you.'

Clitic doubling in this language is closely linked to referential stability and prominence: the more referentially stable a nominal is the less optional clitic doubling is (Avram 2000; Farkas & Heusinger 2003; Hill & Tasmowski, this volume). When the associated nominal evinces a high degree of referential stability (as is the case of pronouns), clitic doubling is obligatory<sup>1</sup> in the case of Accusative clitics and highly favoured in the case of Dative clitics:

- (2) *\*(L-) am întâlnit pe el.*  
 (him.ACC)- have.1SG/PL met PE him.ACC
- (3) *?(I-)am spus lui despre tine.*  
 (him.DAT)-have.1SG/PL talked him.DAT about you.ACC

Besides direct and indirect object clitics, Romanian also has possessive clitics. According to previous studies (Avram 1997; Avram & Coene 2002; Stan 2001; Pană-Dindelegan 2003) they can occur both within the DP domain, in post-nominal position (in archaic and/or poetic texts) (4) as well as in the clausal domain (5):

- (4) *Fața-i roșie ca focul strălucea de bucurie.*  
 face-poss.CL.3SG red like fire-the shone of happiness  
 'His/her face was shining with happiness.'
- (5) *I-am zărit fața strălucind de bucurie.*  
 poss.CL.3SG-have.1SG/PL spotted face-the shining of happiness  
 'I/We spotted his face shining with happiness.'

In the case of possessive clitics the antecedent evinces a high degree of referential stability; and yet clitic doubling is impossible, irrespective of the category of the possessor argument: possessive (genitive) pronoun (6a), possessive adjective (6b), full DP valued genitive (6c):

- (6) a. *\*casa-i lui // \*casa-i ei*  
 house-the-poss.CL.3SG his // house-the-poss.CL.3SG her

1. The analysis of the empirical data point to a close relationship between Romanian clitic doubling and the definiteness hierarchy assumed in Farkas (2000):

- (i) Personal pronoun, proper name > definite descriptions > partitive, epistemically specific indefinites > non-specific indefinites

Those DPs which rank higher in the hierarchy (personal pronouns) must always occur in clitic doubling constructions, non-specific indefinites are incompatible with such constructions, whereas clitic doubling is optional with the other sub-classes (Avram 2000).

- b. \**casa-i* *sa*  
house-the-poss.CL.3SG his/her
- c. \**casa-i* *fetei*  
house-the-poss.CL.3SG girl-the.GEN

When the so-called possessive clitic occurs in the clausal domain, clitic doubling may be pleonastic, but not ungrammatical (Avram 1997), as in (7a,b). There are rare cases where, at first sight, a clitic in the clausal domain and one inside the DP seem to co-occur (7c) (Cristea 1974):

- (7) a. *I-am citit cartea ei nouă.*  
 POSS.CL.3SG-have-1SG/PL read book-the her new  
 'I/We have read her new book.'
- b. *Să-mi dau eu liniștea mea [...].* (cited in Cornilescu 1991: 64)  
 SUBJ.POSS.CL.1SG give.1SG peace-the my.ADJ.FEM.SG  
 'that I should give up my own peace of mind'
- c. *Și-a auzit propria-i voce.*  
 POSS.CL.REFL.3SG-has heard own-the- POSS.CL.3SG voice  
 '(S)he has heard his/her own voice.'

The analysis of possessive clitics within the DP and the IP domains shows that in both contexts the clitic meets the referential stability condition. The puzzle is that they seem to allow doubling only in one of these contexts. If the post-nominal and the pre-verbal possessive clitics represent instances of the same pronominal clitic, with the same function, their different behaviour with respect to clitic doubling is unexpected. The difference cannot be simply rooted in the fact that the clitic is positioned in two different syntactic domains (DP vs. clausal).

### 1.2 Second-position behaviour

The possessive clitic which occurs within definite DPs<sup>2</sup> exhibits second-position behaviour. Due to the fact that the Romanian definite article is a suffix attaching to the first lexical element of the DP, the possessive clitic thus follows the definite article, irrespective

2. There are some exceptions in which the possessive clitic may occasionally cliticize onto a bare feminine noun ending in *-ă* or *-e*, especially when the NP is the complement of a preposition. This may be partially due to the fact that in Romanian, unmodified bare nouns that are the complement of a preposition may trigger a definite interpretation:

- (i) a. *în casă-i*  
in house-POSS.CL.3SG  
b. *în casa-i*  
in house-the-POSS.CL.3SG

of the constituent with which the article surfaces, be it an articulated noun (8a), a pre-nominal adjective (8b) or a preposition (8c):

- (8) a. *casa-i*  
house-the-POSS.CL.3SG  
b. *frumoasa-i casă*  
beautiful-the-POSS.CL.3SG house  
c. *deasupra-i*  
above-(the)- POSS.CL.3SG

The second position behaviour of the DP-internal possessive clitic implies that it can only be enclitic to the possessee or to the fronted adjective<sup>3</sup> (see (9)), whereas the definiteness requirement on the DP hosting the clitic implies that it cannot occur in DPs preceded by the indefinite article (see (10)):

- (9) a. *\*i casa*  
POSS.CL.3SG house-the  
b. *\*i frumoasa casă*  
POSS.CL.3SG beautiful-the house  
(10) *\*o casă-i*  
a house-POSS.CL.3SG.

When occurring in the clausal domain, the clitic no longer exhibits second-position behaviour. It can be placed in sentence-initial position, preceding its host in finite clauses (11a) and after the host in non-finite constructions (11b), on a par with direct object clitics:

- (11) a. *I-am zărit chipul în mulțime.*  
POSS.CL.3SG-have 1SG/PL spotted face-the in crowd  
'I/We spotted his face in the crowd.'

3. In this, the DP-internal possessive clitics in Romanian behave like other possessor constituents (full genitive DPs, genitive pronouns or possessive adjectives) in that they cannot be fronted to DP initial position, as illustrated in (i) and (ii); if the modifying adjective is fronted, the possessive clitic must follow the adjective, just like other possessor constituents (iii – iv), but it will still be in second position:

- |       |   |   |
|-------|---|---|
| (i)   | <i>Fata mamei dulce</i><br>girl-the mother-the.GEN sweet    | <i>*mamei fata dulce</i><br>*mother-the.GEN girl-the sweet    |
| (ii)  | <i>fața lui zîmbitoare</i><br>face-the his smiling          | <i>*lui fața zîmbitoare</i><br>*his face-the smiling          |
| (iii) | <i>dulcea mamei fetiță</i><br>sweet-the mother-the.GEN girl | <i>*dulcea fetiță mamei</i><br>*sweet-the girl mother-the.GEN |
| (iv)  | <i>zîmbitoarea lui față</i><br>smiling-the his face         | <i>*zîmbitoarea față lui</i><br>*smiling-the face his         |

In Stavrou (2004) it is shown that the second position behaviour of DP-internal possessive clitics seems to hold also for Greek.

- b. *Zărintu-i chipul în mulțime am fugit.*  
 spot.Gerund- POSS.CL.3SG face-the in crowd have 1SG/PL run  
 ‘Spotting his face in the crowd I/we ran away.’

If the DP-internal clitic and the clausal one are the same object, we would not expect them to have different placement patterns in different syntactic domains. They should have the same phonological features relevant for the position in which they can occur in prosodic domains (Bošković 2001).

### 1.3 Ambiguous dative clitics

There is also the intriguing issue concerning the interpretation of sentences with clausal dative clitics. Sentences such as the one in (12) are ambiguous, allowing (at least) two readings,<sup>4</sup> whereas sentences such as the one in (13) are not:

- (12) *I-am citit cartea.*  
 POSS.CL.3SG DAT-have 1SG/PL read book-the  
 Reading 1: ‘I/We have read his book.’ [the clitic is interpreted as a possessive clitic]  
 Reading 2: ‘I/We have read the book to him.’ [the clitic is no longer interpreted as a possessive, but as an indirect object /Dative clitic]
- (13) *I-au auzit vocea.*  
 POSS.CL.3SG-have.3PL heard voice-the  
 ‘They have heard his/her voice.’

As evidenced by (12), the possessive meaning is not always the only available one in the case of double object constructions, where it competes with an indirect object interpretation (excluding the possessive reading):

- (14) *I-au recitat poezia.*  
 (POSS.) CL.3SG.DAT have.3PL recited poem-the  
 ‘They have recited the poem to him/ they have recited his poem.’

But if the possessor is overtly expressed within the DP (15a–15b), or if the context indicates that the possessor may be different from the referent of the clausal clitic (15c), the latter can no longer be interpreted as possessive, but only as an indirect object clitic:

- (15) a. *I-au recitat poezia aceea a lui Eminescu.*  
 CL.3SG.DAT-have.3PL recited poem-the that.fem.sg. of GEN.  
 Eminescu  
 ‘They recited to him that poem by Eminescu.’

4. See also Șerbănescu (2000: 135).



- b. *I-au repetat ideea de bază a*  
 clitic. 3SG.DAT- have-3PL. repeated idea-the of basis of  
*lucrării noastre.*  
 paper-the.GEN our.GEN.  
 ‘They repeated to him the central idea of our paper.’
- c. *I-au cântat colinda din Maramureș.*  
 clitic.3SG.DAT-have-3PL. sung carol-the from Maramureș.  
 ‘They sang the Maramureș carol to him.’

Data like the ones in (15) indicate that possession is not an inherent feature of clausal dative clitics but a context dependent one. In the case of double object constructions, the possessive reading is a side effect of the context and of the dative/genitive homonymy attested in Romanian, as in other Balkan languages. In the case of DP-internal clitics the possessive reading is the only available one.

## 2. Aim and hypothesis

In this paper we return to certain issues raised in Avram & Coene (2002) concerning the analysis of possessive clitics in Romanian. We have several reasons in returning to these issues, the most important of which is to consider the cause of the (apparent) different behaviour of DP-internal and clausal possessive clitics with respect to clitic doubling. Our aim is to answer the following related questions which arise from the data presented in the previous section:

- i. can one treat DP-internal possessive clitics and the so-called possessive clitics in the clausal domain as instances of the same clitic?
- ii. to what extent can one treat the constructions in (7) as instances of possessive clitic doubling?
- iii. why do Romanian DP-internal possessive clitics not allow clitic doubling?
- iv. how can one account for the ambiguity of those sentences containing clausal dative clitics?

We question the commonly held view according to which Romanian possessives can be placed both DP-internally and DP-externally and revise our previous analysis. Our revised analysis is based on the hypothesis that possessive clitics are confined to the DP domain in this language. Clausal clitics are not genuine possessive clitics. Obviously, the issue arises of how best to account for the traditionally assumed identity of the clitic placed within the DP and the one placed outside the DP. Our proposal is that the clitics in the two constructions are only superficially identical: the clitic within the DP is a possessive clitic, valued genitive, whereas the one outside the DP, placed in the clausal domain, at the left periphery of the clause, can only be analyzed as an indirect object clitic, valued dative.

The proposal that Romanian exhibits only DP-internal possessive clitics has the advantage of solving the puzzle of why one and the same clitic exhibits second-position behaviour within one syntactic domain (that of the DP) but not in the other (the clausal domain) as well as of why one and the same clitic behaves differently with respect to clitic doubling. The difference with respect to the availability of possessive clitic raising and doubling will follow straightforwardly from our previous analysis of clitics within a Derivation by Phase (DBP) framework (Chomsky 1999). We propose that DP-internal clitics are ‘frozen’ within the DP phase. Both the impossibility of their moving out of the DP to the clausal domain as well as the ambiguity of the sentences containing clausal dative clitics will be accounted for in terms of the Attract Closest condition redefined in terms of phases.

### 3. Romanian clitic asymmetries

#### 3.1 Romanian clitics: Inventory

Romanian clitics have been traditionally described as including the weak forms of personal and reflexive pronouns. Traditionally, they are analyzed as weak pronominal elements which bear morphological accusative or dative case. Dative weak personal pronouns carry person and number distinctions, but they lack gender information, even in the case of 3rd person clitics, which makes them more morphologically deficient than the accusative clitics, where gender distinctions are present in the 3rd person singular and plural. Reflexive pronouns also lack number information.

The pronominal elements in Table 1, uniformly named pronominal clitics, actually fall into two sub-classes, in accordance with the tripartite system of personal pronouns assumed in Cardinaletti & Starke (1995): weak pronouns (e.g., *îmi* ‘me-DAT’, *îți* ‘you-DAT’, *îi* ‘him/her-DAT’, *îl* ‘him-ACC’, *ii* ‘them-ACC’) and genuine clitic pronouns (e.g., *mi*, *ți*, *i*, *l*).<sup>5</sup>

Accusative clitics only appear at the clausal level. Non-accusative forms can appear not only at the clausal level but also DP-internally, yielding a possessive reading. In the latter case, they appear exclusively as clitics, never as weak forms. DP-internal clitics are nowadays used mainly for stylistic reasons, in poetry or (highly) poetic texts. They

5. See Avram (2000: 83–84) for a discussion with respect to Romanian accusative clitics. Whereas both weak pronouns and clitic pronouns can be used in preverbal position, even when this also means sentence-initial position, only genuine clitics can occur in post-verbal position in non-finite constructions. Weak pronouns also evince a slightly greater degree of independence than clitics, as the former (but not the latter) can be separated from their ‘host’ by *și* ‘also, even’: *îi și spun* ‘I also say to him/her’ vs. *\*spunîndu-și-i* (say.GER-also-him/her) / *o și văd* ‘I also see her’ vs. *\*văzîndu-și-o* (see.GER-also-CL.3SG.FEM.ACC). They can also receive stress.

Table 1. Clitics in Romanian

		1st SG	2nd SG	3rd SG.	1st PL.	2nd PL.	3rd PL.
Deficient personal pronouns	Accusative	mă, m	te	îl, l o	ne	vă, v	îi, i le
	Dative	îmi, mi,	îți, ți	îi, i	ne, ni	vă, v, vi	le, li
Deficient pronouns	Accusative	–	–	se, s	–	–	se, s
	Dative	–	–	își, și			își, și

are perceived as outdated and are no longer productive.<sup>6</sup> They seem to occupy the same position as any other possessive constituent (a genitive personal pronoun as in (16b), a possessive adjective as in (16c), or a full DP as in (16d) with which they are in complementary distribution (see (17)):

- (16) a. *cartea-i*  
book-the-POSS.CL.3SG  
b. *cartea lui/ei*  
book-the his/her  
c. *cartea sa*  
book-the his/her  
d. *cartea fiicei sale*  
book-the daughter-the.GEN his.FEM.SG.GEN.
- (17) \**cartea-i lui/sa/fiicei*  
book-the-POSS.CL.3SG his/his/daughter-the.GEN

3.2 DP-internal clitics vs. Clausal clitics

One outstanding feature of Balkan languages is the dative/genitive case syncretism. Possessive clitics and indirect object clitics (Dative clitics) have the same morphological form, due to the genitive/dative syncretism across most Balkan languages (Tomić 1996; Stavrou 2004). Dative forms may be used to express both dative and genitive relationships, as in Albanian, or genitive case forms may be used to express both genitive and dative relationships, as in Modern Greek. Romanian possessive clitics have the same form as indirect object clitics, valued dative. According to several analyses, as already pointed out in section 1, possessive clitics can be placed both within the DP and in the clausal domain.

Actually, at the core of previous analyses is the case form assumed to be associated with DP-internal clitics. Whereas there is no disagreement with respect to

6. Their use began to be restricted as early as the 17th century (Frîncu 1997; Stan 2001). In modern Romanian only the singular clitic forms (*mi*, *ți*, *i*) are still used inside the DP, with the third person being by far the most frequently encountered one (Avram 1997).

indirect object clitics, which are uniformly treated as dative, there is no agreement with respect to the case of DP-internal possessive clitics. According to several studies, they are valued dative (Avram 1997; Pană-Dindelegan 2003). Other studies, though, have adopted the view that possessive clitics are distinct from indirect object clitics, being valued genitive (Manoliu 1967; Grosu 1988; Cornilescu 1995; Avram & Coene 2002; Irimia 2004). The former focus on diachronic and morphological facts, the latter focus on distribution.

In what follows we will point out several asymmetries between clausal and DP-internal clitics with the aim of showing that they are formally distinct, evincing different properties.

### 3.2.1 *No DP-internal reflexive clitics*

The first commonly held view which we would like to challenge is the one according to which there is identity of form between DP-internal possessive clitics and clausal possessive clitics, i.e., that they have the same form, throughout the person-number paradigm.

In Modern Romanian, only the non reflexive clitic form of personal pronouns can be used inside the DP. Reflexive clitics can only appear in the clausal domain (18a), being excluded in post-nominal position (18b):

- (18) a. *își așteaptă sfârșitul*  
 REFL. 3SG waits end-the  
 '(S)he is waiting for her/his death.'
- b. *\*sfârșitu-și*  
 end-the-REFL.3SG

The ban on DP-internal reflexives did not exist in the earlier stages. In the 16th and 17th century, both reflexive and personal pronouns could occur in DP-internal position as witnessed by such constructions as (18c):

- (18) c. *tatăl cu fata-ș*  
 father-the with daughter-the-REFL.3SG  
 'the father with his daughter' (Frîncu 1997: 150)

### 3.2.2 *No DP-internal weak pronouns*

As stated in 3.1, the elements which we have named possessive clitics actually fall into two sub-classes: weak pronouns (*imi* 'me-DAT', *îți* 'you-DAT', *îi* 'him/her-DAT') and genuine clitic pronouns (*mi*, *ți*, *i*). Whereas both weak pronouns and clitics are allowed in the clausal domain (19), only genuine clitic pronouns are used inside the DP (20) where they are exclusively enclitic. As the clitic forms a phonological word with its nominal host, the final consonant of the suffixal definite article *-ul* in masculine nouns is obligatorily deleted (21). Clitics and weak pronouns also behave differently

with respect to coordination constructions, as genuine clitics resist coordination (22b) whereas weak pronouns are marginally possible (22a):

- (19) a. *Îi citește lucrarea.*  
 weakpron.3SG reads paper-the  
 '(S)he is reading his/her paper// is reading the paper to him/her.'
- b. *I-a citit lucrarea.*  
 CL.3SG has read paper-the  
 '(S)he has read his/her paper//has read the paper to him/her.'
- (20) a. *Chipu'-i*  
 face-the-CL.3SG
- b. *\*chipu'-ii*  
 face-the-weak pron.3SG
- (21) a. *Chipu'-i*  
 face-the(reduced)-CL.3SG
- b. *\*chipul-i*  
 face-the(full)-CL.3SG
- (22) a. *Îmi și îți citește lucrarea.*  
 weak pron.1SG and weak pron.2SG read-3SG paper-the  
 '(S)he is reading my paper and yours.'
- b. *\*lucrarea-mi și-ți*  
 paper-the-POSS.CL.1SG and POSS.cl.2SG

Moreover, whereas there is no restriction with respect to the pronoun used in the clausal domain, the clitics inside the DP are restricted to the singular (mainly the 3rd person singular). DP-internal possessors are no longer productive with any of the other persons (Avram 1997).

In agreement with what has been advanced in section 3.2.1, these data indicate that the paradigm of DP-internal clitics is very constrained in the contemporary language. It includes exclusively non reflexive personal pronominal clitics, with an obvious preference for the 3rd person singular form. No such restriction/preference is attested in the case of clausal (weak or clitic) forms of personal pronouns.<sup>7</sup>

7. No such restriction existed in the 16th and 17th c. (Frîncu 1997: 150):

- (i) *Lăsați la mine un frate-vă.*  
 let.Imper.2PL at me a brother-you.CL.2PL
- (ii) *Sîngele părinților-ne*  
 Blood-the parents-the.GEN-CL.1PL

### 3.2.3 DP-internal clitics: In complementary distribution with possessive adjectives and full genitive DPs

DP-internal possessive clitics seem to have more in common with non-clitic possessives than with clausal clitics. They occur in the same position (23) and, as shown in (16–17) above, they are in complementary distribution:

- (23) a. *fața-i*  
face-the-POSS.CL.3SG  
b. *fața ei/sa*  
face-the her.GEN /her  
c. *frumoasa-i față*  
beautiful-the-POSS.CL.3SG face  
d. *frumoasa ei/sa față*  
beautiful-the her.GEN /her face  
e. *fața Mariei*  
face-the Maria.GEN

Genitive case in contemporary Romanian is available to any DP in post-nominal position, without any restriction as to category (pronoun or non-pronoun). Since the possessive clitic occupies the same complement position as any other DP-internal possessor, one can assume that it is assigned genitive case by the nominal whose complement it is, i.e., it is a genitive clitic (Cornilescu 1995).

However, with an adjective in post-nominal position, nominal possessors can follow the adjective and receive genitive case in this position provided they are preceded by the possessive article *a/al/ai/ale*:

- (24) *fața luminoasă \*(a) fetei*  
face-the bright art girl-the.GEN  
'the girl's bright face'

The possessive clitic cannot occur in this position, which indicates that it can receive case from the nominal only under adjacency (25a). The possessive article can rescue nominal phrases but it cannot rescue possessive clitics (see (25b)):

- (25) a. *\*fața luminoasă-i*  
face-the bright POSS.CL.3rd.SG.  
b. *\*fața luminoasă a-i*  
face-the bright art-POSS.CL.3rd.SG.

### 3.2.4 Prepositions

Most Romanian prepositions assign accusative case to their complement. But there is a limited number of prepositions which assign dative case (e.g., *datorită* 'due to') and genitive case (e.g., *împotriva* 'against') respectively. One can notice that dative case

assigning prepositions cannot be followed by a possessive clitic (26), whereas those prepositions that assign genitive case can (27) (see also Irimia 2004: 105–106). Genitive case assigning prepositions behave as regular nouns with inherent gender features and typically take a suffixal definite article in front of a full genitive DP complement, the latter in complementary distribution with the possessive clitic (28).<sup>8</sup>

- (26) a. *datorită mie*  
           due strong pronoun.1SG.DAT  
           ‘due to me’  
       b. ??*datorită-mi*  
           due-POSS.CL.1SG.DAT
- (27) a. \**împotriva mie*  
           against-the strong pronoun.1SG.DAT  
       b. *împotriva-mi*  
           against-the-POSS.CL.1SG
- (28) a. *împotriva fetei*  
           against-the girl-the.GEN  
           ‘against the girl’  
       b. *împotriva-i*  
           against-the-POSS.CL.3SG

Also, the prepositions which assign genitive case can be followed by possessive adjectives (29a) while the ones which assign dative case cannot (29b):

- (29) a. *împotriva mea*  
           against-the my.POSSADJ.FEM.1SG  
           ‘against me’  
           *înaintea ta*  
           before-the your.POSSADJ.FEM.2SG  
           ‘before me’

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8. This is consistent with the fact that nouns which assign genitive case have been argued to necessarily carry the definite article (Grosu 1988). In a complete parallelism with nouns, genitive assigning prepositions with inherent feminine gender occasionally allow the possessive to cliticize onto the bare form. Compare e.g., the data in note 2 to (i a–b) below:

- (i) a. *împotrivă-i*  
           against-POSS.CL.3rd SG  
       b. *înainte-i*  
           in front-POSS.CL.3rd SG

Notice that the fact that these prepositions assign genitive case irrespective of their definite/indefinite form provides evidence in favour of the claim in Dobrovie-Sorin (1999, 2003) according to which genitive case assignment in synthetic genitive constructions does not necessarily require N-to-D movement of the case assigner.

- b. \**datorită mea*  
     due       POSSADJ.FEM.1sg  
     ‘due to me’

### 3.2.5 Semantic features

There are also semantic differences between clausal and DP-internal possessive clitics. One can notice an animacy bias with the former but not with the latter:<sup>9</sup>

- (30) a. ? *I-am văzut ușa (i = a casei)*  
           CL.3SG.DAT-have-1SG./PL. seen door-the (clitic = the house’s)  
       b. *frumoasa-i slovă (i = a cărții)*  
           beautiful-the-POSS.CL.3SG letter (clitic = the book’s)

This semantic difference can be related to the different semantic role one can associate with the two types of so-called possessive clitics (the one in the clausal domain and the one within the DP). Șerbănescu (2000), for example, argues that the clausal “possessive dative” is not actually a possessor, but an experiencer.

The type of possession which can be associated with the two domains is also different. Whereas the clausal clitic can be freely associated both with alienable and inalienable possession, the DP-internal one shows a strong preference for inalienable possession:

- (31) a. *I-am văzut chipul.*  
           CL.3SG.DAT-have.1SG/PL seen face-the  
       b. *I-am citit articolul.*  
           CL.3SG.DAT-have.1SG/PL read paper-the  
       (32) a. *frumosu-i chip*  
               beautiful-the-POSS.CL.3SG.DAT face  
           b. ???*frumosu-i articol*  
               beautiful-the-POSS.CL.3SG.DAT article

### 3.3 Conclusions so far

The data discussed in this section provide evidence that DP-internal possessive clitics and the clausal clitics traditionally assumed to be possessive clitics evince different properties: (i) if one adopts a tripartite classification of personal pronouns, both weak pronouns proper and clitics can be used in the clausal domain, whereas the DP-internal domain allows only genuine clitics; (ii) DP-internal clitics observe the clitic-second condition, whereas the clausal ones don’t; (iii) a distributional analysis points out that DP-internal clitics are assigned genitive case; the clitics in the clausal domain are dative; (iv) only the clausal clitics which might have a possessive interpretation are subject to an animacy bias; (v) only DP-internal clitics show a strong preference for inalienable possession.

9. In this respect, Romanian clitics behave like clitics in Modern Greek (see Stavrou 2004).



We are now in a position to answer the first two questions stated in section 2. Possessive DP-internal clitics and the so-called possessive clausal clitics are not instances of the same type of clitic. If this conclusion is on the right track, it follows that the constructions in (7) cannot be instances of possessive clitic doubling; the clausal clitic is not the external counterpart of a DP-internal possessive clitic.

#### 4. Why DP-internal possessive clitics cannot be doubled

The conclusion we have reached in the previous section can account for why the clausal clitic cannot be 'doubled' by a DP-internal possessor. But it cannot account for the impossibility of clitic doubling within the DP nor can it explain why the possessive clitic placed in post-nominal position cannot raise out of the DP to the left periphery of the clause. We will address these problems in turn. In what follows, we first summarize, slightly extending, our previous analysis of possessive clitics.

##### 4.1 Avram & Coene (2002): Clitics as last resort

It is generally accepted that clitics have 'no choice' reference. They are bundles of features (gender, number and case) which match the features of their antecedent. From a morphological point of view, they have been defined as deficient pronominals, which lack certain morphological features and which may fail to provide certain information. In Avram & Coene (2002) we define pronominal clitics as a copy of the phi-features of a null antecedent, created in the derivation as a Last Resort, before Spell-Out. The null antecedent is assumed to occupy a case position, incompatible with its null status. Hence, the clitic will make its phi-features visible to the computation.<sup>10</sup> The null argument is not controlled by any argument and its interpretation is not arbitrary either. No agreement relation provides information with respect to its referential identity. It cannot be a null element of type PRO or *pro*.

Lasnik & Stowell (1991) derive a typology of empty categories which comprises null R-expressions (or null definite descriptions) which they call *null epithets*, i.e., the null counterpart of overt proper names and definite DPs with linguistic antecedents, which differ from true pronouns in that the preceding DP which co-refers with the definite description may not occur in an A-bound position which c-commands the epithet.

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10. Such an analysis raises the question of why case-marked subjects need not be overt in Romanian, a *pro*-drop language. One could speculate, along more traditional lines, that *pro* is a special type of empty category which can occur in a case-marked position. Along a more recent line of investigation, the null subject *pro* in null subject languages has been analyzed as an agreement pronominal affix which behaves in several respects like clitics: it has the morphological deficiency and semantics of weak pronouns and it can enter doubling constructions (Torrego 1998). Along this line, *pro* can be defined like a copy of the phi-features of T when Agreement is [+pronominal], which simply satisfies the EPP in Inflection-licensed null subject languages.

In terms of features, this null category is defined as  $[[\text{-pronominal}], [\text{-anaphoric}]]$ . Rizzi (1993) proposes an alternative to Lasnik & Stowell's definition, extending it from sentence-bound null constructions to discourse identified null elements: a null epithet or, in his terms, a *null constant*, a  $[[\text{-anaphoric}], [\text{-pronominal}], [\text{-variable}]]$  element. In semantic terms, it behaves like 'no choice' DPs, i.e., like DPs whose restrictive condition narrows down the choice of a legitimate value for the variable they introduce to one single entity. It introduces 'a variable externally anchored to an individual at the top of the saliency stack of the discourse' (Farkas 2000).

Following this line, we analyze the null antecedent in all clitic constructions as a null constant, present in the Numeration.<sup>11</sup> Since the null element merges in a case position, a tension is created between its null condition and its case feature. As a Last Resort strategy, an overt copy of the antecedent's phi-features is created: the clitic, which copies its person, number and gender features and, most importantly, its case features. The clitic is an overt copy of features which is made overt in the derivation in order to avoid violation of a syntactic constraint. Being a copy of the null epithet, a definite, specific DP, the clitic will also inherit its specific, referential nature.

The fact that in Romanian clitics can remain *in situ* (as is the case of possessive clitics within the DP-domain, for example) suggests that all the features that need checking are checked at Merge.<sup>12</sup> The associative object containing the clitic can Spell-Out. Possible clitic movement to a higher projection cannot be driven by the necessity of the clitic to check its own features. If its movement to a higher projection were in search of checking its own features, staying *in situ* would be prohibited. In Avram & Coene (2002) we propose that the feature which drives clitic movement to the clausal domain is an unchecked feature of a higher projection and not a feature of the clitic. Clitic movement to the left periphery of the clause is argued to be the result of Attract  $\alpha$ . A topic feature in the complementizer layer of the clause attracts the closest compatible element. Uriagereka (1995) proposes that clitic placement arises from the specific, referential nature of clitics in general. They move to a higher position, which he calls F, whose

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11. If the metaphorical explanation of the content of Numeration is "what one has in mind", the presence of the null element which has the phi-features identifying the entity to which it refers is fully justified.

12. Note that an overt full dp associate can be placed both in sentence initial position and in sentence final position. Such data, together with the observation that clitic constructions without an overt full dp associate are grammatical, whereas the clitic cannot be omitted in (certain) structures with an overt full dp, suggest that it may not be the clitic which "doubles" the overt full dp; the overt dp is added as part of discourse strategy: displacement, "afterthought" or reinforcement. It does not occupy the direct object position. Clitic doubling constructions could be analyzed as structures in which the direct object position is occupied by the null antecedent, with the overt dp possibly in an adjunct position.

specifier hosts elements such as dislocated material, some *wh*-phrases, emphatic phrases and clitics. *F* is tentatively defined as ‘the point of interface at LF between the competence levels of syntax and the performance levels of pragmatics.’ The role of the clitic in *F* is that of an ‘anchor’ for new information. Earlier analyses of clitic doubling constructions (see Farkas 1978 for Romanian) defined them as the result of a topicalization process. Starting from these two lines of investigation, we propose that there is a higher projection, possibly *TopP*, which has an abstract topic or topic-like feature. In some languages, such as Romanian, this feature is syntactically active, driving syntactic movement (Popescu-Ramírez & Tasmowski-De Ryck 1988). In such languages, there is a pre-verbal landing site that is specifically designed to encode topicalization. When clitics are involved, they are attracted by the abstract feature of this projection. Features such as [topic] can only be features of a higher projection, possibly in the complementizer layer or at the border line between the functional and the complementizer layers (if one adopts an analysis of clauses as in Rizzi 1997); they are peripheral features. Syntactic objects (whose features must be compatible with the attracting one) are attracted to this higher position in violation of Greed. They do not move in order to satisfy their own checking needs but in order to satisfy the checking needs of the attracting head.

This analysis can explain why such features do not have to be checked at the root. The projection associated with the [topic] feature enters the marker at a later phase. In some languages, topic features (associated with the informational component) are syntactically active and hence can count as triggers for late movement in the derivation. Attract could thus be defined as movement driven by features of a peripheral projection (Force, Topic, Focus). Assuming that the derivation of a syntactic object involves several phases, features associated with higher, peripheral projections are checked at a later phase. The analysis can also account for the interpretational properties of clitic constructions. Topic is an active feature within clitic constructions. Being [+topic] means being referential, familiar and prominent. It can also answer the question of why the clitic is the attracted element. The clitic has two important properties (which it inherits from the null antecedent): no choice reference and prominence in discourse.

Assuming that the clitic is affixed onto a null antecedent would require a sort of pied-piping to take place when movement is overt, under the assumption that a bare set of features is an ill-formed PF object. However, the movement analysis which has been assumed does not violate this restriction because pied-piping is not obligatory when PF is not affected. Since the antecedent is null, null elements are not relevant at PF. The attracted features, i.e., the clitic, do not have to pied-pipe the null element.<sup>13</sup>

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13. Moreover, minimalism allows isolated features to be subject to the rules of the phonological component: “Just how considerations of PF convergence might extend is unclear, pending better understanding of morphology and the internal structure of phrases. Note that such considerations could permit raising without pied-piping even overtly” (Chomsky 1995: 264).

The steps assumed in the derivation are:

- i. a functional projection (DP), a head, a null complement (in the case of object clitics) or a null Possessor (in the case of possessive clitics) and a copy of its phi-features, i.e., the clitic affixed onto it, create an associative object which is sent to Spell-Out;
- ii. a higher peripheral projection with a topic feature merges in the derivation and attracts the clitic;
- iii. the clitic rides attracted to a functional projection FP, leaving the null antecedent behind.

If one adopts a movement analysis of left-periphery clitics in general, one can only assume that clitic doubling constructions with clitics in the left periphery of the clause are possible only when clitic movement is possible.

#### 4.2 Back to possessive clitics

Romanian clitics occupy the same position as a full DP possessor (with which they cannot co-occur). The question which immediately comes to mind is whether the pronominal itself might be the possessor. But clitics, by definition, cannot occur in argument position and cannot be assigned theta-roles. As shown in the previous sub-section, we assume that a clitic is an overt copy of the features of a null element. In the case of possessive clitics, it is a null possessor.<sup>14</sup> The post-nominal possessive construction has the structure in (33) below:

- (33) [[possee] [null possessor – clitic]]

The representation in (33) captures the fact that the clitic is associated with possession, its features being those of a null but identifiable possessor. Moreover, as already argued for in section 3, the clitic is genitive, i.e., it inherits the case of the (null) possessor in post-nominal position. The null possessor is not controlled by any argument DP, its interpretation is not arbitrary; it has ‘no choice’ reference. Following the line sketched in the previous sub-section, we analyze the DP-internal null possessor as a null constant, present in the Numeration. The null element merges in a case position; an overt copy of the possessor’s phi-features is created: the possessive clitic, which copies the possessor’s person, number and case features.

The steps in the derivation can be summarized as follows:

- (34) i. the null possessor and the possessee Merge  
 ii. (genitive) case is assigned to the possessor  
 iii. an overt copy of the features of the null possessor is created as a Last Resort:  
 {N{N, null possessor<sub>i</sub> - clitic<sub>i</sub>}}

14. Null possessors have been argued to be part of possessive constructions for various languages, such as Italian (Delfitto & D’Hulst 1995) or Hebrew (Landau 1999).

This analysis allows the clitic to be affixed onto the null object, which matches, in a way, previous analyses that treat clitics (or at least some clitics) as affixes.<sup>15</sup> Since the possessor is null, at PF the clitic will seem to be affixed onto the overt noun.

### 4.3 DP-internal possessive clitics and movement

In Romanian, accusative and dative clitics can move out of the vP to the left periphery of the clause in finite clauses, attracted by a topic feature; the behaviour of possessive clitics, light pronominals, is unexpected. Why can they not raise out and move to a higher projection, either within the DP or in the clausal domain? Following our main assumption with respect to the status of clitics, the behaviour of possessive clitics is the direct effect of the derivational history of the DP. Once the null possessor merges to the overt noun, it will be assigned case. In order to make case visible, the clitic is created as a Last Resort. The lexical NP (the noun and its genitive complement) will further merge with a functional object, D, which will also provide a label to the spelled-out object.

$$(35) \quad \{D\{N\{N, \text{null possessor}_i - \text{clitic}_i\}\}\}$$

The uninterpretable features of D are checked and the resulting syntactic object is sent to Spell-Out (i.e., it is a phase).<sup>16</sup> In accordance with the phase impenetrability condition (PIC) (Chomsky 1999) further computation will not have access within the phase which is opaque for further operations. It is “frozen”. The only features which can be attracted or agreed with are those of the head, i.e., operations are triggered only by phase heads (Chomsky 2005). In our case, the clitic is a copy of the features of the complement of the head of the complement of the vP phase, i.e., its features can be neither attracted nor agreed with. If our assumptions with respect to clitic movement are on the right track, and clitics, defined as copies of features, are attracted by a topic feature in the left periphery of the clause, their features being compatible with topic features (they denote familiar referents, prominent in the discourse), possessive clitics cannot be attracted simply because they are not the features of the head of their phase.

This conclusion is, at first sight, challenged by the behaviour of direct object and indirect object clitics which are not the head of their phase (vP) either but which can, nevertheless, move out of the vP to the left periphery of the clause. According to a Multiple Spell-Out derivational model (Uriagereka 1997) or a DBP framework (Chomsky 1999) Merge produces a basic associative object, in our case, one comprising D, the noun and the null antecedent with the clitic affixed onto it. This associative object

15. See van Riemsdijk (1999) for a detailed discussion regarding the affix character of pronominal clitics.

16. Svenonius (2004), among others, proposes that DP may be a phase.

spells out. We get a frozen object, which behaves like a compound word, whose internal constituents are no longer accessible to further operations. The only features which can be attracted or agreed with after the phase has been sent to Spell-Out, are the features of the head. It follows then that the complement of the verb cannot move out of this syntactic object. But the clitic is just a copy of features, it has a different status which allows it to move in spite of the fact that it is not the head of the phase.

The possessive clitic is also defined as a copy of features created in the derivation. Still, it cannot move out to the left periphery. The difference between dative and accusative clitics, on the one hand, and possessive clitics, on the other hand, may be accounted for in terms of distance. Attract Closest may be defined in terms of number of phases. Accusative and dative clitics are part of the vP phase. They are a copy of the features of the null (direct or indirect) object placed in post-verbal position, i.e., they are a copy of the whole DP. The next phase is the CP, when the topic feature in the C-layer attracts compatible features. For the topic feature to be able to attract the possessive clitic within the DP, Attract should have access to two previous phases: vP and DP, in violation of economy. Notice that even if the null possessor is, in linear order, at S-structure, closer to the C-layer than the omitted indirect object of the verb (36a), the clitic in the C-layer will not be necessarily interpreted as co-indexed with the possessor (see (36b)):<sup>17</sup>

- (36) a. *am dat [cartea e] [e]*  
 have-1SG./PL given [book-the null possessor] [null (dative) object]  
 'I have given the book'
- b. *Le<sub>i</sub>-am dat cartea e<sub>ij</sub> [e<sub>i</sub>]*  
 CL.3PL.DAT-have1SG./PL. given [book-the null possessor] null indirect  
 object.DAT

The data in (36) suggest that Attract can only affect features within the immediately preceding phase, i.e., only within the vP. The only features which can be attracted by the feature in TopP in the C-layer are those of the copy of the indirect object in the vP, the indirect object clitic, which is not inside the DP but a copy of the whole DP. The possessive clitic is inside the DP, i.e., too far away. The clausal clitic, then, cannot be interpreted as a copy of a null Possessor, created as a Last Resort within the DP, but only as an indirect object clitic, created as a copy of the whole indirect object within the vP.

DP-internal clitics, then, differ from clausal clitics with respect to movement. DP-internal clitics can only remain inside the DP. This explains why they do not move to the clausal domain but it does not directly account for the impossibility of possessive clitic doubling inside the DP.

17. Notice that this is still the case even if one assumes that NP (or nP) also has phase status.

Romanian accusative and dative clitics can be doubled when they remain in post-verbal position, i.e., *in situ*.<sup>18</sup>

- (37) a. *auzindu-l pe Ion*  
 hear-GERUND-CL.3SG.MASC.ACC PE Ion  
 'hearing Ion'  
 b. *spunîndu-i lui Ion despre ...*  
 tell-GERUND-CL.3SG.DAT ART.DAT Ion about ...  
 'Telling Ion about ...'

But DP-internal possessive clitics do not enter clitic doubling constructions:

- (38) *\*frumoasa-i fică a Ioanei/ a sa/a ei*  
 beautiful-the-clit.3SG. daughter ART Ioana.GEN / ART her.FEM.SG/ ART her.GEN

It is relevant to add, at this point, that Romanian also evinces a type of weak possessive adjective placed inside the DP, which can occur only in DPs with a NP whose head denotes family relationships,<sup>19</sup> and which is restricted to colloquial language:

- (39) a. *Scrie la nevastă-ta acasă.*  
 write to wife-your.ACC home  
 'Write home to your wife.'  
 b. *Soru-sii nu-i venea să*  
 sister-his/her.DAT not-CL.3SG.DAT come.IMP.F.3SG. SUBJ. marker  
*creadă.*  
 believe.3SG.  
 'His/her sister could not believe it'

The possessive adjective placed at the end of the possessee noun practically becomes part of it; case marking is only on the adjective and not on both the noun and the adjective, as in regular N-Adjective strings (*ochii unei frumoase fete* 'eyes-the one-SG.F.GEN beautiful-SG.F.GEN girl-SG.F.GEN'). This suggests that the noun and the weak adjective are reanalyzed as a complex nominal. Directly relevant for the present discussion is the fact that doubling is attested in this case:

- (40) a. *mumă-sa lor*  
 mother-her/his their  
 b. *frate-su lui Ion*  
 brother-his ART.GEN Ion

18. Notice that we adopt an analysis according to which gerunds in Romanian are Aspect Phrases, i.e., low in the structure, and not associated with higher functional projections (see Avram 2003). This is why we take the clitic to be *in situ* in the examples in (37).

19. The same DP-internal adjectival clitics are attested in two other Romance Balkan languages, Megleno-Romanian and Aromanian, which lack DP-internal dative possessive clitics (Tomić 1996, p. 29). In Romanian, such adjectival clitics are attested as early as the 16th c.: *în viață-sa* 'in life-her/his', *mânrule doamnă-sa* 'hands-the lady-his' (*Psaltirea Hurmuzaki*).

#### 4.4 DP-internal possessive clitics and doubling

Building on Kayne's generalization which states that clitic doubling is only possible in languages which have an extra case marker, a preposition, for the "doubled" argument, Stavrou (2004) argues that DP-internal doubling occurs only in those languages where the possessor is assigned case by a preposition (as, for example, in Bulgarian and Macedonian, Pancheva 2004). In a language like Modern Greek, where genitive case is not assigned by a preposition, DP-internal clitic doubling is illicit. Since genitive case is not assigned by a preposition in Romanian either, one might also account for the data invoking Kayne's generalization. At closer investigation however, clitic doubling structures do not always fit the generalization. In Romanian, for example, dative case is not assigned by a preposition and indirect object clitic doubling is nevertheless allowed:<sup>20</sup>

- (41) a. *dă copilului cartea*  
           give child-the.DAT book-the
- b. *Îi dă copilului cartea*  
           CL.3SG.DAT give.3SG child-the.DAT book-the  
           '(S)he gives the child the book.'

Another possible explanation would be the one in Alexiadou & Stavrou (2000), according to which the Greek possessive clitic and the full DP are base-generated in the same position, i.e., they are in complementary distribution. The clitic and the full DP receive genitive case in the same way in the same structural position. Either the clitic or the full DP can occur in post-nominal position. The Romanian data are very similar to the ones in Modern Greek: the DP-internal possessive clitic superficially occurs in the same position where other possessors can occur, i.e., in the position in which genitive case is assigned. Hence, they are in complementary distribution.

However, there are two reasons for which this explanation might not be appropriate for Romanian. Firstly, according to our assumptions, possessive clitics are copies of the phi-features of null possessors which only superficially occur in complementary distribution with overt possessive DPs: they are created because there is a null argument in the position in which genitive case is assigned, i.e., the presence of the clitic does not replace the argument it stands for, it only makes this null argument "visible". The clitic is the overt copy of the phi-features of that argument. Secondly, as illustrated in (40), weak possessives which occupy the position in which genitive case is assigned can be doubled.

We believe that the impossibility of doubling the possessive clitic within the DP can be accounted for in diachronic terms. DP-internal possessive clitics are attested in several Balkan languages, such as Bulgarian, Greek, Macedonian (Tomić 1996; Pancheva 2004),

20. Albanian data also challenge the generalization (Kallulli 2004).



i.e., they are associated with the Balkan pattern. The presence of DP-internal clitics in earlier stages of Romanian may be related to the Balkan influence, among other possible sources.<sup>21</sup> As mentioned above, Romanian DP-internal possessive clitics were productive in earlier stages, when the clitic forms of both reflexive and personal pronouns could be used. However, as early as the 17th century, they stopped being productive (Frincu 1997; Stan 2001). This is also the time when the second position condition is no longer observed in Romanian, and non-tonic elements no longer comply with Tobler-Mussafia's law. In the 16th century, both proclitic and enclitic non-tonic elements are attested, sometimes with the same clitic being placed both proclitically and enclitically within the same sentence. Clitics begin to be used in sentence initial position. The developmental route of Romanian clitics in general seems to follow the Romance pattern, where the second position schema changed into a system which only required the clitic to be contiguous to the verb. The position of modern Romanian clitics, just like that of clitics in Italian or Spanish, is controlled by the finite/non-finite property of the verb, and they can occupy the first position in a clause. In a Balkan language such as Bulgarian, clitics can be placed in preverbal position only when this does not mean occupying the first position in a clause (Halpern 1995: 27). The gradual weakening of the Tobler-Mussafia effect took place in Romanian over a period of time which also witnessed the emergence of the first clitic doubling constructions. Since clitic doubling begins to be attested at a time when DP-internal clitics ceased to be productive, one could hypothesize that the changes in the language did not affect a structure which was already dying out, a residual of an earlier stage.

## 5. Possessive meaning: Inherent or contextual?

As already pointed out in section 1, a particularly intriguing issue concerns the ambiguity of sentences with clausal dative clitics. On the view that possessive clitics can be placed both within the DP-domain and in the clausal domain, this ambiguity is not only asymmetrical (arising only when the so-called possessive clitic is placed in preverbal position, i.e., in the clausal domain) but also unexpected, since what we call an external possessor is not always interpreted (exclusively) as a possessor.

Consider the sentences in (42) through (44):

- (42) *I-am                                      auzit    vocea.*  
       CL.3SG have.1SG./PL.    heard    voice-the  
       'I/We have heard his/her voice.'

21. DP-internal dative clitics are also attested in Old Church Slavonic (Pancheva 2004). Also dative possessors existed in Latin.

- (43) *I-au recitat poezia.*  
 CL.3SG have.3PL. recited poem-the  
 'They have recited the poem to him/they have recited his poem.'
- (44) *I-am dat mîna.*  
 CL.3SG have.1SG./PL. given hand-the  
 'I/We have given him/her my hand.'

The clitic in (42) is obligatorily associated with a possessive reading, with the referential properties of the clitic being identical to those of a null possessor; in (44), a possessive reading is also available, but this time the clitic is preferentially associated with the subject, not with a null possessor. The one in (43) is ambiguous between a possessive interpretation and an indirect object reading.

The class the verb belongs to is relevant for the difference between the three sentences. Notice that even when a possible overt antecedent occurs either between the clitic and the possessee phrase or after the possessed noun, the possessive reading is still available in the case of transitive verbs with an accusative and a dative argument (with an experiencer theta-role) which do not express change of possession:

- (45) a. *I-au auzit (copilului) glasul lui vesel.*  
 CL.3SG.DAT have.3PL heard (child-the.DAT) voice-the his cheerful  
 'They heard the cheerful voice of the child.'
- b. *Ți-am pierdut tocmai ție scrisoarea.*  
 CL.2SG.DAT have lost precisely you.DAT letter-the  
 'I lost your letter, of all people.'
- c. *Mi-am văzut prietenii.*  
 CL.1SG.DAT have.1SG seen friends-the  
 'I saw my friends.'

On the other hand, in the case of transitive verbs which can be interpreted as denoting change of possession, in examples such as (46a,b), the dative argument is assigned the theta-role of beneficiary and the clitic can be interpreted either as an indirect object dative clitic (*They recited the poem to him/her*) or as possessive (*They recited his/her poem*):

- (46) a. *I-au recitat bunicului poezia*  
 CL.3SG.DAT have.3PL recited grandfather-the.DAT poem-the  
 (*bunicului/altcuiva*).  
 (grandfather-the-Genitive//somebody else.GEN)
- b. *I<sub>i</sub>-au recitat bunicului<sub>i</sub> poezia lui<sub>i/p</sub> demult ascunsă printre pozele din sertar.*  
 CL.3SG.DAT have.3PL recited grandfather-the.DAT poem-the his for a long  
 time hidden among the pictures in drawer

In the literature dealing with possession, it is commonly assumed that there is a relationship between the type of possession and the properties of the double object construction, with inalienable possession being taken as incompatible with the latter.

On such a view, (47) would mean “I gave my hand to Maria”, with the clitic being interpreted exclusively as an indirect object clitic:

- (47) *I-am*                      *dat*    *mina*      *Mariei*.  
 CL.3SG have.1SG/PL given hand-the Maria.DAT

But notice that the possessive/non-possessive interpretation is not inherent to the clausal clitic nor can it be rooted only in the type of possession at stake. One can always create a context in which, in (47) above, *Maria* can be interpreted as a possessor or as both a possessor and a beneficiary. It is difficult to accept that one and the same clausal clitic is an indirect object clitic in double object constructions in the case of inalienable possession but a possessive clitic in the case of alienable possession.

In the absence of the clausal clitic, the postnominal modifier can only be interpreted as a possessive genitive in an inalienable possession context; in the case of alienable possession, both the possessive reading and the indirect object reading is possible, since indirect object clitic doubling is optional (48b):

- (48) a. *Au*            *auzit*    *vocea*      *copilului*.  
          have-3PL heard voice-the child.GEN  
          ‘They heard the child’s voice.’  
       b. *Au*            *recitat*    *poezia*      *bunicului*.  
          have-3PL recited poem-the grandfather-the.DAT/GEN  
          ‘They have recited the poem to grandfather/They have recited  
          grandfather’s poem.’

The data suggest that the possessor reading associated with clausal dative clitics crucially depends on the syntactic environment where it occurs, i.e., whether the possessive reading obtains or whether the available reading is context sensitive. The dative clitic is always associated with a possessive reading if the dative argument is an experiencer. If it is a beneficiary, the interpretation of the clausal dative clitic is subject to ambiguity. In certain cases, pragmatic factors may also influence the interpretation of dative clitics, as is the case in (47). But the clitic in sentence initial position can be, syntactically, only a copy of the features of the complement of the verb (as argued in 4.3). The topic feature of the C-layer can only attract features inside the immediately preceding phase, i.e., inside the vP. If this argument is theta-marked as experiencer, it will allow the “bonus” interpretation of possession. But, if it is theta-marked as beneficiary, it will also allow an interpretation where possession is not necessarily involved.

The fact that in some cases the clitic can be semantically associated both with a possessor and an experiencer is supported by those sentences where the referent of the null element can be made overt in a pleonastic “split theta-role” construction, where the possessor interpretation can be made overt by a weak adjective (*sa* ‘his’ in 49a) or by a full possessive construction (49b–49c) and the experiencer is made overt by the clitic form of a personal pronoun (49a, 49c) or by a reflexive pronoun (49b).

- (49) a. *Nevastă-sa îi murise.*  
 wife-his-FEM.SG. CL-3SG.DAT die-Plusperf.  
 'His wife had died (on him).'
- b. *Își cloceau ouăle lor cenușii.*  
 REFL-3PL.DAT hatch-IMPERF.3PL. eggs.the their grey  
 'They were hatching their grey eggs.'
- c. *I-am citit cartea aia a lui cu muzici și faze.*  
 CL-3SG.DAT have.1SG/PL read book-the that of his with  
 musics and happenings  
 'I/we have read that book of his about music and happenings.'

But in all these cases the possessive reading is not inherent to the clitic. It comes as a bonus of semantic binding. The DP-internal clitic and the clausal one under investigation are not only formally different, with the former being a genitive clitic and the latter a dative clitic. They also differ with respect to their value. Only the DP-internal clitic is inherently and exclusively possessive.

## 6. Conclusions

The answers that we have suggested for the questions raised in section 2 can be summarized as follows:

- i. Romanian DP-internal possessive clitics and the so-called possessive clitics in the clausal domain are not instances of the same clitic placed in two different domains. Only the former are genuine possessive clitics. The possessive interpretation of the latter is context dependent and semantically (or pragmatically) determined. Syntactically, the clausal dative clitics are indirect object clitics, created inside the VP, where they are valued dative.
- ii. DP-internal possessive clitics cannot move to the left-periphery of the clause. The constructions in which the possessor is overtly expressed by a full possessor inside the DP and, as a contextual "side effect", by the indirect object clitic in the clausal domain, cannot be analyzed as an instance of possessive clitic doubling.
- iii. Romanian DP-internal possessive clitics do not allow doubling involving a left-peripheral clitic and a DP-internal element simply because they cannot move to the left periphery of the clause. The impossibility of clitic doubling inside the DP can be accounted for in terms of the developmental route of clitics in Romanian. DP-internal possessive clitic structures in the modern language reflect the properties of clitic constructions of an earlier stage in the history of Romanian, when clitic doubling was not available yet.

These answers indicate that there cannot be possessive clitic doubling constructions in modern Romanian, either inside the DP or at clause level.

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# Possessive clitics in the DP

## Doubling or dislocation?\*

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Despite the extensive, long standing and multi-focused literature on clitics and clitic doubling in the clause, clitic doubling in the DP is a phenomenon still very little, if at all, understood. Our primary concern in this paper is to contribute to the literature on possessor doubling by looking at the co-occurrence of a possessive DP and a possessive clitic inside the Nominal Expression (NE). We will concentrate on two Balkan languages, Bulgarian and Greek, which are the only ones in the Balkan area to display productive use of clitic possessors in the NE. Despite appearances, in Greek and in Bulgarian NEs there are no cases of what in the clausal domain is standardly referred to as “clitic doubling”. This is *prima facie* an unexpected situation, given that both languages instantiate the two crucial properties that are at stake here: clitic doubling inside the clausal domain, and possessive clitics (genitive in Greek and dative in Bulgarian) inside the nominal domain. This ‘asymmetry’ calls for an explanation and this is what we attempt here. What we find with possessors in Bulgarian and Greek is what corresponds to clitic (left/right) dislocation. It turns out that possessor dislocation is allowed inside NEs as well as in clauses in Bulgarian, while in Greek it is only allowed in the clausal domain. This will be claimed to be the basic difference between the two languages and this difference will be reduced to the different way the DP splits in each language in order to host discourse-relevant features. Apparent doubling with strong possessive pronouns in Greek will be treated as a separate phenomenon tentatively accounted for in terms of the different properties of strong pronouns in each language.

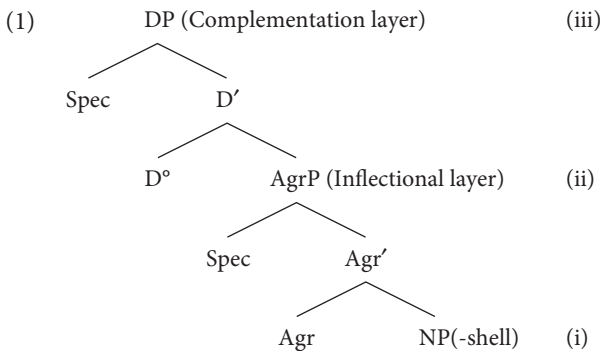
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# 1. Parallels between NEs and clauses

In the last two decades, linguistic research has established a number of similarities in the functional structure of NEs and the sentence. Parallel to clauses we can identify three main layers in the structure of NEs (Cornilescu 1994; Giusti 1993, 1996; Bernstein 2001; Platzack 2001; Grohmann 2003, among very many others). In a bottom-up direction we find: (1i) a Larsonian “shell” which is the layer of theta-role assignment and in which s-selection of the noun is represented by the merging of arguments (Grimshaw 1990; Valois 1991; Carstens 2000, who proposes two levels of NP: a lower one for agents and an immediately higher one for possessors); (1ii) an intermediate layer (Ritter 1991; Picallo 1991) which is taken as an agreement layer in which modifiers (mainly adjectives), merged in a hierarchical order (Cinque 1994), share the same  $\phi$ -features (number, gender, and case) of the head-noun (Giusti 2002); and finally, (1iii) what we call the “complementation layer” which, parallel to the clausal complementizer, closes off the NE and makes it available for selection (namely argument-hood, cf. Longobardi 1994). This projection, generally referred to as DP (Abney 1987), receives a theta role and realizes Case (Giusti 1993, 2002). Under general understanding, this layer is also the locus in which the denotational value of the NE ((in)definiteness, deixis, referential/anaphoric value, but also number and person) is computed at LF. For reasons of space, these layers are represented as single projections in (1); but it is understood that each projection can split into a number of projections according to the number of elements present in the lexical array and according to the general properties of individual languages:



In considering the parallelisms between the NE and the clause, it is often noticed that the NE has a reduced capacity of expansion compared with the clause. Of the many phenomena discussed in a rich literature, too extensive to be mentioned here, we confine ourselves to mentioning just a few cases, with no pretence of exhaustivity. In particular, only one structural case (genitive) can usually be assigned in the NE as opposed to at least two structural cases (nominative and accusative) in the clause. Fewer adjectives than adverbs are usually supported in the modification area. Only

declarative complementation is realized by the NE (interrogative noun phrases cannot satisfy the selection of interrogative verbs, cf. *\*I wonder what/which answer*).<sup>1</sup> NEs do not display obligatory EPP (in the standard sense of an obligatory subject position, see Alexiadou & Stavrou 2000).<sup>2</sup>

The left periphery of NEs is currently investigated in the light of Rizzi's (1997) split CP-hypothesis and subsequent work (Aboh 2004, chapter 3), Svenonius (2004), Ihsane (2006). Work in this domain has revealed that the nominal left periphery is more articulated than one might imagine. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1999), Giusti (1996, 2005, 2006) have proposed that discourse related features such as Topic and Focus can be represented in a split DP system, as we will discuss here (cf. also Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou 2007). Earlier studies have highlighted at least two major empirical issues: the displacement of arguments and the displacement of modifiers.

In Hungarian (Szabolcsi 1983, 1994), in Greek (Horrocks & Stavrou 1987), in Bulgarian (Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1999), in West Flemish and English (cf. Haegeman 2004), possessors can appear in a left-peripheral position inside the NE. In these cases, a cross-linguistic difference is observed as regards the possibility, in some languages, of resuming the possessor with a co-indexed clitic pronoun or with a possessive adjective. The displacement of internal arguments in the clause falls under either topicalization or focalization (see section 3 for a brief survey of the relevant literature). Topicalized direct objects can or must be resumed by a clitic pronoun under certain conditions, while this is excluded for focalized elements, which are similar to *wh*-elements and are not usually resumed by a clitic. All things being equal, this is expected to happen in the nominal domain as well. However, it is not always the case: while focalized genitives do appear in a derived left peripheral position both in Greek and in Bulgarian (2) without being able to be resumed by clitics, it has been noticed (Alexiadou & Stavrou 1997, 2000; Stavrou 2005) that in Greek, doubling of a non-focalized possessor yields ungrammaticality (3):

- (2) a. NA IVAN *portretut* (\**mu*) (Bulgarian)  
to Ivan portrait-the (\*CL.3SG.)

1. Giusti (2006) reduces this property to the lack of a projection of a Tense feature in the extended projection of the NE. This proposal, however, is not straightforwardly adopted here and we do not develop it any further.

2. However, there is evidence, if only sporadic, which suggests that these phenomena represent a tendency rather than strictly a property of language; e.g., Tense has been claimed to be present in NE in at least some languages (cf. Lecarme 1996 for Somali and Alexiadou & Stavrou 2000 for Greek); Dative and Genitive have been shown by Szabolcsi (1983, 1994) to be assigned to different positions in Hungarian NE. However, even as a tendency it is a rather strong one, and one which has not as yet found a principled explanation.

- b. *TU JANI to portreto (\*tu)* (Greek)  
the Jani.GEN. the portrait (\*CL.3SG.)
- (3) a. *Dhjavasa to vivlio tu fititi /tu Jani.*  
read.1SG the book the.GEN. student.GEN. /the.GEN. John.GEN.  
I read the student's/John's book.
- b. *Dhjavasa to vivlio-tu (\*tu fititi/\*tu Jani).*  
read.1SG the book-3CL the.GEN. student.GEN./the.GEN. John.GEN.  
I read his book (\*the student's/John's).
- c. *Dhjavasa to oreo-tu vivlio (\*tu fititi/\*tu Jani).*  
read.1SG the nice-3CL book the.GEN. student.GEN./the.GEN. John.GEN.  
I read his nice book (\*the student's/John's).

In (3a), a DP in object position contains a full genitive DP. The ungrammaticality of (3b–c) shows that a clitic cannot co-occur with this possessive DP, be it cliticized onto the head noun (*vivlio*) or the prenominal adjective (*oreo*) (3c) (see section 4 below; see also Alexiadou & Stavrou 2000 and Kolliakou 1995, 1998 for the phenomenon of “clitic climbing” DP-internally). In contrast, in Bulgarian, such a co-occurrence seems to be possible, but only when the possessor is not focalized, as in (4):

- (4) a. *PročetoX knigata na studenta/na Ivan.* (Bulgarian)  
read.1SG book-the of student-the/of Ivan
- b. *PročetoX knigata mu (na studenta/na Ivan).*  
read.1SG book-the CL.3SG. of student-the/of Ivan
- c. *PročetoX xubavata mu kniga (na studenta/na Ivan).*  
read.1SG nice-the CL.3p.s book of student-the/of Ivan  
I read the student's/Ivan's nice book.

Focusing the possessor will render (4b–c) ungrammatical, as shown in (2), a fact that perfectly mirrors what happens in the clause.

The contrast in (3)–(4) points to a cross-linguistic asymmetry as regards clitic doubling of non-focused possessors within the DP in Greek and Bulgarian.

In accounting for this asymmetry, we adopt the proposal that UG provides the possibility of a split DP projection (DP and dP)<sup>3</sup> which can sandwich dedicated projections for Topic and Focus merging/displacing, as in (5):

- (5) [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>TopP</sub> [<sub>FocusP</sub> [<sub>dP</sub> [ ... AgrP ... [ ... NP]]]]]]

In this article, we investigate whether the top layer of the NE can be split in a given language. On the basis of the data discussed here we will claim that such a possibility seems to be a matter of language variation.

3. In our framework dP is the analogue of FinP in the sentential domain, it has nothing to do with the assignment of theta roles which we take to take place in the lowest (NP/nP) layer.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we present the primary data and anticipate our claims. Section 3 is a brief survey of the current literature on clitic doubling and clitic dislocation in the clause, with focus on Bulgarian and Greek. Section 4 concentrates on the position of the possessive clitic inside the NE. Section 5 discusses instances of focus fronting of the possessor, showing that despite apparent parallelisms, there is a crucial difference between Bulgarian and Greek. The obvious difference found in topic fronting of the possessor is dealt with in section 6. Finally, in section 7, we get to cases of apparent possessor doubling for all kinds of possessor DPs in Bulgarian (7.1) and for strong pronoun possessors in Greek (7.2). Section 8 summarizes and concludes our discussion.

## 2. Empirical generalizations and claims

Among the many parallelisms between the NE and the clause, we find the presence of clitics substituting for full possessor DPs in a subset of Balkan languages, with varying degree of productivity:

- |     |    |                               |                                |
|-----|----|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (6) | a. | <i>knigata i/mu</i>           | (Bulgarian)                    |
|     | b. | <i>to vivlio tis/tu</i>       | (Greek)                        |
|     |    | book-the/the book CL.3SG.F/M. |                                |
|     |    | her/his book                  |                                |
|     | c. | <i>cartea-i</i>               | (Romanian)                     |
|     |    | book-the CL.3SG.              |                                |
|     | d. | <i>majka mi</i>               | (Macedonian: Tomić 1996, 2006) |
|     |    | mother CL.1SG.                |                                |

In Bulgarian (6a) and in Greek (6b), the presence of the clitic is fully productive independently of the type of the head noun involved. In Romanian (6c), it is very restricted and varies with register; in fact it can essentially be considered as a relic from earlier stages of the language (Cornilescu 1994; Avram & Coene 2000 and this volume). In Macedonian, (6d), the possessive clitic is restricted to kinship terms (Tomić 1996; Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Tomić, in press). Notice that kinship terms hosting a clitic possessor do not need and may not have a clitic article.<sup>4</sup> Here, however, we will confine ourselves to Greek and Bulgarian which display productive use of the clitic possessor;

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4. This is also the case in Bulgarian (*maika-mi*) and in Romanian (*maică-mea*) with most kinship terms, showing that kinship terms have a different semantic-syntactic structure than regular object-referring nouns. Notice also that the same is observed in some Southern Italian dialects where kinship terms do not have an article and admit an enclitic possessive: *fratemo* (brother-my), etc. *soreta* (sister-your), etc. This suggests that kinship terms must be treated separately.

we will further restrict our interest to common nouns and will not deal with kinship terms, which display a different behaviour across languages.

As anticipated in (4b–c), clitics can co-occur with full possessor DPs in Bulgarian. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1999), and Dimitrova-Vulchanova (2000) have argued that in Bulgarian we attest the co-occurrence of the clitic with a possessor DP, both when the DP is apparently in the basic position after the N, as in (7a), and when it is in a left peripheral position inside the DP, as in (7b). This reminds us of two phenomena both of which are existent in the Bulgarian clause: clitic doubling of an argument in the basic position (8a) and clitic left dislocation in (8b):

- (7) a. *knigata (mu) na Ivan* (Bulgarian)  
book-the CL.3SG.masc. to Ivan  
b. *na Ivan knigata (mu)*  
Ivan's book
- (8) a. *Včera (ja) kupix knigata.*  
yesterday CL.3SG.FEM. bought-1SG. book -the  
b. *Knigata (ja) kupix (včera).*  
book -the CL.3SG.fem. bought-1SG. yesterday  
Yesterday I bought the book.

As already pointed out with regard to (3b–c), in Greek, the co-occurrence of the possessor DP with a possessive clitic is not possible inside the NE, as in (9) (cf. Alexiadou & Stavrou 1997, 2000), despite the possibility of the co-occurrence of an object DP with a clitic in the clause (10):

- (9) a. *Petaksa to vivlio-(\*tu) tu fititi* (from A & S 2000: 64) (Greek)  
threw-1SG. the book-(\*his) the student.GEN.  
b. *\*Petaksa tu fititi to vivlio-(tu)*  
threw-1SG. the student.GEN. the book-(\*his)  
I threw (away) the student's book.
- (10) a. *(Xtes) to aghorasa to vivlio.*  
(yesterday) CL.3SG.ACC. bought-1SG. the book  
b. *To vivlio to aghorasa (xtes)*  
the book CL.3SG.ACC bought-1SG (yesterday)  
Yesterday I bought the book.

Notice that the preposed possessor *tu fititi* in (9b) would yield a grammatical result if it were stressed or emphasized, as in (2b), but such an emphasis is incompatible with the clitic for independent reasons.

In the light of examples like (7) and (9), we will argue that the obligatory co-occurrence of a displaced possessor with a co-referential clitic displayed in both

languages in cases such as (11)–(12) below is an instance of clitic left/right dislocation. Crucially, in (11) the possessive DP appears at the very beginning or at the very end of the entire sentence, and a clitic is obligatory inside the NE:<sup>5</sup>

- (11) a. *Tu Jani, xtes, to vivlio \*(tu) den pulithike katholu.* (Greek)  
 the John.GEN., yesterday, the book CL.3SG. not sold at all
- b. *To vivlio \*(tu), xtes, den pulithike katholu, tu Jani.*  
 the book CL.3SG. yesterday not sold at all, the John.GEN.
- (12) a. *?Na Ivan, včera, knigata \*(mu) izobšto ne se prodavaše.*  
 To Ivan, yesterday, book-the CL.3SG. at all not REFL sold (Bulgarian)
- b. *Knigata \*(mu) ne se prodavaše izobšto, na Ivan.*  
 Book-the CL.3SG. not REFL sold at all, to John.  
 John's book didn't sell at all.

In this respect the two languages behave alike. But they behave rather differently as regards the realization of the possessor through a strong possessive pronoun. Greek can, in certain cases, merge a strong pronoun which, crucially, must co-occur with a clitic, as shown in (13) – the only instance of possessor doubling in the Greek NE:

- (13) a. *\*To vivlio emena dhen pulithike katholu.* (Greek)  
 the book me.GEN.STR not sold at all
- b. *To vivlio mu emena dhen pulithike katholu.*  
 the book CL.1SG. me.GEN.STR not sold at all  
 My book was not sold at all.

On the other hand, the presence of a strong pronoun in Bulgarian gives quite sloppy grammaticality judgements (ranging from \* to ?). But even those informants who accept it in principle, find it possible only if the pronoun is contrastively stressed. In these marginal cases the strong pronoun must be doubled – despite what is expected for stressed (displaced) constituents. This can be seen as the only instance of doubling a contrastively stressed (focused) element in this language (14a–b). In any

5. It should be mentioned that according to Kayne (1994), Clitic Left Dislocation and Clitic Doubling share the same underlying structure. On the other hand, Cinque (1990), Iatridou (1991) and Anagnostopoulou (1994, 1997) argue that they are different constructions. Although a full discussion of these phenomena does not fall under our aims here, it is nevertheless important to note that the fact that clitic doubling is not attested in the Greek DP, where cases like those in (11a–b) are possible, lends independent support to the view that doubling is distinct from clitic dislocation.

case, speakers favour the use of a possessive adjective (14c) over the strong pronoun in the *na* DP:

- (14) a. \**Knigata (mi) na mene ne se prodavaše izobšto.* (Bulgarian)  
 book-the (CL.1SG.) \*of-me.STR not REFL sold at all
- b. ??*Knigata mi NA MENE ne se prodavaše izobšto!*<sup>6</sup>  
 book- the CL.1SG. of-me.STR not REFL sold at all  
 my book did not sell at all!
- c. *Mojata kniga ne se prodavaše izobšto*  
 my-the book not REFL sold at all

In section 7.2 we will argue that the phenomenon in (13) is not real clitic doubling but is to be attributed to independent properties of the tonic (“strong”) personal pronouns in Greek.

In (15), we spell out the empirical generalizations that we are going to account for in the rest of the paper:

- (15) *Empirical generalizations*
- i. A possessive clitic can be present in the Bulgarian and Greek NE, differently from other Balkan languages. (Cf. (6)).
  - ii. It is possible to displace a focused possessor DP to the periphery of the NE in both languages. (Cf. (2)).
  - iii. Focused possessors cannot co-occur with a DP internal possessive clitic in either language (just as is the case in the clausal domain).
  - iv. Only in Bulgarian but not in Greek can the possessor be displaced to the left of the DP when it is Topicalized. (Cf. (7) and (9)).
  - v. Only in Bulgarian but not in Greek can the clitic co-occur with a full DP possessor (either displaced to the left or apparently *in situ*) inside the DP. (Cf. (7) and (9)).

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6. The judgement concerning (14b) differs from the one reported by Pancheva (2004), who claims that Bulgarian displays substantially the same property as Greek in doubling a strong pronoun. However, Pancheva uses a 3rd pers. sing. pronoun as in (i), which has a gender distinction, as also shown by (ii):

- (i) *knigata \*(mu) na nego* (Bulgarian)  
 book-the CL.GEN.M. of him
- (ii) *knigata \*(i) na neja*  
 book-the CL.GEN.F. of her

Our informants do not judge (i)–(ii) as perfect but certainly they claim there is a great improvement with respect to (14a–b) above, which represent the case for all other pronouns. We believe it is the presence in Bulgarian of the possessive adjective that rules out the pronoun for reasons that are not clear to us, but that are certainly also present in Italian as well.

- vi. In Greek, and only restrictively in Bulgarian, the possessive clitic is obligatory in case the possessor DP is realized by a strong pronoun. (Cf. (13) and (14))

Our approach is grounded on a “split DP” analysis containing Topic and Focus projections. In particular, we support the claims spelled out in (16):

- (16) *Claims*
- i. There is no real clitic doubling in the NE of either language.
  - ii. The Greek left periphery of the DP cannot split and can only include a Focus position.<sup>7</sup>
  - iii. The Bulgarian left periphery of the DP can split and may include either a Topic or a Focus position (but not both at the same time).
  - iv. Apparent counter-evidence to (16i) with strong pronouns as in (13) and (14) is reduced to independent properties of strong pronouns related to case marking (Kayne 2001).

In the following section we will present a brief overview of (some of the) standard assumptions concerning clitic doubling and clitic dislocation in the clause, which will be relevant for our discussion of the envisaged parallelisms between NE and clauses.

### 3. Some remarks on clitic doubling in the clause

Current literature (Anagnostopoulou 1994, 1999; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1997; Agouraki 1993; Tsimpli (1995), a.o. for Greek; Schick 2000; Dimitrova-Vulchanova 1995, 1999; Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan 1999; Krapova 2002 for Bulgarian, Kallulli 2000 for Albanian and Greek) takes cases like those in (17) to be instances of clitic doubling. The direct object of the verb, which apparently is in its basic post-verbal position, is doubled by a matching pronominal clitic with which it shares case, gender and number values and which appears attached to the verb forming a discontinuous constituent with the DP object:

- (17) a. *Včera (ja) kupix knigata.* (Bulgarian)  
 Yesterday (CL.3SG.FEM.) bought-1SG. book-the
- b. *(To-) aghorasa to vivlio.* (Greek)  
 (CL.3SG.N.) bought-1SG the book  
 I bought the book.

7. Contra Grohmann & Panagiotidis (2005) who claim that it is split in three positions, also cf. note 17 below for further comments.



In general, and particular discrepancies aside, clitic doubling is taken to be a means for packaging partitions pertaining to information structure, like that of topic and focus (Jaeggli 1986; Drachman 1983; Borer 1984; Suñer 1988; Philippaki-Warbuton 1987; Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, 1994; Sportiche 1993, 1996; Anagnostopoulou 1994, 2003; Uriagereka 1988, 1995; Torrego 1998; Schick 2000; Kallulli 1999; among many). Doubling clitics have thus an interpretive import. Their presence in the clause marks the doubled DP as a topic or a D-linked element, that is, as a constituent which encodes known or old information. As a consequence, the rest of the clause is fore-grounded and can be interpreted as its assertive part or as containing the sentence focus. For instance, in (17) above, the object “book” refers to an entity which is known to the interlocutors. In contrast, the rest of the verb phrase carries new information, and can thus be characterized as the comment (assertion) of the sentence.<sup>8</sup>

According to Agouraki (1993), the presence of the clitic in the clause has the consequence of marking the verb as [+Focus]. For example in the context given by a

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8. Schick (2000), Kallulli (2000), Guentchéva (this volume) propose for Bulgarian that clitic doubling signals specificity, which is a property of both definite and indefinite DPs, to the effect that in Bulgarian an indefinite specific DP can also be doubled by a clitic, as in (ia). This is not the case in Greek, as the parallel (ib) shows (cf. Anagnostopoulou 1999; Anagnostopoulou & Giannakidou 1995):

- (i) a. *Rada (go) tǎrsi edno pismo* (from Schick, *op.cit.*) (Bulgarian)  
       Rada (CL.ACC)-3SG. looks for a letter  
       b. *\*O Petros to psaxni ena ghrama* (Greek)  
       the Peter CL.ACC.3SG. looks for a letter

Anagnostopoulou (1997) shows that in Greek, what in particular allows for doubling of direct objects is the *Prominence Condition* (PC) (Anagnostopoulou 1994, 1999), a more restrictive expression of Heim’s (1982) *Familiarity Condition* (Anagnostopoulou 1999: 761–71). According to the PC, definite DPs are only felicitously used in a given context if they can be used anaphorically. Anagnostopoulou (1999: 771–2) gives the following example, involving the so-called “immediate situation use” (of the doubling clitic) to illustrate the effect of clitic doubling:

- (ii) a. *Prosekse! Tha xtipisis ton pezo!* (Greek)  
       watch out! Will hit (with your car)-2SG. the pedestrian  
       b. *Prosekse! Tha ton xtipisis ton pezo!*  
       watch out! Will CL.ACC.M. hit (with your car)-2SG. the pedestrian

Sentence (iia), without doubling, is appropriate if the hearer is not aware of the presence of the pedestrian, while (iib), with doubling, can be used only when the presence of the pedestrian is shared knowledge at the moment of utterance. According to Agouraki (1993) and Kallulli (2000), the interpretive import of direct object clitics in Albanian and Greek consists in their marking the doubled DP as unambiguously [-Focus]. More precisely, Kallulli claims that clitic doubled direct objects are construed outside the focus domain, and in this case doubling is obligatory. There is a rather vast literature on the exact import of doubling in different languages. Since this topic is not immediately relevant to our discussion we will not deal with it here.

question corresponding to “Did John really bring the flowers?”, given in (18a)–(19a), both in Greek and in Bulgarian the verb would be emphatically stressed as in “John DID bring the flowers”, and the following object would be obligatorily doubled as in (18b)–(19b):

- (18) a. (Ta) efere ta luludhja o Vasilis? (Greek)  
 (CL.3PL.) brought-3SG. the flowers the Vasilis?  
 Did Vassilis bring the flowers?
- b. Ta efere ta luludhja, o Vasilis.  
 CL.3PL. brought-3SG. the flowers (the Vasilis)  
 He did bring the flowers.
- (19) a. Donese li tsvetjata Ivan? (Bulgarian)  
 brought-3SG. Q flowers-the Ivan  
 Did Ivan bring the flowers?
- b. donese gi tsvetjata, Ivan.  
 brought-3SG. CL.3PL.ACC. flowers-the, Ivan  
 He did bring the flowers.

Notice that the right dislocated element is the subject which is preceded by a pause and is optional (we can safely assume that it is resumed by a *pro* in subject position). The object, which is doubled by the clitic, is not necessarily right dislocated, at least judging from the prosody of the sentence. This can be taken as a crucial difference between the Romance type of right dislocation and the Balkan type of clitic doubling. But whatever clitic doubling in the clause is, we claim that it does not apply in the NE, not even in Bulgarian, where it may at first sight appear to do so. The status of the doubled object as encoding known/old information is best seen in the type of question to which a sentence containing a doubling clitic is appropriate. Consider the following. To all of (20a–d) an answer that includes an object clitic is well formed:

- (20) a. Ti ekane o Janis me to ghrama? (Greek)  
 what did the John with/to the letter?
- b. Eghrapse o Janis to ghrama?  
 wrote the John the letter?
- c. Pote/pu eghrapse o Janis to ghrama?  
 When/where wrote the John the letter?
- d. Pjos eghrapse to ghrama?  
 Who wrote the letter?
- e. #Ti ejine?  
 what happened?<sup>9</sup>

9. Exactly the same effects are observed in Bulgarian. We thank Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova for bringing this fact to our attention.

- (21) a,b. *To eghrapse.*  
 CL-neut wrote-3SG.
- c'. *(To eghrapse) xtes.*  
 (CL-neut wrote-3SG.) yesterday
- d'. *(To eghrapse) o Janis.*  
 (CL-neut wrote-3SG.) the John
- e'. *(\*To) eghrapse to ghrama o Janis.*  
 CL-neut wrote-3SG. the letter the John

Notice that the question may focus on any constituent of the sentence (subject, adjunct), or on the predicate itself (20b) (see also Kallulli 2000: 220). Crucially, (20e) does not contain any focused constituent, the whole being a representational (“flat”) question, uttered out of the blue and not yielding a partitioning of the information structure into old/known and new information. In this case, doubling in the answer is predicted to be infelicitous, given that doubling signals old/known information (Anagnostopoulou 1994, 1999 and Kallulli 2000).

To summarize so far, clitic doubling in the clause is related to the way(s) the information conveyed by the sentence is packaged; namely, the doubled DP object is marked for topichood or, to put it differently, it is excluded from the really informative part of the sentence in both languages. The two languages, however, differ as regards subtler nuances of the topical/known information in so far as in Bulgarian the doubled object may also be interpreted as specific (as a consequence an indefinite can also be doubled),<sup>10</sup> while in Greek the doubled object must be definite and context dependent within a more or less restricted context. The deeper nature of clitic doubling in the clause is not directly relevant to our discussion and we leave this for future research.

#### 4. The position of the clitic possessor inside the NE

While in both languages the possessive clitic is a non-analyzable nominal category carrying morphological oblique case features (more precisely, genitive in Greek, dative in Bulgarian, as claimed extensively by Pancheva 2004), the placement of the clitic in Bulgarian and Greek NEs displays a number of differences.<sup>11</sup> In this section, we

10. See, however, Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan (1999) who claim that specificity is a necessary but not sufficient condition for clitic doubling in Bulgarian (see note 8).

11. Pancheva's (2004) hypothesis about the different origin and supposedly different status of the possessive clitic in the two languages does not seem to us to be the cause of the contrasts we are going to discuss, as will be clear in the discussion that follows.

investigate two logically possible analyses for the differences observed. The first one assigns a different status to the deficient genitive/dative pronoun in the two languages and is rejected both on theoretical and on empirical grounds. The second one relies on the different merging position of the clitic in the two languages. This will provide the structural framework for our analysis. But before doing so, let us first pin down some similarities as well as differences between the two languages.

#### 4.1 The possessive clitic in Bulgarian and Greek

As regards the host of the clitic, in Bulgarian it can only be a definite article or a demonstrative, as further discussed with regard to (32a–c) below. In (22)–(23), we observe that we cannot find a possessor clitic in an indefinite NE. As noticed by Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1999), there is no semantic reason for the ban of the clitic possessive from indefinite NEs. In fact, the corresponding full adjectival form, the pronominal adjective *moja*, can appear in indefinite NEs without any problem, as in (22b)–(23b):

- (22) a. \**kniga mi* vs. *knigata mi* (Bulgarian)  
           book me.CL.DAT.      book-the me.CL.DAT.  
       b. (*edna*) *moja kniga*  
           (one) my book  
           a book of mine
- (23) a. \**nova mi kniga* vs. *novata mi kniga*  
           new me.CL.DAT book      new-the me.CL.DAT. book  
       b. (*edna*) *moja nova kniga*  
           (one) my new book  
           a new book of mine

The ungrammaticality of (22a)–(23a) must therefore be related to the syntactic structure of such phrases which is activated in the presence of a definite article or of the demonstrative. We postpone a more detailed representation of the relevant configuration to section 4.3.

There is no such restriction in Greek (24): the clitic can appear both in definite and indefinite DPs and it can encliticize not only on the noun itself (24a), but also onto any agreeing pronominal modifier including the indefinite *ena*, and the demonstrative *afto* (24c), though crucially excluding the definite article *to* (24d). In (24f) we observe that despite the presence of a pronominal adjective the clitic can still, as an option, encliticize onto the head noun:

- (24) a. *ena/to vivlio-tu* (Greek)  
           a/the book-CL.3

- b. *ena/to oreo tu vivlio* (cf. (23b))  
a/the nice CL.3 book
- c. *ena/kapjo/afto tu vivlio*  
a/some.SG/this CL.3. book
- d. *\*to tu vivlio*
- e. *ena oreo vivlio tu*
- f. *to oreo vivlio tu*

It is not possible to relate such a varied behaviour to the enclitic nature of the Bulgarian article as opposed to the free-morpheme status of the Greek article. If this were the case, we would expect free-form article-like elements, such as Bulgarian *tazi* (“this”) and *edna* (“one”), as well as Greek *ena* (“one”), to all behave in the same way, contrary to fact. The indefinite article is a free morpheme in both languages but can host the possessive clitic only in Greek, not Bulgarian.

It is also not possible to derive such a difference from the dative vs. genitive nature of the two clitics, as in Pancheva (2004). Pancheva (2004) observing the mentioned fact, compares Greek and Bulgarian with other Balkan and non-Balkan languages such as Romanian and Hebrew. We find the parallelism with Romanian rather misleading in that it disregards a set of very important differences. First of all, in Romanian, a full genitive DP or a possessive AP must also immediately follow the definite article, as in (25).

- (25) a. *cartea Mariei* (Romanian)  
book-the Maria.GEN.  
Maria’s book
- b. *cartea sa*  
book-the his/her  
his/her book

But in Bulgarian, the constraint only applies to the clitic pronoun and cannot be extended to possessive PPs or possessive adjectives, as the ungrammaticality of (26) involving two different kinds of possessors in the second position of the nominal expression shows:

- (26) a. *novata (\*na Ivan) kniga* (Bulgarian)  
new-the (of Ivan) book
- b. *novata (\*negova) kniga*  
new-the (his) book

Second, in Romanian there is a crucial difference between a genitive DP, which can only be preceded by the head N+art, and the possessive AP, which patterns together with the clitic possessive and a weak possessive pronoun. The two latter elements

can follow either N+art or A(P)+art, as noticed by Grosu (1988: 936) who provides examples (27a–b), and Cornilescu (1994: 46), who provides examples (27c–d):

- (27) a. *\*frumoasa regelui fiică* (Romanian)  
 beautiful-the king-the.GEN. daughter  
 the king's beautiful daughter
- b. *frumoasa ta fiică*  
 beautiful-the your daughter
- c. *celebrele-i descrieri ale oraşului*  
 famous-the CL.3SG. descriptions art town.the.GEN.  
 famous-the his descriptions art town.the.GEN.  
 his famous descriptions of the town

In contrast, in Bulgarian any element with the enclitic article (be it the head N or the AP) licences a possessive clitic, as is discussed below with regard to (32).

Third, in Bulgarian the demonstrative (with no enclitic article) can host a dative clitic (*tazi mi kniga* ‘this CL.1SG. book’, see (32c) below), while in Romanian genitive DPs or possessive APs are totally incompatible with the demonstrative, as shown in (28)–(29)

- (28) a. *\*această Mariei carte* (Romanian)  
 this Maria.GEN. book
- b. *\*cartea aceasta Mariei*  
 book-the this Maria.GEN.
- c. *cartea aceasta a Mariei*  
 book-the this art Maria.GEN.  
 this book of Maria's
- (29) a. *\*această sa/lui carte*  
 this his(POSSADJ/pron) book
- b. *\*cartea aceasta sa/lui*  
 book-the this his(POSSADJ/pron)

Fourth, in Romanian a genitive DP or a possessive AP can appear in the absence of the above mentioned conditions if it is licensed by a ‘genitival article’ and never by a PP, contrary to what we find in Bulgarian:

- (30) a. *interesanta carte a Mariei /a sa* (Romanian)  
 interesting-the book art Maria.GEN. /art her
- b. *cartea interesantă a Mariei /a sa*  
 book-the interesting art Maria.GEN. /art her

- c.    *această carte a Mariei        /a sa*  
       this    book art Maria.GEN. /art her

Bulgarian does not display a genitival article and the Bulgarian counterpart of (30) would have the full DP expressed as a *na* DP (*tazi kniga na Maria*).

In sum, we believe that the relation between definiteness and valuation of (Genitive or Dative) Case in the NE is only indirect and cannot be taken to be one and the same in any two languages of the Balkan Sprachbund. In 4.2. we derive this difference from the different merging point of the clitic in the structure of the NE, which is the ground of more differences in the two languages.

Crucially, Greek, unlike Bulgarian, does not have a possessive adjective. The closest equivalent to the Bulgarian possessive adjective is the complex possessive construction *dhikos mu* ('one's own'), which consists of the adjective *dhikos* (FEM.-*i*, NEUT.-*o*) followed obligatorily by the possessive clitic. Differently from the Bulgarian possessive adjective, this complex possessive in Greek is emphatic/contrastive (see Alexiadou 2005 for details and an analysis of the construction).

Here too, we do not agree with Pancheva, who considers the Bulgarian possessive adjectives to be genitive pronouns. Despite the fact that they may diachronically derive from possessive pronouns, there are reasons to view them synchronically as regular adjectives: (i) they agree for gender and number with the possessed noun, contrary to what genitive pronouns or noun phrases generally do; (ii) even historically, as Pancheva (2004: 184–186) reports, they were formed out of a genitive pronoun with the addition of a possessive inflection which is adjectival in the same sense; (iii) from the synchronic point of view, they cannot be taken as the same kind of modifier as "relational" or possessive adjectives such as *Ivanov*, on the ground that they occupy a different position in the structure and have different thematic interpretation, as shown in Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1999); (iv) a possessive adjective can be reinforced by a dative (reflexive) clitic, as in *negovata si kniga* (lit. possAP-the REFL CL. book 'his own book'). All these properties are unexpected in Pancheva's proposal. (v) Finally, a comparison with Romanian shows that the 3rd sg. possessive adjective *său* co-exists in that language with the weak pronoun *lui/ei* (his/her) which has different pragmatic properties (Tasmowski & Popescu 1988).

The second clear difference between Bulgarian and Greek is the position of the clitic inside the DP. While in Greek the clitic is enclitic on the head noun (or, as we said, on any lexical or functional head that precedes the noun, except for the definite article itself), in Bulgarian it occupies a Wackernagel (second) position, namely immediately after either the enclitic definite article or the demonstrative, as already noticed by Tomić (1996, 2006), Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1999), and Dimitrova-Vulchanova (2000) who provide the examples in (31):

- (32) a. *knigata mi* (Bulgarian)  
 book-the CL.1SG.  
 my book
- b. *novata mi kniga*  
 new fem-the CL.1SG. book  
 my new book
- c. *tazi mi nova kniga*  
 this CL.1SG. new book

No other position for the clitic is allowed in the Bulgarian DP. It is thus clear that the structural position of the clitic is different in the two languages.

For Greek, Alexiadou & Stavrou (2000: 73) propose that the possessive clitic is merged in the same position as the full DP possessor and that it is assigned case by the same mechanism which assigns genitive to a full DP possessor. According to them, this accounts for the complementarity of the clitic and the genitive DP. They further assume that at PF (or at the Morphological Structure), the clitic undergoes morphological merger with the adjacent N, a process that results in re-bracketing the syntactic structure and interacts with phonological processes such as stress placement. To account for the cliticization of the clitic to a prenominal adjective and especially for some special semantic effects having to do with the temporal interpretation of the noun (see Alexiadou & Stavrou 2000 for discussion), they assume that the clitic in such cases is attracted by the head T(ense) of a TP situated between D and the AgrP above NP.

As for the “free” cliticization of the possessive clitic to any prenominal modifier (24b–c), a number of proposals have been made. Stavrou & Horrocks (1989) have assumed that the clitic together with the adjacent head (noun, adjective, or quantifier) form a complex morphological word created in the Lexicon by morphological rules that interact with the syntactic output at the appropriate level. Kolliakou (1995, 1998) assumes that clitics are affixes and that they are suffixed to all tokens of the supercategory NOM (noun, adjective, (INDEF) article).<sup>12</sup>

We believe that there are at least two ways to approach the above contrasts between Bulgarian and Greek. One is to assume a different status for the possessive element in the two languages. According to Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), UG offers two different

12. As already said (cf. (24)), the clitic can never cliticize on the definite article itself, supposedly because the definite article is itself an unstressed element that cannot sustain a clitic (see Alexiadou & Stavrou 2000). Lyons (1999: 64) writes that definite articles (in the languages that have one) are monosyllabic as a result of their being unstressed (phonological reduction), which in turns is responsible for the article being a weak form.



classes of “deficient” pronouns: weak pronouns and clitics. What unifies them and sets them apart from strong pronouns is the impossibility of their being generated *in situ*. However, the two classes behave quite differently both with regard to their surface position and the possibility of forming an argument chain with a full DP. Weak pronouns have a freer positioning, and cannot form a unique argument chain with a full DP, while clitics have a fixed position (either the Wackernagel position in Slavic languages or the position related to Verbal Inflection in Romance and in Greek) and can form one argument chain with a full DP in clitic doubling configurations. The relatively free order DP-internally of the Greek possessive clitic and the impossibility of its co-occurrence with a doubled DP, when compared with the fixed position of the Bulgarian pronoun and its possibility to co-occur with a doubled DP, could in principle be straightforwardly derived from the assumption that we are dealing with a weak pronoun in Greek and with a genuine clitic in Bulgarian. This plausible analysis is considered in 4.1, but rejected on the ground that we can find no independent reason to assume that the Greek possessive clitic is any different from the homophonous indirect object clitic that behaves as clitic in the clause.

An alternative hypothesis is then explored; namely, that the Wackernagel position of the clitic in Bulgarian, which is related to the higher field in the NE and in the clause, permits the establishment of a different kind of relation between the clitic and the doubled or displaced element than does the clitic from the inflectional field in the NE and in the clause, as is assumed to be the case of Greek. This alternative is presented in section 4.2.

Pancheva (2004) pursues a different line of thought. She does not challenge the idea that the deficient possessives are clitics in both languages, but she still claims that they are different kinds of clitics. The Greek clitic would be initially merged as an XP in a theta position, thus deriving the impossibility of clitic doubling in the Greek NE (following the general spirit of Alexiadou & Stavrou 2000). In Bulgarian on the other hand, the clitic would be just a morpheme initially merged as an X<sup>0</sup> in a functional head checking case, thereby leaving open the possibility of merging a “doubled DP” in the theta position.

In our view, this approach has one theoretical and several empirical problems. The theoretical problem is that the different typology of clitics assumed by Pancheva is a mix of competing proposals on the status of clitics (direct merge in a functional head, parallel to inflectional morphology, vs. ambiguous XP/X<sup>0</sup> status and obligatory displacement after merging in a theta-position). Although it is true that different hypotheses have been formulated for different languages, it is rather novel and non-standard to use them conjunctively to motivate cross-linguistic variation. Such an approach is certainly not logically excluded, but needs deeper scrutiny and support than is provided by Pancheva. As for the empirical problems, we have already indicated some in the discussion about (25)–(30) and we will highlight others later in the paper.

## 4.2 Weak vs. clitic

There is no doubt that the Bulgarian possessive pronoun in (6a) is a clitic in the sense of Cardinaletti & Starke (1999). It cannot be stressed, it appears in second position, it is obligatorily attached to a very restricted assortment of hosts, and can co-occur with a full DP possessor (see for arguments and discussion Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1999; Schick 2000; Stateva 2002; Tomić 1996, 2000, 2006). Its Greek counterpart in (6b) cannot be stressed either – so it is certainly not a strong pronoun. If it were not a clitic but a weak pronoun (see Alexiadou & Stavrou 2000 for a brief mention of the same suggestion), its apparently freer position and its inability to double a possessor DP in the NE would be motivated with no additional assumption. But such a hypothesis would miss the fact that possessor clitics in the NE and dative clitics in the clause are morphologically identical:<sup>13</sup>

- (32) *Tu - edhose to dhoro - tu.* (Greek)  
 CL.3SG.M GEN. gave-3SG. the present CL.3SG.M.GEN.  
 S/he gave him his present.

An anonymous reviewer notices that this is not true in northern Greek dialects in which the dative pronoun is realized as accusative, while the genitive retains its morphology. This observation does not contradict our argument. In fact we are not claiming that genitive and dative are one and the same abstract Case in Greek. On the contrary, we say that if one element realizes two different oblique cases (namely dative in the clause and genitive in the NE) in at least one variety of the language, and if this element is clearly a clitic in one function, then it can safely be concluded – unless clear evidence to the contrary is found – that its status (as clitic or weak) is the same in its other function too.

Moreover, the proclitic nature of the clitic in the clause vs. the enclitic nature in the NE cannot be taken as evidence for the different status of the possessive vs. the object clitic. If we look at other languages (e.g., Italian) one and the same clausal clitic (such as accusative *lo/la/li/le* “him/her/them.M/them.F”) in a restructuring construction (such as progressive *sto preparando* “I am preparing”) can either appear as proclitic on the finite form or enclitic on the non finite form:

- (33) a. *Le sto preparando* (Italian)  
 CL.3PL. fem.am preparing

13. On the other hand, Pancheva (2004) claims that they are valued differently – dative in the clause vs. genitive in the noun phrase. While this is probably correct, it is not directly relevant for our present purposes.

- b. *Sto preparandole*  
 am preparing-CL.3PL.fem  
 I am preparing them

In conclusion, despite the logically possible hypothesis that the possessive (deficient) pronoun in Greek is in fact a weak pronoun and not a clitic (in the sense of Cardinaletti & Starke's tripartition of pronouns), due to a general observation that the syllabic weight of an element is related to its clitic/non-clitic status, we abandon this hypothesis and stick instead to the well-established and traditional assumption that in Greek the deficient possessive in the NE is a clitic, homophonous to the indirect object clitic in the clause, and that the reason of the variation in the position and the (im)possibility of doubling must be sought elsewhere, namely, in the functional head that hosts this clitic.

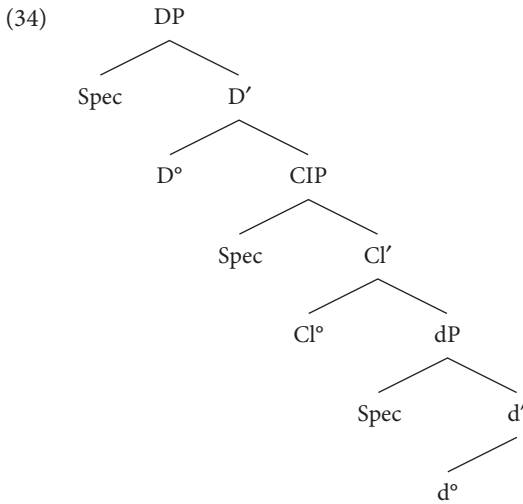
### 4.3 The position of the possessive clitic

If the assumption of the different status of the deficient pronoun is not a viable way to explain the difference between Bulgarian and Greek, it is reasonable to try to derive the contrasts observed in section 2 from the different structural position it occupies in the NE in the two languages.

In Bulgarian, the clitic is obviously in a very high functional head both in the clause and in the NE. We could assume that in the NE, it is encliticized in the DP layer which we have called the "complementation layer" in (1iii) above. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1999) split the Bulgarian DP so as to provide space to the clitic, as well as to determiners that do not always occupy the D position (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1996 on quantifiers, and Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1998 on definite articles and demonstratives). We freely adapt their results in the following discussion.

We assume with Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1999) that the Wackernagel position is obtained when both the clitic and its host are merged in a dedicated functional projection – namely CIP (Sportiche 1993, 1996). This projection is higher than the projection in which the definite article is merged. The clitic occupies the head of this projection (for the moment we leave open where the clitic is base generated as a maximal projection and which position it reaches through XP-movement before the last jump as an  $X^0$ ). With respect to the split DP proposed in (5) above, the CIP is sandwiched between the lower dP and the higher DP.

We also assume with Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1999) that *knigata* is derived by N-to-d movement, while *novata kniga* is derived by AP-movement to SpecdP. So *knigata mi* in (32a) is further derived by merging of *mi* to  $Cl^0$  and adjunction of  $d^0$  to  $Cl^0$  as in (35) while *novata mi kniga* in (32b) is derived by moving the AP *novata* from SpecdP to SpecCIP as in (36).



(35) a.  $[_{CIP} [_{Cl'} mi] [_{dP} [_{d°} [_{N°} kniga]-ta] [_{N°} kniga]]]$  (Bulgarian)

b.  $[_{CIP} [_{Cl'} [_{d°} [_{N°} kniga] ta] mi] [_{dP} [_{d°} [_{N°} kniga]-ta] [_{N°} kniga]]]$

(36) a.  $[_{CIP} [_{Cl'} mi] [_{dP} [_{AP} novata] [d°] [[_{AP} nova] [_{N°} kniga]]]]]$

b.  $[_{CIP} [_{AP} novata] [_{Cl'} mi] [_{dP} [_{AP} novata] [d°] [[_{AP} nova] [_{N°} kniga]]]]]$

Following Dimitrova-Vulchanova Giusti (1999), who propose that the demonstrative is in SpecdP (according to the classification of determiners proposed in Giusti 1997), *tazi mi kniga* in (32c) is derived by demP movement from SpecdP to SpecClP, as in (37):

(37) a.  $[_{CIP} [_{Cl'} mi] [_{dP} [_{demp} tazi] [d°] [_{NP} [_{N°} kniga]]]]]$

b.  $[_{CIP} [_{demp} tazi] [_{Cl'} mi] [_{dP} [_{demp} tazi] [d°] [_{NP} [_{N°} kniga]]]]]$

The left-dislocated prepositional possessor, which can be resumed by the clitic, is merged in a higher specifier. For this operation, the higher SpecDP is available, as in (38), where we assume a [Top] feature is merged in D:

(38) a.  $[_{DP} [_{PP} na Ivan] [_{D°} Top] [_{CIP} [_{Cl'} [_{d°} [_{N°} kniga] ta] mu] [_{dP} [_{d°} [_{N°} kniga]-ta] [_{N°} kniga]]]]]$

b.  $[_{DP} [_{PP} na Ivan] [_{D°} Top] [_{CIP} [_{AP} novata] [_{Cl'} mu] [_{dP} [_{AP} novata] [d°] [_{AP} nova] [_{N°} kniga]]]]]$

c.  $[_{DP} [_{PP} na Ivan] [_{D°} Top] [_{CP} [_{demp} tazi] [_{Cl'} mu] [_{dP} [_{demp} tazi] [d°] [_{NP} [_{N°} kniga]]]]]]]$

Nothing hinges here on whether the Top feature heads an independent projection dominated by an empty DP or whether it is merged in D as in (38) above. But we favour the latter solution mainly for economy reasons.

The impossibility of merging a clitic with an indefinite article in Bulgarian must be related to the presence of different features on an indefinite  $d^{\circ}$ . The free-morpheme status of indefinite *edna* ('one', fem) cannot be a sufficient reason. In fact, the complex head *knigata* in (35/38a) is also in itself a free element and it must be so in order to host the clitic. The same can be said of the demonstrative *tazi* in (38c), or of the possessive adjective *novata* in (38b). Furthermore, there is no obvious way to prevent *edna* – supposedly in  $d^{\circ}$  – from moving to  $Cl^{\circ}$  in a fashion parallel to d-to-Cl movement of *knigata*.

Looking at this issue from a different viewpoint, we may ask: what is the functional head that assigns oblique case to the pronoun? If we look at Romanian, we observe that it is not the semantic value of definiteness of the possessed N but the formal element (the definite article) which realizes it. This becomes evident from the fact that a genitive DP must immediately follow the definite article in (39a), even a dummy one in case a proper one is not available, as is the case of (39b), where the enclitic article *-l* agreeing with the head masculine singular noun *băiat* is supported by the dummy element *a* (presumably a fossilized preposition formed on Latin AD). The genitive article *al* in (39b) is clearly merged just to assign genitive to the possessor, having no real semantic value (D'Hulst, Coene & Tasmowski 2000).

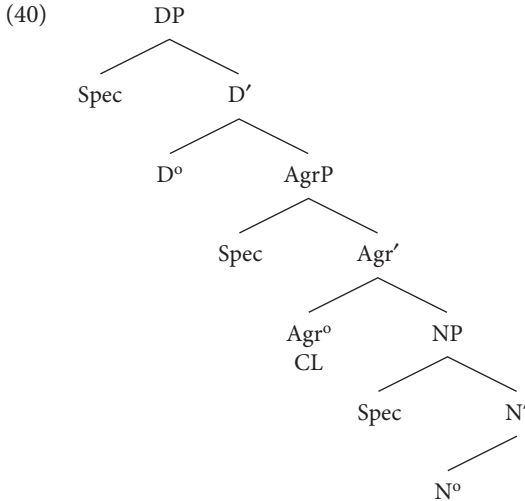
- (39) a. *băiatul Mariei* (Romanian)  
           boy-the.SG.M. Mary.GEN.  
       b. *un băiat al Mariei*  
           a boy the.SG.M. Mary.GEN.

If the parallelism with Romanian is on the right track, it is not the dative vs. genitive (morphological) case of the pronoun, nor is it the pronominal status of the element that is relevant to the issue discussed here. Rather, what is relevant is the head which evaluates Case, which may be slightly different across related languages in a microvariation fashion.

To summarize so far, elaborating on Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1999) we have proposed that the Wackernagel position of the Bulgarian clitic is related to a projection which is sandwiched between DP and dP in a split-DP system. The head of this projection hosts the clitic which requires either adjunction to an immediately lower head or (external) merge to the specifier of an XP (such as an AP or a demonstrative). The apparent restriction of clitics to definite NEs is accounted for by assuming the independent property of  $d^{\circ}$  to evaluate case only if it is filled with the definite article or in agreement with an element containing it (e.g., a pronominal AP) or containing a demonstrative. We do not need to take stand on whether the clitic is an affix directly merged in  $Cl^{\circ}$  or whether it is first merged as an XP in a theta position, since this is not directly relevant to our discussion.

The position of the possessive clitic in Greek is more difficult to pin down, but it is reasonable to assume that it is in a very low area of the agreement layer represented in (1ii) above, given that it can be regularly preceded by the head noun. Crucially, the

noun in Greek is claimed not to move out of the NP (cf. Alexiadou 2000; Alexiadou & Stavrou 2000; Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou 2001, 2007). However, for the sake of the discussion here, we assume that the head N may move just one notch up to host the clitic in the lowest Agr head:



Let us assume that at some point in the derivation the clitic occupies an Agr head and it phonologically encliticizes onto the preceding word. In (24a, e, f) above the noun appears to be in the same head as the clitic. We propose that it is the first Agr available, as in (41):

- (41)  $[_{DP} \text{ to/ena } [_{AgrP} (\text{oreo}) [_{Agr'} [_{Agr^0} [_{N^0} \text{vivlio}] \text{tu}] [_{NP} [_{N^0} \text{vivlio}]]]]]$  (Greek)

In (24b), represented as (42), an indefinite (42a) and a definite (42b) article fills D. The clitic is in Agr as before and it encliticizes onto the AP which is in the specifier of Agr, while N remains in NP.

- (42) a.  $[_{DP} \text{ ena } [_{AgrP} [_{AP} \text{oreo}] [_{Agr'} [_{Agr^0} \text{tu}] [_{NP} \text{vivlio}]]]]]$  (Greek)  
 b.  $[_{DP} \text{ to } [_{AgrP} [_{AP} \text{oreo}] [_{Agr'} [_{Agr^0} \text{tu}] [_{NP} \text{vivlio}]]]]]$

We leave open the question whether N-to-Agr movement in Greek is optional or whether it always takes place to a low Agr° head and what is optional is the insertion of the clitic in a higher Agr°. That this may be the case is supported by the fact that the clitic may appear higher than an AP provided that it can still encliticize onto an appropriate head, including the numeral *ena*:

- (43) a. *to oreo tu kenurjo vivlio* (Greek)  
           the nice CL.3SG. new book  
 b. *ena tu (kenurjo) vivlio* (cf. 24b)  
      one CL.3SG. (new) book

At this point it is difficult to take a stand on the categorial status of the numeral/indefinite article *ena*, and discussing it seriously would take us too far afield here. Anyhow, if it is an indefinite article in  $d^0$ , in the same position as the definite article *to*, as we have assumed in (42b), we can hypothesize that the possessive clitic may encliticize on it but not on *to* because *ena* is not itself a clitic and can prosodically host an enclitic element, while *to*, being itself a proclitic from the prosodic point of view, cannot serve as the host of an enclitic form (see note 12). If, on the other hand, it turns out to be a numeral (possibly preceded by a null indefinite  $d^0$ ), then the position of the clitic in (43b) would be in a high  $Agr^0$  as (42b). In either case the empirical generalization is that the clitic possessive in Greek ends up merged in an  $Agr^0$ , in other words it encliticizes onto any head of the agreement layer which contains the same bundle of  $\phi$ -features and abstract case as the AP in its specifier.

### 5. Focusing the possessor

As noticed by Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1999), focus fronting is allowed for all kinds of genitive arguments in Bulgarian. On the other hand, there are clear restrictions in topic fronting. Consider a typical “picture” noun (*portret*) with which different theta-roles can be assigned to the *na* DP:

- |      |    |                    |                     |                       |             |
|------|----|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| (44) | a. | <i>portret(ut)</i> | <i>na Aristotel</i> | THEME                 | (Bulgarian) |
|      |    | portrait-(the)     | of Aristotle        |                       |             |
|      | b. | <i>portret(ut)</i> | <i>na Rembrandt</i> | AGENT                 |             |
|      |    | portrait-(the)     | of Rembrandt        |                       |             |
|      | c. | <i>portret(ut)</i> | <i>na Ivan</i>      | POSSESSOR/AGENT/THEME |             |
|      |    | portrait-(the)     | of Ivan             |                       |             |

A Topic *na* DP can be fronted only if it is interpreted as a possessor as in (45c), in contrast with a Focused *na* DP which can be fronted quite liberally, as shown in (46):

- |      |    |                                     |           |
|------|----|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| (45) | a. | <i>na Aristotel portretut (mu)</i>  | *THEME    |
|      | b. | <i>na Rembrandt portretut (mu)</i>  | *AGENT    |
|      | c. | <i>na Ivan portretut (mu)</i>       | POSSESSOR |
| (46) | a. | <i>NA ARISTOTEL portretut (*mu)</i> | THEME     |
|      | b. | <i>NA REMBRANDT portretut (*mu)</i> | AGENT     |
|      | c. | <i>NA IVAN portretut (*mu)</i>      | POSSESSOR |
|      |    | of A./R./I. portrait-the            |           |

As is clear from (45), topic-fronting in the NE has two basic properties in Bulgarian: first it is restricted to possessors only and secondly it is possible without triggering the presence of the clitic. Focus fronting in (46), on the other hand, applies to any *na*-DP, irrespective of its theta-role and it excludes the co-presence of the clitic.

Given the relevance of theta-role assignment here, we expect that fronting is only possible with object referring nominals, and that it is not possible with event nominals, which cannot be combined with a possessor. This is the case indeed: a complex event noun like *uništožavane* in (47) does not allow topic-fronting of its theme (47b) and an intransitive noun such as *laene* in (48) does not allow topic-fronting of its agent (48b), while the same arguments can be focus-fronted (47c)–(48c):

- (47) a. *uništožavaneto na grada* (Bulgarian)  
           destruction-the of city-the  
           the destruction of the city  
       b. \**na grada uništožavaneto*  
       c. *NA GRADA uništožavaneto*
- (48) a. *laeneto na kučeto*  
           barking-the of dog-the  
           the barking of the dog  
       b. \**na kučeto laeneto*  
       c. *NA KUČETO laeneto*

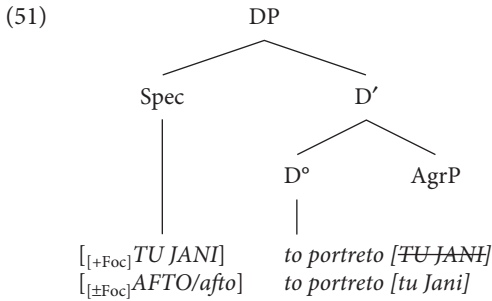
In Greek we do not find topic fronting of the possessor DP (in genitive). The Bulgarian cases in (45) thus contrast with Greek (49). If the possessor is not stressed (49), it cannot be preposed to the left of the article. But focus fronting runs in parallel to Bulgarian with no restriction with respect to the theta-role of the focused genitive DP (50):

- (49) a. *to portreto tu Aristoteli* THEME (Greek)  
           the portrait the.GEN. Aristotle  
       a'. \**tu Aristoteli to portreto*  
       b. *to portreto tu Rembrandt* AGENT  
           the portrait the.GEN. Rembrandt  
       b'. \**tu Rembrandt to portreto*  
       c. *to portreto tu Jani* POSSESSOR/AGENT/THEME  
           the portrait the.GEN. Jani  
       c'. \**tu Jani to portreto*
- (50) a. *TU ARISTOTELI to portreto* THEME  
       b. *TU REMBRANDT to portreto* AGENT  
       c. *TU JANI to portreto* POSSESSOR/AGENT/THEME

Following Horrocks & Stavrou (1987) and all the subsequent relevant literature on the topic, we assume that the possessor DP moves to SpecDP which is an A-bar



position, hosting constituents moved there from inside the DP if they are emphatically (or contrastively) stressed. We therefore propose that an interpretive [+Foc]-feature associated with a genitive DP can be merged in D° both in Bulgarian and in Greek. As a consequence, in both languages the DP can host a focalized possessor in SpecDP co-occurring with an article in D° as in (51):



This proposal, combined with the proposal that demonstratives occupy SpecDP (at the latest at LF, cf. Giusti 1993, 1997, 2002; Brugé 1996), predicts that Focus fronting is not allowed in Greek when a demonstrative is merged, as is in fact the case in (52a–b). Interestingly, this restriction on the co-occurrence of a (focused or unfocused) demonstrative and a focused possessor is also found when the latter remains *in situ* (52c):

- (52) a. *TU JANI (\*afto) to vivlio* (Greek)  
       b. *TU JANI to vivlio (\*afto)*  
       c. *(\*afto) to vivlio TU JANI*  
           this the book the.GEN John.GEN

Notice that (52c) is fine if the possessor is not focused.<sup>14</sup> This restriction is mysterious unless we assume that the [+Focus] feature is merged in D and must be checked by at least covert movement (of the possessor) to SpecDP. The ungrammaticality of

14. This, however, seems to be an area where judgements can vary. A reviewer points out that the native speakers s/he consulted do not find the demonstrative in (52a–b) so bad, whereas the same speakers find (52c) almost OK. On the other hand, according to other native informants (including the second author of this paper), (52a–c), if not starred, deserve at least two question marks. At the same time the same reviewer reports judgements according to which the reverse order in (i) results in clear ungrammaticality:

(i) *\*afto TU JANI to vivlio*

While we agree with the reviewer that (i) shows that the demonstrative originates in a lower position (Brugé 1996; Giusti 1997, 2002), we still believe that (even) the (low) acceptability of (52a–c) and the ungrammaticality of (i) suggest that the demonstrative and the focused (fronted) genitive compete for the same position, nam. SpecDP and only one of them will occupy it.

all instances in (52) shows that in Greek the [+Focus] feature and the demonstrative compete for the same position in (51).

As a matter of fact, Horrocks & Stavrou (1987: 86) claim that both the pre-article genitive and the pre-article demonstrative are focused.<sup>15</sup> In line with the above and in order to account for the fact that a focused genitive and a demonstrative in Greek cannot co-occur in D,<sup>16</sup> we propose that Focus must be merged in D.

The same restriction is found in Bulgarian, which also does not allow for the demonstrative and the Focus Phrase to be simultaneously present (53)–(54). This again suggests that despite the fact that FocusP inside the NE and the position of the demonstrative surface as different (the first one is at the left of the quantifier *vsičkite*, while the latter follows it, as shown by (55)), they produce an effect of relativized minimality:

- (53) a. \*<sub>NA</sub> *IVAN тази книга* (Bulgarian)  
           of Ivan this book  
       b. \*<sub>NA</sub> *IVAN vsički tezi knigi*  
           Of Ivan all these books

---

15. This generalization has not in fact been challenged so far, as regards Greek. However, an anonymous reviewer casts some doubts on the claim that the preposed genitive is (always) focused. The example s/he gives is:

- (i) *Tis Marias o petheros epathe egkefaliko.* (Greek)  
       the Mary.GEN. the father-in-law suffered.3SG. stroke  
       Mary's father-in-law suffered a stroke.

In (i) the DP occurring in sentence initial position may but need not necessarily be focused. The issue raised by this criticism is a very interesting one and one that has not, to our knowledge, been addressed so far; namely possible interactions between sentence focus/topic and focalized constituents of the DP itself. It is pointed out here that rather than saying that the preposed genitive is a topic, it is the entire NE that behaves like a topic in (i). That the preposed genitive is focused by default is seen primarily when the DP is used in isolation somehow; for example, when it is used to name or to point to things. Also when it is used with a copula, as in (ii):

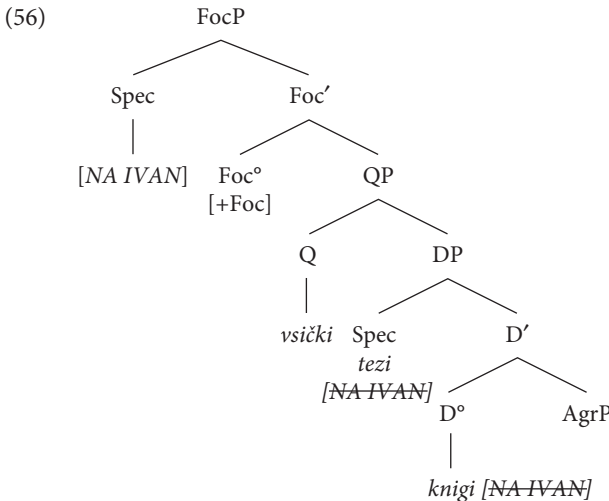
- (ii) *Tu Jani to vivlio ine afto. Afto ine tu Jani to vivlio.* (Greek)  
       the John.GEN. the book is.3SG this. This is.3SG the John.GEN. the book  
       This is John's book.

Moreover, when the DP [*Tis Marias o petheros*] is used as the object of the verb, the genitive may only be focused, i.e., it is emphatically stressed. While we cannot at present say anything definitive with respect to the particular point, we repeat here that the preposed genitive (just like the preposed demonstrative) is, as a rule, stressed (even if not always contrastively). We defer the issue to further investigation.

16. Given the claims by Giusti (1997, 2002) and Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1998) that demonstratives must end up in SpecDP at the latest at LF.

- (54) a. *\*tazi kniga NA IVAN*  
 b. *\*vsički tezi knigi NA IVAN*  
 all these books of Ivan
- (55) a. *PročetoX vsičkite knigi NA VAZOV*  
 b. *?NA VAZOV vsičkite knigi pročetoX*  
 c. *PročetoX vsički tezi knigi (na Vazov)*  
 I read all these books (of Vazov)

We propose that the DP layer in Bulgarian is split in at least two projections. More specifically the referential layer where the demonstrative is placed and the Focus projection can be separated by the intervening QP projection, as in (56). However, for a focused element to be moved out of the QP, it must pass through the Spec of the lower DP-projection:



In other words, Bulgarian (56) and Greek (51) differ only in that Bulgarian displays a greater liberty in merging new projections to host the discourse feature Focus, while Greek is restricted to hosting this feature in the only available projection, namely a non-split DP.<sup>17</sup>

17. In the light of an example such as (i), Grohmann & Panagiotidis (2005) claim that the DP in Greek is split into three (major) projections: the highest would be a Topic or Focus specifier in which the genitive is dislocated/moved, the second a specifier in which the demonstrative is moved from the lower layer and the third the projection of which the article is a head:

(i) *[tis epoxis [afta [ta fenomena]]]* (Greek)  
 the.GEN. age.GEN. these the phenomena  
 these phenomena of our times

## 6. Dislocating the possessor in Greek

We claim that an interpretive [+Top]-feature can be merged in a split DP in Bulgarian but not in Greek, where the preposed genitive/demonstrative cannot be interpreted as old/given information, but only as [+Foc]. Our hypothesis is then that the Greek DP cannot be split in a way as to host a topicalized constituent. If the only reason for the lack of clitic doubling is lack of a position against which the [Top]-feature associated with a possessor can be checked, we expect that in Greek, the DP-internal clitic can double a possessor provided it is fronted elsewhere, e.g., to a clausal position, as is the case. This hypothesis, however, tells us nothing about the impossibility of doubling a possessor *in situ*. In section 7, we claim that a doubled possessor in Bulgarian is in fact never *in situ*, despite appearances. Parallel to the Focus features seen above, Topic features must be checked in a separate left peripheral projection at the latest by LF.

Let us first show that the clitic in the NE can resume a possessor which is fronted in a clausal position. This is obviously an instance of dislocation and not of doubling. In Greek the possessor is set off by a clear pause from the rest of the clause and has a clear contrastive topic interpretation. The meaning of (57a) is: 'As for John (talking of John), his book did not sell at all.' In this case the clitic pronoun inside the NE cannot be dropped:

- (57) a. *Tu Jani, to vivlio tu den pulithike katholu (to vivlio tu).* (Greek)  
           the.GEN. John, the book his not sold.3SG at all  
           John's book did not sell at all.
- b. *Tu Jani, kanis den dhjavase to vivlio tu.*  
           the.GEN. John, nobody not read-3SG the book his  
           Nobody read John's book.

---

Their analysis is clearly incompatible with our proposal and therefore deserves careful consideration. First of all, our informants and the second author of this paper find the co-occurrence of a demonstrative with a preposed genitive DP in (i) at least awkward/marginal, whether the genitive is topicalized or not, parallel to the cases discussed in (52) and in note 14 above. We thus don't have a good reason to assume a (additional) higher projection on top of the one which hosts the demonstrative. Furthermore, Grohmann & Panagiotidis (2005) assume that the demonstrative (a specifier in their framework too) and the article (a head) cannot be in one and the same projection, on theory internal assumptions grounded on the hypothesis of *Prolific Domains* (Grohmann 2003). In the framework we adopt here, favouring minimal structure, we hold that DP in Greek is a unitary projection and when it hosts a demonstrative in its Spec, the head must be filled by an article (a sort of doubly-filled DP, as assumed in Giusti (1993, 1997, 2002).

In Bulgarian the extraction of a possessive from a subject position does not give good results, so that (58a), parallel to (57a), is deviant. On the other hand, (58b) parallel to (57b) is acceptable provided a clitic is present in the clause:

- (58) a. \*?*Na Ivan knigata mu vuobšte ne se prodavaše* (Bulgarian)  
 to Ivan book-the him.CL.DAT. at all not REFL. sold-3SG.  
 (*knigata mu*).  
 (book-the his)  
 ‘John’s book did not sell at all.’
- b. *Na Ivan, nikoj ne mu e čel knigata (mu).*  
 to Ivan, nobody not him is.Aux-3SG. read-PP book (his)  
 ‘Nobody read John’s book.’

In (57a) the possessum (*to vivlio tu* ‘his book’) is the external argument of the verb, and as such it can either precede or follow the verb. In (57b), it is the object of the verb and it is found in its canonical object position.

The data in (57) are reminiscent of two similar phenomena found in the clause, illustrated in (59), in which the leftmost DP object of the verb is marked as topic by the presence of the clitic. In (59) the clitic is obligatory – both when it resumes a direct object and in the case of an oblique DP, as in (59b):

- (59) a. *To vivlio, to efere o Janis.* (Greek)  
 the book, it brought-3SG. the John  
 It is John who brought the book.
- b. *Tu Jani, tu edhosa ena vivlio.*  
 to Jani, him.GEN. gave-1SG. a book  
 To John, I gave a book. (I gave a book to John.)

The DP *to vivlio* in (59a) can in principle be seen as either a left dislocated contrastive topic or as a hanging topic (see Lambrecht 1994 and references therein for detailed discussion about these constructions). Anagnostopoulou (1997) gives a list of criteria on the basis of which the two phenomena are distinguished (see also Anagnostopoulou 2006 and Krapova & Cinque, this volume), despite the external similarities they display at a first glance. In (60) all the constituents are ordered in the same way as they are in (59); but, unlike what happens in (59), the DP that precedes the cl+verb sequence is not separated by the rest of the clause by comma intonation – there is no pause after *to vivlio*:

- (60) *To vivlio to efere o Janis* (Greek)  
 the book it brought-3SG. the John

The initial DP in (59) is referred to as “hanging topic”, whereas the same DP in (60) is a dislocated contrastive topic (Anagnostopoulou 1997). The prosodic difference

between the linearly identical (59) and (60) is correlated with further differences. Thus in (61), which is given by Anagnostopoulou (1997: 153) as an instance of hanging dislocated topic, the “hanging” DP is not only connected with a clitic in the clause but it may also be further resumed by an epithet or a strong (tonic) pronoun – in contrast with left dislocated objects (# denotes a sharp intonational break):<sup>18</sup>

- (61) a. *Ton Petro, # ton nostalgho ton ghliko mu/afton poli.* (Greek)  
           the Peter.ACC CL.ACC miss-1SG. the sweet-my/him much  
           ‘Peter, I miss my dear a lot.’
- b. ??*Ton Petro ton nostalgho ton ghliko mu/afton poli.*  
           the Peter.ACC CL.ACC miss-1SG. the sweet-my/him much

In (61a) where a clearly marked break occurs between the dislocated DP and the rest of the clause, an epithet or appositional DP may be present in the clause. This epithet, clitic and the dislocated DP share the same referent. In (61b), where there is no clear break after the dislocated DP, such an epithet results in reduced acceptability of the sentence.

Another difference explicated by Anagnostopoulou (1997) between clitic left dislocation and HTLD (Hanging Topic Left Dislocation) is that only the former is observed in embedded contexts:

- (62) a. \**Anarotieme an tin Maria tin aghapas afti akoma.* (Greek)  
           wonder.1SG. if the Mary CL.ACC love.2SG. her still
- b. *Anarotieme an tin Maria tin aghapas akoma.*  
           wonder.1SG. if the Mary CL.ACC love.2SG. still  
           ‘I wonder if you still love Mary.’

Given that the epithet can occur only in HTLD – i.e., where there is a clear pause after the dislocated DP – Anagnostopoulou accounts for the ill-formedness of (62a) by assuming that the HTLD structure is not allowed in embedded contexts, in contrast with the left dislocation in (62b), where the absence of the epithet results in a well-formed sentence.

A further fact that diagnoses HTLD is the possible case mismatch between the dislocated DP and the clitic in the clause:

- (63) a. *O Janis, #ton ksero kala afton tosa* (Greek)  
           the John.NOM #CL.ACC know.1SG. well him.STR so-many  
           *xronia.*  
           years.  
           ‘I have been knowing John quite well after so long.’

18. Examples (61)–(63) are from Anagnostopoulou (1997: 153–154), slightly adapted.

- b. *Nomizo oti ton Jani/\*o Janis ton ksero kala tosa*  
 I think.1SG. that the John.ACC/\*NOM 3CL.ACC know.1SG. well so-many  
*xronia.*  
 years

‘I think that I have been knowing John quite well after so long.’

Given that HTLD does not occur in embedded contexts the ungrammaticality of (63b) is only expected.<sup>19</sup>

Anagnostopoulou represents dislocational structures as in (64):

- (64) [<sub>FP</sub> XP<sub>LDisl</sub> [<sub>FP</sub> ...CL...t...]]

The dislocated DP that appears in (64) is adjoined to FP (FP being IP or CP), while the clitic is a syntactic operator (Anagnostopoulou 1997: 158). (64) is a predication structure (Anagnostopoulou, *op.cit.*); the dislocated DP stands for the subject of predication in the sense of Williams (1980). The clitic heads a predicate variable chain. The dislocated DP and the clitic-chain are in a movement relationship in dislocation but not in the HTLD.

HTLD, being distinct from left dislocation, involves either a clitic or a strong pronoun IP-internally, is not sensitive to subadjacency and does not exhibit connectedness effects (Anagnostopoulou (1997: 153), Krapova & Cinque (this volume), Tsakali & Anagnostopoulou (this volume)). HTLD involves base generated adjunction (of the topic DP) to CP.

Against this background, let us consider how the DP *tu Jani* in (11a–b), (57) and (59b) fares. Is it an instance of clitic dislocation, or is it a HTLD?

For one thing, the data and the judgments are not very clear in the DP domain, unlike what is the case in the clause. The sequences in question represent oral, casual speech, and intuitions are sloppy. The only clear and safe fact is the pause/break that follows the genitive DP and separates it from the rest of the clause. The same holds when the possessive DP is found at the very end of the clause (right dislocated, (11b)). This fact in itself would suggest that the left or right “dislocated” possessor is rather a hanging (“extraposed”) topic. On the other hand, the possessor cannot be in a case other than the genitive (e.g., in (default) nominative, as is the case of the hanging object of a verb in the clause – cf. (63) above), while the possessor can be found in embedded contexts (65a) and also among other fronted, stacked, constituents (65b):

19. Anagnostopoulou (1997) lists more differences between HTLD and CLLD, which, however, are not directly relevant to the facts concerning the displacement of the possessor examined here.

- (65) a. *Tu Jani mu ipan oti den pulithike katholu* (Greek)  
 the John.GEN. CL.1SGGEN. said that not sold at all  
*to vivlio tu fetos.*  
 the book CL.3SGGEN. this year  
 'I was told that John's book didn't sell a single copy this year.'
- b. *Mu ipan oti tu Jani, fetos, den pulithike katholu to*  
 CL.Gen. said that the John-Gen., this year, not sold at all the  
*vivlio tu.*  
 book CL.GEN.

Anagnostopoulou (1997) gives evidence showing that clitic left dislocation does in fact involve a stacking of fronted elements – in our example (65b) these are the possessor and the temporal adverb. Moreover, the displaced possessor appears to violate *wh*-type islands:

- (65) c. *Oli anarotiunte tu Jani pos den pulithike katholu* (Greek)  
 all wonder.3PL the John.GEN. how not sold.3SG. at all  
*to vivlio tu.*  
 the book CL.3SG.GEN.  
 'Everybody wonders how John's book didn't sell at all well.'

So there is enough evidence that despite appearances, (65b) is a dislocated topic and not a hanging topic. But what especially matters for the present discussion is that whether a contrastive or a hanging topic, (65b) (as well as (11a–b) and (57)) does not instantiate clitic doubling (of the possessor). On this ground our empirical evidence appears to further support, and extend, the claims made by Krapova & Cinque (this volume), concerning the distinction between dislocational and doubling structures in the clausal domain. More importantly, the clitic possessor that resumes a Topic in Greek can only be merged in the sentence, not in the DP. The difference with Bulgarian is that in Bulgarian the Topic features can be merged in the DP, as was also the case for FocusP.

## 7. Back to possessor doubling

We now turn to our initial problem and show that what looks like possessor doubling in Bulgarian is always an instance of Possessor topicalization, which necessitates the projection of the [Top] feature in a split DP (which can also contain a CIP). In fact, we will observe that the same restrictions on the theta-role of the dislocated possessor and the clitic, observed in 5. above, can also be observed in the apparent cases of clitic doubling. In the light of this observation, we link the lack of possessor doubling in Greek with the lack of the possibility of splitting the DP.

In 7.2, we deal with the obligatory doubling of a strong pronoun in Greek. We show that this may be seen as the only instance of doubling, related to the morpho-syntax of



strong pronouns in some languages and having nothing to do with discourse related factors. Obligatory doubling is not attested in Bulgarian, a fact that supports our claim that we are dealing with an independent phenomenon.

### 7.1 Apparent doubling of an In-situ possessor

In Bulgarian, we find the same restrictions on doubling that we find with topic fronting (with or without the clitic). Notably, the clitic (*mu*) cannot double a theme (*na Aristotel* in (66a)) or an agent (*na Rembrandt* in (66b)):

- (66) a. *portretut mu na Aristotel* \*<sub>THEME</sub> (Bulgarian)  
 portrait-the his.CL of A.  
 b. *portretut mu na Rembrandt* \*<sub>AGENT</sub>  
 c. *portretut mu na Ivan* POSSESSOR

This is independent of the properties of the clitic itself, which can have any kind of theta-role. Thus in (67b) the clitic can carry all the roles encoded in the possessive adjective in (67a):

- (67) a. *negovijat portret* THEME/AGENT/POSSESSOR  
 his -the portrait  
 b. *portretut mu* THEME/AGENT/POSSESSOR  
 portrait-the his.CL

In the light of the contrast in (66)–(67), we conclude that when we observe the co-occurrence of a clitic and a full DP, the latter is never in its basic position, despite appearances.

We have now two possible analyses to capture the parallelism between (66c) and (45c) above, with the *na* DP displaced to the left. One is to say that (66c) represents a more basic structure, with procrastination of movement of the possessor to the checking position as represented in (68a). The structure in (68b) represents this movement overtly. This analysis is consistent with general principles of economizing movements, but it attributes optionality to *Procrastinate*. Alternatively, we can conjecture that the movement in (68b) is always obligatory and that the option, motivated by discourse functions, is to further displace the remnant DP further to the left, as depicted in (68c):

- (68) a.  $[[_{\text{TopP}} [_{\text{Top}}]_i [_{\text{DP}} \text{portretut } \mu_i [\text{na Ivan}]_i]]$  (cf. (66c)) (Bulgarian)  
 b.  $[_{\text{TopP}} [\text{na Ivan}]_i [_{\text{DP}} \text{portretut } \mu_i]]$  (cf. (45c))  
 c.  $[[_{\text{DP}} \text{portretut } \mu_i]_j [_{\text{TopP}} [\text{na Ivan}]_i [_{\text{DP}} e]_j]]$  (cf. (66c))

We have no other reason to favour one over the other than the general necessity to keep *Procrastinate* as a necessity of UG. Thus, we prefer (68c) but we do not pursue this issue any further. The contrast with Greek can straightforwardly be derived from

the absence in the Greek DP of a Topic position which requires the clitic to be in Spec-Head agreement with it. This is due to both the impossibility of the clitic to attach to the definite article and to the impossibility in Greek to split the DP.

## 7.2 Doubling of strong pronouns

As we saw in connection to (13)–(14) above and as repeated below, in Greek a strong possessive pronoun cannot occur DP-internally without its clitic counterpart. For this state-of-affairs to be (still marginally) possible in Bulgarian, the possessive pronoun must be contrastively stressed.<sup>20</sup> Examples (13) (and (14) are repeated here for convenience:

- (69) a. \**To vivlio emena dhen pulithike katholu.* (Greek)  
           the book me.GEN.STR not sold at all
- b. *To vivlio mu emena dhen pulithike katholu.*  
           the book CL.1SG. me.GEN.STR not sold at all  
           ‘My book was not sold at all.’
- (70) a. \**Knigata (mi) na mene ne se prodavaše izobšto.* (Bulgarian)  
           book- the (CL.1SG.) \*of-me.STR not REFL sold at all
- b. ??*Knigata mi NA MENE ne se prodavaše izobšto!*<sup>21</sup>  
           book- the CL.1SG. of-me.STR not REFL sold at all  
           ‘My book did not sell at all!’
- c. *Mojata kniga ne se prodavaše izobšto.*  
           my-the book not REFL sold at all

20. See also Krapova & Cinque (this volume) for similar facts in the clausal domain.

21. The judgement concerning (14b) differs from the one reported by Pancheva (2004), who claims that Bulgarian displays substantially the same property as Greek in doubling a strong pronoun. However, Pancheva uses a 3rd pers. sing. pronoun as in (i), which has a gender distinction, as also shown by (ii):

- (i) *knigata \*(mu) na nego* (Bulgarian)  
       book-the CL.GEN.M. of him
- (ii) *knigata \*(i) na neja*  
       book-the CL.GEN.f. of her

Our informants do not judge (i)–(ii) as perfect but certainly they claim there is a great improvement with respect to (14a–b) above, which represent the case for all other pronouns. We believe it is the presence in Bulgarian of the possessive adjective that rules out the pronoun for reasons that are not clear to us, but that are certainly also present in Italian as well.

Notice that in (69b–13b) the clitic is left-adjacent to the strong pronoun and there is no break or pause between them or anywhere else in the sentence – unlike what we saw with regard to (57a) above, where a genitive DP resumed by the clitic was displaced in the clause.

Logically, there are two ways of looking at these facts. One is to view the clitic as doubling the strong pronoun. Given that a sentence with a clitic is always possible without any restriction, whereas the same sentence with the pronoun but without the clitic is illicit, as shown in (71):

- (71) a. \**To pedhi emena dhen ithele na spudhasi sto eksoteriko.* (Greek)  
           the child me.GEN.STR not wanted to study abroad  
       b. \**To vivlio emena dhen pulithike katholu.*  
           the book me.GEN.STR not sold at all

one can hypothesize that the clitic “supports” the strong pronoun. This general hypothesis is proposed by Kayne (2001), adapting a proposal by Uriagereka (1995). The other is to take the strong pronoun as a reinforcer of the clitic (Anne Zribi-Hertz, p.c.). We have no reason to favor one over the other.

It is important to note at this point that the ungrammaticality (or marginality) of a (tonic) pronoun without a matching clitic is not confined to the nominal domain but is also observed in the clause.<sup>22</sup> Greek strong pronouns cannot appear in case marked positions unless the clitic is present, as shown in (72) below<sup>23</sup> (see Kayne 2001 for similar facts in French<sup>24</sup>):

- (72) a. ??*O Janis idhe esena.* (Greek)  
           John saw.3SG. you-STR  
       b. *O Janis se idhe esena.*  
           John CL.2SG. saw.3SG. you-STR

22. It must be noticed that judgements vary as regards the status of cases like (72a). This is what the double ? purports to show. For many speakers (including the second author of this paper), (72a) is as bad as (70c) and (70e) are.

23. It is worth pointing here to the fact that when in (72a) and (72c) the strong pronoun is focused the resulting sentence becomes grammatical. We do not have an explanation for why this is so, but it is also worthwhile saying in this connection that the same facts are reported by Kayne (1999) for French, so that what is illustrated in (72) is a pattern not confined to Greek.

24. “Pronominal arguments that are structurally case-marked in French must be doubled by a clitic.” (Kayne 1999: 7).

- c. \**O Janis telefonise emena*<sup>25</sup>  
John phoned.3sg. me.STR
- d. *O Janis mu telefonise emena*  
John CL.1sg. phoned.3sg. me.STR
- e. *to pedhi \*(mu) emena*<sup>26</sup>  
the child C.1sg. me.GEN.STR

In (72a–b) the pronoun is the direct object of the verb, in (72c–d) it is the indirect object. Tsakali (2003, 2006) also observes these facts but her empirical base is somewhat different; in particular, Tsakali claims that only the 1st and 2nd person pronouns valued for genitive case cannot appear in argument position without the support of the corresponding clitic pronoun. That is, only example (72c) is bad for Tsakali, whereas the example in (72a) is well-formed. Tsakali claims the following constraint is at work:

- (73) *Morphological Constraint on CID* (Tsakali 2003)  
CID is obligatory when a full pronoun of the 1st and 2nd person is the direct object of a verb that assigns genitive case.

Tsakali attributes this restriction to the morphology of personal pronouns, which, she claims, display only (morphological) accusative. The forms *emena*, *esena*, *emas*, *esas* are accusative forms. Genitive case is missing from the paradigm of these pronouns:

(74) GREEK STRONG (TONIC) PRONOUNS

	SG			PL		
	NOM	GEN	ACC	NOM	GEN	ACC
1	ego	---	emena	emis	----	emas
2	esi	-----	esena	esis	-----	esas
3 M	aftos	aftu	afton	afti	afton	aftus
F	afti	aftis	aftin	aftes	afton	aftes
N	afto	aftu	afto	afta	afton	afta

25. Interestingly the same pattern is encountered in French, where the indirect object, when encoded in a pronoun, cannot occur without the clitic: \**Jean parle à moi*, ‘J. speaks to me.’ (See also Kayne, *op.cit.*). On the other hand, as Liliane Tasmowski points out to us, there is some variation across speakers as concerns the status of such sentences, which become acceptable when the strong pronoun is focused (see note 23).

26. In fact, the phenomenon is not attested in only these two languages. French also has it: \**le livre à lui*, the book his, vs. *son livre à lui*. So, the restriction on strong pronouns with any grammatical function not occurring without their clitic counterpart seems to hold more generally. But it crucially does not hold in Bulgarian, showing that this is a totally distinct phenomenon.

In support of Tsakali's claim consider the following cases where it is seen that the occurrence of the strong pronoun without the clitic in a position where genitive is assigned results in ungrammaticality:

- (75) a. \**Oli ine enantion emena.* (enantion 'against' → GEN.)  
all are against me-full pronoun ACC.
- b. *Oli ine enantion su* (esena).  
all are against CL.2SG. GEN. (you- full pronoun)
- (76) a. *Oli ine m(e) emena.* (me 'with' → Accus.)  
all are with me-full pronoun ACC.  
'Everyone is with me.'
- b. *Oli erxonte s(e) esena.* (se 'to' → Accus.)  
all come-3PL. to you-full pronoun ACC.  
'Everyone is coming to you.'
- (77) a. \**Ine megaliteros emena.* (comparative adjective → GEN.)  
is older me-full pronoun ACC.
- b. *Ine megaliteros-mu* (emena).  
is older CL.1SG.GEN. (me-full pronoun)  
'He is older than me.'

In (78) we see that the same restriction is observed with possessive DPs realized as strong personal pronouns:

- (78) A. - *Tinos ine to vivlio?* (Greek)  
whose is the book?
- B. - \**emena /diko mu/tu Jani*  
me-STR /mine/John-Gen.

(75–78) show that the personal pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person are incompatible with any head that assigns genitive case or an environment that requires the presence of a genitive form. On the contrary, it is compatible with a head that assigns accusative. This account can further explain why in (72e) the pronoun that stands for the possessor and which in Greek is marked with (structural) genitive case yields ungrammaticality.

However, the reduced grammaticality of (72a), the ungrammaticality of (72c) and the contrast between (72a) and (72b) suggest that the tonic pronoun cannot appear on its own in the object position of a verb that assigns accusative case either (see note 22). Although the issue is one that needs more search than is offered here, we tentatively propose the following explanation for Greek. Rather than taking the Greek tonic pronoun to realize accusative case, we take it to be morphologically "vague", or indeterminate as regards morphological case. It can thus appear neither in

an accusative position nor in a genitive one. The clitic on the other hand distinguishes morphological accusative and genitive inflection and can for this reason realize the case assigned to it by a verb – or noun in the case of the possessive clitic. As a result, the juxtaposition of the “caseless” personal pronoun with the clitic results in a well formed chain, as the personal pronoun checks its case feature against that of the clitic. (It can also be assumed that the genitive clitic is inserted to “rescue” the structure, in a way that parallels “do-support” in English). The co-occurrence thus of the possessive clitic in (72e) above “disambiguates” the role of the (tonic) pronoun.<sup>27</sup>

To account for the obligatory co-occurrence of the clitic and the strong pronoun in (72e), we assume following Stavrou (2005) that the clitic and the strong pronoun form a kind of complex constituent at some stage of the derivation, which can occupy an argument position. A very similar proposal has been independently assumed by Kayne (2001) for French. The complex pronouns will then look like the ones in (79):

- (79) *mu-emena* *su-esena* (Greek)  
CL.1SG.GEN.-me.STR. CL.2SG.GEN.-you.STR.

The clitic necessarily cliticizes to the head noun, being enclitic, as said earlier.

It is worthwhile pointing out that the strong pronoun in Greek behaves in the same way in the clause and in the NE. This is not so in Bulgarian. In Bulgarian, a strong accusative or dative pronoun is not necessarily doubled in the clause:

- (80) a. *Ivan vidja tebe* (Bulgarian)  
Ivan saw.3SG. you.STR.  
b. *#Ivan te vidja tebe*  
Ivan CL.2SG. saw.3SG. you.STR.  
c. *Ivan se obadi na mene*  
Ivan REFL phoned.3SG. to me.STR.  
d. *#Ivan mi se obadi na mene*  
Ivan CL.1SG.DAT. REFL phoned.3SG. to me.STR.

So far, we have seen that the co-occurrence of a strong pronoun and the related clitic, which looks like clitic doubling, is not driven by discourse/communicative factors – as is always the case with clitic doubling in the clause in both languages (but

27. Notice though that this account cannot be maintained for Bulgarian where both the clitic and the strong pronoun bear morphological case. The example in (i) is from Krapova & Cinque (this volume):

- (i) *Poznavam go nego* (Bulgarian)  
know-1SG him-CLACC him.STR.  
I know him.

see Krapova & Cinque, this volume, who dispute this for Bulgarian) – but is a reflex of some deficiency of Greek strong pronouns which cannot appear in case marked positions. Clearly, the clitic compensates for this deficiency. This is not the case in Bulgarian, where the strong pronoun can occur freely without being doubled by a clitic. Unlike what is the case in Greek (72a–e) the doubled structures in Bulgarian (80) are pragmatically marked if acceptable at all. Furthermore, as noticed earlier, Bulgarian does not allow for a strong pronoun in the *na* DP inside the NE, whether doubled (81b) or not (81a). We conjecture that the reason for this is the fact that Bulgarian has a possessive adjective which is preferred if the possessive is stressed (81c), whereas Greek does not (see Alexiadou 2000, 2005 for discussion):

- (81) a. *\*knigata (mi) na mene* (Bulgarian)  
 b. *\*tazi kniga (mi) na mene*  
 c. *mojata kniga/tazi moja kniga*  
 this book of mine

This contrasts with *na* DPs in the clause, which do not display any difference between a strong pronoun and a full DP to the extent that in both cases the resumptive clitic is obligatory if the DP is in preverbal position:

- (82) a. *Na Ivan/Na nego \*(mu) xaresva knigata.* (Bulgarian)  
 to Ivan/to him CL.DAT pleases book-the  
 b. *Na Ivan/Na nego \*(mu) e lošo.*  
 to Ivan/to him CL.DAT is bad

We have shown in this sub-section that the doubling which appears with strong possessor pronouns in Greek is a phenomenon which is not related to clitic doubling, as clitic doubling is currently understood, but should rather be linked to general properties of strong pronouns in Greek (and probably in other languages too).

## 8. Conclusions and extensions

If clitic doubling in the clausal domain is really a construction in which a clitic co-occurs with a full DP located in its argument position, we must conclude that such a co-occurrence is not a manifestation of doubling in the DP in either Bulgarian or in Greek. We have shown that the only co-occurrence of a possessive DP and a clitic is an instance of dislocation and not doubling. The dislocated possessor resumes the function of a contrastive topic. The difference between Greek and Bulgarian is that the dislocated possessor can appear DP-internally in Bulgarian but not in Greek, where it is found in an adjoined position at the clausal level. We have derived this contrast from the proposal that the Greek DP cannot split while the Bulgarian DP can.

In the case of the obligatory co-occurrence of the clitic with a strong pronoun in Greek, we claimed that the apparent “doubling” is required by grammar alone and does not serve the information structure of the sentence/NE. This property is not attested in Bulgarian (either in the NE or in the clause).

The lack of clitic doubling DP-internally could further be taken as a consequence of the impoverished structure of the nominal domain compared to that of the clause. For instance, it can be hypothesized that the conditions that favour clitic doubling in the clause do not hold in the nominal domain. We said above that clitic doubling, by backgrounding the doubled constituent, has the result of bringing the verb into the foreground. This is reflected in the fact that the asserted part of the clause may be used as a reply to a “yes/no” question. In contrast, there is no room in the NE for an assertive part since the NE does not have truth conditions.

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# Name index

## A

Agouraki, 24, 230, 323, 324,  
397, 398  
Alexiadou, 8, 24, 113, 166, 167,  
170, 241, 242–244, 272, 301,  
332, 333, 338, 381, 391, 392,  
394, 397, 404, 405–407,  
411, 428  
Anagnostopoulou, 4–8, 14–16,  
19, 20, 22–24, 27, 66, 71,  
105–107, 166, 167, 170, 227,  
241, 242–244, 271, 272, 301,  
304, 321, 323, 324, 326, 328,  
329, 331, 332, 335, 337, 338,  
346, 347, 395, 397, 398,  
400, 418, 419–421  
Aoun, 241, 301, 323, 326, 331  
Arnaudova, 24, 66, 120, 204,  
215, 259, 263, 264, 271  
Arregi, 120  
Assenova, 39, 40, 45, 53, 58,  
105, 106, 119, 126, 208,  
209–211, 257, 259, 267, 278,  
279, 281, 282  
Avram, 8, 27, 107, 135, 140, 348,  
361–363, 366–370, 374, 375,  
380, 393

## B

Belletti, 120, 122, 321, 345  
Berent, 41–43, 72  
Bleam, 142, 323, 336  
Boeckx, 296, 302  
Borer, 3, 10, 297, 323, 326, 328,  
330, 348, 398  
Bossong, 21  
Buchholz, 47, 48, 51

## C

Cardinaletti, 107, 333, 367, 405,  
407, 408  
Caragiu-Marioțeanu, 5  
Casielles, 20  
Cecchetto, 4

Chafe, 13, 167, 169, 170, 172,  
183, 196  
Chomsky, 4, 6, 23, 24, 27, 229,  
237, 250, 251, 290, 298, 328,  
336, 337, 342, 347, 348, 351,  
361, 367, 376, 378  
Cinque, 7, 10, 14–16, 19, 26,  
66, 106, 107, 115, 119, 120,  
122, 152, 205, 215, 228, 257,  
258–260, 268, 272, 300–02,  
315, 317, 324, 325, 332, 338,  
390, 395, 418, 420, 421,  
423, 427, 428  
Coene, 8, 27, 107, 361, 362, 366,  
369, 374, 375, 393, 410  
Condoravdi, 166, 190  
Cornilescu, 20, 22, 27, 136,  
137, 140, 142, 146, 228, 289,  
296, 303, 304, 308, 314,  
363, 369, 371, 390, 393, 403  
Cyxun, 206, 267

## D

Dawkins, 190  
Delfitto, 138, 139, 146, 148,  
158, 377  
Diaconescu, 138, 139, 149  
Diesing, 8, 18, 338  
Dimitrova-Vulchanova, 8,  
9, 15, 24, 26, 105–107,  
109, 111, 113–119, 125,  
126, 128, 152, 211, 216,  
389, 391, 393, 394, 397,  
399–401, 404, 407,  
408–410, 412, 415  
Dobrovie-Sorin, 5, 7, 8, 10,  
20, 22, 24, 27, 67, 105–07,  
120, 122, 140, 142, 144, 204,  
228, 259, 269, 282, 289,  
291–295, 298, 299, 305, 314,  
323, 334, 335, 372, 398

Dimitrova-Vulchanova, 8,

9, 15, 24, 26, 105–107,  
109, 111, 113–119, 125,  
126, 128, 152, 211, 216,  
389, 391, 393, 394, 397,  
399–401, 404, 407,  
408–410, 412, 415  
Dobrovie-Sorin, 5, 7, 8, 10,  
20, 22, 24, 27, 67, 105–07,  
120, 122, 140, 142, 144, 204,  
228, 259, 269, 282, 289,  
291–295, 298, 299, 305, 314,  
323, 334, 335, 372, 398

## E

Enç, 8, 18, 67

## F

Farkas, 2, 7, 12, 19, 20, 24, 37,  
54, 107, 136, 137, 139, 140,  
144, 146–148, 158, 204, 362,  
375, 376  
Fillmore, 137  
Fraenkel, 173, 174  
Franco, 13, 303  
Franks, 72, 100, 205, 206, 227,  
257, 258, 266, 281  
Friedman, 1, 5, 9, 10–12, 15,  
17, 25, 35, 36, 40, 58, 152,  
203, 209

## G

Giannakidou, 19, 72  
Gierling, 24, 140, 143, 145,  
278, 282  
Giusti, 8, 14, 27, 28, 105, 107,  
119, 122, 128, 389–391, 394,  
401, 404, 407, 408–410,  
412, 414, 415, 417  
Givón, 93, 95, 102, 137, 150  
Guentchéva, 10, 12, 14, 15, 24,  
26, 43, 44–46, 80, 107, 152,  
203, 204, 209, 210, 215,  
216, 220, 221, 257, 259, 266,  
273, 315, 398  
Gutiérrez-Rexach, 8, 227

## H

Haegeman, 115, 116, 118, 119,  
348, 391, 411  
Hajičová, 66  
Hellan, 24, 106, 107, 111, 113,  
117, 118, 125, 126, 211, 216,  
397, 400  
von Heusinger, 12, 19, 24, 71  
Hill, 12, 19, 20, 23, 26, 135, 204,  
314, 362  
Holton, 13, 37, 52, 167, 168–172  
Horrocks, 91, 92, 173, 176, 178,  
181, 391, 405, 413, 415  
Horvath, 229  
Hyman, 14, 100, 211

**I**

Iatridou, 66, 258, 272, 324, 325,  
339, 395  
Ilievski, 9, 39, 44, 51, 58, 278, 279  
Ivancev, 43, 107

**J**

Jaeger, 204, 208, 211, 216  
Jaeggli, 1, 2–4, 10, 269–271,  
282, 297, 306, 323, 324,  
326, 328, 330, 398  
Janse, 13–15, 26, 91, 96, 120,  
122, 124, 165, 166, 173,  
174, 176, 178, 180–182,  
190–192, 197  
Joseph, 166, 171, 172, 181, 339

**K**

Kallulli, 1, 5, 7, 8, 15–17, 19–21,  
23, 24, 26, 45, 49, 50–52,  
105–107, 121, 125, 129, 136,  
137, 150, 167, 171, 203,  
227–231, 239, 240, 242,  
245, 248–250, 253, 272,  
281, 301, 308, 315, 323, 381,  
397, 398, 400  
Kayne, 2, 3–5, 114, 154, 241,  
244, 247, 258, 277, 290,  
295, 302, 304, 321, 323,  
324, 326–328, 330–332,  
334, 336, 338, 346, 381, 395,  
397, 424, 425, 427  
Kazazis, 41, 49, 204  
King, 47, 66, 72, 92–94, 111,  
112, 121, 193, 195–197, 206,  
227, 281, 403  
Kiparsky, 19, 166, 190, 228, 231,  
232, 252  
Kiss, 23, 66, 121, 274  
Koneski, 42  
Krapova, 10, 14–16, 19, 26, 107,  
152, 205, 215, 228, 257–259,  
264, 271, 276, 281, 302, 315,  
317, 389, 397, 418, 420, 421,  
423, 427, 428  
Krifka, 18, 23, 227, 229, 233,  
236, 252

**L**

Lambrecht, 15, 211, 418  
Leafgren, 11, 24, 39, 40, 43, 45,  
46, 50, 52, 54, 204, 216, 257  
Lopašov, 2, 9, 10, 39–41, 53,  
203, 257, 267, 281

**M**

Mackridge, 13, 37, 52, 91, 96,  
98, 167, 168, 181, 187  
Marantz, 138  
Massey, 248, 323  
Matthewson, 19  
Matushansky, 290, 291,  
295, 300  
McNay, 146  
Miklosich, 1, 38, 39, 57

**N**

Naylor, 42, 43  
Niculescu, 140, 148, 304  
Nunes, 291

**O**

Ordóñez, 333

**P**

Pancheva, 105, 109, 111,  
115–119, 381, 382, 396, 400,  
402, 404, 406, 407, 423  
Papangeli, 258, 281, 296, 301  
Pappas, 181  
Pentheroudakis, 41, 49, 242  
Pesetsky, 8, 237, 347  
Philippaki-Warbuton, 13, 37,  
52, 166, 167–169, 171, 172,  
197, 271, 272, 302, 323, 326,  
339, 398  
Poletto, 107, 280

**R**

Reinhart, 18, 229, 230  
Revithiadou, 166, 169, 272  
van Riemsdijk, 3, 115, 324, 378  
Rivas, 3, 323, 326  
Rivero, 138, 139, 149, 267  
Rizzi, 6, 67, 116, 120, 122, 145,  
240, 297, 337, 345, 348, 375,  
376, 391  
Rochemont, 13, 23, 66, 229  
Rooth, 18  
Rudin, 24, 205, 216, 257,  
258–260, 266, 281

**S**

Sandfeld, 36, 39  
Schick, 208, 209, 323, 397,  
398, 407  
Schwarzschild, 18, 23, 228, 229  
Selkirk, 23, 236  
Sgall, 66

Sportiche, 6, 7–9, 118–120, 227,  
229, 251, 258, 289, 297–301,  
323, 324, 326, 328, 331,  
334–338, 342, 344, 345, 351,  
398, 408

Spyropoulos, 166, 169, 272  
Stavrou, 8, 14, 27, 28, 105, 107,  
122, 128, 241, 364, 368,  
373, 381, 389, 391, 392,  
394, 405–407, 411, 413,  
415, 427

Steriade, 2

Strozer, 3, 323, 326

Suñer, 4, 5, 7, 269, 323, 328,  
330, 331, 334, 398

**T**

Tasmowski, 1, 3, 12, 19, 20, 23,  
26, 37, 54, 105–107, 123,  
135, 140, 142, 203, 204,  
213, 227, 229, 250, 257,  
282, 361, 362, 376, 389,  
404, 410, 425  
Tomić, 1, 5, 10, 11–12, 15, 25, 65,  
68, 105, 106–107, 118, 125,  
129, 152, 203, 209, 278–281,  
368, 380, 381, 393, 404, 407  
Topolinjska, 11, 73, 82, 280  
Torrego, 4, 258, 296, 297, 299,  
323, 374, 398  
Tsakali, 4, 6, 14, 22, 27,  
105, 304, 321, 322, 327,  
342, 348, 349, 389, 420,  
425, 426  
Tsimpli, 348, 397

**U**

Uriagereka, 4, 227, 258, 296,  
323, 375, 378, 398, 424

**V**

Vallduví, 327  
Van der Auwera, 221

**W**

Wackernagel, 14, 89, 90–92,  
172, 173, 177, 178, 182, 198,  
404, 406, 408, 410  
Wexler, 321, 342, 348, 349,  
351, 353

**Z**

Zubizarreta, 327, 332, 333  
Zwicky, 2, 114, 171, 173, 174, 230

# Language index

## A

Albanian, 2, 5, 7, 8–10, 13, 15,  
16–18, 20, 23, 24–26, 35,  
36–42, 45, 47, 48–54, 58,  
59, 80, 82, 105–07, 125,  
129, 203, 227, 228–34, 236,  
237, 241, 243–45, 247, 248,  
250, 251–253, 272, 278, 281,  
301, 304, 308, 315, 323, 331,  
339–341, 368, 381, 397, 398  
Geg, 50, 59  
Central Geg, 50, 59  
Tosk, 39, 50, 59  
Northern Tosk, 50, 59  
Standard Albanian, 13

Aramaic, 176

Aromanian, *see* Romanian

## B

Balkan languages, 1, 3, 5, 7–9,  
21, 25, 27, 35, 36–40, 54, 59,  
65, 66, 70, 80, 86, 89, 105,  
106, 123, 129, 135, 165, 203,  
227, 228, 279, 281, 283, 301,  
315, 331, 334, 342, 366, 368,  
380, 381, 389, 393, 396, 402

Balkan Romance, 25, 35, 36,  
38, 53, 54, 56, 81, 84

South Danubian Balkan  
Romance, 54

Balkan Romani, 57

Balkan Slavic, 9, 25, 35, 36, 38,  
41, 46, 53, 56, 58, 65–67, 81,  
85, 279, 280

Balkan Sprachbund, 1, 3, 10,  
24, 56, 105, 106, 108, 109,  
119, 203, 279, 404

Bantu, 342

Basque, 22

BCS, 37, 46, 47, 59

Berber, 331, 339

Taqbaylit, 339–41

Tarifit, 340, 341

Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, 37  
*see also* BCS

Bulgarian, 5, 8, 9–13, 15, 21, 24,  
26–28, 37, 38–40, 43–47,  
49, 50–54, 58, 59, 66, 69,  
78, 80, 81, 85, 105–109,  
111–113, 115, 116–122, 124,  
125–129, 151, 203–209, 211,  
212, 214, 215–217, 219–221,  
228, 257, 258–260, 266,  
267, 271–273, 276, 277,  
279–283, 302, 331, 339–341,  
381, 382, 389, 391, 392–410,  
412–418, 421–423, 425,  
427–429

Bulgarian dialects, 27, 40, 81,  
85, 113, 276, 277, 280, 281

Old Bulgarian, 15, 26, 105,  
108, 109, 111, 113, 115, 116,  
118, 121, 122, 124, 125,  
127–129

Western Bulgarian, 81, 280

## C

Catalan, 327, 333, 339–341,  
349, 350

Church Slavonic, 9, 39, 58,  
152, 382

Old Church Slavonic, 9, 58,  
152, 382

Croatian, 37 *see also* BCS

Czech, 339

## D

Daco–Romanian,  
*see* Romanian

## E

English, 23, 39, 51, 53, 57, 66,  
72, 95, 102, 111, 114, 123,  
233, 234–236, 238, 239,  
244, 245, 247, 251, 252, 259,  
296, 305, 391, 427

## F

French, 1, 2–4, 7, 14, 39, 95,  
102, 214–216, 246, 247,  
276, 277, 289, 292, 296,  
298, 301, 304, 305, 323, 324,  
326–330, 334, 338, 339–343,  
345–347, 349–351, 424,  
425, 427

## G

German, 7, 51, 110, 113, 118,  
119, 123, 173, 232–236,  
251, 252, 338

Greek, 5, 8, 9–13, 15, 18, 25,  
26, 28, 37, 38–42, 45, 47,  
49–59, 80, 89–95, 98, 102,  
106, 107–109, 113, 120,  
122–24, 126, 128, 129, 152,  
165–167, 169, 170–178, 180,  
181–185, 187, 188–190, 192,  
194, 197–99, 203, 221, 227,  
241, 242, 245, 247, 253, 271,  
272, 278, 279, 281, 296, 301,  
302, 304, 307, 308, 321–323,  
325–327, 331, 332–336,  
339–341, 343, 347, 349, 350,  
352, 364, 368, 373, 381, 389,  
391, 392–402, 404–408,  
410, 411–419, 421–429

Ancient Greek, 9, 25, 90, 165,

172–174, 181–185, 189, 198

Asia Minor Greek, 10, 26,

165, 167, 181, 190, 192,

197–199

Cappadocian, 181, 182,

190–192, 194–196, 198, 199

Classical Greek, 94, 175–177,  
180, 181, 185, 190

Demotic, 26, 89

Farasiot, 190, 192, 197, 198

Post–classical Greek, 176,

177, 180, 181

Koinè–Greek, 92



Greek (*Cont'd*)

- Lycaonian, 190, 192, 194, 197, 198
- New Testament (Biblical)
  - Greek, 92, 178
- Medieval Greek, 91, 98, 180, 181
- Modern Greek, 5, 13, 80, 98, 120, 165–67, 169, 170, 172, 174, 178, 181, 183, 187, 189, 190, 197–199, 203, 227, 278, 281, 331, 368, 373, 381
- Mycenaean Greek, 173
- Northern Greek dialects, 51, 189, 407
- Pontic Greek, 181, 190, 192, 194

## H

- Hebrew, 176, 177, 237, 330, 377, 402

## I

- Indo-European languages, 89, 198
  - Indo-European Balkan languages, 36
- Italian, 1, 3, 7, 272, 273, 289, 296, 302, 304, 313, 314, 323, 324, 328–330, 333, 334, 338, 339–343, 345, 349, 350–352, 377, 382, 393, 396, 407, 423

## J

- Judezmo, *see* Spanish

## L

- Latin, 9, 58, 59, 152, 170, 297, 382, 410
  - Vulgar Latin, 9, 58
- Lebanese Arabic, 331, 338

## M

- Macedonian, 5, 9–13, 15, 21, 25, 36–44, 46–52, 54–56, 58, 59, 65–67, 69, 70, 72–74, 76, 78–86, 105–107, 125, 129, 203, 209, 278–280, 282, 331, 381, 393

## Central Macedonian

- dialects, 85
- Eastern Macedonian, 59, 81
- Ohrid Macedonian, 13, 38
- South Western–Macedonian, 84, 278, 280
- Standard Macedonian, 25, 49, 50, 65, 70, 74, 81, 85, 278
- West–Central Macedonian dialects, 85
- Western Macedonian dialects, 25, 65, 70, 74, 81, 85, 86
- Mainland Scandinavian, 250

## O

- Occitan, 327

## R

- Romance, 2, 3–5, 8–10, 21, 25, 35, 36, 38, 39, 53, 54–56, 60, 65, 66, 81, 84, 86, 95, 98, 106, 115, 120, 182, 188, 190, 214, 257, 259, 260, 268, 269, 271, 292, 297, 298, 301, 304, 313, 322, 323, 332, 334, 342, 380, 382, 399, 406
- South Danubian Romance, 55, 60
- Romani, 10, 35, 36, 38, 54, 56, 57–59
- Romanian, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8–10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 20, 22, 23–27, 36–40, 49, 53, 54–56, 59, 60, 65, 67, 81, 84, 86, 106, 107, 135–141, 146–148, 151–153, 155, 157–159, 203, 204, 228, 268, 277, 278, 282, 289, 292–294, 296, 298, 301–317, 323, 328, 330–332, 334, 335, 338–342, 349, 350, 352, 353, 361, 362–364, 366, 367–369, 371, 373, 374–378, 380–382, 385, 393, 402–404, 410
- Aromanian, 5, 25, 35, 36, 38, 55, 57, 59, 65, 67, 81, 84, 86, 278, 380

## Northern Aromanian, 59

- Southern Aromanian, 59
- Daco–Romanian, 5, 55, 56, 278
- Megleno–Romanian, 5, 10, 13, 25, 36, 55, 60, 65, 67, 81, 84, 86, 278, 380
- Old Romanian, 26, 135, 137, 155, 157, 158

## S

- Semitic, 92, 176–178, 187, 322, 323
- Serbian, 37 *see also* BCS
  - Prizren–Timok group, 279
- Slavonic, 9, 39, 58, 151, 152, 382
- South–Eastern Serbian, 67, 81–83, 85, 279, 280
- Standard Serbian, 81, 83
- Slovakian, 339
- Spanish, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 15, 17, 22, 27, 38, 105, 139, 148, 252, 268, 270, 271, 282, 289, 296, 297, 304, 307–315, 317, 323–325, 327–335, 338–342, 349, 350, 352, 382
- Argentinian Spanish, 17
- Judezmo, 38, 59
- Porteño Spanish, 4, 5, 330, 334, 335
- Rioplatense Spanish, 330, *see also* River Plate Spanish
- River Plate Spanish, 2, 4, 304, 314, 317
- Standard Spanish, 328–330, 333, 334, 339
- Swahili, 102

## T

- Turkish, 38, 44, 165, 167, 170, 190, 191, 193, 194, 199

## W

- West Rumelian, 38
- Wampanoag, 342, 353

# Subject index

## A

Aboutness, 18, 20, 45, 46,  
49, 54  
Accent, *see* Pitch accent  
Accentuation, 90  
    Deaccentuation, 18–20, 23,  
    24, 228, 236, 237, 252  
Activation cost, 169, 170, 196,  
    *see also* Information flow  
Adjunction, 115, 118, 119, 293,  
    408, 410, 420  
    Adjunct, 91, 166, 263,  
    301–303, 326, 375  
    Adjunct-like, 302  
Afterthought, 14, 100, 101, 165,  
    170, 198, 375  
Agree (relation) 250, 251, 300,  
    306, 313, 315, 316, 322,  
    337, 339, 341, 343, 344,  
    349, 350  
Agreement  
    Agreement marker, 7, 8, 166  
    Agreement morphology,  
    109, 345  
    Morphological  
    agreement, 137  
    Object agreement, 13, 22,  
    89, 118, 227, 248, 298, 322,  
    337–339, 342, 343, 346  
    Participle agreement, 27,  
    321–323, 326, 339, 340–348,  
    350, 351–353  
    Polypersonal agreement, 40  
Alexandria, 151, 153, 157, 161  
Anaphora, 94, 124, 126  
    Anaphoric function, 213,  
    215, 216, 221  
    Anaphoric relation, 215, 220  
Animacy, 5, 10, 40, 49, 136,  
    139, 141, 142, 145, 150, 158,  
    190, 204, 277, 327, 331, 373  
Animacy marker, 5, 277  
Animacy bias with dative  
    clitic, 373

Antecedent, 21, 138, 183, 303,  
    311, 362, 374–378, 383  
Anti-topic, 15  
Applicative construction, 138  
Applicative Phrase, 138  
Areality, 25, 35, 36  
    Areal phenomenon, 65, 86  
Assertion, 46, 66, 398  
Associate  
    Associate of doubling  
    clitic, 1  
    Associate of relative  
    clause, 241  
Attract Closest, 28, 361, 367, 379

## B

Background, 13  
    Backgrounding, 15, 165, 170,  
    171, 198, 199, 217, 312, 429  
    Background set, 140, 142,  
    143, 145, 158  
    Common background, 13  
Balkanisms, 36, 282  
Balkanization, 35, 36  
Bare indefinites,  
    *see* Indefinites  
Bare nouns, 15, 20, 21, 242, 363  
Bare plurals, 20, 21, 141, 142, 231  
Bare singulars, 11, 20, 21, 150,  
    231, 249, 250  
Big-DP (hypothesis), 4, 296,  
    297, 299, 302  
Boundary pause, 165, 167–171,  
    173, 198  
Bundling-languages, 342, 349,  
    350, 352

## C

Case  
    Case assigner, 4, 330, 372  
    Case marker, 65, 76, 154,  
    269, 330, 381  
    Case filter, 4, 328, 329  
Chains, 119, 152, 322, 337, 348

Checking, 27, 146, 229, 306,  
    312, 316, 321, 322, 336, 339,  
    341–345, 349, 350–352, 375,  
    376, 406, 422  
Clitic cluster, 83, 115, 116, 188  
Clitic Criterion, 6, 7, 297, 337  
Clitic Doubling  
    Clitic doubling in relative  
    clauses, 241  
    Clitic doubling inside  
    DPs, 128  
    Clitic doubling of CPs, 17, 231  
    Clitic doubling of direct  
    objects, 7, 8, 70–74, 148,  
    230, 248, 289, 327, 339, 341  
    Clitic doubling of focused  
    constituents, 308, 309  
    Clitic doubling of indirect  
    objects *see also*  
    Agreement marker,  
    74–76, 148, 248–250, 266  
    Clitic doubling of QPs, 17,  
    19, 20, 124, 309–311, 315  
    Clitic doubling of  
    reflexives, 126  
    Clitic doubling of  
    wh-words/phrases, 76,  
    237–240, 312  
    Clitic doubling proper, 26,  
    105, 126, 129, 257, 258, 268  
    Clitic doubling with tonic  
    pronouns, 273–278  
    Clitic doubling with  
    physical perception  
    predicates, 266, 268  
    Clitic doubling with psych  
    predicates, 15, 16, 266, 268  
Diagnostic environments  
    of clitic doubling, 14,  
    167–171, 214–216,  
    265–273, 334  
Interaction of clitic doubling  
    with differential object  
    marking, 22

- Clitic Doubling (*Cont'd*)  
   Interpretive effects of clitic doubling, 7, 8, 10, 42, 71, 123, 135, 208, 217, 229, 231  
   Optional versus obligatory clitic doubling, 2, 3, 15–17, 126, 216, 248–250, 266–268  
   Origins of clitic doubling, 9, 58, 102, 207  
   Prosody of clitic doubling constructions, 234–236  
   Triggers of clitic doubling, 10, 52, 53  
 Clitic Doubling Parameter, 228, 229, 304, 321, 322, 338, 339, 343  
 Clitic movement, 3, 4, 291, 339  
 Clitic Omission Stage, 321, 349  
 Clitic Phrase, *see* Clitic Voices  
 Clitic placement, 114, 165, 166, 172, 295  
 Clitic reduplication, *see* Clitic Doubling  
 Clitic Voices, 297  
 Comment, 11, 13, 66, 99, 167, 211–213, 215, 217, 259, 304, 398  
 Connectedness (Connectivity)  
   Effects, 420  
 Context, 137, 140, 143–145  
 Contrastiveness, 196  
   Contrastive aboutness, 45  
   Contrastive topics, 121, 123, 218, 273  
 Correlative pronoun, 232  
**D**  
 Deaccentuation, *see* Accentuation  
 Definite article/determiner  
   11, 21, 40, 47, 67, 89, 102, 191, 192, 199, 204, 208, 210, 243, 245, 279, 363, 369, 372, 401, 402, 404, 405, 408, 410, 412, 423  
 Definiteness  
   Definiteness hierarchy (scale), 139  
   Definiteness requirement, 364  
 Derivation by Phase, 361, 367  
 Dialectal continuum, 25, 65, 81, 85, 280  
 Differential object marking (DOM), 139, 190, 192  
 Dislocation  
   Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), 106, 258, 259, 324  
   Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD), 107, 215, 258, 265, 266, 324  
   Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD), 170, 259  
   Topic Left Dislocation, 170, 259, 419  
   Topic Right Dislocation, 170  
 D-linking, 12, 20, 22, 120, 121, 347, 353  
 Doubling/Agreement  
   correlation, 322, 341, 343, 346  
 DP-internal clitics, 128, 361, 389  
**E**  
 Emphasis, 44, 97, 100, 152, 394  
   Emphatic device, 218  
 Enclisis versus proclisis, 264  
 Existential constructions, 16, 231  
 Extension Condition, 290, 291  
 Extraposition, 93, 94–98, 215, 259  
**F**  
 Factivity, 8, 17, 19, 228, 231–237, 252, 253  
 Familiarity, 8, 10, 18, 19, 54, 146, 398  
 F-marking, 252  
 Focus  
   Contrastive focus, 23, 27, 66, 115, 126, 212, 274, 289, 308, 311  
   Exhaustive focus, 66  
   Identificational focus, 23, 121  
   Information focus, 66, 271  
 Focus Movement, 257, 258, 265  
 Focus Particles, 309  
 Focus Projection, 300, 416  
 Foregrounding, 217  
 Function of  
   *pă* in Bulgarian dialects, 277  
   *pe* in Romanian, 140  
   *a* in Spanish, 4, 330, 331  
 Functional categories, 290, 291, 293, 294, 297, 298, 301, 349, 350, 352  
**G**  
 Givenness, 8, 17, 18–20, 22–24, 89, 228, 229, 231, 233, 236, 250, 251–253  
 Grammaticalization, 13, 25, 36, 39–41, 54, 56, 58–60, 65, 66, 80, 86, 95, 96, 102, 155, 157, 165, 167, 198, 203  
   Morphologization, 35, 58, 181  
**H**  
 Hanging Topic, 14, 170, 171, 259–264, 418  
 Head  
   Complex heads, 290  
   Head-to-head Merge, 291  
   Head-to-head Movement, 290  
   Head Movement, 290  
 Humanness, 10, 77  
**I**  
 Imperative, 69, 91, 96, 97, 101, 115, 144  
   Imperative morphology, 69  
 Indefinites  
   Bare indefinites, 11, 21, 45, 46, 52, 67, 73, 76  
   Contrastive indefinites, 72  
   Indefinite article/determiner, 45, 192, 209, 364, 402, 410, 412  
   Novel indefinites, 18  
   Non-novel indefinites, 18  
   Partitive indefinites, 71  
   Referential indefinites, 71  
 Information  
   Information flow, 169, 170, 198  
   Information structure, 20, 26, 105–109, 111, 116, 118, 119–121, 123, 124–126, 129, 145, 169, 170, 203, 205, 216, 227–229, 233, 234, 236, 241, 251, 271, 274, 275, 300, 308, 312, 314, 327, 398, 400, 429  
 Interarboreal operations, 289  
 Interrogative pronoun, 76–78, 178  
 Intonation, 44, 53, 158, 168–174, 176, 178, 180, 184, 194, 198, 212, 213–215, 274, 305, 312, 315, 317, 327, 331, 332, 418

- Intonation break, 168, 214  
 Intonation contour, 158, 212, 213, 215  
 Islands, 421  
   Adjunct Island, 263  
   Complex NP Island, 263
- K**  
 Kayne's Generalization, 4, 5, 304, 323, 327, 328, 330–332, 334, 336, 338, 381
- L**  
 Last Resort, 374, 375, 377–379  
 Left Periphery, 27, 66, 67, 72, 73, 75, 76, 80, 106, 111, 116, 118, 120, 125, 127, 145, 305, 313, 317, 361, 366, 374, 375, 377–379, 385, 391, 397
- M**  
 Merge, *see* Head  
 Movement, *see* Head
- N**  
 New Testament, 9, 39, 58, 92, 93, 108, 176–178  
 Null possessor, *see* Possessor
- O**  
 OCC-feature, 251
- P**  
 Parametric variation, 106, 252  
 Participle agreement, *see* Agreement  
 Partitivity, 37, 54, 59, 311  
 Phase, 24, 27, 155, 351, 361, 367, 376, 378, 379, 384  
 Phase Impenetrability Condition, 378  
 Phi-features, 2, 21, 27, 136, 149, 243, 244, 246, 262, 321, 322, 336, 342–344, 349, 352, 374, 375, 377, 381  
 Phonological weight, 252  
 Pitch accent, 234, 236  
 Possession, 53, 281, 282, 366, 373, 377, 383, 384  
   Possessive adjectives, 364, 371, 372, 402, 404  
   Weak possessives, 381  
   Possessive clitic, 8, 27, 114, 361, 363–367, 371, 372, 374, 377, 379, 381, 382, 384, 385, 389, 393, 394, 396, 397, 400–406, 408, 410, 412, 427  
   Possessive constituent, 368  
   Possessive constructions, 377  
 Possessor, *see* Thematic roles  
   Null possessor, 377–379, 383  
 Pragmatic marker, 135, 137, 140, 145, 150, 158  
 Prague school, 66, 211  
 Presuppositionality, 18, 20, 51, 150, 230, 233, 236, 238, 252, 253  
 Principle of Unambiguous Pronunciation, 344  
 pro, 23, 27, 94, 113, 140, 141, 171, 239, 240, 245, 247, 289, 296–300, 321, 326, 336, 338, 343–345, 349–351, 374, 399  
 pro-drop 113, 298  
 Probe-goal, 250, 251  
 Proclisis, *see* Enclisis  
 Prominence, 7, 10, 17, 20, 21–23, 26, 135–137, 139, 140, 142, 144–150, 155, 157–159, 217, 219, 230, 283, 362, 376, 398  
 Prominence Condition, 398  
 Property denotation, 136, 304  
 Prosody, 23, 24, 158, 168, 234, 399  
   prosodic realization, 251  
   prosodic structure, 234–236  
 Psych predicates, 267, 272, 275, 282
- Q**  
 Quantification, 18, 19  
   Bare quantifiers, 140, 141, 146, 147, 149, 150, 311, 316  
   Requantification problem, 18  
 Quirky subjects, 15, 108
- R**  
 Reduplication, 1, 35–41, 43–49, 51–59, 106, 119, 124, 126, 128, 257, 273, 274, 276, 278–280, 282
- Referentiality, 59, 71, 107, 149, 158  
 Referential chains, 119  
 Referential clitics, 301  
 Anaphoric reference, 119  
 Referential stability, 7, 12, 17, 19, 26, 137, 139, 146–150, 157, 158, 362, 363  
 Dynamic (versus static) referentiality, 139  
 Referential indefinites, *see* Indefinites  
 Relative clauses, 8, 26, 76, 111, 227, 228, 240, 241–245, 247, 253  
   Restrictive relative clauses, 241, 245, 247  
   Non-restrictive relative clauses, 247  
 Resumption, 76, 79, 85, 119  
 Rheme, *see* Prague school
- S**  
 Saliency, 20, 138, 217, 375  
 Scrambling, 7, 119, 123, 145, 229, 248, 300, 337, 338  
 Second position, 114, 115, 117, 119, 173, 180, 364, 382, 402, 407  
 Speaker's intention, 140, 143, 144, 159  
 Specificity, 7, 8, 10, 11–13, 17, 18–20, 25, 65, 67, 70–76, 79, 80, 85, 107, 136, 139, 150, 158, 208, 231, 281, 335–337, 398, 400  
 Split-checking, 27, 321, 341–345, 350, 352  
 Split languages, 343  
 Stress, 43, 45, 66, 89, 92, 126, 171, 180, 206, 210, 213–215, 218, 230, 234, 235, 266, 268, 271–273, 312, 332–334, 367, 405
- T**  
 Theme, *see* Prague School  
 Thematic roles, 137, 158  
   Agent, 121, 135, 137, 150, 159, 412, 413, 422  
   Beneficiary, 383, 384  
   Experiencer, 19, 150, 205, 267, 275, 373, 383, 384

- Thematic roles (*Cont'd*)  
  Goal, 9, 101, 139, 150, 237, 250, 251  
  Possessor, 28, 52, 53, 57, 107, 108, 128, 150, 267, 268, 282, 345, 362, 364, 365, 371, 373, 374, 377–379, 381–385, 389, 391–397, 400, 401, 405, 407, 409, 410, 412–414, 417, 420–422, 426, 428  
  Theme, 45, 66, 135, 150, 192, 211, 259, 412, 413, 422
- Topic  
  Contrastive topic, 273  
  Topic feature, 273, 375, 377–379, 384
- Secondary topic, 213  
Topic constructions, 25, 264  
Topic shift, 93, 100
- Topicality, 10  
  Degree of topicality, 13  
  Topicality scale, 135, 137, 140, 150, 158, 159
- Topicalization, 11, 45, 47–49, 51, 59, 66, 67, 73, 80, 82, 83, 120, 165, 166, 168, 169–171, 182, 187, 189, 194, 198, 199, 204, 205, 212, 216, 218, 221, 273, 305, 376, 391, 421
- Strong versus weak  
  topicalized object, 56, 187, 204, 219
- U  
Unique Checking  
  Constraint, 349, 350  
Unsaturated expression, 138  
Unstressed forms of anaphoric pronouns, 102
- W  
Wackernagel's Law, 89, 90–92, 172, 173, 177, 178, 182, 198  
Weak crossover, 240, 306  
Wh-determiner, 312  
Wh-movement, 228, 337  
Wh-phrase, 211, 238–240, 272, 312, 315

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