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WHAT MAKES CLITIC DOUBLING OBLIGATORY?

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Abstract: Clitic doubling is obligatory in certain cases in Bulgarian, for instance, in a sentence like *Ivan go njama* ‘Ivan isn’t here’, the clitic *go* cannot be omitted. Our account of this phenomenon rests on the claim that pronominal clitics in Bulgarian are heads of KP, and overt clitics are agreement triggered by (possibly null) DP moving out of KP. Much of the paper is concerned with motivating this analysis of nominal phrases and movement of DPs.

1. Introduction

Clitic Doubling in Bulgarian is a much-studied phenomenon, which many have proposed to explain, including our dear friend Jordan Penchev, who devoted a chapter of his *Bългарski Sintaksis* to the topic of “Pronominal Doubling of Syntactic Categories” (Penchev 1993, chapter 9). Nonetheless, many questions remain unsolved, and in particular the obligatoriness of certain cases of clitic doubling has never received a satisfying analysis. In the last section of this paper, as the title suggests, we propose an account of why clitic doubling is required in some constructions in Bulgarian. However, before even beginning to attack this question, several basic issues concerning the analysis of Bulgarian pronominal clitics need to be addressed. We start by reviewing the facts of clitic doubling, then discuss three fundamental properties of clitics which remain uncertain in spite of intense study, asking: (i) whether they are arguments or not, (ii) whether they are heads or phrases, and (iii) how they get in the right order. The answers to these questions are obviously crucial to an understanding of clitic doubling constructions. Another crucial issue is the nature of clitic-doubled topics; we argue for a movement analysis of topicalization. Taking Bošković’s (2002) account as a point of departure, we suggest a new analysis of Bulgarian clitics which derives the correct word order of all clitics, including the problematic 3rd person auxiliary, treats clitic doubling as movement-triggered agreement, and unifies two seemingly disparate cases of obligatory doubling.

2. Clitic Doubling

“Clitic doubling” (CD) refers to the presence of a clitic pronoun in a sentence which also contains a coreferential noun phrase such as *deteto* in (1) or a non-clitic (tonic) pronoun, such as *nego* in (2). We refer to this doubled phrase as the **associate**. Clitics and their associates are boldfaced throughout the paper.

1. **Deteto go** vidjax.

child-the him I-saw

‘I saw **the child**.’

2. **Nego go** vidjax.

him him I-saw

‘I saw **him**.’

There is considerable variation in the degree to which speakers use CD, especially in formal usage; normative grammarians frown on “redundant” use of clitics in the standard written language. Nonetheless, CD is actually obligatory in some contexts. A fundamental question is whether these contexts have some syntactic factor in common, that is, whether CD can be analyzed as a syntactically uniform phenomenon. In this paper we argue that it can.

The first obligatory doubling context is when the associate is an “oblique subject,” a logical subject which is dative, as in (3) or accusative, as in (4). This experiencer dative/accusative can occur with a nominative theme constituent, as in (5).¹ These examples are drawn from Schürcks (2003: 24-25).

3.a. **Na mene mi** e studeno.

‘I am cold.’

b. Lesno **mu** e **na Petâr**.

‘It’s easy for **Petâr**.’

4.a. Eto **gi decata**.

‘There are **the children**.’

b. **Nego go** njama.

‘**He** isn’t here.’

5.a. **Na Ivan mu** xaresva Marija.

‘**Ivan** likes Marija.’

b. **Deteto go** boli stomaxa.

‘**The child**’s stomach hurts.’

c. **Mladite gi** bezpokoi bezraboticata.

‘**The young** are worried about unemployment.’

The second context in which CD must occur is when the associate is a Topic. It is well established that doubling marks topicality of the associate, as argued by Leafgren (1997) among others. Unequivocal topics **must** be doubled, at least for some speakers. In the following examples, from Leafgren (1997), CD is required if the associate is to be interpreted as a topic.

6.a. **Vanja** ne **ja** vâlnuvat tezi nešta.

‘These things don’t excite **Vanja**.’

b. **Na tjax** toj **im** dava točno tolkova, kolkoto i na drugite.

‘**To them** he gives exactly as much as to the others.’

c. **Marija ja** običa Ivan.

‘As for **Marija**, it’s her that Ivan loves.’

d. Marija **go** običa **Ivan**.

‘As for **Ivan**, it’s him that Marija loves.’

Jaeger (2002) agrees that CD’s function is “overtly marking the topicality of the object,” giving examples like (7a). He offers a constraint to the effect that “Doubled objects cannot be [–generic, –specific],” contrasting (7b) to non-specific and non-generic (7c), on the one hand, and to generic but specific (7d), on the other. However, it seems to us doubling in these examples is simply a matter of the potential for topicalization: since the quantification *malko* ‘few’ in *malko spisanija* in (7c) renders it non-referential it cannot be topicalized, hence cannot be doubled, whereas *slonovete* in (7d), although generic, can be a topic.

7.a. **Todor** e jasno, če Ivan **go** e vidjal.

‘As for **Todor**, it’s clear that Ivan saw **him**.’

b. Ima **njakolko spisanja, koito** mnogo xora **gi** xaresvat.

‘There are **some magazines which** many people like.’

c. *Ima **malko spisanja, koito** mnogo xora **gi** xaresvat.

‘There are **few magazines, ...**’

d. **Slonovete gi** obučavat xorata.

‘(The) elephants, people train them.’

Jaeger points out that *wh*-phrases can and **must** be doubled when the movement violates superiority, as in (8a). Here, the *wh*-phrase *kogo* must be interpreted as topicalized, since it precedes the subject *koj*. In (8b) on the other hand, where the *wh*-words are in the normal, superiority-obeying order, *kogo* has not been topicalized and CD is not required.

8.a. **Kogo** koj **go** običa?

whom who

‘Who loves **whom**?’

b. Koj kogo običa?

who whom

‘Who loves whom?’

To summarize, CD is obligatory in two apparently unrelated environments: (i) when the associate is an oblique logical subject and (ii) when the associate is a topic. Before introducing our account of why these environments induce doubling, we turn to a brief discussion of the nature of Bulgarian clitics.

3. Clitics: arguments or agreement?

In languages where clitics are in complementary distribution with tonic pronouns and full NPs, as for example in Serbian, they are surely arguments. But in a language with CD it is unclear whether it is the clitic or the associate that is the argument. Both analyses have been proposed in the recent literature; for example, Rudin (1997) argues that clitics are agreement, while

Arnaudova (2002) argues that they are arguments. Penchev (1993) argues for treating the associate (not the clitic) as the argument, and discusses mechanisms for ensuring that the clitic and associate agree in person/number/case. Note that if the clitic is the argument, the associate is generally regarded as an adjunct, while if the associate is the argument, the clitic is seen as an object agreement element or some other formal feature.

Problematic issues arise under either analysis. First, if the clitic is object agreement and the associate is the argument, then why is it not obligatory in all sentences with an object and why can the associate be absent? Typical answers are that the clitic represents a limited type of agreement, sensitive to certain features such as topicality and specificity, and that the associate (object argument) can be silent, i.e. *pro*. On the other hand, if the clitic is an argument, one wonders why it can be “doubled” and what its connection with the associate is. The typical answer is that the associate is generated in some higher adjoined position, such as Topic position, from which it can corefer with an argument in the clause.

In this paper we argue that clitics are agreement, because of several unresolved problems with the “clitic as argument” hypothesis. If clitics are arguments and the associate in a CD construction is a base-generated topic, it is unclear why the relationship between the clitic and its associate (i) requires identity in person-number features; (ii) is sensitive to topicality; and (iii) is constrained in precisely the same way as *wh*-movement is.

The last of these points is particularly compelling in showing that topics in Bulgarian are not base-generated, Topicalization has all the hallmarks of movement. For example, *wh*-movement in Bulgarian is sensitive to the classic island constraints, such as the Complex NP Constraint illustrated in (9a) and the Adjunct Constraint (9b):

- 9.a. ***Kogo** sreštŋax [mâža [kojto običa __]]?
(‘**Whom** did I meet the man who loves?’)
- b. ***Kakvo** zaspax [dokajto četeše __]?
(‘**What** did you fall asleep while you were reading?’)

The crucial observation is that topic/CD constructions are similarly impossible when the clitic/logical argument position is in a Complex NP (10a) or Adjunct Island (10b).

- 10.a. ***Marija** sreštŋax [mâža [kojto **ja** običa]].
(‘**Marija** I met the man who loves **her**.’)
- b. ***Vestnika** zaspax [dokato **go** četeše].
(‘**The newspaper** you fell asleep while you were reading **it**’)

On the other hand, topic/CD constructions are acceptable in environments where *wh*-movement also is. Thus, for reasons that have been widely investigated in the generative literature, Bulgarian differs from English in that an embedded interrogative is not an island to movement.² Interestingly, topic/CD constructions show the same pattern. Compare (11a) with (11b):

- 11.a. **Kakvo** vi objasni Marija, [kâde e kupila __]?
(‘**What** did Marija explain to you where she bought?’)

- b. **Knigata** ni objasni Marija, [kâde **ja** e kupila].
'**The book** Marija explained to us where she bought **it**.'

Base-generating the associate as a topic does not accommodate the striking fact that those environments which are opaque for *wh*-movement are precisely those which also disallow CD. Indeed, the very existence of CD islands is paradoxical under any base-generation approach. On the other hand, a movement approach, which would raise the associate/topic from the lower clause in a fashion parallel to *wh*-movement, directly accounts for the parallel patterns.

Wh-movement is possible out of a variety of clauses in Bulgarian, as shown in (12). What we observe is that topicalization is possible out of the same range of clauses, as in (13), but with obligatory clitic doubling. The clitic is required in (13), we argue, simply because the associate is a topic and topics are always doubled. It thus cannot be taken as evidence that the associate is base-generated.

- 12.a. **Kogo** se čudiš, [dali e vidjala ___]?
'**Whom** do you wonder whether she saw?'
- b. **Kakvo** ne znaeš [koj prodava ___]?
'**What** don't you know who sells?'
- c. **Kakvo** možeš lesno [da ostaviš ___ nastrana]?
'**What** can you easily leave aside?'
- 13.a. **Ivan** se čudja, [dali sâm **go** vidjal].
'**Ivan** I wonder where I saw.'
- b. **Knigata** ne znam [koj **ja** prodava].
'**The book** I don't know who sells.'
- c. **Tjax** moga lesno [da **gi** ostavja nastrana].
'**Them** I can easily leave aside.'

This is an important point. In the generative literature it is often claimed that resumptive pronouns arise in environments where movement is not technically licit; cf. e.g. Shlonsky (1992). The Bulgarian facts, however, point to the conclusion that CD is not an instance of the resumptive pronoun phenomenon, but rather is regulated by movement, with the clitic some kind of agreement element rather than a true pronoun. Otherwise, the Bulgarian sentences in (10) should be perfectly acceptable, just as the English sentences with base-generated topics in (14) are:

- 14.a. As for **Marija**, I met the man who loves **her**.
- b. As for **the newspaper**, you fell asleep while you were reading **it**.

4. The phrase vs. head controversy

The status of clitics as heads (X^0) or phrases (XP) is a longstanding puzzle (cf. e.g. Halpern and Fontana 1994). If they are regarded as theta-role bearing arguments, then pronominal clitics should be phrase-level categories. But in Bulgarian they seem to behave as heads, since (i) they move stepwise, obeying the Head Movement Constraint; (ii) they are attached to the verb, which is a head; and (iii) other clitics, for instance the question particle *li* and the verbal auxiliaries, are heads under virtually all analyses.³

With respect to how the clitics come to be placed adjacent to the finite verb (regardless of how the movement vs. base-generation debate is resolved), the phrase vs. head question seems to us to translate into one of whether clitics occupy specifier positions or head positions, assuming standard X-bar theoretic principles. As phrases, the clitics would necessarily occupy specifier positions (e.g. SpecTP or SpecAgrP), while as heads they would have to occupy (or be adjoined to) functional head positions.

Note that the issue of head vs. phrase status of the pronominal clitics raises significant questions not only for the position of the clitics, but also for the status of the associate. If the clitics are heads, then what phrase are they heads of, and how does that phrase relate to the associate? If on the other hand they are phrases, then must the associate be an adjunct and, if so, what is their relationship to that adjunct? We will resolve this problem by arguing that the associate and the clitic are introduced in a single projection, so that clitics are heads which take their associates as complements.

5. Clitic ordering

In Bulgarian, the clitics group together into a so-called “cluster” which, in rough terms, appears preverbally unless this would place the clitics in initial position, in which case they follow the verb. What is of particular interest to us here is what happens within that cluster. As in other languages with clitics, they follow a strict order. For the auxiliary and pronominal clitics, this order is AUX>DAT>ACC, as in (15a), unless the auxiliary is 3rd person singular, in which case the order is DAT>ACC>AUX, as in (15b).

15.a. Te **sa** **mu** **go** dali.
they AUX him-DAT it-ACC given
‘They **have** given **it** to **him**.’

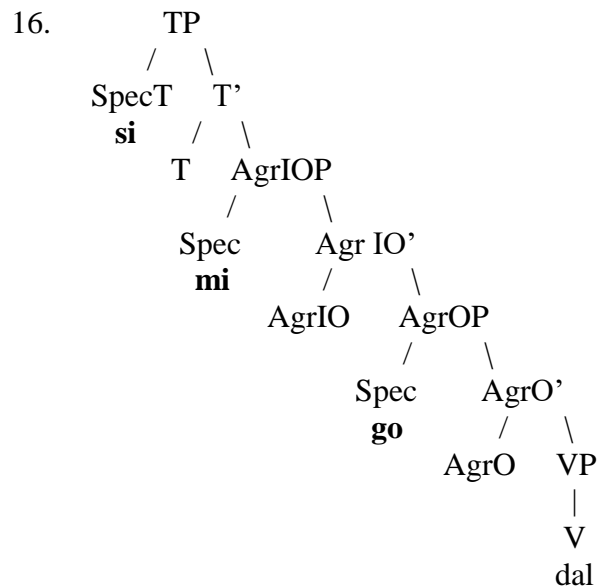
b. Tja **mu** **go** e dala.
she him-DAT it-ACC AUX given
‘She **has** given **it** to **him**.’

There are two basic approaches to accounting for the ordering facts: templatic and syntactic; see Franks and King (2000: ch 11.3) for discussion. In traditional grammars, such as Hauge (1999), the order is simply stipulated as a template, as is the position of the cluster as a whole. While this does provide an accurate statement of the facts, it would obviously be preferable to derive the sequence of the clitics in a more explanatory fashion. In this paper we focus on two separate facts that surely need to be captured by any syntactic account: (i) the exceptionless dative-before-accusative order of the pronominal clitics and (ii) the differing position of 3sg and non-3sg auxiliary clitics.

6. Bošković's approach

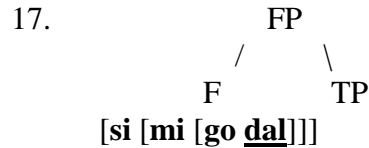
We take as a point of departure the analysis of Bošković (2002), which claims to solve the ordering problem based on a particular interpretation of the specifier vs. head paradox. Specifically, Bošković assumes that “clitics are syntactically defined as non-branching elements (i.e., ambiguous X^0 /XPs).” In a sense, then, they are simultaneously both heads and phrases, since they are heads that are exhaustively phrases. As non-branching phrases, clitics must be introduced in XP positions, as specifiers or complements. Subsequently, however, they can move either as phrases or as heads. Bošković further assumes Kayne’s “Linear Correspondence Axiom,” the relevant consequence of which is that head-adjunction is always to the left. Thus, in order to get a clitic to appear on the left of the verb, the clitic is going to have to move to that verb from somewhere below it (i.e., again assuming Kayne, to its right).

These assumptions allow Bošković to derive clitic order syntactically, as follows. The clitics are, at some intermediate point in the derivation, located in the Spec of various functional categories.⁴ The verb then raises past each clitic, to the next head up, after which the clitic can itself move, raising to adjoin to the left of V. This can be illustrated by the phrase *(ti) si mi go dal* ‘you gave it to me,’ which has the following general structure:



The derivation proceeds as follows, to eventually produce the structure in (17):

- Starting from the configuration in (16), V adjoins to AgrO
- AgrO (which now includes V), then adjoins to AgrIO, placing *dal* above the Spec containing *go*.
- Next, *go*, moving as a head, adjoins to AgrIO, which places it immediately to the left of *dal* (since all adjunction is to the left).
- AgrIO, containing *go dal*, can now move past *mi*, enabling *mi* to adjoin (as a head) to *go dal*.
- T, containing *mi go dal*, moves past *si* to the next functional head up (which Bošković simply calls “F”).
- Finally, *si* moves up from SpecTP to adjoin to the left of F.

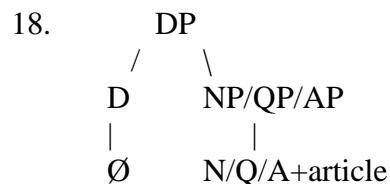


The chief advantage of Bošković's system is that it works: it does indeed produce the required AUX>DAT>ACC word order, assuming only left-adjunction, in keeping with Kayne's antisymmetry hypothesis. We will retain this insight, though with a somewhat different structure.

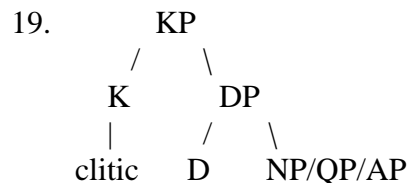
Bošković's approach, however, also has some problems. One possible disadvantage is that auxiliary clitics need to be treated quite counterintuitively as (non-branching, but phrasal) specifiers, with AUX always having a null head. Furthermore, even with this oddity, the system produces the wrong order for clitic clusters with a 3rd person singular auxiliary, since 3sg *e* follows the pronominal clitics. Other issues which appear problematic for Bošković's system are how to account for clitic doubling—the central concern of this paper—and how to accommodate the evidence that pronominal clitics form a cluster among themselves. We propose to solve all of these problems with a new account which treats clitics as heads, not specifiers. They only become non-branching elements in the course of the derivation, as the phrase which they head is voided of all other material.

7. A new account: Clitics as K°

Central to our analysis is the internal structure of nominal expressions. Historically, in Slavic, nominal expressions were maximally constituents of the type KP (Kase Phrase) rather than DP, with clitic pronouns instantiating K° .⁵ In Bulgarian, with the rise of definiteness marking in the form of articles, the possibility of DP nominals was established. Articles are realized on the head of the complement of D, as in (18).



What is novel about our analysis, however, is the claim that clitics require more structure than this. In particular, we contend that the pronominal clitics remained K° elements, hence Bulgarian retains KP when so motivated, as in (19):

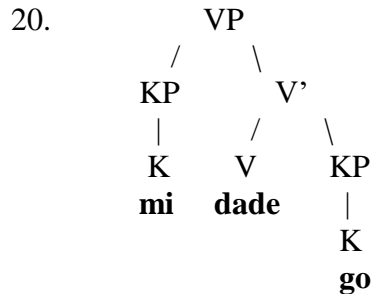


Our analysis of CD, then, is simply that when both a clitic and a full phrasal associate obtain, K has an overt DP complement. Obligatory CD is accounted for by movement of the associate: when DP moves through SpecKP, this triggers Spec-head agreement, instantiated as an overt clitic pronoun.

In sum, we concur with Bošković (and various others) on the following set of points: (i) clitics precede the verb by virtue of left-adjoining to V; (ii) the accusative Direct Object is the complement of V and the dative Indirect Object is in SpecVP; (iii) economy drives movement, so that a clitic raises to adjoin—as a head—as soon as it can. We disagree, however, in that clitics need not be non-branching specifiers or complements. Instead, they are simply functional heads.

7.1. Deriving ordering effects

Let us now see how the clitic ordering effects can be derived within this system. Assuming the fairly standard internal structure for VP in (20), the DAT > ACC order results from successive leftward head adjunctions.



First, the accusative K *go* adjoins to V, producing [go dade]; this then raises to the next head position up (whatever that happens to be), after which, following Boskovic and others, the dative K *mi* can also raise and adjoin, giving [[mi go] dade]. In this way, the relative ordering of dative vs. accusative clitics is obtained.

What about the placement of auxiliary clitics? Recall the basic pattern: all auxiliary clitics precede the pronominal clitics, except for the 3rd person singular auxiliary *e*. As noted, Bošković derives the AUX > pronominal order by generating AUX as XP/X° in some Spec position. The “clitics + verb” constituent (e.g. *mu go dal*) moves as a head past AUX, which subsequently left-adjoins as a head to the “clitics + verb” group. We see several possible problems with this kind of account, including the issue of identifying exactly which positions it is that the auxiliaries raise to.⁶ But the main difficulty is that Bošković offers no account of why 3sg *e* is last, essentially achieving this by stipulation. It strikes us however that this move undercuts the entire analysis: if one part is stipulated, why not then stipulate the rest of it? It is clearly preferable to treat the position of all auxiliary clitics as non-accidental, if at all possible. The following is our attempt to do so.

Earlier in South Slavic all auxiliaries behaved like modern *e* and came after the pronominal subcluster. We therefore suggest that the auxiliaries have undergone a historical reanalysis, with the third person singular presumably simply the last to change. Serbian *je* is similar.⁷ But where are these auxiliary clitics? It seems to us, as argued in Franks and King (2000), that Bulgarian *e* is in T°. In this respect, it resembles the Slovenian future clitics in the *bom* series, which similarly follow the pronominal clitics and are clearly tense markers. Assuming *e* remains in T°, we posit the following derivation:⁸



The pronominal cluster excorporates from the highest head to which the verb moves for checking purposes—we take this to be AspP—hence leaves the verb behind. Once the pronominal cluster has adjoined to T°, the correct order *mu go e* is obtained.

What does this account say about the auxiliaries which have person/number features (plural or 1st or 2nd person, such as *si* in (22)? Clearly, these need to be higher than T° in order to precede the pronominal clitics. There are two possibilities. One possibility, following Bošković, is that the other auxiliary clitics are non-branching phrases, hence can be located in SpecTP, as in (22a). When they are present, T° is empty; when they are absent, the 3rd person singular *e*, which has only default features, is in T°. The other possibility is to analyze them as the next higher head up the tree, Bošković's F°. Since we believe it is (subject-verb) agreement that characterizes these auxiliaries, and that the subject (*ti* in (22b)) is at some point in SpecAgrSP, we will equate F with AgrS, as in (22b).⁹

22.a. [TP **si** [**mu go** [T°]] [AspP *mu go* + **dal** [_{VP} SUBJECT [_{V°} *mu go* + **dal** [_{VP}]]]]]

b. [_{AgrP} (*ti*) **si** [TP [**mu go** [T°]] [AspP *mu go* + **dal** [_{VP} SUBJECT [_{V°} *mu go* + **dal** [_{VP}]]]]]]]

While we prefer the latter structure, either is preferable to Bošković's system. That system suffers from two defects which ours does not: not only does it offer no principled account for the different behavior of the 3rd person auxiliary, but it also treats *si*, *mu* and *go* as structurally equivalent. However, there is clear evidence that *mu go* behaves as a constituent, apart from the auxiliaries. For example, certain adverbials can split *si* from *mu go*, as in (23a), or the entire cluster from the verb (23b) but nothing can split the pronominal clitics from each other (23c):¹⁰

23.a. ?*Ti si veče mu go dal.*
you AUX already him it given

b. *Ti si mu go veče dal.*

c. **Ti si mu veče go dal.*
'You have already given him it.'

Assuming that adverbs adjoin to maximal projections, these data are incompatible with Bošković's approach and, within ours, argue for structure (22b) over (22a), since the former provides TP as an appropriate adjunction site for the adverb. Further evidence that *e* and *si* are in different projections is that speakers find it much harder to split off *e* than *si*. This follows under our account since in (24b) *veče* is adjoined to AspP, whereas the only way to derive (24a) would be for *veče e* to be some kind of complex head.

24.a. ?**Tja mu go veče e dala.*

b. *Tja mu go e veče dala.*
'She has already given him it.'

In addition to addressing the problem of why *e* follows the pronominal subcluster whereas other

auxiliaries precede it, our approach to clitic order solves these splitting puzzles. Indeed, the very notion of a subcluster is incompatible with Bošković's system.

7.2. Deriving doubling

In this section we return at last to the clitic doubling facts which were our point of departure. As sketched out in (20) above, Bulgarian pronominal clitics are always heads of KPs, which consist of a K° plus a DP complement. In our analysis, the overt clitic is agreement triggered by (possibly null) DP moving out of KP. In CD constructions, that is, when both a clitic and a full phrasal associate are present, K° has an overt DP complement. When this DP moves through SpecKP, it triggers agreement, instantiated as a clitic pronoun, thus producing the “doubling” effect.

Recall now that there are two situations in which CD obtains: (i) when the associate is an oblique subject and (ii) when it is a Topic. Both of these situations involve movement of the associate through the SpecKP position, in which position it induces Spec-head agreement, realized as a pronominal clitic. While familiar locality constraints can probably force these two types of DP to move into SpecKP before moving on up to a higher position in the tree,¹¹ the fundamental question remains of why it is not simply the entire KP which moves. Here we can only make some informal suggestions about how successful analyses might look.

For topics, we assume that for some reason the topic feature on NP can percolate up only as far as DP, not all the way to KP, so that the DP has to escape from KP.¹² The DP with a topic feature, on its way to its eventual topic position, moves first to SpecKP, then moves on up to SpecTopicP, leaving the KP with its clitic head behind. Agreement takes place as it passes through SpecKP.¹³

Next, recall from (3)-(5) that oblique subjects also must raise out of their containing KPs, presumably because the “highest” theta-role (on the theta hierarchy) cannot be VP-internal. Since an oblique subject bears the highest theta-role—which is why it is called the “logical subject”—it cannot remain VP-internal. Assuming now that for some reason the highest theta-role is visible only on a DP, not on a KP, the DP has to escape from KP before it can escape from VP. Just as with Topic DP, when the oblique subject passes through SpecKP this gives rise to doubling.

Finally, recall Jaeger's observation that Superiority violations induce obligatory doubling, as shown in (8) above and repeated here:

25.a. **Kogo** koj **go** običa?

whom who

‘Who loves **whom**?’

b. Koj kogo običa?

who whom

‘Who loves whom?’

Superiority results from an “Attract closest” effect, hence in (25a) *kogo* must be higher than *koj* at the relevant point in the derivation. Hence it needs to move **past** *koj* to be closer to its eventual position; regardless of whether the feature that attracts it up is analyzed as being in CP, FocP, or TopP, it must be at the left periphery of the clause. Thus, in order for this to happen, *kogo* must escape its containing KP. As a consequence of this intermediate movement, the clitic *go* is

obligatorily introduced in the sentence.

The technical implementations of obligatory CD offered here are speculative at best, raising perhaps as many questions as they answer. They rely, however, on a well motivated structure for the extended projection of the noun and involve explicit claims about movement. In particular, it seems that KP in Bulgarian does not really have argument status, despite the fact that N can project up to it. Testing the proposed structures and explaining why the Bulgarian KP has this property is the next step.

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NOTES

¹ Doubled oblique logical subjects may of course also be interpreted as topics.

² Rudin (1988) drew attention to this interesting phenomenon.

³ One exception is Bošković (2002), who treats clitic auxiliaries as non-branching phrases, as discussed in section 6 below.

⁴ Presumably the pronominal clitics XP/X° move to these Spec positions from lower argument positions, but Bošković is silent on this point and it is not essential to our account.

⁵ This proposal is in the spirit of Uriagereka (1995), who analyzed object clitic pronouns in Romance as D° elements; see Blears (1999) for an overview of the issue with respect to Spanish.

⁶ Assuming *mu go dal* to be in v and the subject DP (e.g. *ti*) to be in Spec v P, we need at least two higher functional projections, one for *si* to occupy the Spec of and the next for *mu go dal* to move to the head of. One of these may be T, as suggested in (16), but this is less than clear.

⁷ Serbian *je* has a number of distinctive properties that are beyond the scope of this paper, but which we believe make it a strong candidate for status as a T° head. In the tonic forms *jesam*, *jesi*, etc., *je* raises up to adjoin to the agreement head (*sam*, *si*, etc.) in Agr; as always, it attaches to the left, in keeping with Kayne.

⁸ Here and elsewhere, the non-boldfaced copies represent (unpronounced) traces of movement.

⁹ For the sake of completeness, we assume the following structure for the rest of the clause: in the left periphery, topics are in SpecTopP and focus is in SpecFocP; Bulgarian is VSO but SVO is common because the subject often goes into SpecTopP or SpecFocP. The details of the fine structure of the left-periphery in Bulgarian are not essential to our account.

¹⁰ While there is variation about how acceptable speakers report sentences with adverbs intervening in the clitic cluster to be, the relative judgments summarized here are consistent.

¹¹ Under any reasonable conception of locality, couched either in terms of Subjacency or Barriers, we expect the KP-DP combination to block movement. More recently, one could regard KP-DP as a “phase”, so that the topic would have to move to its left edge in order ultimately to escape.

¹² Indeed, it might be that percolation cannot even go as high as DP, so that it is actually the complement to DP that moves through SpecKP. Since D is empty, there can be no empirical evidence bearing on the matter, which must instead be resolved on theoretical grounds.

¹³ Another aspect of this structure is that it leaves the complement to K° empty. Following Lobeck (1995), ellipsis of the complement to a functional head F is licensed by Spec-head agreement between F° and its specifier. It is an asset of our configuration that it displays this property. Indeed, when there is no clitic—hence no agreement—the associate **must** be expressed.