

FASL 5 - pp 224-252

Martina Lindseth and Steven Franks, eds.

Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The Indiana

Meeting 1996, Michigan Slavic Publications
Ann Arbor 1997.

AgrO and Bulgarian Pronominal Clitics¹

Catherine Rudin
Wayne State College

1. Introduction

The analysis of various types of clitics, a classic problem in Slavic and Balkan syntax, is of renewed interest within current generative theory for the light it sheds on the syntax-phonology interface and the relationship between functional and lexical categories. In this paper I discuss an analysis of pronominal clitics as functional heads. The clitics, on this view, head object agreement projections and form part of a verbal complex including such categories as tense, aspect, modality, polarity, and subject agreement. After discussing two other alternatives, I suggest that the clitics constitute a spell-out of the features of AgrO.²

First, I briefly review the surface facts. In Bulgarian, unlike most other Slavic languages, pronominal and auxiliary clitics are not clause-second, but always adjacent to a verb form, regardless of how many constituents precede. The clitics are syntactically proclitic to the finite verb. However, they are prosodically enclitic to the preceding word and require some element to the left to serve as their phonological host. This host may consist of one or more stressed words (1a), or even a stressless word like the negative particle *ne* (1b) or complementizer *če* (1c). When no other material precedes, the verb fronts to host the clitics, as in (2).

- (1) a. Az go vidjax.
I him saw-1s
'I saw him.'

- b. Ne **go** vidjax.
 neg him saw-1s
 'I didn't see him.'
- c. Mislja **če go** vidjax.
 think-1s that him saw-1s
 'I think that I saw him.'

- (2) Vidjax **go**.
 saw-1s him
 'I saw him.'

If the finite verb is itself a clitic form of the auxiliary 'to be', the clitics are adjacent to a verbal participle, as in (3).

- (3) a. Ti **si mu gi** dal.
 you are him them given
 'You have given them to him.'
- b. Dal **si mu gi**.
 'You have given them to him.'

Within the clitic cluster a strict order obtains. A dative clitic precedes an accusative one. The clitic auxiliaries precede the pronominal clitics except for third person singular *e*, which follows them. So the clitic string is aux < dat < acc, as in (3) and (5a), or dat < acc < 3sg.aux, as in (4) and (5b). Note that the clitic order remains the same when the verb is fronted.

- (4) Dal **mu gi e**.
 given him them is
 'S/he has given them to him.'
- (5) a. Na snimkata sigurno **sūm ti ja** pokazvala. (Avgustinova)
 on picture-the surely am you her shown
 'I must have shown her to you in the picture.'

- b. Na snimkata sigurno ti ja e pokazvala.
 on picture-the surely you her is shown
 'She must have shown her to you in the picture.'

Much attention has been devoted to describing and accounting for the position and word order of Bulgarian clitics,³ but relatively little to their category status. The pronominal clitics are traditionally called "short pronouns" and said to "replace" full or "long" pronouns. The clitics in (6a) are said to have the same function and status as the corresponding non-clitic pronouns in (6b), differing only in emphasis.

- (6) a. Njama da i go dam.
 won't to her it give-1s
 'I won't give it to her.'
 b. Njama da dam nego na neja.
 won't to give-1s it to her
 'I won't give it to her.'

However, despite their traditional designation it is not obvious that the pronominal clitics are in fact pronouns. In addition to their prosodic clitic status, several syntactic traits suggest that they may be inflectional affixes rather than true pronouns. We have seen two of these traits: strict attachment to a verb and fixed order in a sequence of clitics including verbal auxiliary elements. A third important characteristic, the so-called clitic doubling construction, will be discussed below. The blurring of morphology and syntax inherent in current notions such as incorporation and functional heads provides a range of ways to look at the status of the clitics: it allows us to see them as in some sense inflectional and simultaneously in some sense as pronouns. The question then becomes in what sense.

Several recent analyses of Bulgarian clitics begin to explore the question of the category status of Bulgarian clitics, using the resources of X-bar theory, including the expanded INFL and functional heads, but in widely differing ways. Penchev (1993) posits a clitic phrase in the Spec position of VP. Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Hellan (to appear), treat a pronominal clitic cluster as the head of its clause. Rivero (1994b), Tomić (1996) and King (1996) all argue that clitics in Bulgarian are located within IP (perhaps adjoined to I), unlike the clitics of Czech, Slovene, and Serbo-Croatian, which are in or adjoined to C. This accounts for their position adjacent to the finite verb rather than clause-second; it also accounts for certain facts about word order with negation. But their analyses differ on a number of details, including the exact position of the clitics and whether they are generated in place or moved.

Thus, while the surface facts are quite clear, the category status and syntactic derivation of the pronominal clitics remain a subject of some controversy. I will consider three alternatives, before fleshing out number 3, the one I argue is correct:

Alternative 1: pronominal clitics are pronouns

Alternative 2: pronominal clitics are pronominal arguments

Alternative 3: pronominal clitics are object agreement

In alternative 1 the pronominal clitics are pronouns, albeit rather atypical ones; in particular they are both DPs and arguments. In alternative 2 the pronominal clitics are "pronominal arguments" in Jelinek's sense; they are not DPs, though they are arguments. In alternative 3 the clitics are object agreement markers; they are neither DPs nor arguments.

2. Alternative 1: pronominal clitics are pronouns

Let us start by looking at alternative 1. Under this hypothesis the pronominal clitics are pronouns, differing from other pronouns only in their surface position (and of course in their prosodic status

as unstressed enclitics). They are arguments, DPs, generated in or coindexed with argument positions, satisfying the verb's subcategorization and receiving theta roles and Case in the normal way. This view is represented in (7) (omitting many details):

- (7) a. [_{IP} [_I [_{DP} [_D clitic]]_i [_I V_j]] [_{VP} e_j e_i]]
- b. [_{SpecAgrO} [_{DP} [_D clitic]]_i] ... [_{VP} ... e_i]

The clitic, like other pronouns, heads an otherwise empty DP; it raises and adjoins to I (7a), as does the verb, or moves to some specifier position in IP, such as the Spec of AgrO (7b). This is essentially the traditional view of the clitics as "short forms" of the pronouns, translated into a more or less articulated X-bar representation. Such a structure is assumed in some recent work on Balkan clitics; for instance, Motapanyane (1991) treats Romanian object clitics as moving from VP-internal positions to adjoin to abstract Agr heads, and Rivero (1994a,b) assumes pronominal clitics in specifier positions.

However, differences between clitics and full pronouns undermine this analysis. We have seen that the clitics occur obligatorily in I. In structure (7) they originate in VP-internal argument positions and move to I, but the reasons for such movement are entirely mysterious. The prosodic requirement for a preceding clitic host could be met just as well in VP as in I, and raising to a specifier position for case checking is required only at LF. So, if the only difference between the pronominal clitics and full pronouns was their enclitic status, they should require only a phonological host, and have no special positional restrictions. Example (8a) should be fine, with *običat* as the host for *ja*, and *ja* in the same syntactic position as the non-clitic pronoun *neja* in (8b). If the clitics originate in the INFL portion of the clause rather than in object DP positions, on the other hand, (8a) is not expected to be good.

- (8) a. *Decata obiĉat ja.
 children-the love-3p her
 b. Decata obiĉat neja.
 children-the love-3p her
 'The children love her.'

Other differences exist as well. Unlike non-clitic pronouns, the clitics cannot be conjoined, as shown in (9), nor can they be the object of a preposition, as in (10). Note, incidentally, that this is not simply a phonological problem with an unstressed preposition or conjunction serving as the clitic host; clitics can be hosted by other unstressed elements (see (1) above). These facts are unsurprising if the clitics are not DPs but inflectional elements.

- (9) a. *Obiĉat go i ja.
 love-3p him and her
 b. Obiĉat nego i neja.
 love-3p him and her
 'They love him and her.'

- (10) a. *pismo ot te, *otivam pri gi, *govorja s go
 letter from you go-1s to them speak-1s with him
 b. pismo ot tebe, otivam pri tjax, govorja s nego
 letter from you go-1s to them speak-1s with him
 'a letter from you' 'I go to them' 'I speak with him'

Furthermore, there are restrictions on which pronominal clitics can cooccur; in particular, sequences of a third person clitic followed by a first or second person one are ruled out, although the same idea can be expressed with full pronouns. Such idiosyncratic restrictions on position and cooccurrence are more typical of affixes than of lexical words or maximal projections.⁴



- (11) a. *pokazvat **mu me**
 show-3p him me
 b. pokazvat mene na nego
 show-3p me to him
 'They show me to him.'

But the most striking difference between the pronominal clitics and true pronouns is the phenomenon of clitic doubling. As is well known, in Bulgarian and most other Balkan languages pronominal clitics may cooccur with a coreferential full pronoun or lexical DP, either before or after the "doubling" clitic.

- (12) a. Decata **ja** obiĉat neja.
 children her love-3p her
 'The children love her'
 b. Neja **ja** obiĉat decata. (same as (12a))

- (13) a. Marija **go** napisa pismoto.
 it wrote letter-the
 'Maria wrote the letter.'
 b. Pismoto **go** napisa Marija. (same as (13a))

Clitic doubling is especially typical of colloquial Bulgarian,⁵ but occurs in the literary norm as well. In fact, though often treated in traditional Bulgarian grammars as undesirable redundancy, clitic doubling is actually required in standard literary Bulgarian in some constructions and very common in others. For instance, the impersonal constructions in (14) are ungrammatical without *go* or *mu*. A pronominal clitic must be present in addition to any lexical object.

- (14) a. Ivan *(**go**) njama.
 him lacks
 'Ivan isn't here.'

- b. Eto ***(go)** (Ivan).
 there's him
 'There's Ivan.'
- c. Studeno ***(mu)** e (na Ivan).
 cold him is to
 'Ivan feels cold.'

Similarly, other impersonal constructions require a clitic instead of a full reflexive pronoun; one example is (15), where the reflexive clitic *se* is required instead of the non-clitic *sebe si*. If pronominal clitics are simply object DPs, no reason for this quirk suggests itself. If they are some kind of inflectional element, on the other hand, we can see it as a requirement that inflection be overt or "strong" in impersonals.

- (15) a. Kazvam *se* Mila.
 call-1s refl
 'My name is Mila.'
- b. ***Kazvam** *sebe si* Mila.
 call-1s refl

In clitic doubling constructions it is impossible for both the clitic and the full pronoun or lexical DP to be subcategorized arguments. The same theta-role cannot be assigned to two arguments, nor can both receive Case from V or check Case in the same way. Unlike in some Romance languages, no preposition or other case assigner occurs in the Bulgarian clitic doubling construction to license the non-clitic phrase.⁶ This leaves two logical possibilities: either the clitic is an argument and the "doubled" phrase is not, or vice versa. These are essentially the two remaining alternatives of the three we are considering. In alternative 2, the clitics are arguments, while any full pronouns or lexical DPs are adjuncts. In alternative 3, the clitics are not arguments. Actually a third possibility exists; that the clitics are

sometimes but not always arguments. Penčev (1993), for example, treats pronominal clitics as arguments when they occur alone, but as agreement in clitic doubling constructions. Since the clitics are identical in form and occur in identical positions regardless of whether they are "doubled" or not, however, it seems preferable to seek a unified analysis of pronominal clitics in all constructions. Let us then move on to examine our other alternatives.

3. Alternative 2: pronominal clitics are pronominal arguments

Under alternative 2, the verbal complex is a complete predication with all subcategorized arguments represented by verb morphology (pronominal affixes or clitics). A sentence with clitic doubling would look like (16), given this type of analysis.

- (16) Az [mu ja davam] knigata na deteto.
 I him it give-1s book-the to child-the
 adjunct predication adjunct adjunct
 Dat Acc V Nom
 'I give the book to the child.'

Here the clitics *mu* and *ja* and subject agreement suffix *-m* are the arguments of the verb; they carry theta roles and Case, and fully satisfy the clausal argument structure, while the DPs *az*, *knigata*, and *na deteto* are adjuncts which corefer with the arguments for discourse coherence. This is very different from usual views of Slavic phrase structure, and may seem counterintuitive. However, such a structure is widely accepted for many Native American languages. Jelinek (1984) claims that languages split along an argument status parameter: Lexical Argument languages have verb-external DPs as arguments, while Pronominal Argument languages satisfy the argument requirements of the predicate with verb-internal affixes or clitics. Such languages are also known as Head Marking or Radical Head

Marking languages. A version of the pronominal argument parameter from Jelinek and Demers (1994) and a definition of Head Marking from Davis (1995) are given in (17).

(17) [+Pronominal Arguments]: "In languages with exclusively pronominal arguments, only clitics and affixes occupy argument positions." (Jelinek and Demers 1994)

(Radical) Head Marking: "a. All arguments of a head are obligatorily registered on the head itself or an associated auxiliary, either as pronominal affixes or clitics. b. All overt (lexical) arguments are optional." (Davis 1995)

There is some evidence that this parameter is too simplistic (e.g. Macaulay (1993) argues that some languages have both lexical and pronominal arguments) and some debate over how to explain the parameter, perhaps in terms of morphological visibility or strength. For the sake of discussion, however, let us assume that some version of a pronominal argument analysis is correct for some languages. This assumption is supported by a broad range of work over the last decade by Jelinek and a number of other linguists. The pronominal argument hypothesis was originally proposed for Walbiri and Navajo (Athabaskan), but has been extended to Siouan, Salish, and other Amerindian language families. These languages typically have clitics or affixes for subject (or ergative), direct object, and indirect object, and sometimes other categories such as benefactive marked on the verb. A few examples from Omaha, a head-marking Siouan language spoken in Nebraska, are given in (18).⁷

(18) a. Wa=la=na?a=i=the. (Omaha)
3p patient=2s agent=hear=proximate=evidential
'You heard them.'

- b. *Li wa=la=na?a=i=the.*
you
'It was YOU who heard them.'
- c. *šage=ma wa=la=na?a=i=the.*
horse=the-p
'You heard them, the horses.'

Example (18a) is a complete sentence consisting of a verb with tense, mood, agent, and patient marked by various affixes. For emphasis or greater specificity of reference an independent pronoun or nominal phrase coreferential to one of the affixes may be added. In (18b) and (c) *li* and *šage=ma* are such phrases; these are considered by Siouanists to be adjuncts.

To my knowledge, only American and Australian languages have been analyzed as Head Marking by Jelinek and her colleagues. But other analyses with a similar spirit have been proposed. For instance, Fehri (1988), working in an LFG framework, states that in Arabic both object and subject agreement affixes "behave in every respect like pronouns" (108). When an overt pronoun and an affix cooccur, "the affix is assigned one of the subcategorized functions (SUBJ, OBJ, etc.) and the strong form of the pronoun bears the FOCUS function which is not subcategorized," much as it does in Navajo or Omaha.

In fact, an analysis that can be interpreted as a partial pronominal argument structure has been proposed for Bulgarian as well.⁸ Leafgren (1995), building on an earlier analysis by Minčeva (1969), suggests that Bulgarian object clitics are inserted to "restore the integrity of verb phrases" which are lacking an argument due to deletion of an object noun phrase or movement out of VP. While the terminology is different, we can see this as a claim that clitics occur as a Spell-Out of otherwise empty argument positions in VP; a corollary (which Leafgren does not

state) is that a clitic-doubled phrase has somehow lost its argument status and does not by itself satisfy the subcategorization of V.

But as Leafgren himself recognizes, clitic doubling is usually optional. Does this mean that some moved phrases can retain argument status, or that spell-out is optional?⁹ The underlined phrase is doubled in (19b-c) but not in (19a), which is adapted from one of Leafgren's examples. Note furthermore that the doubled object need not actually be moved out of VP. If the indirect object *na vas* in (19c) is right dislocated, the undoubled direct object *drugo po-xubavo* must also be, but it is not doubled.

- (19) a. Na vas šte otmerja drugo po-xubavo.
 you will measure-1s another nicer
 'For you I'll measure off another, better (piece).'
- b. Na vas šte vi otmerja drugo po-xubavo. (same as 19a)
- c. Šte vi otmerja na vas drugo po-xubavo. (same as 19a)

More crucially, if the moved, clitic-doubled object phrase is an adjunct rather than an argument, it is expected to lack verb-assigned Case, perhaps carrying some morphological default case form. In the languages Jelinek describes, DPs in general have no (at least no overt) Case. However, Bulgarian moved object phrases, whether clitic-doubled or not, have the same Case as the clitic. This is visible as overt case marking when the object DP is a pronoun. *Na vas* in (19) is dative, as expected for the indirect object of *otmerja*. In (20), *nego* is accusative, and cannot be replaced by dative *na nego*, the rather archaic dative form *nemu*, or the nominative *toj*.)

- (20) Nego go viždam. / Viždam go nego.
 him him see-1s see-1s him him(Acc)
 'I see him.'
- (*na nego (Dative), *nemu (Dative); *toj (Nominative))

Thus, in spite of the fact that both involve a pronominal element and a coreferential DP, the analogy of clitic doubling to Pronominal Argument structure runs into serious problems. In fact, on closer scrutiny numerous aspects of the syntax of Bulgarian and other Balkan languages make an analysis like (16) appear untenable or at least highly unlikely.

First, in clear pronominal argument languages, the affixes are obligatorily present. In Bulgarian, in contrast, the clitic pronouns are often absent. It is true that clitics are required in certain constructions, as already mentioned. It is also true that in some of the Balkan languages, particularly Macedonian and Albanian, clitic doubling is obligatory with certain types of objects: dative, specific, or human. However, the fact remains that under this analysis many, maybe even most Bulgarian sentences would have mostly null arguments, which seems at least odd. Conversely, typical pronominal argument languages seldom have more than one lexical noun phrase adjunct per sentence, particularly in connected discourse. A sentence like (21) would have three adjuncts and only one phonologically realized argument, the *-m* suffix on *davam*, not at all typical for a true pronominal argument language.

- (21) Az [Ø Ø *davam*] knigata na deteto
 I give-1s book-the to child-the
 adjunct predication adjunct adjunct
 'I give the book to the child.'

Second, several aspects of the syntax of native American languages which have been claimed to follow from pronominal argument status do not hold in Bulgarian (or the other Balkan languages). These include: lack of movement from or to NP positions (no raising or Wh Movement, for instance), lack of true subordinate clauses (nominalization of predicates being employed instead), and lack of case marking on nominals (Willie 1991, 22).

Bulgarian certainly does have Wh movement and subordinate clauses; (22) is one simple example.

- (22) Kakvo_i misliš če šte kupi e_i ?
 what think-2s that will buy-3s
 'What do you think s/he is going to buy?'

Case is not marked overtly on most nominals, and the dative is almost lost even in pronouns, but the Nominative/Accusative case distinction in full pronouns is still robust, as shown in (23).

- (23) a. Az poznavam tebe.
 I know-1s you
 'I know you.'
 (*Mene poznavam tebe/*Az poznavam ti)
 me(ACC) know you I know you(NOM)
- b. Ti poznaváš mene.
 you know-2s me 'You know me.'
 (*Tebe poznaváš mene/*Ti poznaváš az)
 you(ACC) know me you know I(NOM)

Jelinek (pc) considers overt case in non-clitic pronouns an absolute diagnostic for non-pronominal argument languages. Given the general dissimilarity between Slavic and e.g. Navajo syntax, I now abandon the pronominal argument hypothesis for Bulgarian to focus instead on alternative 3, the analysis of pronominal clitics as object agreement markers rather than arguments.

4. Alternative 3: pronominal clitics are object agreement

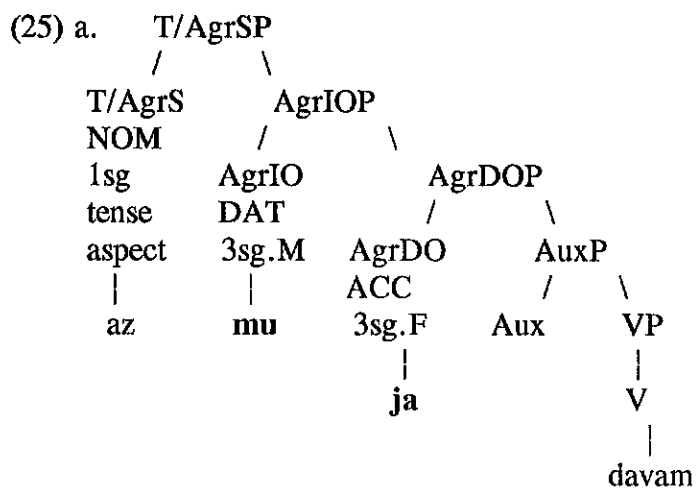
The "Split Infl" view of inflection as a series of functional heads (originally proposed by Pollock 1989) provides a natural way to account for the unique nature of the pronominal clitics, by treating them as the heads of functional projections, along the lines

suggested by Sportiche (1996) for Romance. I contend specifically that object clitics are a Spell-out of certain features in AgrDO (direct object/accusative agreement) and AgrIO (indirect object/dative agreement) in Bulgarian and perhaps in other Balkan languages. Their syntactic peculiarities then follow from their position within the expanded Infl, the set of categories which end up as part of the verbal complex through a process of successive head movement and incorporation. Their status as nominal elements, on the other hand, reflects the features they instantiate. Clitic doubling is an overt agreement relation. Non-clitic-doubled constructions involve null agreement (no clitic) or null object DP (clitic only).

The structure I assume for Bulgarian clauses is (24), a modified version of that suggested by Rivero (1994a) for all the Balkan languages, with her T/AgrP expanded to separate phrases for AgrIO, AgrDO, and T/AgrS (indirect object, direct object, and subject agreement).¹⁰ She remarks (p. 73) that the T/AgrP "holds the pronominal clitics as well" as tense and aspect; in several examples she shows clitics in Modern Greek, Albanian, Romanian, and Bulgarian in the Spec of T/AgrP. I argue, on the contrary, that they are located not in specifier, but in head positions.

(24) [CP [MP [NegP [MP2 [T/AgrS [AgrIOP [AgrDOP [AuxP [VP]]]]]]]]]

In (25), a more detailed version of the relevant part of (24), we see that each Agr node contains features for Case and person/number/gender. In clitic doubling constructions the doubled DP must agree in all of these features with the clitic. The feature values shown here are appropriate for sentence (16).



Another possibility is that AgrIO/AgrDO form a single AgrO constituent, as claimed by Penčev (1993), Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Hellan (to appear); perhaps an adjunction structure like (26):



Regardless of which of these structures is adopted, the verb (or aux, if one is present) raises and right adjoins¹¹ to successively higher heads, forming a complex verb which contains pronominal clitics among other functional categories. This verbal complex acts as a unit in, for example, V-to-C raising in yes-no questions.

- (27) a. [_C li [_M šte **mi go** kažat]]
 Q will me it tell-3p
 Prosodic inversion --> Šte **mi go** kažat li?
 'Will they tell me it?'
- b. [_C li [_{Neg} ne **mi go** davat]]
 Q neg me it give-3p
 Prosodic inversion --> Ne **mi li go** davat?
 'Won't they give it to me?'

In (27a) the verb has picked up subject and object agreement and modality; the resulting verbal complex, *šte mi go kažat*, in M, raises to C. Prosodic inversion (Halpern 1995) places the question clitic *li* to the right of the first stressed part of the complex verb, which in this case is the last part; *kažat*. In (27b) the same process occurs: the complex verb, containing agreement elements and negation, incorporated in Neg, raises to C. Prosodic inversion places *li* after the first stressed element of the verb complex; since a clitic following negative *ne* is stressed, *li* follows the first clitic.

For purposes of this paper the exact structure of AgrO is unimportant. My claim is simply that the pronominal clitics are heads of Agreement projections, and that they are incorporated syntactically as well as prosodically into a complex verb word. For concreteness I assume a structure like (25).

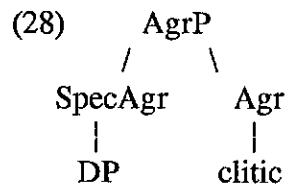
Such an analysis is far from radical at this point. Pronouns have been treated as agreement (or vice versa) in a range of languages including Hebrew (Doron 1988, Ritter 1995), Celtic (Doron 1988), and French (Lehmann 1988). Joseph (1988) claims Modern Greek clitic pronouns are verbal affixes, though not specifically agreement. Within Slavic, Franks (1995) argues that subject agreement is "a kind of subject clitic" (309) which licenses null subjects in West and South but not East Slavic languages; he suggests that object clitics in West and South Slavic may play a similar role and that overt subjects in pro-drop languages are parallel to Balkan Slavic clitic doubling. For Bulgarian, Guentcheva (1994) shows that the relation of a "doubling" clitic to an object NP is functionally similar to that of subject agreement to the subject NP.

The idea that pronominal clitics are linked to agreement is then widespread in recent work within a variety of frameworks. The intuition that clitics are functional categories seems correct for

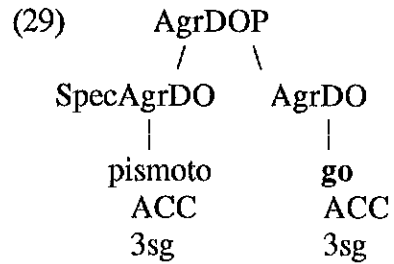
Bulgarian, as we have seen. It remains to formalize an analysis of the clitics as agreement.

5. Analysis

I adopt here a version of the framework which Sportiche (1996) postulates for clitic constructions in French and other Romance languages. Under this account each clitic heads a projection and licenses an XP with certain features in its specifier. If pronominal clitics are agreement morphemes, they must at some level be in a Spec-Head relation with a DP with appropriate features (Chomsky 1993). Feature checking takes place in configuration (28), at LF.



In the case of "clitic doubling", both DP and agreement clitic are overt; (29) represents the relevant part of the LF structure of (13a,b): *Pismoto go napisa Marija* 'Marija wrote the letter'. In other situations either the spec or head position would be null.



Kallulli (1995) argues convincingly that configuration (29) does obtain in clitic doubling constructions in Albanian, a language

with striking typological similarities to Bulgarian, and that Albanian pronominal clitics thus head agreement projections.

Albanian clitic constructions are very much like those of Bulgarian, with one important difference: In Albanian, clitic doubling is usually obligatory. All dative objects, all first or second person objects, and certain accusative specific objects must be accompanied by a doubling clitic. In (30) we see that in a sentence with definite objects librat and dative fëmijëve, clitic doubling is obligatory. The DPs may be omitted, as in (30b), but omitting the clitics, as in (30c) results in ungrammaticality.

Albanian: (Kallulli 1995)

- (30) a. Mësuesit u-a dhanë librat fëmijëve.
 teachers-the DatCl-AccCl give books-the children-the
 'The teachers gave the books to the children.'
- b. Mësuesit u-a dhanë.
 teachers-the DatCl-AccCl give
 'The teachers gave them to them.'
- c. *Mësuesit dhanë librat fëmijëve.
 teachers-the give books-the children-the

Similar facts obtain in standard Macedonian, another Balkan language (and very closely related to Bulgarian); indirect objects¹² and definite or specific direct objects must normally be doubled. All of the clitics in (31) are obligatory.

Macedonian:

- (31) a. Dajte mi go ogledaloto da si ja vidam kosata otzadi.
 Give me it mirror-the to refl it see-1s hair-the from-behind
 'Give me the mirror so I can see my hair from the back.'
- b. Mu go dade na čovekot.
 him it gave-3s to person-the
 'S/he gave it to the man.'

In contrast, in most constructions in Bulgarian clitic doubling is not obligatory. The Bulgarian translations of (30)-(31) are fine with no clitic doubling.

- (32) a. Učiteljat dade knigite na decata.
 teacher-the gave books-the to children-the
 'The teacher gave the books to the children.'
- b. Dajte mi ogledaloto da si vidja kosata otzad.
 Give me mirror-the to refl see-1s hair-the from-behind
 'Give me the mirror so I can see my hair from the back.'
- c. Dade go na čoveka
 gave-3s it to person-the
 'S/he gave it to the man.'

Is this a problem for an agreement analysis of Bulgarian clitics? Perhaps not. There are numerous cases among the languages of the world of optional agreement or agreement only under certain conditions. Swahili (Moravcsik 1988, Croft 1988), Punjabi (Croft 1988), Turkish, and Hungarian mark agreement or Case only for definite objects. Albanian and Macedonian, and indeed also Bulgarian, allow doubling only of specific DPs; examples (33) are ungrammatical if an indefinite, unspecific object is doubled.

- (33) a. Shumë njerëz (*e) blenë makinë. (Albanian)
 many people it bought car Kalluli 1995
 'Many people bought a car.'
- b. Imate li (*ja) salveta? (Macedonian)
 have-2s Q it napkin
 'Do you have a napkin?'
- c. Tÿrsjat (*go) nov učitel. (Bulgarian)
 seek-3p him new teacher
 'They are seeking a new teacher.'

In some languages, agreement morphology and overt lexical DP are in complementary distribution. Several Celtic languages exhibit complementarity of overt subject and subject agreement inflection; so does Hebrew (Doron 1988). Pemon, a Cariban language described by Alvarez (1995), has complementary distribution of DP and inflection not only for subjects, but also for objects and possessives. In (34a) the subject and object are represented by verbal inflections (both *i* in this case), while in (b) they are lexical DPs, and the verb inflections are absent.

- (34) a. Kamicha ke i -pon -tö-'pö -i -ya (Pemon)
 clothes with 3s-dress-vb-past-3s-erg
 'He dressed him up with clothes.'
- b. Kamicha ke Antonio-ya müre pon-tö-'pö.
 clothes with Antonio-erg child dress-vb-past
 'Antonio dressed the child up with clothes.'

Standard literary Bulgarian, which avoids clitic doubling in most constructions, does not reach this level of complementarity of lexical object and pronominal clitic object agreement, but it does show a similar pattern of avoiding redundancy.

What, then, are the conditions on overt object agreement in Bulgarian? We have already seen one condition: only specific objects may be doubled.¹³ Another piece of the answer is provided by Guentcheva (1994), who argues convincingly that clitic doubling codes the "thematicity" or "topicality" of an object.¹⁴ Unlike in Albanian and Macedonian, not all specific objects are doubled, but only those which are "topical" in some appropriate sense. Other scholars, ranging from Ivančev in a series of papers as far back as the the 1950s¹⁵ to Leafgren in recent unpublished work (1990, 1991, 1995), have made similar observations and wrestled with a definition of "topic". Fronted objects are usually topical in the relevant sense in Bulgarian, which

accounts for the frequency of clitic doubling with a fronted object. However, not all fronted objects are topical, nor are all topical objects fronted.

I leave this issue aside here, but assume that an appropriate notion of topicality is definable. One difference between literary and colloquial Bulgarian may be just how topicality is determined, or the extent to which [+topical] is required for clitic doubling. In any event, object agreement in Bulgarian is Spelled Out as a clitic under more restricted circumstances than in Albanian and Macedonian, which I represent by listing [+topical] among the features of the clitics. The features of the masculine singular direct object clitic *go* in Bulgarian are then as in (35):

- (35) AgrDO
- ACC
- 3sg.M = SPELL OUT as **go**
- +specific
- +topical

When [+specific] and [+topical] are present in the feature specification of AgrDO or AgrIO, a clitic may be spelled out.¹⁶ If these features are absent the agreement phrase head is not realized as an overt pronominal clitic, but is covert, or null, as sketched in (36).

- (36) SPELL-OUT of Agr heads:
- [AgrDO/AgrIO ..., +specific, +topical] = pronominal clitic
- [AgrDO/AgrIO ..., -specific or -topical] = Ø

An overt clitic licenses a [+ specific, +topical] object DP through Spec-Head agreement at LF; this DP may be either overt or null. A null AgrO head licenses only an overt object DP, which is either non-specific or non-topical. This gives rise to the

three types of object constructions in (37).

(37) a. DP object alone (non-topical)

lexical DP object = overt

AgrO = covert

Kupix [_{AgrDO} Ø][_{DP} červenata jabŭlka].

bought-1s red-the apple

'I bought the red apple.'

b. "clitic doubling"

lexical DP object = overt

AgrO = overt

[_{DP} Červenata jabŭlka][_{AgrDO} ja] kupix.

red-the apple it bought-1s

'I bought the red apple.'

c. clitic alone

lexical DP object = covert

AgrO = overt

Kupix [_{AgrDO} ja][_{DP} Ø].

bought-1s it

'I bought it.'

When a lexical object appears alone, undoubled, as in (37a), the AgrDO or AgrIO head is [-topical],¹⁷ is spelled out as null, and licenses a non-topical object. In clitic doubling constructions the Agr head is [+topical], so is spelled out as a clitic (*ja* in (37b)), and licenses a topical DP object which contains lexical material (*červenata jabŭlka*). When only a clitic appears, as in (37c), the Agr head again is [+topical] but object position is null, licensed by "rich" object agreement in the same way as null subjects are licensed by "rich" subject agreement in "pro-drop" languages.

In Albanian, in those constructions in which clitic doubling is obligatory, namely with all datives and first and second person

accusatives, Kalluli argues that the clitics merely license the [+Case] feature of the argument in their specifier. On the other hand, third person accusative clitics, which participate in optional clitic doubling, additionally license what she calls "defocusing" in their specifier position. I take "defocusing" to be essentially the same as the "topicality" feature which is required for clitic spell-out in Bulgarian. The behavior of third person accusative clitics in Albanian thus is identical to that of the Bulgarian pronominal clitics.

The outlines of a typology of object agreement clitics are emerging here. In Bulgarian object clitics are spelled out only if specific and topical, and license only [+topical, +specific] object DPs. In Macedonian they spell out and license a [+specific] feature without regard to topicality. In Albanian a split system is found: third person accusative clitics are like Bulgarian ones, while dative and first and second person accusative clitics are always spelled out and license even unspecific DP objects; following Kalluli I represent this as licensing of a Case feature.

(38) Features of object DP licensed by pronominal clitics and required for spell-out as clitic:

- Bulgarian: [+topical, +specific]
- Macedonian: [+specific]
- Albanian: 3 Acc clitics [+topical, +specific]
- others [+Case]

Since the Agr features in these languages are rich, they license null as well as overt object DPs with the appropriate features. A broader typology of pronominal clitics is beyond the scope of this paper, but will probably involve strong vs. weak agreement features (overt vs. covert agreement), position of clitics in Agr heads vs. Spec of Agr, and an option of movement to C (in clitic 2nd as opposed to verb-adjacent clitic languages).

Conclusion

To summarize, I claim that in Bulgarian and probably other Balkan languages AgrDO and AgrIO can Spell Out as pronominal clitics. These clitics are heads of functional projections, while non-clitic objects are VP-internal DPs, raised to SpecAgr positions for feature checking. The conditions under which the Agr heads are spelled out as overt clitics differ from one language, dialect, or even style to another, but in all of them the presence of overt object agreement can license an overt or null object agreeing in certain features with the clitic. In Bulgarian, these features include [+specific] and [+topical]. The "Split Infl" theory of inflectional elements as functional heads and the Minimalist account of agreement as Spec-head feature checking allow an insightful account of the syntax of pronominal clitics, while the functional notion of topicality provides an explanation of why clitic doubling in Bulgarian is less common than in some other Balkan languages: Bulgarian requires an additional feature for clitic spell-out.

Notes

1. An earlier version of most of this material was presented at the first conference on Formal Approaches to South Slavic Languages, Plovdiv, Bulgaria, October 1995. I would like to thank the audiences of both FASSL1 and FASL5 for helpful comments.
2. It is likely that all of the other Bulgarian clitics are also functional heads. The clitic auxiliaries are presumably in T, future *šte* and subjunctive *da* head ModalP, *ne* heads NegP, the possessive clitics are D, and complementizers and interrogative *li* are in C.
3. Traditional grammars generally provide only a list of the clitics and their possible combinations and positions. Transformational works such as Hauge (1976) and Ewen (1979) rely on word-order templates and movement from object positions to achieve the surface form. More recent generative works try to explain clitic placement through interaction of properties of the clitics with UG. For instance, Avgustinova (1994) uses syntactic and prosodic criteria to distinguish "core" pronominal and aux clitics from a "peripheral" set including *da*, *ne*, *šte*, and *li* which differ in their privileges of occurrence.
4. See Zwicky (1977) and much later work by him and others.

5. As discussed in Angelova (1994), for example.

6. See e.g. Jaeggli (1986), Borer (1984) for discussion of Romance clitic doubling. The basic idea in these and much later work is that some or all clitics "absorb" Case, so a cooccurring NP cannot receive Case directly from V, but requires a separate Case assigner or transmitter of some kind, or inherent Case.

7. The Omaha data are from my own fieldwork.

8. Berent's (1980) analysis of Macedonian clitics as phonetically realized traces is also essentially a pronominal argument analysis.

9. Leafgren states that the optionality is related to topicality and focushood of the object; see discussion of topicality later in this paper. Sentences like those in (19) do differ in the degree of foregrounding/backgrounding and emphasis on the various constituents.

10. The structure differs from Rivero's also in having two MP (Modal P) nodes instead of one, to allow for both *da* and future *še*, following a suggestion by R. Izvorski.

11. An exception to the right-adjunction generalization is T/AgrS, which ends up as a suffix on the verb rather than a prefix. Order will need to be stipulated in some way for 3sg Aux as opposed to the other person/numbers, as well.

12. There is disagreement in the literature and among Macedonian speakers over whether indefinite IO can be doubled or whether doubled IO, like DO, must be specific (or definite).

13. For arguments that the relevant requirement is "specific" and not "definite," see Leafgren (1995), Guentcheva (1994).

14. Once again, such a situation is not unique among the world's languages. Lebanese Arabic, for example, shows agreement only with topicalized definites, (Moravcsik 1988).

15. Several of these are reprinted in Ivančev (1978).

16. This feature set should be taken as a first approximation to the conditions for Spell-Out of a clitic. Other features, perhaps of Focus, may also be involved in accounting for the range of cases with clitic doubling vs. a non-doubled DP object. As noted, dialectal and stylistic variation is significant; a full account of when clitic doubling occurs will surely involve pragmatic as well as strictly grammatical factors.

17. An undoubled DP might instead be [-specific], but in (37a) the definite suffix shows the object DP to be unambiguously specific.

Works Cited

- Alvarez, Jose. 1995. Split Ergativity and NP/Pronominal Affix Complementarity in Pemon (Cariban). Paper presented at the SSILA summer meeting, Albuquerque.
- Angelova, Iskra. 1994. Sintaksis na bŭlgarskata razgovorna reč. Sofia: Universitetsko Izdatelstvo Sv. Kliment Ohridski.
- Avgustinova, Tania. 1994. On Bulgarian Verb Clitics. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 2.1:29-47.
- Barlow, Michael and Charles A. Ferguson, eds. 1988. *Agreement in Natural Language*. Stanford: CSLI
- Berent, Gerald P. 1980. On the Realization of Trace: Macedonian Clitic Pronouns.
- Borer, Hagit. 1984. *Parametric Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1993. A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory, in K. Hale and S.J. Keyser, eds. *The View from Building 20*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Croft, William. 1988. Agreement vs. Case Marking and Direct Objects, in Barlow and Ferguson, eds. 159-179.
- Davis, Henry. 1995. The Clitic-Affix Distinction in Radical Head Marking Languages. Dainora et al, eds., *CLS* 31, vol. 2. The Parasession on Clitics. Chicago: CLS. 64-78
- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila and Lars Hellan. to appear. Clitics and Bulgarian Clause Structure. *EUROTYP Project vol. 8*, Henk van Riemsdijk, ed. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Doron, Edit. 1988. On the Complementarity of Subject and Subject-Verb Agreement, in Barlow and Ferguson, eds. 201-218.
- Ewen, Robert. 1979. *A Grammar of Bulgarian Clitics*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington.
- Fehri, Abdelakar Fassi. 1988. Agreement in Arabic, Binding and Coherence, in Barlow and Ferguson, eds. 107-158.
- Franks, Steven. 1995. *Parameters of Slavic Morphosyntax*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Guentcheva, Zlatka. 1994. *Thématisation de l'objet en bulgare*.

Bern: Peter Lang.

Halpern, Aaron. 1995. Topics in the Placement and Morphology of Clitics. CSLI Publications.

Hauge, Kjetil Rå. 1976. The Word Order of Predicate Clitics in Bulgarian. Meddelelser 10, Slavisk-Baltisk Institut, Universitetet i Oslo.

Ivanchev, Svetomir. 1978. Prinosi v bŭlgarskoto i slavjanskoto ezikoznanie. Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo.

Jaeggli, Osvaldo. 1986. Three Issues in the Theory of Clitics: Case, Doubled NPs and Extraction. In Borer, ed. The Syntax of Pronominal Clitics (Syntax and Semantics 19). Orlando: Academic Press. 15-42.

Jelinek, Eloise. 1984. Empty Categories, Case and Configurationality. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 2:39-76.

Jelinek, Eloise, and Richard Demers. 1994. Predicates and Pronominal Arguments in Straits Salish. Language 70.4: 697-736.

Joseph, Brian. 1988. Modern Greek Pronominal Affixes: The Case against Clisis. CLS.

Kallulli, Dalina. 1995. Clitics in Albanian. Cand. Phil. Thesis, University of Trondheim.

King, Tracy Holloway. 1996. Slavic Clitics, Long Head Movement, and Prosodic Inversion. Journal of Slavic Linguistics 4.2:274-311.

Leafgren, John. 1990. Reduplication as a Topic Marking Device in Bulgarian. Paper presented at AAASS.

Leafgren, John. 1991. Topicality and Communicative Dynamism. Paper presented at AAASS.

Leafgren, John. 1995. Personal Pronouns as Objects in Bulgarian. Paper presented at AAASS.

Lehmann, Christian. 1988. On the Function of Agreement, in Barlow and Ferguson, eds. 55-65.

Macaulay, Monica. 1993. Argument Status and Constituent

- Structure in Chalcatongo Mixtec. BLS 19, Special Session on Syntactic Issues in Native American Languages.
- Minčeva, Angelina. 1969. Opit za interpretacija na modela na udvoenite dopulnenija v bŭlgarskija ezik. Izvestija na instituta za bŭlgarski ezik XVII. Sofia: BAN.
- Moravcsik, Edith A. 1988. Agreement and Markedness, in Barlow and Ferguson, eds. 89-106.
- Motapanyane, Virginia. 1991. Theoretical Implications of Complementation in Romanian. Dissertation, Université de Genève.
- Penčev, Jordan. 1993. Bŭlgarski Sintaksis: Upravljenje i Svŭrzvane. Plovdiv: Plovdivsko Universitetsko Izdatelstvo.
- Pollock, Jean-Yves. 1989. Verb Movement, Universal Grammar, and the Structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20.3:339-364.
- Ritter, Elizabeth. 1995. On the Syntactic Category of Pronouns and Agreement. *NLLT* 13.3:405-443.
- Rivero, Maria Luisa. 1994a. Clause Structure and V-Movement in the Languages of the Balkans. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 12.1:63-120.
- Rivero, Maria Luisa. 1994b. On Two Locations for Complement Clitic Pronouns: Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, and Old Spanish. Paper read at Third Diachronic Generative Syntax Conference, Amsterdam.
- Sportiche, Dominique. 1996. Clitic Constructions, in Johan Rooryck and Laurie Zaring, eds. *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. 213-276.
- Tomić, Olga Miseska. 1996. The Balkan Slavic Clausal Clitic Clusters. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 14.4: 811-872.
- Willie, Maryann. 1991. Navajo Pronouns and Obviation. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona.
- Zwicky, Arnold. 1977. On Clitics. Indiana University Linguistics Club.