

Nineteen

Catherine Rudin

Clitic Pronoun Ordering in the Balkan Languages*

The order of clitics within the verb-adjacent *clitic cluster* in the Balkan languages is fairly easy to describe but not so easily explained. Even at the descriptive level, certain details tend to be overlooked in most statements of clitic order. In this paper I reexamine the pronominal portion of the clausal clitic cluster in Bulgarian, Macedonian, Romanian, Albanian and Modern Greek, discuss criteria an adequate analysis must meet, briefly review analyses to date, and conclude that a fully explanatory account must combine both formal syntactic and functional/pragmatic elements.

I am primarily concerned in this paper with the order of pronominal, including reflexive, clitics in each language. The clausal clitic cluster also includes auxiliary clitics in all the Balkan languages except Greek, and perhaps modal and negative particles, depending on exactly how the cluster is analyzed in each language: these will be briefly considered in *Section 4*. Complementizers and interrogative particles interact with the clitic cluster, but are not part of it, and are thus irrelevant for this paper.¹

1. Just the Facts

The various Balkan languages are very similar in their ordering of the pronominal clitics, but not totally identical. Let us start with a brief overview of the facts of each language, specifically the inventory and relative order of

* Thanks are due to Brian Joseph, Christina Kramer, Lijana Mitkova, Marian Marković, Elena Petkowska, Gabriela Alboin, Virginia Hill, Victoria Massey and Emil Vrabie for help with details of the data.

¹ The interrogative clitic *li* is clearly not part of the clitic cluster in Bulgarian and Macedonian, as shown in Rudin *et al.* 1999 and numerous other works on the syntax of *li*-questions. Its appearance within the clitic cluster in certain types of sentences is an artifact of its need to follow a prosodic word within the verbal complex in neutral questions; in non-neutral questions it attaches to other types of phrases. Romanian *oare*, which in many ways is parallel to *li* (see a very interesting comparison of the two in Hill 2001) is not a clitic at all. Modal elements such as Bulgarian *še* 'will', the subjunctive marker *da*, *bi* 'would', and the negative marker *ne* are less clearly separate from the clitic cluster than *li*; however, they do not participate in clitic inversion, and some of them are stressed or induce stress on adjacent clitics; in short, their status is somewhat different. They always precede all of the pronominal and *be* auxiliary clitics. See Rudin *et al.* 1999 for discussion. The facts of the other Balkan languages are similar.

in:

Victor A. Friedman and Donald

L. Dyer, eds.

Of All the Slavs

My Favorites: In Honor of Howard

I. Aronson. Indiana Slavic

Studies 12: 339-57, 2001.

the pronominal clitics. Syncretic forms are given only once, with ambiguous features separated by a slash, so *m/n* means "masculine or neuter," while *dat/acc* means "dative or accusative."

Bulgarian

The inventory of clitic pronouns in Bulgarian is:²

(1) DAT		ACC
<i>mi</i>	1s-dat	<i>me</i> 1s-acc
<i>ti</i>	2s-dat	<i>te</i> 2s-acc
<i>mu</i>	3s-dat-m/n	<i>go</i> 3s-acc-m/n
<i>i</i>	3s-dat-f	<i>ja</i> 3s-acc-f
	<i>ni</i> 1p-dat/acc	
	<i>vi</i> 2p-dat/acc	
<i>im</i>	3p-dat	<i>gi</i> 3p-acc
<i>si</i>	refl-dat	<i>se</i> refl-acc

If two pronominal clitics cooccur, the dative must precede the accusative. A first- or second-person pronoun must be the first of two pronominal clitics: first- and second-person clitics normally do not cooccur, and they never follow a third-person clitic. Reflexive *si* and *se* behave like the third-person dative and accusative forms, respectively. The order is summarized in (2) and a few examples are given below.

- (2) 1, 2, dat > 3-acc
- (3) a. *Tja mu go dava.* (*go mu)
 she him it gives
 'She gives it to him.' (dat > acc)
- b. *Taka i se struva.* (*se i)
 thus her refl seems
 'It seems that way to her.' (dat > refl acc)
- c. *Tja si go kupi.* (*go si)
 she refl it bought
 'She bought it for herself.' (refl dat > acc)
- d. *Tja mi gi predstavii.* (*im me)
 she me them introduced
 (*them me)

² Abbreviations used are *acc* (accusative), *dat* (dative,) 1, 2, 3 (first, second, third person), *p* (plural), *s* (singular), *m* (masculine), *n* (neuter), *f* (feminine).

- (3) e. ?**Tja mi te predstavii.* (?*ti me)
 she me you introduced (*you me)
 'She introduced you to me/me to you.' (*1 + 2)

The starred versions of (3d) and (3e) are bad only as clitic combinations; 'she introduced me to them' can be said by using a full (non-clitic) pronoun instead of at least one of the clitics. Some speakers accept combinations like (e) as marginal, but they are much better with at least one full pronoun; e.g., *Tja te predstavii na mene* 'she introduced you' (clitic) to me (non-clitic).

Macedonian³

The inventory of clitic pronouns in Macedonian is:

(4) DAT		ACC
<i>mi</i>	1s-dat	<i>me</i> 1s-acc
<i>ti</i>	2s-dat	<i>te</i> 2s-acc
<i>mu</i>	3s-dat-m/n	<i>go</i> 3s-acc-m/n
<i>i</i>	3s-dat-f	<i>ja</i> 3s-acc-f
<i>ni</i>	1p-dat	<i>ne</i> 1p-acc
<i>vi</i>	2p-dat	<i>ve</i> 2p-acc
<i>im</i>	3p-dat	<i>gi</i> 3p-acc
<i>si</i>	refl-dat	<i>se</i> refl-acc

Just as in Bulgarian, dative precedes accusative, first and second person cannot follow another pronominal, and reflexives behave like third-person pronominals.

- (5) 1, 2, dat > 3-acc
- (6) a. *Mu ja davam knjigata.* (*ja mu)
 him it I-give book-the
 'I give him the book.' (dat > acc)
- b. *Jovan vi gi predstavuva.* (*im ve)
 Jovan you them introduces
 'Jovan introduces them to you/you to them.' (1, 2 > 3)
- c. **Taa ti me predstavuva.* (*mi te)
 she you me introduces (*me you)
 'She introduces me to you/you to me.' (*1 + 2)

³ Macedonian facts can be found in grammars such as Lunt 1952, Kramer 1999 and Friedman 1993.

Romanian⁴

The inventory of clitic pronouns in Romanian is:

(7) DAT		ACC	
îmi	1s-dat	mă	1s-acc
îți	2s-dat	te	2s-acc
îi	3s-dat	îl	3s-acc-m
		o	3s-acc-f
ni	1p-dat	ne	1p-dat/acc
vi	2p-dat	vă	2p-dat/acc
		le	3p-dat/3p acc-f
își	refl-dat	își	3p-acc-m refl-acc
		se	refl-acc

Most of the Romanian clitics have variant forms depending on syntactic or phonological context; in particular, they may lose a final or initial vowel when adjacent to other clitics or to words beginning with a vowel.

Romanian again has the familiar ordering pattern of 1, 2, and all datives before accusative; with dative and accusative reflexive pronouns patterning with the third-person dative and accusative clitics, respectively. One wrinkle is the existence of both a dative and a syncretic dative/accusative form for the first- and second-person plural. The syncretic form is used when only one pronominal clitic is present, as in (9c), while the marked dative is used in the presence of another clitic (9b).⁵

- (8) 1, 2, dat > 3-acc
- (9) a. Eu **îi-o** dau. (*o-îi)
I you-it give (*i-i-you) (dat > acc)
'I give it to you.'
- b. **Ni** le-**ai** stricat pe toate. (*le ni)
us them-have ruined acc all (*them us)
'You ruined them all for us.' (1, 2 > 3)
- c. **Ne** sunt stricate jucării. (syncretic ne)
us are ruined the-toys
'Our toys are ruined.'

⁴ The Romanian facts are from Angerot and Popescu 1971.

⁵ I am grateful to Gabriela Alboiu for examples (9b-c).

Albanian⁶

The inventory of clitic pronouns in Albanian is:

(10) DAT		ACC	
	më	1s-dat/acc	
	të	2s-dat/acc	
i	3s-dat	e	3s-acc
	na	1p-dat/acc	
u	3p-dat	ju	2p-dat/acc
	i	3p-acc	
	u	refl-acc	

Albanian has the same ordering as Bulgarian, Macedonian and Romanian; however, it has only a single reflexive form. This clitic, *u*, always follows any 1, 2, or dative (Kallulli 1995: 30); that is, it patterns with the 3-acc form. Reflexive *u* occurs only as a direct object, not indirect, so it can reasonably be considered accusative. All of the first- and second-person clitics are syncretic, with a single dat/acc form. Note that sequences of clitics tend to fuse phonologically in Albanian; e.g., in the examples below, *u + e* is spelled and pronounced *ua*, *më + e* is *ma*, etc.⁷ Tables of these fused forms, given in grammars of Albanian (e.g., Newmark *et al.* 1982: 24), list combinations of any dative plus third person or reflexive accusative only; there are no combinations with a first- or second-person accusative.

- (11) 1, 2, dat > 3-acc (including refl)
- (12) a. Mësuesit **u-a** dhanë. (*e-u)
teachers-the them-it gave (*it them)
'The teachers gave it to them.' (dat > acc)
- b. Mësuesit **m-a** dhanë. (*u-më)
teachers-the me-it gave (*him me)
'The teachers gave it (or him) to me/me to him.' (1, 2 > 3)
- c. ***Më** të dhanë./ ***Të** më dhanë. (*1 and 2)
me you gave you me gave
'They gave you to me/me to you.'

⁶ The Albanian data are from Newmark, Hubbard, and Prifti 1982 and Kallulli 1995.

⁷ These fused forms are quite unpredictable. Both *i + i* and *i + e > ia*, *na* does not contract (*na e dhanë* 'they gave it to us'), and in the Geg dialect *u + e > juu*, which actually looks like it may come from *e + u*, an exceptional acc > dat order. Examples (12) are based on Kallulli (p. 31).

Greek⁸

The inventory of clitic pronouns and auxiliaries in Modern Greek is:

(13) DAT		ACC	
muu	1s-gen	me	1s-acc
sou	2s-gen	se	2s-acc
tu	3s-gen-m/n	ton	3s-acc-m
tis	3s-gen-f	tin	3s-acc-f
		to	3s-acc-n
		mas	1p-gen/acc
		sas	2p-gen/acc
		tous	3p-gen/acc-m
tous	3p-gen-f/n	tis	3p-acc-f
		ta	3p-acc-n

Modern Greek has the same pronominal clitic order as the other Balkan languages. Its clitic inventory has considerable case syncretism in the plural, with first-, second- and masculine third-person plurals not having distinct case forms. There is no reflexive clitic in Greek. The pronouns traditionally labeled *genitive* have the same range of functions as those called *dative* in the other Balkan languages, so I use the abbreviation "dat" in (14) and (15) to show it is really the same rule as in the other languages.⁹

- (14) 1, 2, dat > 3-acc
- (15) a. Tis to diavasa. (*to tis)
her it read (*it her)
- 'S/he read it to me.'
- b. Mou ton sistise. (*tou me)
me him introduced (*him me)
- 'S/he introduced him to me.'
- c. *Mou se sistise. (*sou me)
me you introduced (*you me)
- 'S/he introduced you to me/me to you.'
- (dat > acc) (1, 2 > 3) (*1 and 2)

2. The Problems: What Must an Adequate Theory Account for?

Several sets of facts need to be dealt with by any analysis of pronominal clitic order, both in terms of their order relative to each other and in terms of their placement among the other clitics and within the clause. Some of these facts

⁸ The Modern Greek data are from Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton 1987 and Sofroniou 1962.

⁹ Examples (15) are from Terzi 1999.

are language particular, some are common to all the Balkan languages, and some may be universal, or at least apply to languages beyond the Balkan *Sprachbund*. In this section, I summarize these facts and the problems they raise. In effect, these are the criteria that a theory of clitic ordering must meet. The following section surveys approaches to a solution.

2.1. Case Effects

In all the Balkan languages, as we have seen, dative precedes accusative. The correct theory will have to account for this order, while providing a mechanism to allow for other orders in some languages. In French, for example, accusative sometimes precedes dative: *Je le lui ai donné* 'I gave it to him' [literally I-it(acc)-him(dat)-have-given], though there is a strong dat > acc tendency for clitics in the Romance languages in general.

2.2. Person Effects

In all of the Balkan languages first- and second-person clitic pronouns must precede third-person ones, so no first-/second-person accusative with third-person dative is possible; in addition, cooccurrence of a first- or second-person accusative with any dative, including another first or second person, is marginal at best. Person cooccurrence restrictions similar to this are very widespread in the languages of the world and may even be universal for pronominal clitics and affixes; they have been noted at least as far back as Perlmutter 1971. An adequate theory will need to account for both universal tendencies and any variation that exists in this area.¹⁰

2.3. Reflexive Status

In the Balkan languages reflexive clitics, where they exist at all, behave exactly like non-reflexive clitic pronouns of the same case. This is not universally true, however. Italian, for instance, treats its reflexive clitic differently from either dative or accusative non-reflexive pronominal clitics: the reflexive *si* follows datives but precedes accusatives. A good theory of clitic order will have to be able to account for when reflexives are given special treatment and when they are not.

¹⁰ French has exceptions to the first-person-first tendency, e.g., *donnez le moi* 'give it to me.' However, all of these involve the stressed pronoun *moi*, whose status as a clitic is arguable, and none violates the restriction against first-person accusative with a dative of another person (e.g., **donnez me lui* 'give me to him').

2.4. Miscellaneous Issues

A variety of idiosyncratic problems arise in individual languages. For instance, in Balkan Slavic and Albanian in some (folkloric and/or emotive) styles, two dative clitics can coexist, one or both of them being traditionally labelled benefactive or ethical dative; contrary to the usual prohibition of first and second persons cooccurring, sequences of ethical datives like Bulgarian/Macedonian *mi ti*, Albanian *më të* 'me-dative you-dative' are possible in this context. (For Albanian examples, see Newmark *et al.* 1982: 27.) First- and second-person clitics can also cooccur as an ethical dative plus an accusative, at least in Macedonian (Victor Friedman, personal communication). Phonological fusing of the clitics in Albanian may well affect their behavior and analysis, as sequences of clitics come to be treated as frozen units. In Greek, the order of clitics depends partly on finiteness: With finite verbs, the facts are as presented above (strictly dat > acc), but with non-finite verb forms both dat > acc and acc > dat orders are possible (Terzi 1999).

2.5. Position within the Larger Cluster and within the Clause

The pronominal clitics are ordered not only with respect to each other, but with respect to other clitics (auxiliaries, modal particles, and so on) and with respect to non-clitic elements, particularly the verb. The relation to auxiliary clitics is particularly problematic in some of the languages, for instance Macedonian, where third-person auxiliaries and copulas follow the pronominal clitics but other auxiliaries and copulas precede them.

3. Proposals to Date

A variety of approaches have been taken to the problem of clitic ordering. Early treatments, like Hauge 1976 (reprinted in 1999) and Ewen 1979, simply stipulated an ordering template. More recent analyses generally seek some explanatory principle behind the surface facts. Some derive clitic order by movement from ordered underlying positions or see it as reflecting the order of functional heads. Some attribute it to alignment constraints within an Optimality Theory framework. Some propose functional explanations or take other approaches. In this section, I review several types of proposals, with their overall strengths and weaknesses, that is, how well they fare in dealing with the problems listed above.

The template approach can be represented by Hauge's (1976: 26) statement of clitic order in Bulgarian (16) or, outside the Balkans, by Perlmutter's (1971: 57) for French (17).

(16) *li da ne šte sãm DAT ACC e*

si smc ste sa

(17) *NOM ne me III III y en*

te ACC DAT nous vous se

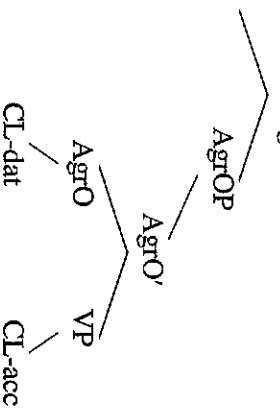
Here the clitic cluster is represented as a linear string of positions, each of which can be empty or contain one item. Sometimes a template includes some degree of abstraction. Hauge himself points out that in (16), *ne* is actually not a clitic and *li* "flips" to various positions depending on where stress falls within the verbal constituent.

Templatic accounts have the advantage of being flexible and relatively easy to use to attain descriptive accuracy; however, they have no explanatory power whatsoever. In (16) or (17) there is no reason the order of elements could not have been entirely different; they might be shuffled at random in some other language. This is clearly not desirable. (Hauge's template also misses the 1, 2 > 3, *1 + 2 person restrictions, but this could be fixed.)

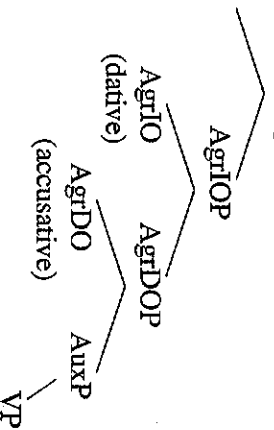
An approach based on movement and/or functional heads has been assumed in many GB/Principles and Parameters/Minimalist studies of Balkan clitics. Some recent examples of this general type of approach are Rivero 1994, Dobrovie-Sorin 1995, Kallulli 1995, Tomić 1996, Rudin 1996, Terzi 1999.

Of course, these differ in detail. Kallulli considers the pronominal clitics to be heads which project a Clitic Phrase (CIP), but she is unclear on whether each clitic in a cluster projects a separate phrase and on how they are ordered. Tomić and Rivero both place them in a single Agr phrase. Rudin generates the pronominal clitics in AgrO heads; dat > acc order is due to AgrIO being higher in the tree than AgrDO. Terzi also base-generates the clitics, but adjoined to functional heads rather than in Agr positions. She argues that clitics are sometimes adjoined to T⁰, sometimes to "placeholder" functional heads. A couple of representative structures (partial trees of the relevant part of the expanded INFL) are given in (18) (from Tomić 1996: 828) and (19) (from Rudin 1996: 239).

(18) Tense/AgrSP



(19) Tense/AgrSP



Regardless of their differences, all such analyses have some of the same advantages and disadvantages. A main strength is that connecting the pronominal clitics to functional heads in a split INFL explains several aspects of their position by linking them to the overall clausal syntactic structure: their adjacency to V and nearness to the front of the clause, their interaction with modal, negation, auxiliary, and complementizer heads, and possibly the relative order of dative and accusative. In movement accounts, $\text{dat} > \text{acc}$ order can be linked to the normal order of direct and indirect object phrases: the accusative, being higher, moves first and left-adjoins to V or some other target; the dative moves second and left-adjoins to the already moved accusative. In base-generation accounts the order of dative and accusative sometimes seems more arbitrary. A weakness of all the structure-based accounts is that such analyses have no apparent way to deal with person restrictions.

The optimality approach is best represented by Grimshaw's work on western Romance. In a (1999) paper, she accounts for different clitic orders in French, Spanish, and Italian by differences in ranking of several directional edge-alignment constraints, combined with idiosyncratic properties of the clitic inventories of the three languages, specifically which clitics are distinctively marked for person and/or case. The constraints involved affect particular morphosyntactic features. For instance, DAT-RT says dative case must be at the right edge of the constituent; ACC-RT says the same thing about ac-

cusative case, PERS-RT says anything with person features must be at the right edge. (All of these constraints have leftward versions too: DAT-LFT, etc.) Different rankings of these constraints account for differences in the order of the clitics in different languages. Ordering quirks for particular clitics are generally due to those items lacking certain features and thus being immune to certain constraints. In particular, syncretic case forms are neither ACC nor DAT, and reflexives have no person features, in Grimshaw's analysis.

For a quick example, let's look at her analysis of French as opposed to Italian. Grimshaw derives the French clitic order in (20) from the constraint ranking in (21), interacting with the pronominal clitic inventory in (22) (C = syncretic case; P = syncretic person).

(20) French pronominal clitic order:

A B C
1, 2 3-acc 3-dat
refl

(21) French constraint ranking: DAT RT >> ACC RT

(22) French pronominal clitic inventory:

3-dat: lui, leur
3-acc: le, la, les
1-C: me, nous
2-C: te, vous
P-C: se (refl)

Any first- or second-person pronoun or *se* is leftmost, because these have no case features and are thus not subject to DAT RT or ACC RT. Any case-marked pronoun is forced to the right of them; see tableau (23).¹¹

(23) input: *me le* (1C + 3 acc) Elle *me le* donne. 'She gives it to me.'

French	DAT RT	ACC RT
a. 1 C + 3 acc		
b. 3 acc + 1 C		!*

A case-differentiated dative *lui* or *leur* always follows an accusative *le*, *la*, *les*, because DAT RT outranks ACC RT. See tableau (24).

¹¹ Note that this does not explain the impossibility of combinations like **me te* 'me to you' or **se nous* 'self to us'. The constraints would not apply to either of the two clitics in these cases, so the theory seems to predict that such pairs could occur in either order.

- (24) input:
- le leur*
- (3 acc + 3 dat)
- Elle le leur donne*
- . 'She gives it to them.'

French	DAT RT	ACC RT
a. 3 acc + 3 dat		*
b. 3 dat + 3 acc	!	*

Italian has a very similar inventory of pronominal clitics, but a different constraint ranking, resulting in a different order of clitics:

- (25) Italian pronominal clitic order: A B C
-
- 1, 2 refl 3-a
-
- dat

- (26) Italian constraint ranking: ACC RT > PERS LFT

Only third-person accusative pronouns are subject to ACC RT, the highest ranked constraint in Italian, so 3-acc is always last. Everything except reflexive *si* is subject to the next highest constraint—PERS LFT—so all person-marked forms other than 3-acc go first. The reflexive clitic, which has neither case nor person features, is subject to neither constraint, and thus ends up after first- and second-person and all dative pronouns, but before third-person accusatives.

The attractive aspect of this account is that Grimshaw is able to derive the restriction of first and second persons to first place and the quirks of reflexive placement in various languages without referring directly to specific persons or to reflexives: the correct orders fall out automatically from the pattern of case and person syncretism. OT is the only theory that can treat case and person in the same way, since it does not differentiate grammatical and semantic constraints, and when looking just at the western Romance languages, this looks like a good thing.

Unfortunately, this nice result does not extend to the Balkan languages. As we have seen, all the Balkan languages have exactly the same order of pronominal clitics, but they have rather different patterns of syncretism. It is certainly possible to come up with a set of constraints which will produce the Balkan order, in all the Balkan languages, but it requires a constraint referring specifically to particular persons (1, 2 LFT or 3 RT), since first and second persons are not necessarily syncretic, and also requires treating reflexive pronouns as case-distinctive even when, as in Albanian, there is only one reflexive form.

But if 1, 2 LFT is available, since OT constraints are supposed to be universal, Grimshaw's account of Romance becomes suspect. In short, the OT

account, though it can be made to work, does not seem nearly as neat or explanatory once the Balkan languages are included. A constraint set 1, 2 LFT > DAT LFT > ACC RT does nothing more than restate the facts; it is no more explanatory than a simple template.¹²

An entirely different approach to clitic order could be a functional one, relying on universal psychologically-motivated tendencies instead of formal rules, structures, or constraints, in the tradition of Silverstein 1976. It is well known that first and second person behave differently from third person in many languages around the world, in a wide variety of ways. Besides word order, first and/or second person may differ in how obviation, inverse, pro-drop, passive, or other grammatical operations apply to them, or in the form of the pronominal morphemes themselves. In Omaha-Ponca (Siouan), for example, there is a special portmanteau pronominal *wi* for first person acting on second person: e.g., *wibhahó* 'I thank you', while all other combinations of actor and object persons are expressed with two independent pronominal morphemes (Rudin and Koontz [to appear]). The resistance of first- and second-person clitics to appearing together seems virtually universal, at least in Indo-European languages with object clitics. So, for example, in all the Romance languages we find contrasts like the following, exactly parallel to the Balkan facts.

- (27) Elle me l-a indigué/ *Elle me t-a indigué. (French)
-
- she me it-has shown/ she me you-has shown
-
- 'She showed it/*you to me.'

Attributing these facts to a person hierarchy in which first and second person have a special status seems altogether reasonable, and the functional approach thus seems very useful, if only for this one corner of the data.

Another approach which deals with only a small corner, the problem of how to predict when reflexives act like other pronouns, is suggested by Lidz 1995. He claims that Romance *reflexive* clitics *se/si* are actually not reflexives, but case-absorbing verb morphology, and this is why they do not pattern like normal dat/acc clitics. As we have seen, in the Balkan languages they do pattern like normal datives and accusatives. This suggests one difference between (Western) Romance and Balkan might be that in the Balkan languages the reflexive clitics actually are reflexives. Unfortunately, however, reflexive clitics in at least some of the Balkan languages are used in impersonal, middle and passive constructions (much the same range of constructions as *se/si* in French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese), in which it seems that the sole

¹² Rudin 2000 discusses these issues in more detail and works out a possible Optimality account for each of the Balkan languages' clitic pronoun order.

function of the clitic is to absorb case. Bulgarian, for instance, uses reflexive *se* in all the ways in (28), and the reflexive in all of these has exactly the same syntactic position, including linear order within a clitic string.¹³ Lidz would predict such constructions should not occur in a language whose reflexive clitic patterns with (other) true dative and accusative clitics.

(28) a. *true reflexive*:

vizdam se
I-see refl
'I see myself'

b. *middle*:

vrata se otvarja
the-door refl opens
'the door opens'

c. *passive*:

ne se znae
not refl knows
'it is not known'

d. *impersonal*:

ne mi se jate
not me(dat) refl eats
'I don't feel like eating'

On the other hand, none of the other approaches we have looked at has any explanation for the behavior of reflexive clitics in Balkan vs. Western Romance either.

Numerous other approaches have been proposed to account for particular aspects of the behavior of clitic clusters in the Balkan languages (and similar clusters in other languages). To mention just one more, Billings (2001) argues that while the placement of the clitics in a linear sequence is syntactic, other characteristics of the cluster, including person-cooccurrence restrictions, other idiosyncratic restrictions, and the obligatory adjacency of the clitics to each other, are morphological—that is, they are due to the cluster being treated at some level as a word.

4. The Wider View: The Clitic Cluster and the Clause

Though the main focus of this paper is on the ordering of the pronominal clitics, I briefly mention some issues concerning their relation to the non-pronominal clitics and the placement of the clitic cluster within the clause. For much more detailed treatment of many of these issues, at least for the Slavic Balkan languages, see Franks and King 2000.

The pronominal clitics in all the Balkan languages are closely attached to the verb. In some other languages, as is well-known, clausal clitics are clause-second rather than verb-adjacent; Serbo-Croatian is an example of this type. In a syntactic/structural account this can be accounted for by adjoining the various functional heads which house the clitics to the highest projection instead of to VP. An Optimality account can also deal with this difference by highly ranking constraints which favor clitics placed at the edge of, for instance, CP instead of IP.

Another issue involving position in the clause is the question of what causes all the clitics to cluster together. In all the Balkan languages and, indeed, in Western Romance and many other languages with clitic clusters, the clitics cannot be separated from each other. In accounts based on tree configurations like (18) or (19) it is not clear why at least some of the clitic heads could not have associated specifier positions, so it is necessary to rule out in some way lexical material in these specifier positions intervening between the clitics. As we have already seen, one possibility is to appeal to morphology; another is defective projections of some kind.

Non-pronominal clitics, such as modal and auxiliary elements, tend to precede the pronominals and (when the cluster is in its normal, preverbal position in the Balkan languages) to be further out from the verb. In structural accounts this is achieved through order of functional heads; a fuller version of (19), for instance, is (29).

(29) [CP [MP [NegP [MP2 [T/Ag_rSP [Ag_rTOP [Ag_rDOP [AuxP [VP]]]]]]]]]

There is, however, some variability in the relative order of auxiliary and pronominal clitics, which has tended to be problematic to account for. In Balkan Slavic a *be* auxiliary clitic is closely associated with the pronominal clitics; this auxiliary normally precedes the pronominals, but the third-person singular (Bulgarian) or any third person (Macedonian) follows the pronominals: *Az sâm mu ja dal* 'I gave it to him' vs. *Toj mu ja e dal* 'He gave it to him'. In the analysis represented by (29), *sâm* and other first- or second-person auxiliaries raise from AuxP to T/Ag_rSP (subject agreement) to check their person/number features, while *e* is assumed to lack person features and thus remains in AuxP. All the proposed analyses can deal with the different posi-

¹³ Compare also English idioms like *behave oneself*, *enjoy oneself*, which have a syntactically real but semantically doubtful-at-best reflexive pronoun.

tions of *sām* and *e*, but for all of them it requires a special statement of some kind.

The order of the pronominal clitics can sometimes be dependent on factors such as the type of verb. In Greek the order is strictly dat > acc with finite verbs, where clitics are preverbal in standard Greek (postverbal in some dialects) but free (dat > acc and acc > dat are both OK) with non-finite verbs forms such as gerund and imperative, where clitics are postverbal in all dialects. Terzi 2000 attempts to explain this finite/non-finite split, and why it is lacking in some other languages, such as Spanish. However, it is not clear that her explanation will apply to all the Balkan languages, much less universally.

5. Conclusions

None of the approaches by itself accounts fully for the data. A purely syntactic account based on order of functional heads or movement from ordered underlying positions deals easily with dative > accusative order but has nothing to say about restrictions on first and second persons. The person restrictions are handled naturally by functional person hierarchies, but these have little to say about the case facts. A template or an OT account can deal with both types of facts, but neither is particularly satisfying or insightful. In the case of OT the neat correlation suggested by Grimshaw between morphologically distinct realizations of specific cases or persons and the ordering of clitics fails to pan out, leaving the OT analysis with no explanatory force.

The key to understanding the order of pronominal clitics may be realizing that there are really at least two independent things going on, one syntactic and one pragmatic. The syntactic element is the order of direct and indirect object clitics, which seems best accounted for in terms of a hierarchy of functional heads, e.g., AgrO and AgrIO. This type of account is more explanatory than the OT account, which simply finds some way to force things left or right without relating this to anything else in the syntax. The pragmatic element is the extremely strong tendency for first and second persons to occur first, not to occur together, and not to occur as DO when there is an IO clitic as well. This appears related to a pragmatic, universal functional person hierarchy. A first or second person is far more likely to be the recipient than the direct object of a ditransitive verb: *you* and *I* are usually not *given*, *lent*, *sold*, or even *shown* to a third person. What has likely happened in languages with pronominal clitics of the Romance and Balkan type is that as the clitics become more fully grammaticalized, even morphologized, combinations which had been rare or unlikely (and which still are rare but possible with full, non-clitic pronouns) become simply impossible. One correlate of this is the phonologically fused forms of pairs of clitics in Albanian and Romanian.

It is possible that the case-order restriction developed historically from a similar pragmatic base.¹⁴ Indirect objects are typically animate (and often first or second person), while direct objects are often inanimate. So a functional hierarchy which placed more personal pronouns first (1/2 > 3 animate > 3 inanimate) would tend to place datives before accusatives, as well as first and second before third person. However, there is good reason to believe that this unified explanation, whatever validity it may have as historical impetus for development of grammatical constraints, does not hold for the modern Balkan languages.

An interesting piece of evidence that two different types of restrictions, from different grammatical domains, are involved is that the psychological strength of the two types of restrictions differs. Dat > acc is absolute.¹⁵ No speaker of Bulgarian, for instance, will even consider accepting a string like **go mu* instead of *mu go* 'him to him'—an accusative clitic preceding a dative is simply ungrammatical. However, with just a little arm-twisting, these same speakers will consider sequences like **mu te* 'you to him.' "They don't sound very good" or "they would be better" with full pronouns instead of clitics, they say, but they are at least understandable; the sentences "make sense," although they may not be totally ungrammatical, at least in some of the languages. I suspect person-order violations are worse in Albanian, where clitic sequences are fused phonologically; here clitic person order is more fully morphologized and less close to its pragmatic roots than in Balkan Slavic.

Additional types of explanations may be best for other facts subsumed under "clitic order": the behavior of reflexives in Romance or of third-person auxiliaries in Balkan Slavic, for instance, may involve differences in the morpho-lexical features of these categories in different languages interacting with syntactic requirements.

Approaches which lump the facts from diverse domains together miss a chance to tell an interesting story about how diverse types of rules and constraints interact in human language. Templates or OT can be made to *work*, but they do not tell us what is really going on in the languages. On the other hand, strictly formal syntactic or strictly functional accounts tell only half the story.

¹⁴ I would like to thank Victor Friedmann for stimulating discussion of this point.

¹⁵ Except in certain constructions in Greek; see Section 4.

References

- Augerot, James E., and Florin D. Popescu. 1971. *Modern Romanian*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Billings, Loren A. 2001. "Why Clitics Cluster Together in Balkan Slavic: Non-Templatic Morphology," Paper presented at the Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics Conference, Ann Arbor.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 1995. "Clitic Clusters in Rumanian: Deriving Linear Order from Hierarchical Structure," *Advances in Rumanian Linguistics*, Cinque, G., and G. Giusti (eds), Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 55–82.
- Ewen, Robert. 1979. *A Grammar of Bulgarian Clitics*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington.
- Franks, Steven, and Tracy Holloway King. 2000. *A Handbook of Slavic Clitics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Friedman, Victor. 1993. "Macedonian," *The Slavonic Languages*, Comrie, Bernard, and Greville G. Corbett, (eds), London: Routledge, pp. 249–305.
- Grimshaw, Jane. 1999. "The Alignment of Romance Clitics," Paper presented at Workshop on Perspectives on Clitic and Agreement Affix Combinations, Urbana, IL.
- Hauge, Kjetil Rå. 1976. *The Word Order of Predicate Clitics in Bulgarian*, *Meddeleser 10*. Universitetet i Oslo: Slavisk-baltisk institutt (reprinted as Hauge 1999).
- _____. 1999. "The Word Order of Predicate Clitics in Bulgarian," *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 7: 1, pp. 89–137.
- Hill, Virginia. 2001. "Discourse Markers in Interrogative Clauses," Paper presented at Acme Balkanica conference, Montreal.
- Joseph, Brian, and Irene Philippaki-Warbuton. 1987. *Modern Greek*. London: Croom Helm.
- Kallulli, Dalina. 1995. *Clitics in Albanian*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Trondheim.
- Kramer, Christina E. 1999. *Makedonski jazik*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Lidz, Jeffrey. 1995. "On the Nonexistence of Reflexive Clitics," *CLS 31: Papers from the 31st Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society. Volume 2: The Parasession on Clitics*, Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, pp. 181–97.
- Lunt, Horace G. 1952. *Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Language*. Skopje: Državno Knigoizdatelstvo na N.R. Makedonija.
- Newmark, Leonard, Philip Hubbard and Peter Prifti. 1982. *Standard Albanian*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Perlmutter, David M. 1971. *Deep and Surface Structure Constraints in Syntax*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Rivero, Maria Luisa. 1994. "Clause Structure and Verb Movement in the Languages of the Balkans," *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 12: 1, pp. 63–120.
- Rudin, Catherine. 1996. "AgO and Bulgarian Pronominal Clitics," *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The Indiana Meeting 1996*, Lindseth, Martina, and Steven Franks (eds), Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, pp. 224–52.
- _____. 2000. "Clitic Ordering as Alignment," Paper presented at Balkan and South Slavic Conference, Lawrence, Kansas.
- Rudin, Catherine and John Koontz. To appear. *Omaha-Ponca*. LINGCOM-Europa.
- Rudin, Catherine, Christina Kramer, Loren Billings and Matthew Baerman. 1999. "Macedonian and Bulgarian *ti* Questions: Beyond Syntax," *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 17: 3, pp. 541–86.
- Silverstein, Michael. 1976. "Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity," *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages*, Dixon, R.M (ed.), New Jersey: Humanities Press, pp. 112–71.
- Sofroniou, S.A. 1962. *Modern Greek*. New York: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Terzi, Arhonto. 1999. "Clitic Combinations, Their Hosts, and Their Ordering," *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 17: 1, pp. 85–121.
- Tomčić, Olga M. 1996. "The Balkan Slavic Clausal Clitics," *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 14: 4, pp. 811–72.

School of the Humanities
Wayne State College
Wayne, Nebraska 68787
CRudin@wscgate.wsc.edu