

VARIATION IN CLITIC DOUBLING IN BALKAN SLAVIC
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In the Balkan Slavic languages, whose dialects actually form a dialectal continuum, clitic-doubling – a characteristic feature of the languages of the Balkan Sprachbund – shows gradual micro-variation along a vertical north-south axis and a horizontal east-west axis (*cf.* Tomić 2004, 2006). On the north-south axis, there is variation with respect to the categories that can be clitic-doubled. On the east-west axis languages/dialects vary with respect to the conditions on clitic-doubling, with almost total dependence on discourse factors in the easternmost dialects in the area and relatively complete grammaticalization in the westernmost ones.

As in standard Serbian, in the Northern Serbian dialects there is no clitic-doubling, though the invariable relative pronoun *što* ‘that’ is regularly clitic-resumed (1). In all the South-eastern Serbian dialects, however, pronouns are clitic-doubled (2), in the western periphery of these dialects all indirect objects are, as a rule, clitic-doubled (3), while in its south-easternmost fringes, both direct and indirect lexical objects are optionally clitic-doubled (4a-b). The latter optionality actually reflects the dependence of clitic-doubling on discourse factor, typical for Bulgarian, with whose North-western dialects the South-easternmost Serbian dialects are in direct contact.

In the Easternmost Bulgarian dialects clitic-doubling of both direct and indirect objects is strictly dependent on discourse factors – only topicalized (direct or indirect) objects in the Left Periphery are clitic-doubled (5a-b). As one moves south-westwards, the role of definiteness and specificity in clitic-doubling increases. In the West-central and South-western Bulgarian dialects *in situ* objects, can also be clitic-doubled, though often they are interpreted as topics (6).

Further westwards, the role of discourse factors in clitic-doubling gradually disappears. In the majority of the Macedonian dialects all definite direct objects and all specific indirect objects are clitic-doubled (7a-b). In the South-westernmost Macedonian dialects, however, the specificity effect disappears and the doubling clitic can be left out, even when the indirect object is obviously specific (8). Bare indefinite indirect objects, which can never be specific, can here also be clitic-doubled (9). Thus, at least in the case of indirect objects, the doubling clitics get very close to becoming mere case markers.

Being case-marked, the Balkan Slavic pronominal clitics are functional categories which are justifiably derived or merged in agreement phrases. I propose that they sit in the heads of these phrases, to whose specifiers the doubled XPs are moved for case-checking (in the spirit of Sportich 1996). This movement is overt in the dialects in which the XPs are topicalized, i.e. in the dialects in which clitic-doubling depends on discourse factors, and covert otherwise. The phonetic realization of the discourse-linked pronominal clitics is actually linked to the trace of the topicalized XP.

EXAMPLES

- (1) Čovek što sam ga video. Serb
 man that am 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg
 ‘The man that I saw.’
- (2) Mene me je zemnja pritisnula. S-ESerb
 me.Acc 1Sg.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl land pressed.F.Sg.1-Part
 ‘I have to ply the soil.’ (lit. ‘The land has pressed me.’)
- (3) Ja gi vikam ženama.
 I 3Pl.Dat/Acc.Cl say.1Sg women.Dat
 ‘I am saying to the women.’

- (4a) Nesām (ga) videl ovčara(toga). S-ESerb
 not+ be.1Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.1-Part shepherd+the.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘I haven’t seen the shepherd.’
- (4b) Dala sām (mu) cveće na šefa. S-ESerb
 given.F.Sg.1-Part be.1Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl flowers to chief.Acc
 ‘I gave flowers to the chief.’
- (5a) Pismata Marija vinagi gi prašta na vreme. Bulg
 letters+the.Pl Marija always 3Pl.Acc.Cl send.3Sg on time
 ‘Speaking of the letters/As for the letters, Marija always mails them on time.’
- (5b) Na Marija, apartamenta ne í xaresva. Bulg
 to Marija apartment+the.F.Sg not 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl please.3Sg
 ‘As for Maria, she does not like the apartment.’
- (6) Izvikaxa ja Marija, kogato rešixa če.... W-Bulg
 called.3Pl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl Marija when decided.3Pl that
 ‘As for Maria, they called her, when they decided that...’
- (7a) Jana go vide Petka/volkot/pismoto/oblakot. Mac
 Jana 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl saw.3Sg Petko.Acc/wolf+the/letter+the/cloud+the
 ‘Jana saw Petko/the wolf/the letter/the cloud.’
- (7b) Mu go dadov pismoto na edno dete. Mac
 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl gave.3Sg letter+the.N.Sg to a.N.Sg child
 ‘I gave the letter to a child (that I know).’
- (8) ?(Im) davam knigi na decava. S-WMac
 3Pl.Dat.Cl give.1Sg books to children+the.Pl.Prox1
 ‘I am giving books to these children.’
- (9) (Mu) go dade pismoto na dete. S-WMac
 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl gave.3Sg letter+the.N.Sg to child
 ‘(S)he gave the letter to a (mere) child.’

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