ON PRONOMINAL CLITICS

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Clitics have been a subject of enduring interest in general linguistics, from Wackernagel's famous second-position "law" (1892) through Zwicky's (1977) classification into "simple" and "special" clitics, and a great deal of more recent work exploring the boundaries of the concept "clitic" as opposed to "affix" (on the one hand) and "word" (on the other). There have been innumerable studies of clitics in the South Slavic and Balkan languages during the past century, by grammarians of every theoretical, descriptive, or prescriptive persuasion.

In recent years, within the Chomskyan framework known at various stages as Government-Binding theory, the Principles and Parameters model, or the Minimalist paradigm, clitics have again been a source of interesting problems. In particular, the study of clitics bears on one of the most central questions of the X-bar phrase structure system, the relationship between functional and lexical categories.

In this paper I discuss an analysis of pronominal clitics as functional heads. Such an analysis is appealing for all of the Balkan languages, though I will deal primarily with Bulgarian. The clitics, under this view, are located in the head position of object agreement projections, and form part of a verbal complex including such categories as tense, aspect, and subject agreement. After discussing two other alternatives, I will suggest that the clitics constitute a spell-out of the features of AgrO.

Traditional treatments of Bulgarian syntax have long recognized the unique syntactic behavior of the clitic pronouns, particularly their restricted position within the clause and their appearance in a strictly ordered cluster along with other clitics, primarily the clitic auxiliary forms of 'be'. In this paper I do not deal with these auxiliaries or with the many other types of clitics in Bulgarian -- the possessive or adnominal clitic pronouns, stressless words like complementizers, negative and interrogative particles, the future particle šte, or the definite article; however, I consider it likely that all of them can be analyzed as functional heads.

Before introducing any analysis, it will be useful to briefly outline the surface facts of where the direct and indirect object clitics can appear. In Bulgarian, unlike most of the other Slavic languages, clausal clitics do not occupy second position ("Wackernagel's position") in the clause. Rather, they are always adjacent to a verb form, regardless of how many constituents precede. In (1), three maximal constituents, marked with brackets, precede the reflexive pronominal clitic se. (Clitics are boldfaced here and in all subsequent examples.)

1. [V   sŭvremennoto obštestvo] [mediite] [vse poveče] **se**
    in contemporary society   media-the all more   refl
    prevrŭštat v mjasto na političeski debati.
    turn-3p   in place of political   debates
    (Novo Vreme 95.2:27)
    'In contemporary society the media are becoming more and more
    a setting for political debates.'

However, although the clitics are syntactically proclitic to the
finite verb, they are prosodically enclitic to the preceding word.
Something must thus precede the clitics to serve as their
phonological host.   This "something" may be one or more full
lexical phrases, as in (1), a single stressed word, as in (2a) or
even an unstressable particle like the negative ne in (2b). When
no other material precedes, the verb fronts in order to host the
clitics, as in (2c).

2.a. Az **go** vidjah.
      I   him saw-1s
      'I saw him.'
  b. Ne **go** vidjah.
      neg
      'I didn't see him.'
  c. Vidjah **go**.
      'I saw him.'

If the finite verb is itself a clitic form of the auxiliary sŭm 'to
be', the clitics are adjacent to a verbal participle; an example
with a participle is given 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. If a dative and
an accusative pronominal are both present, the dative must precede
the accusative. The clitic forms of the auxiliary sŭm precede the
pronominal clitics except for the third person singular e, which
follows them. These facts are exemplified below; in both (4) and
(5) note that the order of clitics remains the same when the verb
is fronted.

4.a. Dal   **si mu gi**.
      given are him them
      'You have given them to him.'
  b. Dal   **mu gi   e**.
      given him them is
      'S/he has given them to him.'
5.a. Na snimkata   sigurno **sŭm 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 clitic constructions.
Traditional descriptive and reference grammars generally content
themselves with a list of the clitics and their possible
combinations and positions. Early transformational works such as
Hauge (1976) and Ewen (1979) rely on word-order templates and
movement of the pronominal clitics from underlying direct and
indirect object positions to achieve the correct surface form.

More recent generative works attempt to explain the placement of
clitics as following from the interaction of properties of the
clitics themselves with properties of Universal Grammar. For
instance, Avgustinova (1994) uses both syntactic and prosodic
criteria to distinguish a group of "core" clitics consisting of the
clitic pronouns and auxiliaries from a "peripheral" set including
da 'to' (modal), ne 'neg', šte 'will', and li 'Q' (interrogative
particle), which differ in their privileges of occurence; li, in
particular, is not part of the clitic cluster.

Several recent analyses of Bulgarian clitics make use of the
resources of the X-bar phrase structure theory, including the
expanded INFL and functional heads, but in widely differing ways.
Penchev (1993) posits a clitic phrase (ClP) in the Spec position of
VP. Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Hellan (to appear), in a flawed but
fascinating analysis, suggest that a pronominal clitic cluster
(CLarg) is actually the head of its clause.

Rivero (1994b), Tomić (1995) and King (1995) all argue convincingly
that clitics in Bulgarian are in IP (probably 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 (which is in I) rather than clause-second; it also
accounts for certain facts about word order with negation. But
Tomić and King differ on whether the clitics are generated in place
or moved.

Thus, while the surface facts are quite clear, the category status
and syntactic derivation of the pronominal clitics are a subject of
some controversy. I will consider three alternatives:

        Alternative 1:   pronominal clitics are simply pronouns
        Alternative 2:   pronominal clitics are "pronominal arguments"
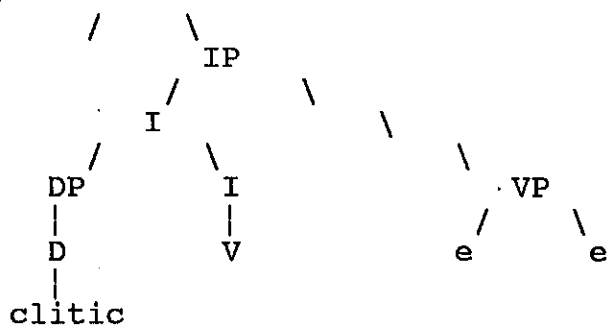   Alternative 3:   pronominal clitics are object agreement

Alternative 1: pronominal clitics are simply pronouns

Under the first alternative, the pronominal clitics are seen as
pronouns, differing from other pronouns only in that they are
raised to I (and of course in their prosodic status as unstressed
enclitics). They are arguments, generated in argument positions,

satisfying the verb's argument subcategorization and receiving theta roles and Case in the normal way.

In terms of current X-bar representation, this view would look like (6) (omitting many details):

6.

```
        /    \
             IP
        /        \
      ·  I           \
     /      \            \
    /          \            \
  DP            I           ·VP
   |            |          /    \
   D            V         e      e
   |
 clitic
```

The clitic, unlike other pronouns, is represented as the D of an otherwise empty DP; it raises and adjoins to I, as does the verb. This is surely closest to the traditional view of the clitics as merely "short forms" of the pronouns; kratki mestoimenija.

However, differences between pronominal clitics and full pronouns undermine this analysis. The clitics are quite unlike full pronouns in their syntax, and to some extent also in their function. We have already seen that the clitics occur not in normal object positions, but obligatorily in I. The analysis sketched in tree (6) suggests they are in fact generated in argument positions in VP and move to I. However, the reasons for such movement are entirely mysterious: the prosodic requirement for a preceding phonological word to serve as clitic host could be met just as well in VP as in I, and Case and theta role are assigned VP-internally.

If the only difference between the pronominal clitics and full pronouns was their "weak" phonological status as short, stressless words, they should require only a phonological host, and have no special positional restrictions. Example (7a) should be fine, with običat as the host for ja, and with ja in the same syntactic position as the non-clitic pronoun neja in (7b).

7.a. *Decata   običat **ja**.
       children-the love-3p her
  b. Decata   običat neja.
       children-the love-3p her
       'The children love her.'

Other differences exist as well. The clitics cannot be conjoined, as shown in (8), nor can they be the object of a preposition (as in (9). Note, incidentally, that this is not simply a phonological problem with an ustressed preposition or conjunction serving as the clitic host; clitics can be hosted by other unstressed elements such as šte 'will' and da 'to', as well as by complementizers.

8.a. *Običat **go** i **ja**.
    love-3p him and her
  b. Običat nego i neja.
    love-3p him and her
    'They love him and her.'

9.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 tjah, 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 some 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 easily be expressed with full pronouns.

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

Such idiosyncratic restrictions on position and cooccurrence are more typical of affixes than of lexical words. (See Zwicky 1977 and much later work by him and others).

But perhaps the most striking difference between the pronominal clitics and "normal" pronouns is the phenomenon of clitic doubling or reduplication. As is well known, in Bulgarian and most of the other Balkan languages pronominal clitics may occur along with a coreferential full pronoun or full lexical DP. Several examples are shown in (11) and (12). The (a) and (b) examples are short sentences showing that the full pronoun (in (11)) or the lexical DP (in (12)) can in principle occur either before or after the "doubling" clitic. The remaining examples in (11) and (12) are longer, attested examples from a variety of sources.

11.a. Decata **ja** običat <u>neja</u>.
    children her love-3p her
    'The children love her'
  b. <u>Neja</u> **ja** običat decata. (same as (11a))
  c. Sega <u>na nas</u> "huliganŭt" ot 50-te godini **ni** izgležda dosta
    now to us hooligan-the of 50-the years us seems rather
    demodiran. (Videnov:210)
    outdated
    'The "hooligan" of the 50s now seems rather outdated to us.'
  d. Eto zašto <u>tjah</u> možem da **gi** narečem deiktični
    voila why them can-1p to them call-1p deictic
    indikatori za razlika ot množestvoto pokazatelni
    indicators for difference from majority-the demonstrative
    mestoimenija, obusloveni ot teksta, za koito šte
    pronouns determined from text-the for which will

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        stane duma ponatatŭk.  (Ilieva:9)
        occur word further
        'This is why we can call them deictic indicators, unlike the
        majority of demostrative pronouns, determined by the text,
        about which more will be said later.'

12.a.   Marija go napisa pismoto.
             it wrote  letter-the
        'Maria wrote the letter.'
   b.   Pismoto go napisa Marija.  (same as (12a))
   c.   Mnogotomnite      romani gi  čete  tozi čovek, kojto
        multi-volume-the novels them reads that person who
        razpolaga s    mnogo svobodno vreme.  (Lakova:220)
        disposes with much  free     time
        'Multi-volume novels are read by people who have a lot of
        free time at their disposal.'
   d.   I  se  čudime    na Dida edna telegrama li da i
        and refl wonder-1p to    a    telegram  Q to her
        izpratime.   (Angelova:38)
        send-1p
        'And we wonder whether to send a telegram to Dida.'
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Clitic doubling is particularly typical of colloquial spoken Bulgarian (as described, for example, by Angelova 1994) but occurs in the literary norm as well. Sentence (12c) is shown by other features (particularly the -me ending on both verbs) to be razgovorna reč (colloquial speech), but some of the other sentences are from the text of serious linguistic monographs.

Although it is often treated in traditional Bulgarian grammars as undesirable redundancy (and this continues in Angelova's classification of the doubling clitic as an "irrelevant" syntactic element), clitic doubling is actually required in in standard literary Bulgarian in some constructions and very common in others. To give just one example of obligatory clitic doubling, (13) is ungrammatical without go.

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13.  Ivan *(go) njama.
           him lacks
     'Ivan isn't here.'
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Other presentative expressions like eto *(go) (Ivan) 'there's Ivan' and impersonals like studeno *(mu) e (na Ivan) 'Ivan feels cold', literally '(It) is cold to Ivan', also require a clitic in addition to any lexical object. This is probably related to the fact that various impersonal constructions require a clitic instead of a full pronoun; one example is shown in (14), where clitic se is required instead of the non-clitic reflexive pronoun sebe si:

```
14.  Kazvam  se   Mila.
     call-1s refl
     'My name is Mila.'
    *Kazvam   sebe si Mila.
     call-1s refl
```

In clitic doubling constructions it is clearly 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. Unlike in some Romance languages, no preposition or other case assigner occurs in the Bulgarian clitic doubling construction to license the non-clitic phrase.

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 listed at the beginning of the handout. In alternative 2, the clitics are arguments, while any full pronouns or lexical DPs are adjuncts. In alternative 3, the clitics are not arguments, but agreement morphemes.

Penchev (1993) treats the clitics as arguments when they occur alone, but as agreement when in clitic doubling constructions. Since the clitics themselves are identical 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.

Alternative 2:   pronominal clitics are "pronominal arguments" in Jelinek's sense.

Under alternative 2, the verb word is "a complete functional complex" (Willie), a full predication with all subcategorized arguments represented by verb morphology (pronominal affixes or clitics). A Bulgarian sentence with clitic doubling would look like (15).

15. <u>Az</u>   [**mu ja** davam]   <u>knigata</u>   <u>na deteto</u>.
     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 <u>mu</u> and <u>ja</u> and the subject agreement suffix <u>-m</u> are the arguments of the verb; they carry theta roles and Case, and fully satisfy the argument structure of the sentence, while the DPs <u>az</u>, <u>knigata</u>, and <u>na deteto</u> are adjuncts which corefer with the arguments for reasons of discourse coherence. This is very different from the traditional view of Slavic phrase structure, and may seem quite counterintuitive. However, such a structure is widely accepted for many native American languages.

Jelinek (1984) proposes 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. Her analysis was originally based on Walbiri and

Navajo, but has been extended to Muskogean, Siouan, and other Amerindian language families. These languages typically have affixes for subject, direct object, and indirect object, and sometimes other categories marked on the verb.

A few examples from Omaha, a Siouan language spoken in Nebraska, are given in (16).

16.a. Wa=la=ną?ą=i=the.   (Omaha)
      3p patient=2s agent=hear=proximate=evidential
      'You heard them.'
  b. Li   wa=la=ną?ą=i=the.
      you
      'It was YOU who heard them.'
  c. Šąge=ma   wa=la=ną?ą=i=the.
      horse=the-p
      'You heard them, the horses.'

(16a) 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; these are considered by Siouanists to be adjuncts.

Closer to Europe and Indoeuropean, Fehri (1988) proposes a similar-in-spirit LFG analysis of Arabic. He states that 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.

Clitic doubling is similar in some ways to a Pronominal Argument structure with pronominal affix plus coreferential lexical DP adjunct. However, upon closer scrutiny numerous features of Bulgarian and other Balkan languages make an analysis like (15) appear untenable or at least highly unlikely.

First, in relatively clear pronominal argument languages, the affixes are obligatorily present. In Bulgarian, of course, the clitic pronouns do not occur in every sentence. 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, particularly definite, specific, or human ones. However, the fact remains that under this analysis many, maybe even most sentences would have zero arguments, which looks odd, to say the least.

Conversely, typical pronominal argument languages seldom have more than one lexical noun phrase adjunct per sentence, particularly in connected discourse. A sentence like (17) would have three adjuncts and only one phonologically realized argument, the -m suffix on davam.

17. 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
that have been argued to follow from pronominal argument status do
not hold in Bulgarian (or the other Balkan Slavic languages).
These include: lack of movement from or to NP positions (no
raising or Wh Movement, for instance), lack of true subordinate
clauses, and lack of case marking on nominals (Willie, p. 22).

Bulgarian certainly does have Wh movement (18a), and subordinate
clauses (18b).

18.a. Kakvo otivaš da kupiš e ?   (Penchev:137)
       ↑_____|
       what go-2s to buy-2s
       'What are you going (in order) to buy?'
   b. Kazahme, [če edno sŭobštenie na estestven ezik   dostiga
       said-1p   that a statement   in natural language reaches
       do slušatelja kato redica ot zvukove].   (Penchev:13)
       to hearer-the as   string of sounds
       'We said [that a statement in natural language reaches the
       hearer as a string of sounds].'

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. (19) shows that case
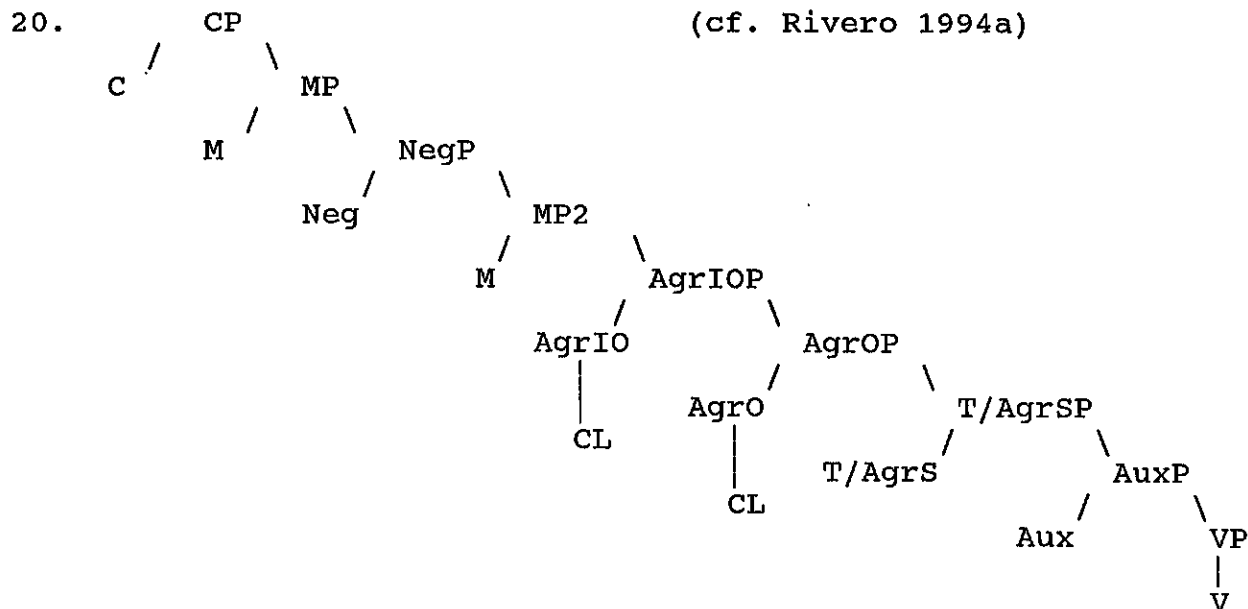marking does exist in Bulgarian, even if rather marginally.

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

Given the general dissimilarity between Slavic and (for instance)
Navajo syntax, it seems wiser to abandon the pronominal argument
hypothesis for Bulgarian and focus instead on alternative 3, the
analysis of pronominal clitics as object agreement markers rather
than arguments.

Alternative 3: pronominal clitics are object agreement

The minimalist framework of Chomsky 1993, along with the "Split
Infl" view of inflection as a series of functional heads, provides
a natural way to account for the unique nature of the pronominal
clitics, by treating them as the heads of functional projections.
I suggest specifically that object clitics are a SPELL-OUT of
certain features (V-features) in AgrO and AgrIO 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 verb word through a process of successive head movement and incorporation. Their status as nominals, on the other hand, reflects the features they instantiate.

20.
```
          CP                    (cf. Rivero 1994a)
        /    \
    C  /      \ MP
      /       /  \
     M       /    \
            /      NegP
          Neg       \
           /         \ MP2
          M          /   \
         /          /     \ AgrIOP
        M          /        \
                  /          \ AgrOP
               AgrIO          /   \
                 |           /     \ T/AgrSP
                CL         AgrO      /    \
                            |       /      \ AuxP
                           CL    T/AgrS     /   \
                                          Aux    \ VP
                                                  |
                                                  V
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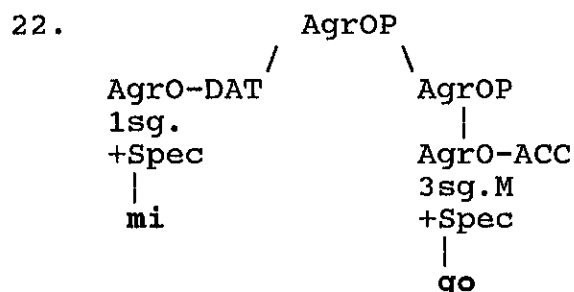
The tree in (20) is modified from the structures presented in Rivero's 1994 article on clause structure in the languages of the Balkans. She posits a single MP node; I have included two to allow for both da and future šte, [following a suggestion by Roumyana Izvorski. Rivero also has a single T/AgrP, which I have expanded to separate phrases for AgrIO, AgrO, and AgrS (indirect object agreement, direct object agreement, and subject agreement). She remarks in passing (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.

In (21), a more detailed version of the relevant part of the tree, we see that each Agr node contains features for Case, person/number/gender, and specificity. In clitic doubling constructions the doubled DP must agree in all of these features with the clitic.

21.
```
                    AgrIOP
                  /        \
             AgrIO          \
             DAT             \ AgrOP
             1sg.            /     \
             +Specific    AgrO      \
               |          ACC        T/AgrSP
               mi         3sg.M       /    \
                          +Specific  T/AgrS  AuxP
                            |        NOM     /   \
                           go        3pl    Aux   VP
                                     tense          |
                                     aspect         V
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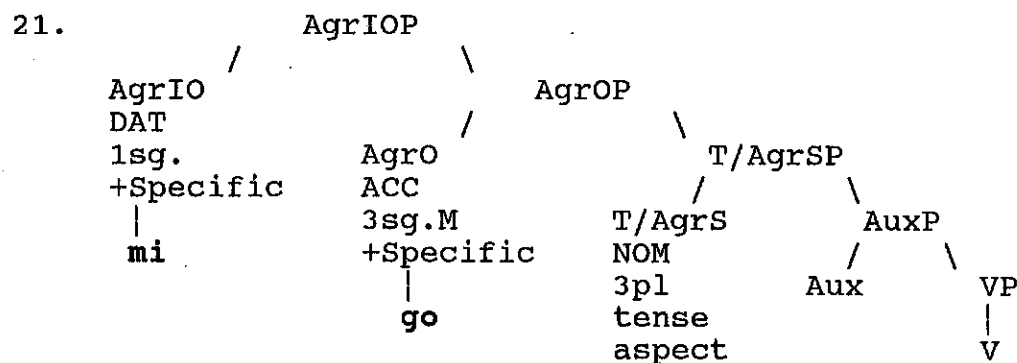
Another possibility is that AgrIO and AgrO are single constituent, as claimed by Penchev (1993) and Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Hellan (1995); perhaps an adjunction structure something like (22):

```
22.                  AgrOP
               /            \
       AgrO-DAT            AgrOP
       1sg.                  |
       +Spec              AgrO-ACC
         |                 3sg.M
        mi                 +Spec
                             |
                            go
```
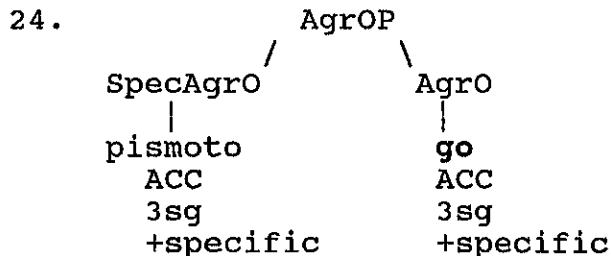
Regardless of which version of the structure is adopted, the verb (or aux, if one is present) first raises to T/AgrS to form the finite verb with tense/person/number suffix. Depending on which other categories are present, it then raises and right adjoins to successively higher heads, forming a complex verb word. This whole complex word is treated as a unit in, for example, V-to-C raising in yes-no questions:

23. [$_C$li [$_M$šte **mi go** kažat]]
     Q   will me it tell-3p
               Prosodic inversion --> Šte **mi go** kažat li?
                                      'Will they tell me it?'

   [$_C$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?'

For purposes of this paper I leave the exact structure open; I simply wish to claim that the pronominal clitics are heads of Agreement projections of some sort.

Such an analysis is far from radical. Pronouns have been treated as agreement (or vice versa) in a variety of other languages, including Hebrew (Doron, Ritter), Celtic (Doron), and French (Lehmann). For Bulgarian, Guentcheva (1994), writing in a very different framework, shows that clitic pronouns are unlike full pronouns not only syntactically but also functionally; the relation of a "doubling" clitic to an object NP is very similar to that of subject agreement to the subject NP.

If the clitics are agreement morphemes, they must at some level be in a Spec-Head relation with the DP they agree with (Chomsky; Kallulli (citing Sportiche)). Feature checking takes place in the configuration in (24), presumably at LF. ((24) represents the relevant part of example (12) above.) Since the lexical DP cannot, as a maximal projection, be anything other than the Spec element in this structure, the clitic must be the head.

```
24.             AgrOP
            /         \
   SpecAgrO           AgrO
       |               |
   pismoto            go
     ACC              ACC
     3sg              3sg
     +specific        +specific
```

Kallulli (1995) argues convincingly that such a configuration does obtain in Albanian clitic doubling constructions, and that Albanian pronominal clitics thus head agreement projections.

Albanian clitic constructions are very similar to 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 (25) we see that in a sentence with definite objects <u>librat</u> and dative <u>fëmijëve</u>, clitic doubling is obligatory. The DPs may be omitted, as in (25b), but omitting the clitics, as in (25c) results in ungrammaticality.

Albanian: (Kallulli 1995)
25.a.   Mësuesit   **u-a**   dhanë <u>librat</u>   <u>fëmijëve</u>.
        teachers-the DatCl-AccCl give books-the children-the
        'The teachers gave the books to the children.'
    b. Mësuesit **u-a** dhanë.
        'The teachers gave them to them.'
    c. *Mësuesit dhanë librat fëmijëve.

Similar facts obtain in standard Macedonian; indirect objects and definite or specific direct objects must normally be doubled. A few examples are given in (26).

Macedonian: (Kramer, Lunt)
26.a.   Ve molam, dajte **mi** <u>**go**</u> <u>ogledaloto</u> da **si**   <u>**ja**</u> vidam   <u>kosata</u>
        please   give me it mirror-the to refl it see-1s hair-the
        otzadi.
        from-behind
        'Please, give me the mirror so I can see my hair from the
        back.'
    b. *Ve molam, dajte mi ogledaloto da vidam kosata otzadi.
    c. <u>**Mu**</u> **go** dade   <u>na čovekot</u>.
        him it gave-3s to person-the
        'S/he gave it to the man.'
    d. ***Go** dade na čovekot.

In contrast, in most constructions in Bulgarian clitic doubling is NOT obligatory. The Bulgarian translations of (25)-(26) are fine with no clitic doubling.

27.a.   Učiteljat   dade knigite   na decata.
        teacher-the gave books-the to children-the
        'The teacher gave the books to the children.'

b. Molja vi, dajte mi ogledaloto da si   vidja kosata   otzad.
   please   give me mirror-the to refl see-1s hair-the from-
                                                            behind
   'Please, 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 of agreement only under certain
conditions. Swahili (Moravcsik, Croft), Punjabi (Croft), Turkish,
and Hungarian mark agreement or Case only for definite objects.
Albanian and Macedonian, and indeed also Bulgarian, allow doubling
only of specific DPs; the examples in (28) are ungrammatical
because an indefinite, unspecific object has been doubled.

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

Indeed, in some languages, agreement morphology and an overt
lexical DP are in complementary distribution. Several Celtic
languages exhibit complementarity of overt subjects and subject
agreement inflection; so does Hebrew (Doron). Pemon, a Cariban
language discussed by Alvarez (1995), has complementary
distribution of NP and inflection not only for subjects, but also
for objects and possessives. One example is given in (29); in (a)
the subject and object are represented by verbal inflections, while
in (b) they are lexical DPs, and the verb inflections are absent.

29.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, approaches this type of complementarity between
lexical object and pronominal clitic object agreement. But not
quite; doubling does occur even in formal written Bulgarian.

What, then, are the conditions on overt object agreement in
Bulgarian? One plausible answer is provided by Guentcheva (1994),
who argues that clitic doubling codes the "thematicity" or
"topicality" of an object. Unlike in Albanian and Macedonian, not

all definite or specific objects are doubled, but only those which are "topical" in some appropriate sense. Not only Guentcheva, but other scholars too, ranging from Svetomir Ivanchev in several papers in the '50s to John Leafgren in recent unpublished work, have made similar observations and wrestled with precisely how to define "topical". 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 will leave this issue aside here, but assume that an appropriate definition is possible. One difference between literary and colloquial Bulgarian may be exactly how topicality is defined, or the extent to which [+topical] is required as a feature for clitic doubling. In any event, it seems that object agreement in Bulgarian is Spelled Out as a clitic under more restricted circumstances than in Albanian and Macedonian, which I represent by adding an additional feature to the list in (21) or (22). The features of go in Bulgarian are as in (30):

30.　AgrO
　　　ACC
　　　3sg.M　　　　　= 　SPELL OUT as **go**
　　　+specific
　　　+topical

Once again, note that such a situation is not unique among the world's languages' Moravcsik claims Lebanese Arabic shows agreement only with topicalized definites, for example. When [+specific] and [+topical] are not present in the feature specification of AgrO or AgrIO, the agreement phrase head is not realized as an overt pronominal clitic, but is covert, or null, as sketched in (31); see Kallulli on this point.

31. SPELL-OUT of Agr heads:
　　　[$_{AgrO/AgrIO}$···, +specific, +topical] = pronominal clitic
　　　[$_{AgrO/AgrIO}$···, -specific or -topical] = Ø

Given the possibility of null DPs as well, this leads to the three types of object constructions in (32)

32.a.　DP object alone (non-topical)
　　　　　lexical DP object = overt
　　　　　AgrO = covert (null)
　　　　　　　Kupih　　[$_{Agro}$ 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][$_{AgrO}$ **ja**] kupih.
　　　　　　　　red-the　　apple　　　　　　it　bought-1s
　　　　　　　'I bought the red apple.'

c. clitic alone
      lexical DP object = covert (null DP licensed by "rich"
      AgrO = overt   overt Agreement)
           Kupih   [$_{AgrO}$ **ja**][$_{DP}$ Ø].
           bought-1s   it
           'I bought it.'

When a lexical object appears alone, undoubled, the AgrO or AgrIO head is spelled out as "null". In clitic doubling constructions the Agr is spelled out as a clitic, and the DP object position also contains lexical material. When only a clitic appears, the object position is null, licensed by "rich" object agreement in the same way as null subjects are licensed by "rich" subject agreement in so-called "pro-drop" languages.

Conclusion

Thus Bulgarian and the other Balkan languages, I would claim, are languages in which AgrO and AgrIO can be spelled out as a pronominal clitic. The conditions under which this takes place differ from one language, dialect, or even style to another. But in all of them the presence of overt object agreement can license a null object.

The theoretical apparatus of current generative linguistics, in particular the "Split Infl" (the treatment of inflectional elements as functional heads) and the theory of Spec-head feature checking, allow an insightful account of the syntax of pronominal clitics. 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 one additional feature for clitic spell-out.

As a final word, let me note that some other European languages seem to be evolving towards a similar system of pronominal clitic agreement markers. For instance, in colloquial French, either the subject or the object clitic pronoun may be "doubled" by a full DP, as in (33).

33. Je le vois, Jean.
    I him see
    'I see Jean.'
    Moi, je le vois.
    me I him see
    'I see him.'

There are some differences between this colloquial French construction and Balkan clitic doubling; especially the obligatory pause signalled by a comma in writing and the fact that subject as well as object clitics are involved. (Note that the subject clitics in some sense compensate for the "inaudible" subject agreement affix on the verb). Nevertheless, it seems that, as

Lehmann (1988) argues, French pronouns may be in the process of developing into agreement markers. In Bulgarian and the other Balkan languages the process is already complete.

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