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A New Look at Clitics, Clitic Doubling, and Argument Ellipsis: Evidence from Slavic

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A New Look at Clitics, Clitic Doubling, and Argument Ellipsis: Evidence from Slavic

Jelena Runić, Ph.D.

University of Connecticut, 2014

This dissertation explores the status of clitic pronouns by analyzing several morpho-syntactic and semantic phenomena, and by examining their implications. I analyze several peculiar restrictions on clitic doubling and other related cliticization phenomena in non-standard Serbian and Slovenian dialects, and explore their relevance for the general theories of clitic doubling. Additionally, I examine the availability of the full spectrum of clitic meanings in Slavic and Romance, and show that clitics in article-less Slavic languages exhibit the kind of semantic flexibility that is not found in article clitic languages (both Slavic and Romance). I then explore the implications of this finding for null arguments in East Asian languages.

The standard claim is that pronouns, including clitics, involve a D(eterminer) P(hrase) in all clitic languages, including article-less Slavic languages. Nevertheless, the data from the aforementioned phenomena show that clitics in article-less languages are strikingly different from clitics in article languages. Following Bošković (2008b, 2012), who contends that languages without overt articles lack a DP on top of the (full) N(oun) P(hrase), I extend this claim to clitics, ultimately arguing that clitics in article-less languages cannot enjoy the status of DPs, but of NPs. The major evidence comes from pronominal clitic doubling in non-standard Serbian and Slovenian (Chapter 2), noun doubling in non-standard Serbian and Iroquoian (Chapter 3), and the availability of the clitic sloppy interpretation in article-less languages (Chapter 4). Finally, I consider theoretical implications of the above and contend that the Argument Ellipsis Analysis (Saito 2007, *i.a.*), quite prominent in the work on Japanese null

arguments, should be re-evaluated (Chapter 4). Specifically, I argue that clitics in article-less languages and null arguments in Japanese and other East Asian languages are both NPs, and that null subjects and objects in East Asian are not derived via ellipsis, as often assumed, but that they are null pronominal elements.

A New Look at Clitics, Clitic Doubling, and Argument Ellipsis: Evidence from Slavic

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A Dissertation

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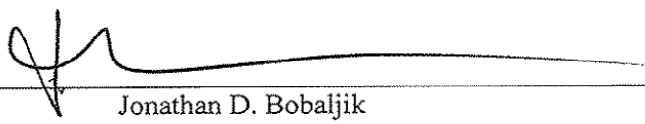University of Connecticut

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Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation

A New Look at Clitics, Clitic Doubling, and Argument Ellipsis: Evidence from Slavic

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Acknowleddments

My interest in clitics sparked at the University of Belgrade, when I was an undergraduate student and L2 learner of Romanian. For some reason (and especially while making L2 errors), I realized that Romanian clitics are very different from clitics in my native Serbo-Croatian, but at that time I did not study linguistics (but language and literature), so I could not get the answer why this was the case. With the UConn theoretical linguistics program, I got some of the answers, with many questions still arising. The present dissertation is the product of that query.

First and foremost, I would like to express deep gratitude to my major advisor, Željko Bošković, for his valuable suggestions, constructive criticism, very ambitious goals, limitless energy, and spontaneous optimism (accompanied by a perfectly natural smile). Bošković knows every single page in this dissertation (and every single footnote). I thank him for his dedication and his enormous amount of time.

Additional thanks go to other members of the committee, my associate advisors - Jonathan Bobaljik, Jon Gajewski, and Jairo Nunes, for their valuable feedback. Bobaljik's comments were succinct yet inspiring. Gajewski's contribution to the dissertaton was exceptional (and very much needed, as he was the only semanticist). I also thank him for being the way he is, as I always felt relaxed and happy while working with him. Finally, having Nunes on the committee assured that most problems would be detected, which was quite important. I thank them all.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1   The Aim of the Dissertation

The aim of the dissertation is to shed light on the status of clitic pronouns by analyzing several

hitherto unnoticed and/or unaccounted for morpho-syntactic and semantic phenomena, including

but not limited to certain restrictions on clitic doubling in non-standard Serbian and Slovenian

dialects and the interpretation of clitics. The empirical domain comprises Slavic, Balkan, and

Romance languages, with a special emphasis on the South Slavic branch, analyzing the

aforementioned phenomena in both standard vernaculars (Standard Serbian and Slovenian) and

non-standard ones (Prizren-Timok Serbian and Gorica Slovenian). Special attention is devoted to

Prizren-Timok Serbian, which generative linguistics has remained completely silent about. After

analyzing the distribution and interpretation of clitics in Slavic and Romance, theoretical

implications of the proposed analyses will be explored, by re-evaluating the Argument Ellipsis

Analysis of phonologically null elements in East Asian languages (Saito 2007, *i.a.*)

   The standard claim in the literature is that pronouns, including clitic pronouns, involve a

D(eterminer) P(hrase) in all clitic languages, including article-less Slavic languages (Uriagereka

1995, Progovac 1998, *i.a.*). Nevertheless, the data from the aforementioned phenomena show

that clitics in article-less languages are strikingly different from clitics in languages with articles, the status of clitics in this respect thus requires a thorough re-examination.

Bošković (2008b, 2012) observes that languages with and without articles differ regarding a variety of syntactic and semantic phenomena based on a number of cross-linguistic generalizations, where article and article-less languages display completely different behavior. He proposes to account for these differences by deducing them from a single difference between the two languages: the presence vs. absence of a DP (see also Fukui 1988, Corver 1992, Zlatić 1997, Chierchia 1998, Cheng and Sybesma 1999, Lyons 1999, Willim 2000, Baker 2003, among others, for no-DP analyses of at least some article-less languages). Following Bošković (2008b, 2012), who contends that languages without overt articles lack a DP on top of the (full) N(oun) P(hrase), I extend this claim to clitics, ultimately arguing that clitics in article-less languages cannot enjoy the status of DPs, but of NPs. The no-DP status of clitics represents the central claim of the dissertation, empirically supported by the collected data pertaining to the phenomena noted above.

The first phenomenon to be explored is pronominal clitic doubling found in Prizren-Timok Serbian (PTS) (1a) and Gorica Slovenian (GS) (1b), two non-standard dialects spoken in Southeast Serbia and Western Slovenia:[1]

(1) a. Je l' **gu**   **njuma**   vide   na pijacu?   [PTS]

    AUX Q her.CL.ACC her.ACC saw.2SG on market

    'Did you see her in the (open) market?'

---

[1] All relevant constituents throughout the examples are marked bold in the interest of clarity.

b. Ma to **me** **mene** ne briga. [GS, Marušič and Žaucer 2010:103]

 but this me.CL.GEN me.GEN not cares

 'But I don't care about this.'

In both (1a) and (1b) the full/strong pronominal form is doubled with the clitic. In PTS, the pronoun *njuma* 'her' is doubled with the clitic *gu* 'her.' In parallel fashion, Marušič and Žaucer (2009, 2010) report that GS allows clitic doubling, as illustrated by the cooccurence of the pronoun *mene* 'me' with the clitic *me* 'me' in (1b). This state of affairs poses a problem for the recent NP/DP Parameter, as developed by Bošković (2008b, 2012). As mentioned above, Bošković (2008b, 2012) draws a distinction between languages with articles and languages without articles in the sense that only the former project a DP in the syntax. As far as clitic doubling is concerned, Bošković (2008b, 2012) contends that only languages with overt articles may allow clitic doubling. However, PTS and GS lack overt articles, but still allow clitic doubling, as demonstrated in (1a) and (1b) above.

A thorough examination of the dialects in question reveals some hitherto unnoticed properties regarding the categorial status of pronouns. Bošković (2008b) and Fukui (1988) argue that even non-clitic pronouns are Ns in Serbo-Croatian (SC) and Japanese. One of their tests involves productive modification of pronouns; they show that only N pronouns can be productively modified (note that there are a few cases where a pronoun can be modified even in English (cf., *a healthy you*); these authors show that English is still very different from SC/Japanese, where such modification is productively available). Significantly, although pronoun modification is

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allowed in the two dialects (2a), it has gone unnoticed that such modification is banned when the pronoun is doubled with a clitic (2c), as illustrated by PTS below:

(2) a. On je svaki dan zanimljiv, ali je **jučerašnji on** bio zanimljiviji od

      he is every day interesting but AUX yesterday's he was more interesting than

    prekjučerašnjeg njega. [PTS]

    the day before yesterday's he

  '??He is interesting every day but yesterday's him was more interesting than the day

   before yesterday's him.'

  b. Jesi **jučerašnjeg njega** pitaja za što je to tako?

    AUX.2SG yesterday's him asked why is that like that

 '*Did you ask yesterday's him why this is the case?'

  c. *Jesi **ga jučerašnjeg njega** pitaja za što je to tako?

    AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC yesterday's him asked why is that like that

 '*Did you ask yesterday's him why this is the case?'

  d. Jesi **ga njega** pitaja za što je to tako?

    AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC him.ACC asked why is that like that

 'Did you ask him why this is the case?'

In (2a, b), the pronoun *on* 'he' is modified by the adjective *jučerašnji* 'yesterday's.' This reveals a lexical/N status of pronouns in these dialects, under Fukui (1988) and Bošković's (2008b) tests regarding the categorial status of pronouns, which they argue can be productively modified this

way only in languages lacking D(P). Significantly, (2c) demonstrates that pronoun modification is banned in the presence of a clitic, indicating that these dialects additionally have functional/D pronouns, which are used in the clitic doubling environment. Only non-modified pronouns can be doubled, as in (2d) above. Based on the data in (2), I will argue that pronouns in PTS and GS enjoy both lexical/N and functional/D status, given that only D pronouns can be doubled, while only N pronouns can be modified.

In addition to pronominal clitic doubling, this dissertation examines doubling with full NPs. Thus, some speakers of PTS allow clitic doubling with full NPs, as illustrated by PTS in (3):

(3) % Imate **gu** **salvetu**? [PTS]

    have.2sG it.CL.ACC   napkin

    'Do you have a napkin?'

In (3), the noun *salvetu* 'napkin' is clitic-doubled with *gu* 'it.' However, I will show that speakers who permit clitic doubling with full NPs concomitantly allow it in indefinite non-specific contexts, which demonstrates that specificity is not involved in licensing clitic doubling in PTS. This contrasts sharply with clitic doubling languages with articles, since they do not allow doubling in non-specific indefinite contexts. I will therefore argue that this kind of examples involve a different phenomenon. More precisely, it will be proposed that full NP clitic doubling in PTS and GS is similar to noun doubling in the Iroquoian languages, a construction that allows doubling in non-specific indefinite contexts. Also, of all N elements in PTS, only nouns can participate in this kind of doubling. Modified/N pronouns are not possible to double

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(cf. (3) vs. (2c)). I will argue that this discrepancy is due to the ongoing loss of morphological case in PTS with nouns, which can then have a clitic as a case realization.

A number of hitherto unnoticed cliticization phenomena found in PTS and GS are also explored in the dissertation, two of which should be emphasized - the impossibility of a verb intervening between a clitic and its associate (4a-c) and the impossibility of a doubled clitic to follow a verb (5a, b), as exemplified by PTS in (4) and (5):

(4) a. *Je   l'   **me**   čekaš   **mene**?   [PTS]

       AUX Q   me.CL.ACC   wait.2SG me.ACC

   b. Je   l'   **me**   **mene**   čekaš?

      AUX   Q   me.CL.ACC   me.ACC   wait.2SG

   c. Je   l'   **me**   sad   **mene**   čekaš?

      AUX Q   me. CL.ACC now   me.ACC   wait.2SG

   'Are you waiting for me?'

(5) a. *Čekaš   **me**   **mene.**   [PTS]

       wait.2SG   me.CL.ACC   me.ACC

   b. Ti   **me**   **mene**   čekaš?

     you   me.CL.ACC   me.ACC   wait.2SG

   'Are you waiting for me?'

(4a) and (4b) show that a clitic and a doubled pronoun cannot be separated by the verb (cf. (4a)), any separation being allowed only in the pre-verbal position when a phonologically light element is involved (4c). Moreover, a doubled clitic cannot follow a verb (5a), while it can follow other prosodic elements (5b). In this dissertation, I will explore whether this distribution pattern is due to the constituency requirement between a clitic and its associate. Specifically, I will use these facts to examine the relationship between the clitic and its double. I will then argue, following Bošković's (2001) approach to cliticization under the umbrella of the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky 1993), that the *verb-clitic* order emerges through lower copy pronunciation, which is blocked, however, in the clitic doubling environment.

Finally, I examine the interpretation of clitics cross-linguistically, which I show also demonstrates a division between article and article-less clitic languages. Specifically, article-less languages allow semantic freedom of clitics, whereas article languages ban it. This is illustrated by Serbian/Croatian (SC), an article-less language, in (6b), and Macedonian, an article language, in (6c), given the context in (6a):

(6)   a. The Context for Sloppy Reading:

Nikola and Danilo are best friends. They have many interests in common except their taste in movies is completely different. Specifically, Nikola likes comedies, whereas Danilo likes horror movies. In their town, a movie festival of all film genres takes place every summer. A comedy and a horror movie played at the same time in two different buildings. Given their very different tastes, Nikola and Danilo saw two different movies.

      b. Nikola   je   vidio **film**, a   vidio **ga**   je   i   Danilo.   [SC]

Nikola AUX   saw   film   and   saw   it.CL.ACC AUX   and   Danilo

'Nikola saw a movie and Danilo saw it/one too.'

c. Viktor vide (eden) **film**, a i Dimitar **go**   vide.   [Macedonian]

Viktor saw   one   film   and Dimitar it.CL.ACC   saw

'Viktor saw a movie and Dimitar saw it/*one too.'

In SC and other article-less languages examined in this dissertation, clitics exhibit semantic freedom by allowing more than one interpretation (in other words, given the context in (6a) not only can the clitic *ga* in the second conjunct in (6b) refer to its antecedent – *film*, but it can also refer to any other such entity, as confirmed by the dual English translation - "it/one"). The situation is completely opposite in article languages, in which the reference is limited to the strict interpretation exclusively, as illustrated by the Macedonian example in (6c). The dissertation will explore the interpretation of clitics in article and article-less languages by examining the meaning of clitics in various contexts.

The implications of the data above will then be discussed. A parallelism with null objects in East Asian languages will be noted, which will lead to a re-evaluation of the Argument Ellipss Analysis of null elements in East Asian languages. For the sake of illustration, consider (7). If the null object (*e*) in (7b) is preceded by the antecedent sentence in (7a), then the null object in (7b) can be ambiguous between a strict interpretation (meaning Hanako hates her (her = Taro's mother)) and a sloppy interpretation (meaning Hanako hates her own (=Hanako's) mother). However, the presence of an overt pronoun in (7c) allows a strict interpretation exclusively, as

illustrated by the insertion of the pronoun *kanojo-o* 'her' in (7c): ((7a-b) are taken from Şener and Takahashi 2010:79.)

(7) a. Taro-wa   **zibun-no hahaoya-o**   aisiteiru.   [Japanese]

   Taro-NOM self-GEN   mother-ACC   love

  'lit. Taro loves self's mother'

  b. Hanako-wa *e* nikundeiru

    Hanako-TOP   hates

  'Hanako hates *e*.'

  c. Hanako-wa   **kanojo-o** nikundeiru

    Hanako-TOP her-ACC   hates

   'Hanako hates her.' (her = Taro's mother)

   '*Hanako hates her own (= Hanako's) mother.'

The above facts have led a number of researchers to claim that null arguments in Japanese are best analyzed as involving ellipsis. Nevertheless, clitics in (6) are overt, yet can obtain both strict and sloppy interpretation, just like the null object in (7b). Based on the parallelism between clitics in article-less languages and null arguments in East Asian, I will claim that the two should be analyzed as a unified phenomenon and will propose that they are both pronominal elements.

Following Tomioka's (2003) analysis of null arguments in Japanese, I will propose that both null arguments and clitics are predicates of type <e, t>, which can be interpreted through Existential Closure (for the indefinite reading) and through Type-Shifting operations (for the

definite reading), which are independently allowed in other contexts in these languages (see Chierchia 1998). The relevant Type-Shifting operations (via Iota) are blocked in languages with articles due to the presence of the definite article (Cherchia 1998). Thus, this analysis predicts that clitics in languages with articles cannot achieve a sloppy interpretation, as confirmed by Macedonian in (6c). In brief, I will argue for a pronoun theory as a more complete mechanism for accounting for semantic flexibility of both clitics and null arguments. Finally, I will discuss how non-clitic pronouns fare with respect to the test in question, paying particular attention to the role of focus in their distribution.

1.2   The Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation is organized into four chapters, three of which are devoted to the above phenomena, each analyzed separately, while Chapter 1 represents the introduction. Since clitic doubling in PTS and GS occurs both with full pronouns (with all speakers) and with full NPs (with some speakers), the phenomenon is examined in two separate chapters – one devoted to pronominal clitic doubling (Chapter 2), and the other dedicated to doubling with full NPs, respectively (Chapter 3). The interpretation of clitics is examined in Chapter 4, along with its implications for the status of null elements in East Asian languages. Finally, Chapter 4 also analyzes the inflexibility of full pronouns in SC and overt pronouns in Japanese with respect to the phenomena discussed in this chapter, and some differences regarding null subject *pro* between these languages are explored.

Chapter 2

Pronominal Clitic Doubling in Non-Standard Serbian and Slovenian Dialects[1]

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I analyze pronominal clitic doubling and other related cliticization phenomena in PTS and GS. First, I introduce Bošković's (2008b) generalization about clitic doubling, which states, in light of the NP/DP Parameter, that only languages with articles may allow clitic doubling. Nevertheless, PTS and GS are languages without articles, still allowing pronominal clitic doubling to surface, which poses a problem for Bošković's (2008b) generalization and the NP/DP Parameter more generally. In the remainder of this chapter, I elaborate on this research problem by exploring the categorical status of pronouns in PTS/GS. Pronoun modificaton and clitic doubling reveal that pronouns in the dialects at stake can act both as D and N elements. I will propose that pronouns in PTS and GS are subject to language change, as evidenced by their dual behavior with respect to their categorical status. This chapter also discusses a number of other previously unnoticed cliticization phenomena, such as certain positional restrictions of the clitic and its associate relative to the verb. I also discuss the more general implications of the current proposal, and argue for a particular approach to clitic doubling.

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[1] Some parts of this chapter are part of Runić 2013b, Runić 2014, and Runić, to appear *b*.

2.2 The Problem: Clitic Doubling in Article-less Languages

Clitic doubling is a construction in which an argument clitic co-occurs (and co-refers) with another argument, as illustrated with an example from Romanian in (1) below, in which the clitic *l-* 'him' co-occurs and co-refers with the DP argument *Mircea*:

(1) **L**-am   văzut pe **Mircea**.   [Romanian]

    him.CL.ACC-have. AUX.1SG seen *pe* Mircea.ACC

    'I saw Mircea.'

Clitic doubling has been subject to thorough and painstaking linguistic research, both modern and traditional.[2] An apparent reason for examining this topic in such a thorough and systematic way is its intriguing cross-linguistic variation. Thus, while some languages exhibit clitic doubling, others completely lack it. Additionally, languages allowing clitic doubling differentiate further with respect to the exact requirements triggering clitic doubling.[3]

    A new research flavor has been added to the investigation of clitic doubling by Bošković (2008b), who considers this phenomenon under the umbrella of the NP/DP parameter. Specifically, while examining data from a number of heterogeneous languages, Bošković (2008b) reaches the conclusion that the difference between languages with respect to the presence/absence of clitic doubling correlates with the dichotomy concerning the

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[2] For an overview of generative approaches to clitic doubling, see Anagnostopoulou 2006.

[3] Although the specificity requirement holds cross-linguistically, some languages impose additional requirements on clitic doubling. To illustrate, Bulgarian requires doubled arguments to be topical, whereas in Romanian, for instance, category *animacy* is an obligatory component of clitic doubling.

presence/absence of articles. Accordingly, Bošković (2008b:105) puts forward a new generalization, as in (2):

(2) Only languages with articles may allow clitic doubling.

In this respect, Bošković (2008b) provides a list of languages that allow clitic doubling. The list includes the following: Albanian, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Greek, Somali, Spanish, French (some dialects), Catalan, Romanian, Hebrew, Arabic, Dutch (some dialects), all of these languages being languages with articles.[4] Additionally, Bošković (2008b) observes that within the Slavic paradigm, only two languages, Bulgarian and Macedonian, allow clitic doubling. Crucially, these two languages are the only Slavic languages that have overt articles. In order to account for this cross-linguistic variation, Bošković (2008b) tentatively suggests that clitic doubling requires D-feature checking, hence it is possible only in article languages, given his claim that article-less languages lack DP. In this respect, consider the lack of clitic doubling in article-less languages, exemplified by SC in (3a), as opposed to example (3b) from Macedonian, a language with articles: ((3b) is adapted from Franks and King 2000:72.)

(3) a. Marija **(*ga)** poznaje **učenika/Vladu/njega**.   [SC]

    Mary him.ACC knows   student/Vlado/him.ACC

   b. Marija ***(go)**   poznava **učenikot/   Vlado/ nego**.   [Macedonian]

---

[4] For discussion of clitic doubling in various languages, see Strozer 1976, Rivas 1977, Aoun 1981, 1999, Jaeggli 1982, Borer 1984, Everett 1987, Suñer 1988, Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, Sportiche 1996, 1998, Anagnostopoulou 1994, 2003, Uriagereka 1988, 1995, Rudin 1997, Torrego 1998, Bleam 1999, Kallulli 1999, 2008, Franks 2009, Franks and King 2000.

Mary him.ACC knows student-the Vlado him.ACC

'Mary knows the student/Vlado/him.'

In (3a), clitic doubling is disallowed in SC with all types of arguments, full NPs (including proper names) and strong pronouns. On the other hand, Macedonian requires clitic doubling in the same context - omitting a doubled clitic with these arguments results in ungrammaticality (3b).

As mentioned above, clitic doubling is specificity-driven. This is illustrated with Macedonian in (4), where the specificity of indefinite objects triggers clitic doubling. Thus, although both arguments in (4a) and (4b) are indefinite, (4a) must be doubled because specificity is present (a specific man in the speaker's mind). Conversely, clitic doubling must be absent if there is no specificity involved, as exemplified by a non-specific student in (4b): ((4a) is taken from Berent 1980:172, and (4b) is from Berent 1980:161.)

(4) a. Sakam da *(**go**) pluknam **eden čovek** [Macedonian]

 want.1SG c him.CL.ACC spit-on one man

 koj beše včera kaj tebe.

 who was yesterday by you

'I want to spit on a man who was at your place yesterday.'

b. Profesorot (***ja**) prašuvaše **edna studentka**.

 professor-the her.CL.ACC questioned one student

'The professor was questioning a student.'

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Recall that clitic doubling is allowed in two non-standard dialects without articles, Gorica Slovenian (GS) and Prizren-Timok Serbian (PTS). Crucially, however, as pointed out by Marušič and Žaucer (2009) for GS, this type of doubling substantially differs from clitic doubling in article languages, as it is limited to the context with doubled (full/strong) pronouns exclusively (5a), doubling with full NPs being banned (5b): (The example is from Marušič and Žaucer 2010:103.)

(5) a. Js se **ga** **njega** spomnem še iz šole. [GS]
    I CL.REFL him.CL.ACC him.ACC remember already from school
    'I remember him already from school.'
  b. *Js se **ga** **Petra** spomnem še iz šole.
    I CL.REFL him.CL.ACC Peter.ACC remember already from school
    'I remember Peter already from school.'

GS, a dialect of an article-less language, Slovenian, then challenges the claim that only languages with articles may allow clitic doubling.[5] I show that the same holds for PTS. As mentioned above, clitic doubling is allowed in this dialect, as illustrated by pronominal doubling in (6):

(6) Je l' **me** **mene** čekaš? [PTS]

---

[5] Note that Slovenian has indefinite but not definite articles. Bošković (2008a), however, notes that what is relevant for his generalizations, including the one above, is the presence/absence of the definite article in a language.

AUX Q me.CL.ACC me.ACC   wait.2SG

'Are you waiting for me?'

In (5a) and (6), the full pronominal form is doubled with the clitic. Additionally, the doubled
argument is not positioned at the left or right periphery of the sentence, which would have cast
doubt on the possibility of analyzing the construction as an instance of clitic right or clitic left
dislocation.[6] Therefore, both PTS and GS display genuine clitic doubling. In this chapter, as well
as in Chapter 3, I will investigate in detail clitic doubling in PTS and GS and its relevance for the
NP/DP parameter. The data along with the research methodology are provided in the next three
sections, while an attempt to account for these properties is made in the remainder of Chapter 2
and Chapter 3.

2.3   The Data

2.3.1 Prizren-Timok Serbian: Basic Facts

Prizren-Timok Serbian (*aka* Torlag Serbian) is a non-standard Serbian dialect spoken in
Southeastern Serbia. Linguistically and geographically, PTS is situated between the Kosovo-
Resava dialects, another group of non-standard Serbian dialects to the west and north, Albanian
to the southwest, and the Bulgarian and Macedonian languages to the east and south respectively.

---

[6] For the discussion of clitic right and clitic left dislocation as opposed to clitic doubling, see Chapter 2.4.

A map showing boundaries of the area where this dialect is spoken is provided in (7) from Friedman 1977:88:[7]

(7)

As shown in the map in (7), the eastern, southern, and southwestern boundaries of PTS can be identified with the borders of Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania. The northwestern boundary of the dialect belongs to Serbia, including Kosovo. In parallel fashion, linguistic properties of the PTS dialect are, to a certain extent, a reflection of linguistic characteristics found in the neighboring languages/dialects. Thus, on the one hand, PTS concomitantly contains features of Serbian (both the Kosovo-Resava non-standard Serbian dialects and Standard Serbian), as well

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[7] From a diachronic perspective, PTS belongs to the Old Shtokavian sub-dialects, representing the most conservative Shtokavian dialect. For the development of Shtokavian dialects and the status of PTS within them, see Ivić 1956.

as, on the other hand, those features present in Bulgarian and Macedonian.[8] Transferring these facts to the realm of modern research trends under the NP/DP Parameter (Bošković 2008b, 2012), this means that PTS is situated at the crossroads between DP/article languages - Bulgarian and Macedonian, and NP (or non-DP)/article-less languages - the Kosovo-Resava Serbian and Standard Serbian. This linguistic NP/DP "cocktail" represents one of the most distinctive attributes of PTS, a point that will be elaborated further in the subsequent sections.

Although PTS has been thoroughly discussed in traditional dialectological surveys, both by Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian grammarians, generative linguistics has remained virtually silent with respect to peculiar phenomena attested in this language.[9] Moreover, due to the similarities found with both Serbian and Bulgarian, there has been disagreement in Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian traditional grammarians' circles as to whether PTS is a Serbian or a Bulgarian dialect.[10] It is my hope that this dissertation can shed some light on the dialects in question.

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[8] Needless to say, PTS is in constant "touch" with Standard Serbian through media and education. On the sad side, it is worth mentioning that the PTS dialect has been under constant threat by Standard Serbian. Media, school, and educational institutions in general repeatedly report how PTS is a language of uneducated people, thus causing the dialect to become, in part, socially unacceptable.

[9] To the best of my knowledge, Olga Mišeska Tomić is the only researcher occasionally presenting data from these dialects in light of a broader discussion of clitic doubling as one of the morphosyntactic features of the so-called *Balkan Sprachbund*. See, for instance, Mišeska Tomić 2006.

[10] For discussion, see Ivić 1991.

2.3.2 The PTS Data

It is well-known that PTS exhibits a large amount of variation, which is a reason why it has been classified into a number of sub-dialects.[11] Keeping this relevant fact in mind, the data for the present study were collected from several different areas. The data were collected in six different villages located in different sub-zones of the dialect, as well as from three different towns - Leskovac, Niš, and Žitorađa.[12] More precisely, the data were gathered from central and northern areas of the dialect. First, I present some of the facts that have already been reported in the literature, after which I provide additional observations obtained by using grammaticality/acceptability judgment tasks.

Pronominal clitic doubling is one of the major morphosyntactic phenomena found in PTS, a characteristic shared with its neighboring languages - Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Albanian.[13] As far as other neighboring languages are concerned, the Kosovo-Resava dialects only occasionally display clitic doubling, while Standard Serbian completely lacks it. Pronominal

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[11] Friedman (1977) presents three major sub-dialects: 1) Timok-Lužnica; 2) Svrljig-Zaplanje, and Prizren-South Morava dialects. For a thorough discussion of certain sub-dialectal features, see Belić 1905, Bogdanović 1979, 1987.

[12] The villages are the following: Biljeg (Niš Municipality), Dolac (Niš Municipality), Dubovo (Žitorađa Municipality), Držanovac (Žitorađa Municipality), Pejkovac (Žitorađa Municipality), and Vlahovo (Žitorađa Municipality).

[13] Another two features, worth mentioning since they are often discussed in the traditional literature, are the loss of full declension paradigm with nouns and the use of post-positive article (see, for example, Bogdanović 1987). While the loss of full declension, or, more precisely, the use of only two cases (the nominative and the accusative) with nouns has been confirmed by all the consultants, the presence of the post-positive article has not been found with any consultants. Mišeska Tomić (2006:120) reports that the definite article in PTS appears only in the eastern and southern periphery of the dialectal area, near the borders with Macedonia and Bulgaria. Furthermore, like the Macedonian articles, the definite article found in the peripheral area of PTS exhibits triple spatial differentiation. For discussion, see Mišeska Tomić 2006.

clitic doubling has been attested with all the informants and is illustrated in (8), in which the full pronominal *njega* 'him' is accompanied with the clitic form *ga* 'him:'[14]

(8) Je   l' **ga**   **njega**   vide   na   pijacu?   [PTS]

    AUX Q him.CL.ACC   him.ACC   saw.2SG   on   market

    'Have you seen him in the (open) market?'

Alongside the well-attested pronominal doubling, several hitherto unnoticed characteristics have been found. These properties are listed in (i) - (v) below:

(i)   Adjectival modification of pronouns is allowed (9a, b). It is banned, however, when the pronoun is doubled (9c); only non-modified pronouns can be doubled (9d):

(9) a. On je svaki dan zanimljiv, ali je **jučerašnji on** bio   zanimljiviji   od

      he is every day interesting but   AUX yesterday's he was more interesting   than

      prekjučerašnjeg   **njega**.   [PTS]

     the day before yesterday's   he

    '??He is interesting every day but yesterday's him was more interesting than the day

    before yesterday's him.'

    b. Jesi   **jučerašnjeg njega** pitaja   za što je to   tako?

     AUX.2SG yesterday's   him asked   why is that   like that

20

'*Did you ask yesterday's him why this is the case?'

c. *Jesi **ga** **jučerašnjeg njega** pitaja za što je to tako?

    AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC   yesterday's him asked why is that like that

'*Did you ask yesterday's him why this is the case?'

d. Jesi **ga** **njega** pitaja za što je to tako?

    AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC him.ACC asked why is that like that

'Did you ask him why this is the case?'

(ii)   Clitic doubling with full NPs is allowed by some informants. Specifically, nine
(out of seventeen) informants accept doubling with full NPs, as illustrated in (10):[15]

(10) Ja **ga** **Milovana** poštujem.   [PTS]

    I him.CL.ACC   Milovan.ACC respect.1SG

    'I respect Milovan.'

(iii)   The data show no definiteness/specificity effects when doubling with full NPs occurs
since doubling in non-specific indefinite contexts is allowed, as shown in (11):

(11) Imate **gu** **salvetu**?   [PTS]

    have.2SG it.CL.ACC   napkin

    'Do you have a napkin?'

---

[15] Doubling with full NPs seems restricted to certain areas, as it is allowed in the villages of Držanovac and among some speakers from the village of Dubovo. In other areas, doubling with full NPs is unacceptable.

(iv)   A verb cannot intervene between a clitic and its double (12a); in this environment, the

clitic and its associate have to be adjacent (12b). Only phonologically weak adverbs can

intervene between a clitic and its double in the pre-verbal position (12c):

(12)   a. *Je   l'   **me**   čekaš   **mene**?   [PTS]

        AUX   Q   me.CL.ACC   wait.2SG me.ACC

       b. Je   l' **me**   **mene**   čekaš?

          AUX   Q   me.CL.ACC me.ACC   wait.2SG

       'Are you waiting for me?'

       c. Je   l' **me**   sad   **mene**   čekaš?

          AUX   Q   me. CL.ACC   now   me.ACC wait.2SG

       'Are you waiting for me now?'

(v)   A verb cannot precede a doubled clitic in the pronominal doubling context (13a); the verb

has to follow the doubling pair (13b):[16]

(13)   a. *Čekaš   **me**   **mene**?   [PTS]

          wait.2SG   me.CL.ACC   me. ACC

       b. Ti **me**   **mene**   čekaš?

          you me.CL.ACC   me.ACC   wait.2SG

---

[16] The verb can precede a doubled clitic when doubling with full NPs is involved (cf. (11)). See Chapter 3 (Section 3.3.3) regarding differences between pronominal and noun doubling.

'Are you waiting for me?'

Before providing an account of the aforementioned properties, I present the data from Gorica Slovenian, which are strinkingly similar to the ones found in PTS.

2.3.3   Gorica Slovenian: Basic Facts

Gorica Slovenian (GS) is a cover term for non-standard dialects of spoken Slovenian around the town of Nova Gorica/Gorica/Gorizia, situated on the border of Italy and Slovenia, and, for illustration purposes, presented in the following map:[17]

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[17] Spoken Slovenian has approximately fifty main dialects and subdialects. The term *Gorica Slovenian* has been coined by Marušič and Žaucer (2009, 2010), who limit their observations to clitic doubling found in the town of Nova Gorica/Gorica/Gorizia, still acknowledging that "the phenomenon can be found in other western Slovenian dialects as well." (Marušič and Žaucer 2009:281-282) Note that Gorica Slovenian would be classified into the broader group of the Slovenian Littoral Dialects, according to the Slovene Linguistic Atlas, still in preparation by the Institute for the Slovene Language, available at http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/c/Dial/Ponovne_SLA/P/index.html.

(14)   The location of Nova Gorica

Languages and dialects spoken in the vicinity of Gorica Slovenian are: Italian, Friulan, non-standard Slovenian dialects (e.g., the Resian dialect), and above all, Standard Slovenian.[18] Again, the general picture is fairly similar to the one encountered with PTS - GS is situated at the crossroads between article/DP languages (Italian, Friulan) and article-less/NP (or non-DP languages), such as Standard Slovenian, speaking in Bošković's (2008b) NP/DP parlance. Additionally, properties found in GS bear remarkable resemblance to the properties presented in PTS above, as shown in the following subsection.

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[18] Note that the Resian dialect, colloquial Italian, as well as the Friulan language, all have clitic doubling. See Erat 2006 for Friulan and Šekli 2008 for the north-west dialects of the Rezija Valley. Further, the Triestino dialect of Italian has been reported to have clitic doubling (see Pinguentini 1984).

2.3.4   The GS Data

Marušič and Žaucer (2009, 2010) establish certain facts about GS, out of which two should be emphasized - first, clitic doubling is allowed in GS (15a); second - clitic doubling is never allowed with full NPs arguments (15b): (The examples are from Marušič and Žaucer 2010:103.)

(15) a. Js se   **ga**   **njega**   spomnem   še   iz   šole.   [GS]

      I   CL.REFL him.CL.ACC him.ACC   remember   already from   school

    'I remember him already from school.'

    b. *Js se   **ga**   **Petra**   spomnem   še   iz   šole.

      I   CL.REFL him.CL.ACC Peter.ACC remember   already from   school

    'I remember Peter already from school.'

The data I collected for this study confirm (15a). Clitic doubling with pronouns is possible for all my informants.[19] Nevertheless, several novel properties of clitic doubling in GS have been revealed upon thorough examination of the data. These properties are listed in (i)-(iv) below:

(i) As in PTS (cf. (9)), modifying of pronouns is allowed (16a); it is not permitted, however when the pronoun is doubled (16b):

(16) a. **Včerajšnji on** ni bil podoben **običajnemu njemu**.   [GS]

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[19] Four informants participated in this study. Three of them are from the town of Nova Gorica, while one informant is from a village nearby.

yesterday's   he   not   was   similar   usual's   him.DAT

   '*Yesterday's him was not similar to his usual's him.'

b. *Ali si   **ga**   **včerajšnjega njega**   vprašal zakaj je čuden?

   but AUX.2SG him. CL.ACC yesterday's   him.ACC asked   why is strange

  '*But did you asked yesterday' him why he was strange.'

(ii) Contrary to what has been reported in the literature (cf. (15b)), doubling with full NPs is

allowed with all my informants, which is, again, similar to the fact found with some speakers of

PTS (cf. (10)). Nonetheless, doubling with full NPs is restricted to proper nouns (17a), common

nouns prohibiting doubling (17b):[20]

(17)   a. Jst **ga**   **Janeza**   spoštujem.   [GS]

    I   him.CL.ACC Janez.ACC   respect. 1SG

    'I respect Janez.'

b. Spet   sem   **(*jo)**   **tisto belo miš**   videla**.**

  again AUX.1SG   it. CL.ACC that   white   mouse saw

  'I saw that white mouse again.'

(iii) As in PTS (cf. (12)), a verb cannot intervene between a clitic and its pronominal associate

(18a); they have to be adjacent (18b). Only phonologically weak adverbs can intervene between

a clitic and its double in the pre-verbal position (18c):

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[20] According to Tatjana Marvin (pers. comm. 2010), pronominal doubling is somewhat more acceptable than
doubling with full NPs/proper nouns, the latter still being allowed.

(18) a.*Jst **ga** spoštujem **njega**. [GS]

I him.CL.ACC respect.1SG him.ACC

b. Jst **ga** **njega** spoštujem

I him.CL.ACC him.ACC respect.1SG

'I respect him.'

c. Ali si **ga** včeraj **njega** videl na tržnici?

but AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC yesterday him.ACC saw on market

'Did you see him yesterday in the (open) market?'

(iv) As in PTS (cf. (13)), a verb cannot precede a doubled clitic (19a); it can only follow it (19b):

(19) a. *Spoštujem **ga** **njega** jst. [GS]

respect.1SG him.CL.ACC him.ACC I

b. **Njega** **ga** spoštujem jst.

him.ACC him.CL.ACC respect. 1SG I

'I respect him.'

Before discussing the data in light of the recent theoretical developments, first it must be determined whether clitic doubling in PTS and GS is genuine clitic doubling or some other doubling construction may be involved.

2.4   Clitic Doubling vs. Clitic Left/Right Dislocation

Clitic doubling is not the only occurence of a clitic co-referring with an XP in the same sentence. Another two constructions involving a discontinous constitent with a clitic have been extensively reported in the literature. These are Clitic Left Dislocation (CLD) and Clitic Right Dislocation (CRD). A considerable number of authors acknowledge that genuine clitic doubling can be easily mistaken with CLD and CRD, and establish diagnostic tests that distinguish clitic doubling from the two.[21]

CLD is a construction in which a clitic co-occurs (and co-refers) with a left-dislocated phrase. This is illustrated by Italian (20), in which the clitic *lo* 'him' co-occurs with the DP *Gianni*:

(20) **Gianni**, **lo**   vedrò   domani.   [Italian, Anagnostopulou 2006:524]

Gianni   him.CL.ACC will.see.1SG   tomorow

'I will see Gianni tomorrow.'

In (20), the clitic-doubled dislocated constituent *Gianni* occurs to the left of its co-referring clitic *lo* 'him' and is separated by a pause from the rest of the sentence, as marked by a comma. Yet, in GS, as pointed by Marušič and Žaucer (2009:282), the clitic-doubled argument does not have to be a left-dislocated constituent, as illustrated in (21):

(21)   Ma   to   **me**   **mene**   ne   briga.   [GS, Marušič and Žaucer 2009:282]

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[21] See, for instance, Cinque 1990, Anagnostopoulou 1994, Iatridou 1995, among others.

but   this   me.CL.ACC me.ACC   not   cares

'But I don't care about this.'

In parallel fashion, the data from PTS demonstrate that a clitic doubled argument, be it a pronoun (22a) or a full NP (22b), does not have to appear as a left-dislocated constituent, as illustrated below:[22]

(22)   a. Je   l'   **ga**   **njega**   vide?   [PTS]

AUX   ǫ   him.CL.ACC   him.ACC   saw.2SG

'Have you seen him?'

b. Je   l'   **ga**   **Milovana**   vide?

AUX   ǫ   him.CL.ACC   Milovan.ACC   saw.2SG

'Have you seen Milovan?'

Thus, the phenomenon in question does not seem to be CLD in both GS and PTS. Furthermore, the phenomenon is not CRD either. CRD is a construction in which a clitic co-occurs and co-refers with a right-dislocated phrase, as illustrated by French in (23):

(23)   Je **l'**   ai   vu,   **l' assasin**.   [French, Anagnostopoulou 2006:525]

---

[22] Additionally, Halpern and Montana (1994) argue that true clitic doubling occurs only in languages with verb-adjacent clitics and not with second-position clitics. Genuine clitic doubling contrasts sharply with clitics occurring with dislocated constituents, which even second-position clitic languages occasionally allow (cf. Franks and King 2000:250-251). Second-position clitic languages (SC, Slovenian, Czech and Slovak) all lack articles, the fact that has led Bošković (2012) to propose another generalization. See Section 2.5 for details.

I   him.CL.ACC   have seen, the murderer

'I saw him, the murderer.'

In (23), the argument *l' assasin* 'the murderer' occurs with the clitic *l'* 'him' in the same sentence. *Prima facie*, CRD is a construction largely identical to clitic doubling. Nonetheless, a sharp intonational break between the doubled argument and the rest of the sentence is required, the doubled argument thus forming a distinct prosodic phrase, marked by the comma in (23), whereas such a break does not exist with true clitic doubling.[23] Furthermore, some languages do not have clitic doubling, whereas they do have CRD.[24] French is one such example, as illustrated in (23) with CRD, whereas it does not have clitic doubling.

As far as the data from GS are concerned, again, as pointed out by Marušič and Žaucer (2009: 282-283), a clitic-doubled argument does not have to occur on the right edge (cf. (21)). The same holds for PTS. The clitic-doubled constituents in (22a, b) above do not have to occur on the very right edge of the sentence and do not have to be separated by a pause.

There is another potentially relevant test which is applicable in determining clitic doubling versus CRD for both PTS and GS. Recall that a verb cannot break a cluster containing a clitic

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[23] For the prosodic requirements of right-dislocated constituents as compared with clitic doubling, see Vallduví 1992 and Zubizarreta 1998.

[24] Anagnostopoulou (2006:526) acknowledges that all clitic languages have CRD, while not all of them have genuine clitic doubling. Furthermore, across Romance, CRD is not subject to Kayne's Generalization, while clitic doubling is (Kayne's Generalization is known in the literature as the fact that doubled arguments are preceded by a special preposition, attributed to Kayne in Jaeggli 1982:20). To illustrate, consider (i) and (ii) from Rioplatense Spanish. In (i), the CRD phrase *la hija de Coronel Martínez* does not require a special preposition, unlike the genuine clitic doubling construction in (ii), which requires the preposition *a* to surface: (The examples are from Anagnostopoulou 2006:526.)

(i)   Parece que tuvieron que llevar**la** de urgenzia a los Estados Unidos **la hija de Coronel Martínez**.
      "It seems that they had to take her urgently to the United States the daughter of coronel Martinez."
(ii) Parece que tuvieron que llevar**la a la hija de Coronel Martínez** de urgenzia a los Estados Unidos**.**
      "It seems that they had to take her the daughter of coronel Martinez urgently to the United States."

and a doubled argument (cf. (12) and (18)). The break of a cluster is possible only when there is an intonational break before the doubled argument, both in PTS (24a, b) and GS (25a, b), which means that CRD and not genuine clitic doubling is at work in such examples (the bar examples in (24) and (25) below involve CRD):

(24) a. *Je   l'   **ga**   vide   **njega**?   [PTS]

          AUX   Q   him.CL.ACC   saw.2SG   him.ACC

      a.' Je   l'   **ga**   vide#   **njega**?

          AUX   Q   him.CL.ACC saw. 2SG   him.ACC

      'Have you seen him?'

      b.*Je   l'   **ga**   vide   **Milovana**?

          AUX   Q   him.CL.ACC saw.2SG   Milovan.ACC

      b.' Je   l'   **ga**   vide#   **Milovana**?

          AUX   Q   him. CL.ACC saw.2SG   Milovan.ACC

      'Have you seen Milovan?'

(25) a. *Ma   jst **ga**   spoštujem   **njega**.   [GS]

          PTCL I   him.CL.ACC   respect.1SG   him.ACC

      a.'Ma   jst **ga**   spoštujem#   **njega**.

          PTCL I   him.CL.ACC respect.1SG   him.ACC

      'I respect him.'

      b. *Ma   jst **ga**   spoštujem   **Janeza**.

PTCL I him.CL.ACC respect.1SG Janez.ACC

 b.' Ma jst **ga** spoštujem# **Janeza.**

  PTCL I him.CL.ACC respect.1SG Janez. ACC

'I respect Janez.'

To conclude, the instances of clitic doubling in GS and PTS cannot be reduced to other doubling constructions, such as CLD or CRD. PTS and GS thus employ genuine clitic doubling.

In the remainder of this chapter, I discuss the phenomenon of pronominal clitic doubling in the two dialects in connection with Bošković's (2008b, 2012) NP/DP Parameter, starting with a brief ovierview of the parameter.

2.5 The NP/DP Parameter: Bošković (2008b, 2012) and Beyond

In a series of publications and presentations, Bošković (Bošković 2005, Bošković 2008a, Bošković 2008b, Bošković 2009, Bošković 2012, Bošković and Gajewski 2011)[25] establishes an NP/DP parameter by providing a number of generalizations pertaining to the substantial differences in (syntactic and semantic) behavior between languages with articles and languages without articles. Working with an array of data from a considerable number of heterogeneous languages, Bošković (2008b) establishes a number of generalizations, listed in (26) and (27):[26]

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[25] For the sake of simplicity, I use Bošković 2008b as a cover reference for all the publications when I refer to the NP/DP Parameter since this is the first more comprehensive piece of work regarding the generalizations above.

[26] See also Bošković 2008b, 2012 for the references relevant to the generalizations in (26)-(27), as well as the precise definitions of the phenomena referred to in (26)-(27). For instance, scrambling in (26c) refers to long-distance scrambling of the kind found in Japanese.

(26)   Generalizations from Bošković 2008b

a. Only languages without articles may allow left-branch extraction.

b. Only languages without articles may allow adjunct extraction out of traditional NP.

c. Only languages without articles may allow scrambling.

d. Multiple-*wh* fronting languages without articles do not show superiority effects.

e. Only languages with articles may allow clitic doubling.

f. Languages without articles do not allow transitive nominals with two genitives.

g. Head-internal relatives display island sensitivity in languages without articles.

h. Polysynthetic languages do not have articles.

i. Only languages with articles allow the majority reading of *most.*

j. Article-less languages disallow negative raising (i.e., strict licensing under negative raising);

those with articles allow it.

(27)   Additional Generalizations (Bošković 2012)[27]

a. Negative constituents must be marked for focus in article-less languages.

b. The negative concord reading may be absent with multiple complex negative constituents only

in negative concord languages with articles.

c. Radical pro-drop is possible only in languages without articles.

d. Number morphology may not be obligatory only in article-less languages.

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[27] Several other generalizations have been proposed in the literature. For a correlation between argument ellipsis and articles, see Cheng 2013. For a correlation between binding and the NP/DP Parameter, see Despić 2011. Finally, for a correlation between sentence structure and DP, see Kang 2013.

e. Elements undergoing focus movement are subject to a verb adjacency requirement only in languages with articles.

f. Possessors may induce an exhaustivity presupposition only in languages with articles.

g. Obligatory numeral classifier systems occur only in article-less languages.

h. Second position clitic systems are found only in languages without articles.

  i. Languages without articles do not show Sequence of Tense.

The underlying mechanism triggering the structural differences above, according to Bošković (2008b), is not phonological in nature (i.e., the difference pertaining to null vs. overt articles) but it reflects the presence of the DP layer in languages with articles (DP languages), and the lack of it in languages without articles (NP languages), as illustrated in (28):

(28)   a. [$_{DP}$ D [$_{NP}$ N]]   in DP languages (e.g., English)

       b. [$_{NP}$ N]   in NP languages (e.g., Serbo-Croatian)

Bošković (2008b) in fact deduces all the differences in (26) and (27) from a single factor: the presence vs. absence of the DP layer in the syntax, as in (28). In the following two subsections, PTS and GS are discussed in light of the generalizations above, with the aim of determining their (NP or DP) status.

2.5.1 PTS in Light of the NP/DP Parameter

Before going into the details of the phenomenon of clitic doubling in PTS, some of the aforementioned generalizations should be tested against PTS in order to determine whether the dialect behaves as a DP or an NP languaage. In this respect, one of the most robust generalizations concerns left-branch extraction (LBE). According to this generalization, extraction of an adjective from a traditonal NP may be possible only in NP languages (cf. (26a)). The phenomenon is illustrated by English (29a) and SC (29b): (The examples are from Bošković 2008.)

(29) a. *Expensive/Those$_i$ he saw   [t$_i$ cars]

     b. Skupa/Ta$_i$ je   vidio   [t$_i$ kola]   [SC]

       expensive   AUX   saw   car

    'He saw an expensive car.'

Bošković observes that within Slavic, such LBE is disallowed only in Bulgarian and Macedonian, which have articles. He also notes that Mohawk, Southern Tiwa, Gunwinjguan languages, Hindi, Angika, and Magahi, all of which lack articles, also allow LBE. That LBE is closely related to articles can be confirmed even from a single language in different registers. Thus, Colloquial Finnish has a definite article, and disallows LBE. Literary Finnish, on the other hand, lacks articles and allows LBE. This is illustrated in (30): (The examples are taken from Bošković 2012:181. The literary Finnish example is originally due to Franks 2008.)

(30) a. Punaisen   ostin   auton.   [Literary Finnish, poetic style]

      red.ACC   buy.PST.1SG   car.ACC

    b.?* Punaisen ostin   (sen) auton   [Spoken Finnish]

    'I bought a red car.'

PTS allows LBE, hence patterning with NP languages in this regard, as illustrated in (31), in which the adjective *debelu* has been freely extracted:

(31) **Debelu**$_i$ si   je   taj [$_{NP}$ **t**$_i$ **vezu**]   imao.   [PTS]

    thick   CL.REFL AUX.3SG   he   connection   had

    'He had good connections.'

Bošković (2008b, 2012) also observes that only NP languages may allow adjunct extraction out of NPs, noting that such extraction is allowed in SC, Russian, Slovenian, Polish, Czech, Ukranian, Hindi, Bangla, Angika, and Magahi, which lack articles, whereas such extraction is disallowed in English, Spanish, Icelandic, Dutch, German, French, Arabic, and Basque, all languages with articles.[28] PTS permits adjunct extraction out of an NP, again behaving like an NP language, as shown in (32a) and (32b), in which the PPs *iz koju leju* and *snaja* are extracted:[29]

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[28] See also Stjepanović 1999 and Ticio 2003.
[29] (32a) is still ambiguous, but the interpretation with an extraction out of VP is pragmatically odd (the one who gave peppers was in the garden bed).

(32) a. **Iz   koju   leju$_i$**   mu   dade   [$_{NP}$ **paprike t$_i$**]?   [PTS]

   from   which   garden bed   him.CL.ACC   gave.3SG   peppers

   'From which garden bed did you give him peppers?"

   b. **Od kojeg sina** te   najbolje sluša   [$_{NP}$ **snaja t$_i$**]?

    from which son   you.CL.ACC   best   listens   daughter-in-law

    'Which daughter-in-law is the most obedient to you?'

    (lit. From which son does daughter-in-law listen to you best?)

On a semantic level, too, PTS displays the behavior of an NP language. Thus, Bošković (2012) notes that the majority reading of superlatives with determiner-like elements is disallowed in SC, Slovenian, Czech, Polish, Chinese, Turkish, Punjabi, Hindi, Angika, and Magahi, all of which lack articles.[30] PTS also shows such behavior, as exemplified in (33), in which only the plurality reading is allowed (as in NP languages, cf. (26i)), whereas the majority reading is excluded:

(33) Najviše popovi piju   rakiju.   [PTS]

   most   priests drink.3PL brandy

  'Most priests drink brandy.'

  (Plurality reading: More priests drink brandy than any other drink)

  (Majority reading: *More than half of the priests drink brandy)

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[30] See also Živanovič 2008.

The context for the plurality reading (Scenario 1):

After a wedding ceremony in a town, several priests from the town have been invited to a wedding party. There are many drinks at the party, both alcoholic and non-alcoholic ones, such as brandy, whisky, beer, wine, apple juice, orange juice, Coke, and mineral water. Despite the variety of drinks, the priests chose to only drink brandy and some mineral water (in separate glasses). Only one priest had a small beer.

The context for the majority reading (Scenario 2):

After a wedding ceremony in a town, all priests from the town have been invited to a wedding party. There are five priests in total and three of them love drinking brandy, while the other two do not drink alcohol at all.

The plurality reading is obtained with different drinks as the alternative set (cf. Scenario 1) (in this context, there are several different types of drinks (brandy is just one of them) and the priests drink brandy more than any other drinks). The majority (or proportional) reading (Scenario 2), in which the division of the set of priests is considered as the alternative set is not available, even if given an appropriate context (according to this scenario, more than half of the priests in the context drink brandy).[31]

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[31] In (33), there is another reading available with different professions as the alternative set (in other words, the priests drink more brandy than any other profession).

Finally, on a sentence level, PTS patterns with NP languages since it does not display the Sequence-of-Tense Phenomenon (cf. (27i)).[32] This is illustrated in (34) below - the embedded clause in (34a) has a non-past reading even for an English translation expressing a past event. Conversely, the embedded clause with the past tense in (34b) can have only an anteriority reading:

(34) a. A   ja mislila ti   si   u   štalu.   [PTS]

    and I   thought you   are   in barn

   'And I thought you are (were) in the barn.'

   b. A   ja   mislila ti   bio u   štalu.

    and I   thought you   been in barn

   'And I thought you were (had been) in the barn.'

Therefore, based on its behavior in (31)-(34), it can be concluded that PTS is an NP language since the dialect patterns with NP languages in accordance with Bošković's (2008b, 2012) generalizations about NP languages. On the other hand, it has clitic doubling, patterning with DP languages. In the next subsection, I discuss GS with respect to the NP/DP Parameter.

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[32] Bošković (2012) examines in this respect the following NP languages: Russian, Polish, Czech, SC, Japanese, Korean, Hindi, Turkish, Malayalam, Bangla, and Angika, and observes that they all lack Sequence of Tense.

2.5.2   GS and the NP/DP Parameter

Marušič and Žaucer (2010) test GS against some of Bošković's (2008b) generalizations and reach the conclusion that GS is an NP language. This is shown by the data in (35)-(38), which establish the possibility of adjunct extraction (35), the impossibility of an NP having transitive nominals with two genitives (36), the availability of plurality reading exclusively (37), and the impossibility of strict NPI licensing under negative raising (cf. (38), in which matrix negation cannot license a strict NPI):[33] (All the examples are from Marušič and Žaucer 2010:109.)

(35) **Iz   kirga kluba**$_i$ praviš,   da je   Peter srečal [$_{NP}$ **vse tipe t**$_i$].   [GS]

    from which club   say.2SG that AUX.3SG Peter met   all guys

    'From which club do you claim that Peter met all guys?'

(36) *zavzetje   Rima   Hanibala/*zavzetje Hanibala Rima   [GS]

    conquest   Rome.GEN   Hanibal.GEN

    (intended: 'Hanibal's conquest of Rome')

(37) Narveč tipov pije   pivo.   [GS]

    most   guys   drink wine

---

[33] Regarding the strict NPI licensing under negative raising test, Bošković (2012:185) observes that "SC, Czech, Slovenian, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Turkish, Korean, Japanese, and Chinese lack articles and NR [negative raising] (i.e., strict clause-mate NPI licensing under NR). On the other hand, English, German, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Romanian, and Bulgarian have both articles and NR (i.e., allow strict clause-mate NPI licensing under NR." See also Bošković 2008b.

'Most guys drink wine.'

(=More guys drink wine than any other drink)

(38) ***Ne** misli, [da jo je vidla že **narmajn** dve leti] [GS]

   neg think that her AUX saw already at least two years

'He doesn't think that she has seen her in at least two years.'

In sum, both PTS and GS exhibit the behavior of NP languages in accordance with Bošković's (2008b, 2012) generalizations about LBE, adjunct extraction, plurality reading, sequence of tense, transitive nominals with two genitives, and negative raising. On the other hand, these NP dialects exhibit the phenomenon of clitic doubling, contrary to the behavior of other NP languages and Bošković's (2008b) generalization in (26e).

2.6 The Proposal

This section represents the core proposal of this chapter. For ease of exposition, pronominal clitic doubling, discussed in this chapter, is separated from doubling with full NPs that some speakers allow (see Chapter 3). For informative purposes, the system of pronouns, including clitic pronouns is provided at the beginning of this section. After discussing pronominal cross-linguistic variation with respect to the functional or lexical distinction, it will be shown that PTS and GS pronouns display the behavior of both functional and lexical pronouns. I will argue then that PTS and GS have two types of pronouns in their systems - D pronouns (which can be

doubled but not modified) and N pronouns (which can be modified but not doubled). The existence of dual behavior of pronouns may be caused by sociolinguistic means – language contact (both PTS and GS lie at the crossroads between DP languages (Bulgarian, Macedonian, Italian) and NP languages (Standard Serbian and Standard Slovenian)). Finally, the properties of the cliticization phenomena in doubling constructions found in PTS and GS discussed above will be accounted for by appealing to Bošković's (2001) analysis of clitic placement in South Slavic involving pronunciation of copies in a non-trivial chain.

2.6.1   The System of Pronouns in PTS and GS

Unlike Standard Serbian, which has a rich inflectional pronominal paradigm with seven cases, PTS has reduced its pronominal system to only three cases - nominative, dative, and general case used for all other case relations. Gender distinction is well preserved with a number of different morphological forms.[34] Clitic doubling may occur with both dative and general case clitics. The system of personal pronouns, including full/strong and clitic/short forms is given in (39a,b):

(39) Pronominal clitics in PTS (Bogdanović 1987:162-163)

(a)   singular

	1st person		*2nd person*		*3rd person masc./neut.*		*3rd person fem.*	
	Full	*Clitic*	*Full*	*Clitic*	*Full*	*Clitic*	*Full*	*Clitic*
Nominativ	ja		ti		on/ono		ona	
General Case	men(e)	me	teb(e)	te	njeg(a)	ga	nju, njuma, njo	gu, u
Dative	men(e)	mi	teb(e)	ti	njemu	mu	njojze, njo	jo, gu, u

---

[34] For the details of the PTS pronominal paradigm, see Belić 1905 and Bogdanović 1979, 1987.

(b)   plural

	1st person		2nd person		3rd person	
	Full	*Clitic*	*Full*	*Clitic*	*Full*	*Clitic*
Nominativ	mi		vi		oni, one, ona	
General Case	nas	ne	vas	ve	nji	gi, i
Dative	nam	ni	vam	vi	njim(a)	gi(m)

The system of pronouns in Gorica Slovenian (GS) very much resembles the system of pronouns in Standard Slovenian. As pointed out by Marušič and Žaucer (2009:286), there are only phonological differences, GS preserving the entire case paradigm with six cases. Clitic doubling is possible with genitive, dative, and accusative clitic pronouns. Below is the pronominal paradigm from Marušič and Žaucer 2009:286, illustrated by Standard Slovenian without taking dual number into consideration:

(40)   Pronominal Clitics in Slovenian without dual (Marušič and Žaucer 2009:286)

No./ person		Nom	Gen		Dat		Acc		Loc	Instr
Sg.	1	jaz	mene	me	meni	mi	mene	me	meni	mano
	2	ti	tebe	te	tebi	ti	tebe	te	tebi	tabo
	3	on	njega	ga	njemu	mu	njega	ga	njemu	njim
		ona	nje	je	njej	ji	njo	jo	njej	njo
Pl.	1	mi	nas	nas	nam	nam	nas	nas	nas	nami
	2	vi	vas	vas	vam	vam	vas	vas	vas	vami
	3	oni	njih	jih	njim	jim	njih	jih	njih	njimi
REFL			sebe	se	sebi	si	sebe	se	sebi	sabo

2.6.2   Pronouns and Modifiability

Pronouns have not had a unique syntactic treatement cross-linguistically. Thus, Fukui (1986, 1988) notes that Japansese pronouns behave differently from English pronouns in a number of respects, subsequently arguing that Japanese pronouns are not D elements.[35] One of the major criteria for establishing the status of pronouns is *modifiability*.[36] Functional categories represent a closed class that does not allow modification. Conversely, lexical categories are an open class, which can be productively modified. Thus, Fukui (1988) uses a test involving pronoun modification to determine N/D status of pronouns. He observes that Japanese pronouns are productvely modifiable (41a, b), whereas English pronouns are not (42a, b, c). He thus arrives at the conclusion that Japanese pronouns are lexical/N elements, whereas English pronouns are functional/D elements:[37]

(41)   a. kinoo   Taroo-ni   atta ka-i?   [Japanese, Fukui 1988:265]

yesterday Taro-with met ǫ

'Did you see Taro yesterday?'

---

[35] More generally, Fukui (1986, 1988) argues that Japanese lacks functional categories. Note that Bošković (2008b) differs from Fukui (1988) in that he argues that languages like Japanese do not lack all the functional structure. In fact, functional structure is even present in some cases within NPs in SC. For discussion, see Bošković 2013.

[36] There are other tests for determining the status of pronouns cross-linguistically. Baggley (1998) claims that F(unctional) pronouns can operate as a bound variable, whereas L(exical) pronouns cannot. In SC, for instance, pronouns typically do not function as bound variables but it is difficult to determine whether this occurs because of the nature of pronouns *per se* or because of some other factors, such as, for instance the Avoid Pronoun Principle (Chomsky 1981). For discussion about effects of the Overt Pronoun Constraint (Montalbetti 1984) in SC, see Despić 2011.

[37] There are situations in which pronoun modification is available even in English (e.g., despicable me; yesterday's me; the new you, etc.). Fukui (1988:266) notes that such examples cannot affect his main argument because English exhibits a very limited number of modified pronouns, unlike Japanese, in which pronoun modification is *productively* available.

b. un, demo **kinoo-no** **kare-wa** sukosi yoosu-ga hendat-ta

yes but yesterday-GEN he-TOP somewhat state-NOM be strange-PAST

Lit. 'Yes, but yesterday's he was somewhat strange.'

(42) a. *big it [Japanese, Fukui 1988:264]

b. *short he

c. *yesterday's himself

In light of the NP/DP Parameter, Bošković (2008b) revives Fukui's (1988) observation about pronoun modifiability and shows that Serbo-Croatian (SC) pronouns are modifiable, thus patterning with Japanese, as illustrated in (43) below from Bošković 2008b:fn9:

(43) Jesi li ga vidio juče? Jesam, ali je **jučerašnji on** baš nekako [SC]

are ǫ him.CL.ACC seen yesterday am but is yesterday's he really somehow

bio čudan.

been strange

'Did you see him yesterday? *I did, but yesterday's he was really somehow strange.'

The possibility of pronoun modification in SC reveals the lexical status of SC pronouns, pronouns being Ns in SC.[38] In other words, SC pronouns have the structure in (44):

---

[38] Pronouns have been argued to move to a D position in SC by Progovac (1998). Despić (2011), however, shows that such movement involves a focus position, not D.

(44) [_{NP} N]

The remaining issue is to test clitic doubling languages with articles by entertaining Fukui's (1988) D test for pronoun modification. The prediction is that DP languages will disallow pronoun modification. This seems to be accurate, as productive pronoun modification is not possible in Bulgarian (45a) and Macedonian (45b), which pattern with English (cf. (42)) in the relevant respect**:**

(45) a.*Toj je interesen   vseki den, no **včerašnijat toj** beše mnogo po-interesen   nego

   he is interesting every day but yesterday's he was much more interesting than

   onjadenšnijat   toj.   [Bulgarian]

   the day before yesterday's he

   b. *Toj e interesen   sekoj den, no **včerašniot   toj** beše mnogo pointeresen

   he is interesting every day but yesterday's he was   much   more   interesting

   nego **zavčerašniot   toj.**   [Macedonian]

   than   the day before yesterday's   he

   '*He is interesting every day but yesterday's he was much more interesting than the

   day before yesterday's he.'

This means that pronouns should be treated like DP elements in languages with articles (I leave it open whether NP is present, in addition to DP in (46)):

(46) [$_{DP}$ D [$_{NP}$ N]]

   In sum, pronouns in NP languages seem to pattern with full NPs regarding their categorial status, as shown by the possibility of modification. The syntactic structure of pronouns lacks a DP layer on top of NP in such languages. Pronouns in DP languages, on the other hand, do not allow pronoun modification, which means they are DPs. In the next section, a third type of language is discussed - PTS and GS, which have pronouns that display the dual behavior of both Ns and Ds.

2.6.3   Pronouns as Ns and/or Ds: Evidence from PTS and GS

In order to initiate the discussion of pronouns in PTS and GS, let us restate the property listed in (i) from Section 2.3.2, repeated and illustrated in (47) by PTS for convenience:

(i)   Adjectival modification of pronouns is allowed (47a, b). It is banned, however, when the pronoun is doubled (47c); only non-modified pronouns can be doubled (47d):

(47) a. On je svaki dan zanimljiv, ali je **jučerašnji on** bio zanimljiviji   od

         he is every day interesting   but AUX yesterday's he was more interesting   than

         prekjučerašnjeg   njega.   [PTS]

         the day before yesterday's   he

'??He is interesting every day but yesterday's him was more interesting than the day

 before yesterday's him.'

 b. Jesi   **jučerašnjeg njega** pitaja   za što je to   tako?

  AUX.2SG yesterday's   him   asked   why is that   like that

 '*Did you ask yesterday's him why this is the case?'

 c. *Jesi   **ga**   **jučerašnjeg njega** pitaja   za što je to   tako?

   AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC   yesterday's   him   asked   why is that   like that

    '*Did you ask yesterday's him why this is the case?'

 d. Jesi   **ga**   **njega**   pitaja   za što je to   tako?

  AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC him.ACC asked   why is that   like that

 'Did you ask him why this is the case?'

The possible modification of pronouns in (47a, b) reveals that the pronouns in PTS and GS are N, and not D elements. However, given Bošković's (2008b) claim that clitic doubling is possible with D elements only,   the allowed clitic doubling in (47d) should be taken as providing evidence that PTS/GS pronouns are actually Ds. We thus have a conflicting situation here – pronouns behave as Ns (47a, b) and Ds (47d) concomitantly. Crucially, I show that clitic doubling in PTS and GS is banned with modified pronouns (47c); only non-modified pronouns can be doubled (47d), which enables us to resolve the conflicting situation noted above.

  Based on the data in (47), which show that N pronouns can be modified, whereas D pronouns cannot, I argue that PTS and GS display both types of pronouns in their pronominal systems - N

and D pronouns.[39] This explains why they allow both pronoun modification (47a,b) and clitic doubling (47d). However, (47c) is unacceptable because pronoun modification and clitic doubling cannot be concomitant operations since they are mutually exclusive. I claim that each pronoun then has a dual lexical entry - one as an N pronoun and the other one as a D pronoun. Regarding modifiability, an N pronoun must be chosen from the lexicon; (47a, b) then involve an N pronoun. As expected, doubling with modified pronouns leads to ungrammaticality, as in (47c). Only a D pronoun can be doubled, as confirmed by (47d) with an acceptable sentence involving a non-modified doubled pronoun. Recall that GS behaves exactly like PTS in (47) in connection with modifiability and pronominal clitic doubling, hence the same analysis can be applied to GS (cf. (16)).

Another possibility of analyzing the dual status of PTS/GS pronouns is that PTS and GS have a D feature [DF], but [DF] is not yet lexicalized in these languages but rather added during the derivation to particular elements, namely pronouns.[40] Under this view, PTS and GS have only N pronouns in the lexicon, but [DF], which is necessarily involved in clitic doubling under Bošković's (2008b) analysis, is added to PTS/GS pronouns during the derivation.[41]

As noted above, in his discussion of the clitic doubling generalization, Bošković (2008b) suggests that clitic doubling involves D-feature checking. The analysis can be easily

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[39] The presence of the dual pronominal behavior in (47) shows that the DP/NP Parameter in the sense of Bošković (2008b) does not have to be language-wide. Thus, in addition to article-less/NP and article/DP languages, whose language systems act one way or the other, there are also languages like PTS and GS, which are mixed NP/DP languages when it comes to pronouns. The NP/DP Parameter can easily be stated in lexical terms, in which case some lexical items can behave exceptionally (Bošković has actually never stated the parameter in non-lexical terms).

[40] This is similar to Chomsky's (2005) Edge Feature, which drives movement to specifiers and which is added during the derivation. Note that under this view D is a lexical feature in PTS/GS, but has not yet been added to particular lexical items. Another option is that [DF] is added to pronouns after numeration formation, but before the insertion into the syntactic structure.

[41] This option may be available in these dialects as a result of an ongoing language change with the next step in a language change likely involving lexicalization of the [DF] (at least with pronouns or with pronouns initially).

implemented under both options above (lexical N/D ambiguity and adding [DF] during the derivation). This means that although PTS/GS data presented here are strictly speaking inconsistent with Bošković's (2008b) clitic doubling generalization in (2), they are consistent with Bošković's (2008b) account of the generalization, whereby clitic doubling is not possible, for instance in Czech, because clitic doubling involves D-feature checking, which Czech, being an NP language, does not have.

2.7 Cliticization Phenomena and Pronominal Doubling

2.7.1 The Adjacency Requirement

In Section 2.3, several novel observations have been made with respect to cliticization phenomena in PTS and GS. The first property that should be immediately noted is that in both PTS and GS, a doubled pronoun and a clitic cannot be separated by a verb, as illustrated in (48a) by PTS. In such environments, a clitic and its associate have to be adjacent (48b):[42]

(48) a. *Je   l'   **me**   čekaš   **mene**?   [PTS]

          AUX   Q   me.CL.ACC   wait.2SG   me.ACC

       b. Je   l'   **me**   **mene**   čekaš?

          AUX   Q   Q   me.CL.ACC   me.ACC   wait.2SG

---

[42] (48a) is possible if the doubled argument forms a distinct prosodic phrase, in which case this is not an instance of clitic doubling but a clitic right dislocation phenomenon. See Chapter 2.4. for the difference between clitic doubling and clitic right dislocation.

'Are you waiting for me?'

This property of clitic doubling found in PTS and GS is very different from clitic doubling in DP languages, where the clitic and the doubling element can be separated by a verb, as illustrated by the prototypical clitic doubling language Macedonian in (49), in which the clitic and its associate are separated by the verb *zamoli*:[43]

(49) a. Mila **go**   zamoli **nego**   včera.   [Macedonian, Franks 2009:194]

    Mila him.CL.ACC asked. him.ACC   yesterday

    'Mila asked him yesterday.'

Regarding the adjacency effects in PTS and GS in (48), and the lack thereof in Macedonian (49), it should be mentioned that a number of authors have argued that a clitic and a doubled argument are located in the same phrase at some point during the derivation (Kayne 2002, *i.a.*).[44] Under this view, clitics are D heads and they constitute a DP together with their associate (Uriagereka 1995, *i.a.*). By applying such an analysis to Macedonian in (49), the clitic *go* and the doubled argument *nego* form a constituent in their base position prior to clitic movement, as illustrated in (50):[45]

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[43] In (49), the clitic in fact has to be separated from its associate because in Macedonian verbal clitics are proclitics, that is, they are prefixes to the verb (see Bošković 2001, among others).

[44] Pronominal doubling in Romance is treated in terms of a 'big-XP' analysis by a large number of authors. See, among others, Uriagereka 1995, Cecchetto 2000, Kayne 2002, Boeckx 2003, Belletti 2005. Note that Bošković (2008b) also assumes that D-feature checking between a clitic and its associate occurs within the same phrase in languages with clitic doubling.

[45] The reader may object that the doubling of modified pronouns, discussed in Section 2.6.3, is not acceptable because of the adjacency requirement. Recal that modified pronouns cannot be doubled, as in (i):

(50)

```
          DP
         /  \
        D    DP
        go    △
             nego
```
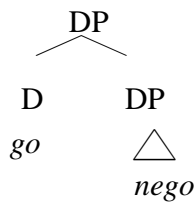
I suggest that PTS and GS preserve the constituency of the *clitic+double* complex. As a result, if there is movement in front of the verb, the whole complex (clitic+double) moves in front of it, as in (48b). It should be noted, however, that some speakers do allow elements other than verbs to intervene between a clitic and its double. Such examples are best when the intervening elements are phonologically light , for example, a clitic or a short adverb, as exemplified in (51):

(51) a. Je   l'   **me**   sad   **mene**   čekaš?   [PTS]

         AUX   Q   me.CL.ACC   now   me.ACC   wait.2SG

      'Are you waiting for me now?'

      b. Ali si   **ga**   včeraj   **njega**   videl na   tržnici?   [GS]

         but AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC   yesterday him.ACC   saw   on   market

      'Did you see him yesterday in the (open) market?'

(i) *Jesi   **ga**   jučerašnjega **njega** pitaja za što je to   tako?   [PTS]
        AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC   yesterday's him   asked why   is that   like that
      '*Did you ask yesterday's him why this is the case?'

Whether or not the adjacency requirement could be an issue here depends on the account of the adjacency requirement. Under the account given in the text, the adjacency requirement is not relevant to (i). Furthermore, even the speakers who do allow some elements to intervene between the clitic and its double (see the discussion below) disallow (i).

The speakers in question then allow movement of the clitic from the *clitic + double* constituent, but they (or at least some of them) may have a further restriction that the clitic and its associate must form a prosodic constituent, which disallows intervening prosodic words.[46]

Before analyzing other cliticization phenomena found in PTS and GS, I will first present Bošković's (2001) approach to cliticization in South Slavic, which is the cornerstone of the analysis to be proposed below for several cliticization phenomena in PTS and GS.

2.7.2 Bošković's (2001) Approach to Cliticization in South Slavic

Bošković's (2001) analysis of cliticization phenomena in South Slavic is based on Chomsky's (1993) Copy Theory of Movement, placing specific emphasis on the pronunciation of copies in non-trivial chains. Thus, clitics move from their original position to their landing site, forming a chain and leaving a copy in their original position. Which copy will be pronounced is a matter of PF considerations. Following Franks (1998), Bošković (2001) contends that a chain is pronounced in the head position, with lower members deleted in PF. Yet, if the pronunciation of the head position of a chain leads to a PF violation, then the tail of the chain gets pronounced (see also Bobaljik 1995).[47]

Bošković's (2001) analysis will be illustrated first by clitic placement in Bulgarian and Macedonian. In Bulgarian and Macedonian clitics are verbal clitics, which means that they must be adjacent to a verb. The difference between clitic placement in the two languages is prosodic -

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[46] PTS and GS may then still be in the process of initiating the stage where the clitic movement from the doubling phrase takes place, with some speaker variation regarding this issue.
[47] See Nunes 2004 for a deduction of the above in terms of linearization computations accompanied with economy conditions regarding deletion.

in Bulgarian clitics are enclitics, whereas in Macedonian clitics are proclitics. This can be illustrated by the following minimal pair in (52) and (53):

(52) a. Petko **mi**   **go**   dade   včera.   [Bulgarian, Bošković 2001:180]

      Petko me.CL.DAT it.CL.ACC gave yesterday

   b. ***Mi go** dade Petko včera.

   c. Dade **mi go** Petko včera.

   'Petko gave it to me yesterday'

(53) a. **Mi**   **go**   dade   Petko   včera.   [Macedonian, Bošković 2001:180]

      me.CL.DAT it.CL.ACC gave Petko yesterday

   b. *Dade **mi**   **go**   Petko včera.

      gave me.CL.DAT it.CL.ACC Petko yesterday

   'Petko gave it to me yesterday'

In (52), since clitics in Bulgarian are enclitics, they cannot be found in sentence-initial position (52b). In Bulgarian, clitics precede the verb (52a) unless that would lead to a PF violation (52b), in which case clitics follow the verb (52c). Similarly to Bulgarian, clitics in Macedonian must be adjacent to a verb. Contrary to Bulgarian, Macedonian clitics cannot follow the verb (53b); they have to precede the verb (53a). However, being proclitics, they can appear sentence-initially (53a).

Bošković's (2001) analysis of the aforementioned facts in (52) and (53) proceeds as follows - a copy of pronominal clitics is present both above and below the verb since the clitics undergo movement, as in (54):

(54)   a. X clitic V ~~clitic~~   [Bošković 2001:184]

         b. ~~clitic~~ V clitic

The head of the chain is pronounced (54a) unless the pronunciation of the head of the chain leads to a PF violation. In this case and only in this case, the tail of the chain gets pronounced (54b). Thus, (54a) corresponds to the pronunciation of Macedonian clitics (53a). Since Macedonian clitics are proclitics, the head of the chain can be pronounced without any PF violations, hence the head of the chain must always be pronounced. (54a) is thus the only option, which is indeed the case, as (53) shows. In Bulgarian, on the other hand, the pronunciation of the head of the chain leads to a PF violation whenever a clitic cannot encliticize, as in (54b), where the clitic is sentence-initial, thus preceding the verb. Since the head of the chain cannot be pronounced here for PF reasons, the pronunciation of the tail of the chain is possible, as in (54b), illustrated by (52c).

Bošković (2001) follows the same line of reasoning for cliticization phenomena in other South Slavic languages. Unlike Bulgarian and Macedonian, in which clitics are verbal clitics, clitics in Serbo-Croatian (SC) and Slovenian are second-position clitics. However, there is a clear prosodic difference between the two. In SC, clitics encliticize to the left, being enclitics (i.e., suffixes), as illustrated in (55):

(55) a. Vidio **si**   **ga**?   [SC]

         seen   AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC

      b. ***Si**   **ga**   vidio?

          AUX.2SG   him.CL.ACC   seen

      'Have you seen him?'

Unlike SC, Slovenian clitics are prosodically neutral - they can be prefixes (56a) or suffixes (56b) on the initial element:

(56) a. **Si**   **ga**   videl?   [Slovenian, Bošković 2001:154]

          AUX.2SG   him.CL.ACC   seen

      b. Videl **si**   **ga**?

         seen   AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC

      'Have you seen him?'

While the clitic placement for SC can be easily captured by providing clitics with lexical specification as suffixes, Slovenian clitics, *prima facie*, look like being lexically unspecified. Bošković (2001) considers two possibilities in order to account for cliticization phenomena in Slovenian. These possibilities define prosodic requirements in the lexical entries of Slovenian clitics. The first option Bošković (2001) considers is to treat Slovenian clitics as having both a prefix and a suffix option, as in (57) below: ((57a) indicates that clitics in Slovenian/SC must

cliticize to an element that is adjacent to an intonational phrase boundary - this is the essence of the second position clitic requirement (see Bošković 2001 for discussion))

(57) a. #____

b. Suffix

b'. Prefix

The second option Bošković (2001) considers is that Slovenian clitics lack a lexical specification with regard to the direction of the attachment, as in (58):

(58) #____

What (58) amounts to saying is that there is no information in the lexicon pertaining to specifying clitics as prefixes or suffixes. Clitics can either procliticize or encliticize; they merely need a host in order to meet their prosodic requirements. Crucially, however, the option in (58) would ban lower-copy pronunciation, simply because the presence of a sentence-initial clitic, following this line of reasoning, would not lead to a PF violation. If the *verb-clitic* order were to arise only through the pronunciation of a lower copy, this order would be banned. This is clearly not the case, as shown by the grammaticality of (56b), in which the *verb-clitic* order is legitimate. However, Bošković (2001) shows that, in contrast to SC, Slovenian allows VP

fronting of the complement of an auxiliary clitic.[48] (56b) can then be analyzed as involving

remnant VP fronting, rather then the pronunciation of lower copy.

A more conclusive test for determining lexical specification for Slovenian clitics is provided

by coordination constructions in SC and Slovenian, where, according to Bošković (2001),

second conjunct represents a separate intonational phrase. First, consider SC (59), in which the

clitic in the second conjunct cannot precede the verb (cf. (59a) vs. (59b)):

(59) a.*Janez je kupio auto i **ga** razbio.   [SC, Bošković 2001:158]

       Janez is bought car and it   ruined

     b. Janez je kupio auto i   razbio **ga.**

       Janez is   bought car and ruined it

      'Janez bought a car and ruined it.'

Bošković (2001:158-159) explicates the asymmetry between (59a) and (59b) from a pronounce-

a-copy analysis angle. Thus, in (59a), the clitic *ga* in the second conjunct cannot be properly

supported, being an enclitic.[49] As a consequence, the pronunciation of the head of the chain

cannot occur. In (59b), on the other hand, the pronunciation of the lower copy of the moved clitic

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[48] Slovenian quite generally allows fronting of the complement of an auxiliary clitic, while SC does not. To illustrate, consider the contrast in the acceptability of the following minimal pair in Slovenian (ia) and SC (ib), from Bošković 2001:157):
(i)   a. Sposoban direktor   je.   [Slovenian]
        capable   manager is
    b. *Sposoban direktor je.   [SC]
       capable   manager is
      'Capable manager he is.'
[49] Recall that the second conjunct is a separate intonational phrase.

takes place, which is possible because the pronunciation of the head of the chain would lead to a PF violation (59a).

Now consider the Slovenian counterpart of the SC example above in (59). Only the clitic preceding the verb is allowed in the second conjunct (cf. (60a) vs. (60b)):

(60) a. Janez je kupil avto in **ga** razbil.   [Slovenian, Bošković 2001:158]

    Janez is bought car and it ruined

  b. *Janez je kupil avto in   razbil **ga**.

    Janez is bought car and ruined it

  'Janez bought a car and ruined it.'

Bošković (2001) argues that VP fronting of the kind discussed above (cf. (56b)) is ruled out for examples like (60) since the second conjunct is too small to provide a landing site for VP fronting. Consequently, Bošković (2001) considers the pronuciation of copies above and below the verb. Since apparently there is no reason to block the pronunciation of the head of the chain, as in (60a), the lower copy of the moved clitic cannot get pronounced (60b).

Considering the options in (57) and (58) above, which provide lexical specifications for Slovenian clitics, (60b) would be possible on the (57b') option. Put somewhat differently, this specification incorrectly predicts (60b) to be grammatical due to the option in (57b), which licenses lower-copy pronunciation. On the other hand, (58) rules out the *verb-clitic* order (i.e., the lower copy pronunciation in (60b)), because nothing would go wrong in PF if the head of the

chain is pronounced, as in (60a), under (58). Bošković (2001) then concludes that (58) is the correct specification for Slovenian clitics.

2.7.3   Cliticization in PTS and GS

Before analyzing cliticization phenomena found in PTS and GS, let us summarize the relevant cliticization facts, both in non-doubled and doubled constructions. In PTS, like in Standard Serbian (cf. (55)), non-doubled clitics are second-position clitics, or following Bošković's (2001) account, non-doubled clitics are lexically specified as suffixes, requiring a host to the left (61a), the location in the initial position being banned (61b), as shown below:

(61)   a. Ti   **me**   čekaš?   [PTS]

         you   me.CL.ACC   wait.2SG

      b. **Me**   čekaš   ti?

          me.CL.ACC   wait.2SG   you

      'Are you waiting for me?'

GS non-doubled clitics pattern with Standard Slovenian (cf. (56)), being able to encliticize (62a) or procliticize (62b) to their host:

(62)   a. Jst   **ga**   spoštujem.   [GS]

          I   him.CL.ACC   respect.1SG

b. **Ga** spoštujem.

him.CL.ACC respect.1SG

'I respect him'

Doubled clitics in PTS are, again, enclitics, hence not allowed sentence initially, as illustrated in (63) below:

(63) a. Ti **ga** **njega** čekaš? [PTS]

you him.CL.ACC him.ACC wait.2SG

b. ***Ga** **njega** čekaš ti?

him.CL.ACC him.ACC wait.2SG you

'Are you waiting for him?'

In (63a), the clitic *ga* occupies the second position, requiring a host to the left, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (63b), in which the clitic cannot encliticize, the sequence being ruled out. Interestingly, if the doubling clitic follows its associate pronominal, as in (64), the sentence is still ungrammatical:

(64) ***Njega** **ga** čekaš? [PTS]

him.ACC him.CL.ACC wait.2SG

'Are you waiting for him?'

61

In (64), although prosodic requirements of the clitic are met, the clitic *ga* being able to encliticize, the sequence is ruled out. Moreover, the clitic can encliticize to other prosodic words, as illustrated in (63a). The asymmetry between (63a) and (64) reveals that the order of the doubling clitic and its associate is fixed. In particular, the legitimate order is *clitic-doubled pronoun* (63a). The asymmetry between (63a) and (64) would look odd if certain facts are not taken into consideration. Recall that I have suggested in Section 2.7.1 that a doubling clitic and its associate form a constituent with some speakers allowing movement of the clitic out of this constituent under certain conditions. The data in (64) reveal that the order of the doubling clitic and its associate is fixed within the constituent, only allowing a *clitic-doubled pronoun* order (63a).

A doubled clitic in GS patterns with PTS, as it cannot occur sentence-initially, as exemplified in (65):

(65) a. Jst **ga** **njega** spoštujem.   [GS]

      I   him.CL.ACC   him.ACC   respect.1SG

    b. ****Ga** **njega** spoštujem.

      him.CL.ACC him.ACC   respect.1SG

     'I respect him.'

(65b) shows that the prosodic behavior of doubled clitics in GS is fundamentally different from non-doubled clitics in GS (cf. (62b)). Specifically, GS doubled clitics pattern with PTS in that they are enclitics, that is, they attach to their host to the left (cf. (63a), (65a)). It is worth noting

though that doubled clitics in GS differ from doubled clitics in PTS in that they allow their doubled associate to precede the clitic, as illustrated in (66):[50]

(66) a. **Njega   ga**   spoštujem.   [GS]

      him.ACC him.CL.ACC respect.1SG

    b. Jst **njega   ga**   spoštujem.

      I   him.ACC   him.CL.ACC respect.1SG

    'I respect him.'

Thus, unlike PTS, GS allows the *doubled pronoun-clitic* order to surface.

    Another relevant property of doubled clitics is that a doubled clitic cannot follow a verb, as demonstrated by (67) in PTS and (68) in GS:

(67) a. *Čekaš   **me   mene.**   [PTS]

      wait.2SG me.CL.ACC me.ACC

    b. Ti **me   mene** čekaš?

      you me.CL.ACC me.ACC   wait.2SG

    'Are you waiting for me?'

(68) a. *Spoštujem **ga   njega**   jst.   [GS]

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[50] The reader may object that (66a) represents a clitic-left-dislocation construction, given that a doubled associate appears on the left edge of the sentence. Recall, however, that such constructions require a pause between a constituent and a clitic. Tatjana Marvin (pers.comm. 2011) claims that no pause is needed between *njega* and *ga*.

respect.1SG   him.CL.ACC   him.ACC   I

b. Jst **ga**   **njega**   spoštujem

I   him.CL.ACC him.ACC respect.1SG

'I respect him.'

This contrasts with non-doubling clitics in Standard Serbian and Slovenian, which can follow a verb.

In order to account for the ban on the *verb-clitic* order in the clitic doubling environment, I adopt Bošković's (2001) analysis of cliticization based on the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky 1993) and propose that lower-copy pronunciation of clitics is ruled out in clitic doubling contexts.[51] First, recall that Bošković (2001) assumes that a copy of pronominal clitics is present both above and below the verb, thus forming a non-trivial chain, repeated here as in (69):

(69)   a. X clitic V ~~clitic~~   [Bošković 2001:184]

b. ~~clitic~~ V clitic

There is a strong preference for pronouncing the head of the chain in PF. Thus, the *clitic-verb* order is obtained through the pronunciation of the head of the chain. Only if this pronunciation would lead to a PF violation, the tail of the chain is pronounced, leading to the sequence *verb-clitic*. To illustrate, recall that Macedonian clitics are lexically specified as prefixes, hence the

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[51] Additionally, we also need to assume that remnant VP fronting is not available in clitic doubling contexts.

head of the chain can be and must be pronounced (cf. (53)), while clitics in Bulgarian are lexically specified as suffixes, the tail of the chain getting pronounced if the verb precedes the clitic (cf. (52)). Recall also that another option where the *verb-clitic* order is not possible, as in the case of Slovenian (60b), is that there is no lexical specification in terms of attachment, which allows the sequence *clitic-verb* only. If, as Bošković (2001) argues, Slovenian clitics are lexically unspecified regarding the attachment to their host, there is nothing wrong in PF if the head of the chain is pronounced. The no-specification-of-attachment analysis correctly predicts that the tail of the chain should not be pronounced.

Following Bošković (2001), suppose there is a copy of the doubled clitic above and below the verb in PTS and GS, as illustrated in (70) by PTS:

(70)   **me mene** čekaš **me   mene**   [PTS]

If the doubled clitic is lexically unspecified for being a prefix or a suffix, there would be no PF violation if the head of the chain is pronounced, hence the tail of the chain would have to be deleted, as in (71):

(71)   **me mene** čekaš ~~**me   mene**~~   [PTS]

This would then correctly predict the *verb-clitic* order to be ruled out, as attested by PTS (67a) and GS (68a).

Nevertheless, if this is the entire analysis, then the examples like (63b) and (64) with a doubled clitic preceeding the verb should be acceptable because the head of the chain is pronounced. In order to completely understand this phenomenon, it is important to set these facts in the context of neighboring languages. Doubled clitics in PTS and GS behave exactly as clitics in Macedonian and Italian. Clitic doubling in PTS and GS may be the result of borrowing from Macedonian and Italian due to the contact situation. Crucially, in both Macedonian and Italian verbal clitics are proclitics, hence the pronunciation of a lower copy is excluded. The suggestion is then that since clitic doubling in PTS and GS seems to be the result of borrowing from Macedonian and Italian, at least some of its properties are influenced by Macedonian and Italian, in particular, the ban on the *verb-clitic* order, that is, the ban on the pronunciation of lower copies of clitics in this context.

Another possibility (at least for some speakers) is that in a context like (71), if lower-copy pronunciation were to take place, only the clitic would be pronounced in a lower position, not its doubled associate (there is no need to pronounce a lower copy of the associate), yielding the order *doubled pronoun-verb-clitic*, which could be ruled out if we assume that the clitic and its doubled associate cannot be split by a prosodic word in PF. Additionally, this order would result in a violation of the second-position requirement.

2.8   Conclusions

In this chapter, I analyzed clitic doubling in two non-standard Serbian and Slovenian dialects, Prizren-Timok Serbian (PTS) and Gorica Slovenian (GS). These dialects do not have articles but

have clitic doubling, which appears to go against Bošković's (2008b, 2012) clitic doubling generalization, according to which only languages with articles may have clitic doubling. I have shown that not all pronouns can be doubled; in particular, non-modified pronouns can be doubled, while modified pronouns cannot be. Given that pronoun modification has been used as a test for N/D status of pronouns, only N-pronouns being modifiable, this behavior of pronouns in PTS and GS has led me to propose that there are two types of pronouns in these dialects – N pronouns (that can be modified but not doubled), and D pronouns (that can be doubled but not modified). Only D-pronouns can then be doubled, as expected under the account of Bošković's clitic doubling generalization adopted here. A number of other cliticizaton phenomena have been discussed, such as mandatory adjacency of the clitic and its associate, the impossibility of a doubling clitic to follow a verb, and the fixed order between a clitic and its double. I have shown that most of these phenomena can be accounted for by appealing to Bošković's (2001) account of cliticization in South Slavic involving the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky 1993). Additionally, I have shown that they provide evidence for the approaches where the clitic and its associate are base-generated as a constituent.

Chapter 3

Clitic Doubling with Full NPs in Non-Standard Serbian and Slovenian Dialects[1]

3.1   Introduction

In this chapter, I analyze clitic doubling with full NPs, attested with some speakers of PTS and

GS. Before analyzing clitic doubling in PTS and GS more thoroughly, properties of clitic

doubling in general should be taken into consideration. It will be shown that clitic doubling with

full NPs in PTS and GS differs considerably from the phenomenon of clitic doubling in DP

languages, in which clitic doubling occurs in a systematic and a rule-governed way. First, I

present properties of clitic doubling in DP languages, illustrated by Bulgarian and Macedonian. I

then present data that show a variation between PTS and GS, in the sense that only the former

allows doubling with both proper and common nouns. Given that specificity requirements hold

cross-linguistically in licensing the clitic doubling phenomenon, I test clitic doubling in all

contexts – definite and indefinite, specific and non-specific. It will be demonstrated that full NP

clitic doubling in PTS occurs in non-specific indefinite contexts, which contrasts with standard

clitic doubling languages. It is also compatible with left-branch extraction, a phenomenon that is

quite generally not found in DP languages. I will then conclude that clitic doubling in PTS is not

an instance of genuine clitic doubling and a different analysis will be proposed. More precisely,

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[1] A much shorter version of this chapter is part of Runić 2013c.

it will be argued that clitic doubling in PTS is similar to noun doubling found in the Iroquoian languages. In addition, it will be shown that doubling with full NPs is very different from pronominal doubling in PTS in that it allows malefactives to be doubled and it allows clitics to follow the verb. Full NP doubling and pronominal doubling will thus be argued to be different phenomena. Finally, it will be proposed that only nouns are subject to the doubling operations discussed in this chapter, due to the loss of morphological case and its realization on a clitic.

3.2   Semantic Licensing of Clitic Doubling: The Case of Bulgarian and Macedonian

Both Bulgarian and Macedonian, the only Slavic languages with articles, have clitic doubling, allowing pronouns (1a) and full NPs (1b) to be doubled, as illustrated by Macedonian in (1):

(1) a. Mila **go**   zamoli **nego**.   [Macedonian, Franks 2009:194]

   Mila him.CL.ACC   asked   him.ACC

    'Mila asked him.'

   b. Petko **mu**   **go**   dade   **pismoto**   **na**   **deteto**.

    Petko him.CL.DAT   it. CL.ACC   gave   letter-the   to   child-the

   'Petko gave the letter to the child.'

Although Bulgarian and Macedonian both require that the category *specificity* be involved in clitic doubling licensing, they are quite different concerning further requirements triggering clitic doubling. Thus, while for Macedonian specificity is sufficient, Bulgarian, in addition to

specificity, requires that arguments be topical. Rudin (1997:247) formalizes these features as in (2):

(2) Bulgarian: [+ topical, + specific]

     Macedonian: [+ specific]

Since clitic doubling in Macedonian is less complex in terms of its licensing than clitic doubling in Bulgarian, it will be discussed first.

3.2.1   Clitic Doubling in Macedonian

Unlike Bulgarian, clitic doubling in Macedonian is obligatory whenever the object appears with a definite article. It is well-known that definites are typically specific, while indefinites can be either specific or non-specific (Enç 1991). From a semantic perspective, Enç (1991) shows that specificity is a subset of previously established referent. In Macedonian, regardless of the word order in a sentence, constituents have to be doubled whenever they are specific. This is illustrated in (3), in which the verbal clitic *ja* must be present in the sentence because of its definite co-argument *mačkata*, no matter in which order they occur, as shown in (3b, c, d):

(3) a. Kučeto *(**ja**)   kasa **mačkata**.   [Macedonian, Friedman 2001:50]

       dog-the her.CL.ACC   bites cat-the

     'The dog bites the cat.'

b. **Ja** kasa mačkata kučeto.

c. Mačkata **ja** kasa kučeto.

d. **Ja** kasa kučeto mačkata

Similarly, indefinites must be doubled if they are specific, as demonstrated in (4):

(4) Sakam   da   *(**go**)   pluknam **eden čovek**   [Macedonian, Berent 1980:172]

     want.1sg   c   him.CL.ACC spit-on   one   man

     koj   beše   včera   kaj   tebe.

     who   was   yesterday   by   you

     'I want to spit on a man who was at your place yesterday.'

In (4), *eden čovek* 'one man' is indefinite but specific, hence obligatorily doubled, otherwise the

sentence is ungrammatical.

   Crucially, non-specific indefinites cannot be doubled, as in (5):

(5) Profesorot   (*{\bf ja})   prašuvaše   **edna studentka**.   [Macedonian, Berent 1980:161]

     professor-the   her.CL.ACC   questioned   one   student

     'The professor was questioning a student.'

In (5), *edna studentka* 'one student' is not specific, or, speaking in Enç's (1991) parlance, there is

no subset of previously established referent. As a consequence, clitic doubling is not possible.

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This is in fact a common property of clitic doubling attested cross-linguistically. However, it will be shown in Section 3.3 that clitic doubling in PTS does not follow this universal property of clitic doubling. Before discussing that issue, clitic doubling in Bulgarian will be presented.

3.2.2   Clitic Doubling in Bulgarian

Bulgarian is more complex than Macedonian with respect to the requirements imposed on clitic doubling. Thus, while specificity is a must, doubled arguments have to be topical concomitantly.[2] When topicalized, specific NPs, typically appearing in initial position, must be doubled, as is the case in (6), in which the indirect object *na Ivan* and direct object *knigata* are both specific and topical. As seen in (6b, c), if either of these objects are not doubled, the result is ungrammatical.

(6)   a. **Na Ivan knigata**   az **mu**   **ja**   dadox. [Bulgarian, Franks and King 2000:253]

       to Ivan book.DEF I   him.CL.DAT it.CL.ACC gave

       'I gave the book to Ivan.'

      b. *Na Ivan knigata az mu dadox.

      c. *Na Ivan knigata az ja dadox.

---

[2] Here I rely on the broad definition of topics simply involving aboutness (cf. Franks and King 2000). An additional complexity is that most authors define topics in Bulgarian differently (see, for instance, Rudin 1997).

Additionally, some elements are always doubled in Bulgarian, such as experiencers in examples like in (7):

(7) **Mene   me**   e   jad.   [Bulgarian, Franks and King 2000:54]

    me.ACC me.CL.ACC is   angry

    'I am angry.'

Nevertheless, as pointed out by Franks and King (2000), if an NP is focused in preverbal position, then doubling is ungrammatical, as in (8) below, since focus is incompatible with being a topic:[3]

(8) a. **KNIGATA** dadox   na Ivan,   a   ne … [Bulgarian, Franks and King 2000:254]

    book.DEF   gave.1SG to   Ivan   and not

    'It was the book I gave to Ivan, and not...'

  b. * **KNIGATA mu ja** dadox na Ivan, a ne …

  c. * **KNIGATA ja** dadox na Ivan, a ne …

  d. * **KNIGATA mu** dadox na Ivan, a ne …

In (8), although *knigata* is specific, being definite (8a), it cannot be doubled since it is not a topic (8b-d). Focus in Bulgarian appears immediately before the verb and bears emphatic stress, whereas topics appear clause-initially but do not have to be verb-adjacent.[4] Admittedly though,

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[3] Notice that Macedonian is different in this respect. Even focalized elements in Macedonian have to be doubled when they are specific. For discussion, see Kochovska 2010.
[4] See Rudin 1997 for the syntactic encoding of discourse functions in Bulgarian.

defining topics remains extremely difficult and at this point I do not enter into the details, but rather point out that specificity is not the only factor in licensing clitic doubing in Bulgarian.

Crucially, as in Macedonian, doubling with non-specific indefinites is not possible, as illustrated in (9):

(9) Târsjat **(*go)** **nov učitel**.   [Bulgarian, Franks and King 2000:253]

    seek.3PL him.ACC new teacher

    'They are seeking a new teacher.'

To summarize, clitic doubling, as illustrated by Macedonian and Bulgarian, is a phenomenon that occurs in a systematic and rule-governed way. In addition to the criterion of *specificity* that both languages have, Bulgarian requires doubled arguments to be topical. Non-specific indefinites cannot be doubled in DP clitic doubling languages. In Bulgarian, the same holds for focalized elements. In the remainder of this chapter, I turn to the central research problem - clitic doubling in PTS and GS, which reveals a very different behavior from the doubling in Bulgarian and Macedonian, which I argue provides additional support that the dialects in question are genuine NP languages.

3.3 Clitic Doubling with Full NPs in PTS and GS and Other Related Phenomena

3.3.1 Doubling with N Elements and Specificity Effects

Contrary to what has been reported in the literature, at least for GS (Marušič and Žaucer 2009, 2010), doubling with full NPs has been confirmed with some speakers, both in PTS and GS. More precisely, nine (out of seventeen) speakers of PTS and four (out of four) speakers of GS allow doubling with full NPs. In PTS, these speakers allow doubling with proper nouns (10a) and common nouns (10b). GS is more restricted, allowing only proper nouns to be doubled (11a), doubling with common nouns being banned (11b):[5]

(10)　a. % Ja **ga**　　　**Milovana**　　poštujem.　　　　　　　　　　　　　[PTS]

　　　　　　I　him.CL.ACC　Milovan.ACC　respect.1SG

　　　'I respect Milovan.'

　　b. % Ja **gu**　　　**kafu**　volim　da　popijem　s　　komšiju.

　　　　　　I　it.CL.ACC　coffee　like.1SG　to　drink.1SG　　with　neighbor

　　　'I like having coffee with my neighbor.'

(11)　a. Jst **ga**　　　**Janeza**　spoštujem.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[GS]

　　　　　　I　him.CL.ACC　Janez.ACC　respect.1SG

　　　'I respect Janez.'

---

[5] Tatjana Marvin (pers. comm. 2010) claims that doubling with full NPs/proper nouns is marginal, but still acceptable. Additionally, she finds this type of doubling marked in the sense that the verb has to be heavily stressed.

b.Jst **(*jo)** **kavo** rad spijem s svojim sosedom.

   I   it.CL.ACC coffee gladly drink.1SG with my neighbor

'I like having coffee with my neighbor.'

Prima facie, the allowed doubling of full NPs in (10) and (11) above represents a paradox. Recall from Chapter 2 (Section 2.6.3) that doubling is permitted only with D elements, and not with N elements. This was illustrated by non-modified/D (cf. (12c-d) and modified/N pronouns (12a-b), repeated below. If non-pronominal traditional NPs in PTS and GS are NPs, it appears then that they should not be involved in clitic doubling.

(12) a. On je svaki dan zanimljiv, ali je **jučerašnji on** bio zanimljiviji   od

     he is every day interesting but AUX yesterday's he was more interesting than

    prekjučerašnjeg **njega**.   [PTS]

   the day before yesterday's   he

 '??He is interesting every day but yesterday's him was more interesting than the day

 before yesterday's him.'

  b. Jesi   **jučerašnjeg njega** pitaja   za što je to   tako?

   AUX.2SG yesterday's   him asked   why is that like that

 '*Did you ask yesterday's him why this is the case?'

  c. *Jesi   **ga**   **jučerašnjeg njega** pitaja za što je to tako?

   AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC yesterday's him asked   why is that like that

 '*Did you ask yesterday's him why this is the case?'

d. Jesi **ga** **njega** pitaja za što je to tako?

AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC him.ACC asked why is that like that

'Did you ask him why this is the case?'

The first issue that I will examine here is whether there are any definiteness/specificity effects in doubling with common nouns/full NPs in PTS, given that such effects are found with clitic doubling of non-pronominal nominals in DP languages, as illustrated in Section 3.2 by Bulgarian and Macedonian.[6] Here I will use Bickerton's (1981) proposal concerning the interpretation of articles in a language, used by a number of second language researchers. Bickerton (1981) suggests that all the differences in the interpretation of articles can be deduced from two binary features: whether the article and associated NP refer to a specific entity [± specific referent], and whether the article and associated NP are already known from the previous discourse or from context, to the person who is listening or reading the sentence [± hearer knowledge]. Thus, all possible situations related to specificity will be considered below with the appropriate contexts provided.[7]

[-Specific Referent -Hearer Knowledge]

This is a situation in which an NP refers to a non-specific entity which the hearer cannot identify from what has already been said, or from the context. In languages with articles, an indefinite article would be used here. Furthermore, in languages with clitic doubling, such as Bulgarian and Macedonian, doubling in this situation is not possible, since specificity is not involved. In (13)

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[6] Proper nouns are inherently definite, and they will not be analyzed further. As a result, I focus only on PTS.

[7] In the remainder of this section, I focus only on the judgments by the speakers who allow doubling with full NPs.

and (14), there are two situations in which specificity is not involved. Doubling with non-specific indefinites is, however, allowed in PTS:

Context:

Imagine that you are at a wedding party eating roast meet. However, the waiter forgot to bring napkins. You will ask the waiter:

(13) Izvin'te. Imate   (**gu**)   **salvetu**?   [PTS]

      sorry   have.2sɢ it.ᴄʟ.ᴀᴄᴄ   napkin

   'Excuse me. Do you have a napkin?'

Context:

There is a considerable number of old and sick people in the village. However, there is no doctor in the village.

(14) Opština   (**ga**)   **novog   lekara**   traži.   [PTS]

    municipality   him.ᴄʟ.ᴀᴄᴄ   new   doctor   look for.3sɢ

    'The municipality is looking for a new doctor.'

[+Specific Referent -Hearer Knowledge]

In this situation, an NP refers to a specific entity which the hearer cannot identify from what has already been said or from the context. Obviously, specificity is involved in this situation.

Macedonian requires clitic doubling, while Bulgarian does not. Again, doubling is optional in PTS:

Context:

A father is criticizing his son who just graduated and is still not looking for a job. All day long the son is just watching TV. The father got angry. His son is then telling his father:

(15) Ne   sekiraj   se,   tatko.   Ću   da   nađem   posao.   [PTS]

    not   worry   CL.REFL   dad   AUX.1SG   to   find   job

    Imam   **(gu)**   **jednu   debelu   vezu.**

    have.1SG   it.CL.ACC   one   strong   connection

    'Dad, don't worry. I will find a job. I have very good connections.'

[+Specific Referent + Hearer Knowledge]

In this situation, an NP refers to a specific entity which the hearer can identify. In Macedonian, doubling is obligatory, specificity being involved, whereas in PTS, it is again optional. This is illustrated in the next two situations in (16) and (17):[8]

Context:

---

[8] In (16), the doubled clitic can follow the verb, contrary to the facts presented in (67) in Chapter 2.7.3. However, the verb in (16) is in imperative. I suggest that this possibility arises again due to the borrowing situation, since clitics follow imperatives in Macedonian as well. See Bošković 2001 and references therein for discussion.

You are at a wedding party and the atmosphere is very cheerful. The peron opposite of you is then telling you:

(16) Ma   razbij   **(gu)**   **čašu**!   [PTS]

     PTCL   break.2.IMP   it.CL.ACC   glass

     'Break the glass!'

.
Context:

Marko and Gordana saw a white mouse in the kitchen. They were trying to catch it, but it was in vain. When Gordana saw the white mouse again, she told Marko:

(17) Marko, kuku mene! Opet sam   **(ga)**   **onog belog miša**   videla.   [PTS]

     Marko   poor me   again AUX.1SG   it.CL.ACC that   white   mouse   saw

     'Marko, poor me! I saw that white mouse again!'

  [-Specific Referent + Hearer Knowledge]

In the last situation, an NP refers to a non-specific entity identified by the hearer from general knowledge, which is a typical case of generic interpretation. Again, doubling in PTS is possible, as illustrated in (18):

(18)   Ja **(gu)**   **kafu**   volim   da   popijem   s   komšiju.   [PTS]

     I it.CL.ACC coffee   like.1SG   to   drink.1SG   with   neighbor

'I like having coffee with my neighbor.'

In short, doubling with full NPs in PTS and GS does not follow the general properties of clitic doubling, as illustrated in Chapter 3.2 through clitic doubling in Bulgarian and Macedonian. GS allows doubling with proper names only, while PTS is more productive in that it allows both proper and common nouns to be doubled. Nevertheless, PTS allows doubling in non-specific indefinite contexts, which I interpret as indicating that its clitic doubling is not triggered by the specificity requirement, that is, it does not involve D-feature checking, which is typical with clitic doubling in DP languages (see Chapter 2). Since doubling with full NPs in PTS does not involve D-feature checking, it does not go against Bošković's (2008b) approach to clitic doubling, which restricts specificity-driven clitic doubling of full NPs to DP languages only.[9]

3.3.2   The Proposal: Noun Doubling in Iroquoian and PTS

The remaining question is then why some speakers of PTS allow doubling with full NPs. Put somewhat differently, what triggers clitic doubling with common nouns, given that specificity is not a licensor, as shown above? This question seems to be particularly relevant given that doubling with pronouns is possible only when pronouns are D elements, and not when pronouns are (modified) N elements. In other words, common nouns are N elements but still allow doubling, unlike N pronouns which disallow it. One possibility here is that doubling with full

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[9]As for GS, recall that this type of doubling is possible only with proper names, which could be due to their inherent semantics (or lexical properties). Alternatively, it is possible that D feature can be added to personal names in GS, just like it can be added to pronouns (see Chapter 2.6.3.)

NPs is undergoing a change moving towards the stage in which clitic doubling will show specificity effects, which in turn would require development of a full blown DP system.[10] Another possibility is that clitic doubling with full NPs is not an instance of standard clitic doubling at all but rather some other phenomenon, that is, a fundamentally different kind of doubling phenomenon.

Indeed, there exist other doubling constructions that are quite different from standard clitic doubling constructions. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the phenomenon of noun doubling in Iroquoian languages, reported by Baker (1988), among others, where an incorporated noun can be doubled by an external Noun Phrase.[11] This is illustrated in (19) from Baker 1988:144:

(19)   Wa-k-**nvhs**-v:ti: [he:ni:kv: o:-**nvhs**-eh]   [Tuscarora, Williams 1976:63]

      AOR-1ss/3N-**house**-make/PERF that PRE-**house**-SUF

      'I have made that house.'

In (19), the noun root –*nhvs*- , incorporated into the verb, is doubled by an external phrase 'that house' headed by the same root –*nhvs*-. The purpose of the external root is to provide more information about the object in question. Further, the incorporated noun and the external noun phrase do not have to be identical lexical items. While the two need to share all semantic features

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[10] The opposite direction of language change would also be plausible. Under this view, doubling with full NPs would be moving toward the stage in which doubling would disappear. In fact, Bogdanović (1987) acknowledges that pronominal doubling used to be more frequent at the beginning of the 20th century, as reported in spontaneous speakers' production, recorded in corpora by Belić (1905).

[11] Noun doubling is part of noun incorporation, a property productively found in polysynthetic languages. While certain aspects of noun incorporation may vary across languages, the following is true of all of them: (i) the direct object but not the subject of a transitive verb can incorporate; (ii) in ditransitive constructions, the patient object but not the goal/benefactive can undergo incorporation. For discussion of noun incorporation, see Baker 1988, 1996, 2003; Barrie 2006, 2011, and references therein.

in order to share a thematic role, pragmatically, however, the external noun phrase needs to represent a narrower range of references than the incorporated one.[12] This correlation is exemplified in (20) from Tuscarora (Iroquoian), again from Baker 1988:145, where 'dog' doubles and makes 'domestic animal' more specific:[13]

(20) Ae-hra-**taskw**-ahk-hwa?   ha? **tsi:r**.   [Tuscarora, Williams 1976]

     DU-3M-**domestic.animal**-pickup-ASP   PRT **dog**

     'He regularly picks up dogs [he is a dog catcher].'

   The major point here is that there are other doubling constructions in which NPs are involved; in fact, the one under consideration (cf. (19)-(20)) seems to be a property of NP languages, given that Iroquoian languages lack articles.[14] Moreover, one shared property between doubling constructions in Iroquoian and PTS is actually not found in DP clitic doubling languages. This parallel is the relevant grammatical feature. Thus, just like full nominal doubling in PTS, the Iroquoian doubling operation under consideration is allowed even in non-specific indefinite contexts. Recall that this is not possible in clitic doubling languages, as llustrated by Macedonian, repeated below as (21a). Contrary to DP languages, both Tuscarora and PTS, allow doubling in such a context, as confirmed by (21b) and (21c):

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[12] If the external phrase does not display a narrower range of references than the noun root, it cannot be presented (Baker 1988:145).

[13] For this type of incorporation, see Chafe 1970, Mithun 1984, among others. According to Baker (1988:145), the noun that ends up undergoing incorporation receives a theta role from the verb at D-structure before incorporating into the verb. From that position, the noun can transmit its theta role to an adjunct NP, as long as they share identical semantic features.

[14] See in fact Bošković's (2008b) generalization about polysynthetic languages and their lack of articles (Section 2.5).

(21) a. *Profesorot   **ja**   prašuvaše **edna studentka**. [Macedonian, Berent 1980:161]

      professor-the   her.CL.ACC questioned one   student

    'The professor was questioning a student.'

    b. Izvin'te. Imate   **gu**   **salvetu**?   [PTS]

      sorry   have.2SG   it.CL.ACC   napkin

    'Excuse me. Do you have a napkin?'

    c. Ae-hra-**taskw**-ahk-hwa?   ha? **tsi:r**.   [Tuscarora, Williams 1976]

      DU-3M-**domestic.animal**-pickup-ASP   PRT **dog**

    'He regularly picks up dogs [he is a dog catcher].'

Given the parallelism above, I treat the two as a single phenomenon and argue for a unified analysis between clitic doubling with full NPs in PTS and noun doubling in Iroquoian. I adopt a syntactic account of noun doubling, as put forth by Barrie (2006, 2011), who develops a phrasal movement account of noun incorporaton in Northern Iroquoian.[15] Specifically, Barrie argues that the incorporated nominal element and the double are merged within VP as a constituent, which he refers to as ClP, the nominal element that surfaces as incorporated being generated as SpecClP, and the doubling nominal as the complement of ClP, after which the nominal element undergoes noun incorporation, while the double remains in situ.[16] I extend Barrie's claim to clitic

[15] One of the most influential accounts of noun incorporaton is due to Baker (1988, 1996), who treats noun incorporaton as head movement (N-to-V raising) Baker treats doubles (but also other stranding material) as originating in an adjoined, clause-peripheral position. See, however, Barrie 2011 for problems with this account. For other syntactic accounts, see Hale 2001, Wiltschko 2002, among others.
[16]The double can also raise to a position of topic or focus (see Barrie 2006, 2011).

doubling in PTS and argue that the clitic, albeit not incorporated, performs the same role as the incorporated noun.[17] The clitic and the noun double share relevant semantic features, their pragmatic connection, unlike Iroquoian, being irrelevant.

Thus, we are dealing here with a fundamentally different kind of a doubling phenomenon from standard clitic doubling, which is specificity-driven. As such, this phenomenon is not limited to DPs and can involve NPs, just like in the Iroquonian languages. Strong evidence that this is indeed the case is provided by left-branch extraction (LBE). Recal from Chapter 2 (Section 2.5.1) that extraction of an adjective from a traditonal NP may be possible only in NP languages and not in DP languages, as illustrated by English and SC, repeated here as (22a) and (22b):[18] (The examples are from Bošković 2008b.)

(22)   a. *Expensive/Those$_i$ he saw   [t$_i$ cars]

   b. Skupa/Ta$_i$ je   vidio   [t$_i$ kola]   [SC]

      expensive   AUX   saw   car

   'He saw an expensive car.'

Recall also that the effects of the co-relation between LBE and articles can be confirmed even from a single language in different registers. Thus, Colloquial Finnish has a definite article, and allows LBE. Literary Finnish, on the other hand, lacks articles and allows LBE. The examples

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[17] Note that for Barrie (2011) the "incorporated" element actually undergoes phrasal movement. Recall in this respect that second-position clitics in SC also undergo phrasal movement (see Bošković 2002).
[18] For the generalization about left-branch extraction, as well as other generalizations, see Section 2.5.1.

are repeated here as (23): (The examples are taken from Bošković 2012:181. The literary Finnish example is originally due to Franks 2008.)

(23) a. Punaisen   ostin   auton.   [Literary Finnish, poetic style]

      red.ACC   buy.PST.1SG   car.ACC

   b.?* Punaisen ostin   (sen) auton   [Spoken Finnish]

   'I bought a red car.'

Strong evidence that noun doubling in PTS is not specificity driven is provided by the fact that LBE is possible with doubled full NPs, as illustrated below:

(24) **Debelu**ᵢ si   **gu**   je   taj   [NP **t**ᵢ **vezu**]   imao.   [PTS]

      thick   CL.REFL it.CL.ACC   AUX.3SG   he   connection   had

      'He had good connections.'

By allowing the adjective 'debelu' to be extracted, (24) confirms that the double is an NP, not a DP. In sum, specificity insensitivity and LBE confirm that the doubling operation in question does not involve a DP, the relevant nominal being an NP.

  Under the above analysis, we might expect that (all) N elements can be doubled. While this is true of full NPs, N/modified pronouns seem to be excluded from the doubling operation investigated in this section, which for ease of exposition, I will refer to as N-doubling, as illustrated from the minimal sentence pair below:

(25) a. Jesi **jučerašnjeg njega** pitaja   za što je to   tako?   [PTS]

      AUX.2SG yesterday's   him   asked   why   is that   like that

    b. *Jesi **ga** **jučerašnjeg njega** pitaja   za što je to   tako?

      AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC yesterday's   him   asked   why   is that   like that

    '*Did you ask yesterday's him why this is the case?'

Apparently, both (25a) and (25b) above involve modified/N pronouns, but the modified pronoun cannot undergo N-doubling, as shown by (25b). Recall that pronouns can undergo regular clitic doubling, which is confined to DPs; (25b) then becomes grammatical if the modifier, which forces the NP status of the pronoun, is dropped. In short, while pronouns as DPs can undergo clitic doubling, they apparently cannot undergo N-doubling, even when they are not DPs. In order to account for this discerpancy, I propose that the restrictions related to N-doubling in PTS have emerged as a direct consequence of case loss. Specifically, pronouns in PTS have a full case paradigm, unlike full NPs, whose morphological case is only partially realized (only nominative and accusative/general case is present in the system, in contrast to Standard Serbian, which has a case system with seven cases).[19] Case with full NPs in PTS is clearly undergoing a transition in which the morphological case is being lost. I suggest that clitic doubling with full NPs in PTS reflects case realization on clitics, the only full case markers in this dialect. This explains why full NPs, and not pronouns have N-doubling. Full NPs, which are losing their morphological case, have developed an alternative way of case licensing through clitics. This is

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[19] See Bogdanović 1987, among others.

not the case with pronouns. N-pronouns are thus not involved in N-doubling because their case paradigm is fully preserved.

To conclude, on the basis of insensitivity to specificity effects and left-branch extraction, I have argued that doubling with full NPs in PTS is outside the doman of standard clitic doubling, which bans such phenomena. I have drawn a parallel between PTS and Iroquoian noun doubling, and proposed a unified analysis for the two. Finally, I have argued that this type of doubling is connected to the loss of morphological case in PTS. In the next section, additional evidence for the distinctness of N-doubling and pronominal clitic doubling in PTS is provided.

3.3.3 Noun Doubling vs. Pronominal Doubling in PTS and GS

That PTS N-doubling is significantly different from PTS pronominal doubling, is evidenced by other phenomena. Thus, pronouns allow only true arguments to undergo doubling (cf. (26a)), and not malefactives (cf. (26b)). The situation is quite different with nouns, noun doubling permits both true arguments and malefactives to be doubled, as illustrated in (27) below (observe here the contrast between (26b) and (27b):[20,21]

(26) a. Ja **gu   na njuma**   dado   džak.   [PTS]

       I   her.CL.DAT at her.ACC   gave.1SG sack

    'I gave her a sack.'

---

[20] Iroquoian languages differ in this respect. Thus, noun incorporation (and concomitantly noun doubling) is banned with comitatives, recipients, and benefactives (see Section 3.3.2). I assume that the difference between Iroquoian and PTS N-doubling here is due to independent restrictions on noun incorporation.

[21] Note that GS does not observe this difference, by allowing both malefactives and true arguments to be doubled.

b. *Ja **gu**   **na njuma**   kukam.

        I   her.CL.DAT   at her.ACC   complain.1SG

    'I am complaining to her.'

(27) a. Ja **gu**   **na Marjanu**   dado   džak.   [PTS]

        at her.CL.DAT   at   Marjana.ACC gave.1SG   sack

    'I gave Marjana a sack.'

    b. Ja **gu**   **na Marjanu**   kukam.

        I   her.CL.DAT   at   Marjana.ACC complain.1SG

    'I am complaining to Marjana.'

   Interestingly, GS behaves differently from PTS here, but still exhibits a difference between
pronominal clitic doubling and N-doubling. Thus, while GS fully allows pronominal clitic
doubling with malefactives (cf. (28a) vs. (28b)), malefactives with N-doubling are degraded (cf.
(29a) vs. (29b)). What is important for us is that the two again behave differently:

(28) a. Jaz sem **ji**   **njej**   dal   žakelj.   [GS]

        I   am   her.CL.DAT   her.DAT   gave sack

    'I gave her a sack.'

    b. Jaz **ji**   **njej**   težim.

        I   her.CL.DAT   her.DAT complain

    'I am complaining to her.'

(29)   a. ?*Jaz **mu**   **Markotu**   kradem.   [GS]

        I   him.CL.DAT   Marko.DAT   steal

       'I am stealing from Marko.'

       b. ??Jaz **mu**   **Markotu**   težim.

           I   him.CL.DAT   Marko.DAT   complain

        'I am complaining to Marko.'

   Returning to PTS, there is another piece of evidence that doubling with full NPs is very

different from pronominal clitic doubling, and that the two should not be treated in the same

way. Recall from Chapter 2 (Section 2.7.3) that in both PTS and GS, a doubled clitic cannot

follow a verb, while it can follow any other prosodic word, repeated below as (30a-b) (only PTS

is used here for illustratiion):

(30)   a.*Čekaš   **me**   **mene.**   [PTS]

           wait.2SG   me.CL.ACC   me.ACC

       b. Ti   **me**   **mene**   čekaš?

          you me.CL.ACC me.ACC   wait.2SG

       'Are you waiting for me?'

In Chapter 2, I proposed that this restriction, relative to the verb, is due to a borrowing situation

from Macedonian and Italian, in which clitics are verbal clitics that precede the (indicative) verb,

hence proclitics. N-doubling in PTS, however, does not observe this rule, as attested by

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grammatical doubling with full NPs in (31), with a clitic in a post-verbal position, which confrms that N-doubling is not similar to pronominal doubling:[22]

(31) Izvin'te. Imate **gu**   **salvetu**?   [PTS]

      sorry   have.2sɢ it.ᴄʟ.ᴀᴄᴄ napkin

      'Excuse me. Do you have a napkin?'

Finally, it is worth mentioning that a clitic can be used even with intranstive verbs in PTS, as the following example illustrates:[23]

(32)   a. The context

A group of friends is sitting and chatting. They are all smokers but suddenly they are all left without cigarettes since they have been sitting and chatting for a long tme. There is just one cigarette left and they decided to share it. The cigarette is going around in circle. One of the friends named Vlado started a long chat, while not forwarding the cigarette to the next person but rather keeping it in his hand. At this point another friend is telling him:

     b. Ajde   be   Vlado, puši tu   cigaru, ne **gu**   odmaraj.

       come on ᴘᴛᴄʟ Vlado smoke that cigarette not it.ᴄʟ.ᴀᴄᴄ   rest

       'Come on, Vlada, smoke that cigarette, do not rest.'

---

[22] Notice that (30a) is degraded even as a question:
(i)   a. ??Čekaš me   mene?
           wait.2sɢ me.ᴄʟ.ᴀᴄᴄ me. ᴀᴄᴄ
       b. Mene me čekaš?
[23] The example is available at: http://www.b92.net/zivot/vesti.php?yyyy=2014&mm=01&dd=24&nav_id=803887.

It is not clear whether the clitic 'gu' in (32b) refers to the cigarette, or it is just some kind of a discourse particle, the verb here being intransitive. Whatever the case may be, N-doubling in PTS does not follow the same set of rules and principles as pronominal doubling does. In the next section, I examine related phenomena in the context of N-doubling in PTS.

3.3.4   Noun Doubling and Other Related Phenomena

Just like with pronouns (see Section 2.7.1), an NP and a clitic cannot be separated by a verb, as demonstrated in (33) and (34) by PTS and GS, respectively:[24]

(33) a. Ja **ga**   **Milovana**   poštujem.   [PTS]

        I   him.CL.ACC Milovan.ACC   respect.1SG

     b. *Ja **ga**   poštujem   **Milovana.**

         I   him.CL.ACC respect.1SG Milovan.ACC

    'I respect Milovan.'

(34) a. Jst **ga**   **Janeza**   spoštujem.   [GS]

       I   him.CL.ACC Janez.ACC   respect.1SG

    'I respect Janez.'

     b. *Jst **ga**   spoštujem   **Janeza**.

       I   him.CL.ACC respect.1SG   Janez.ACC

---

[24] An NP can be separated from a clitic at the right edge of a sentence only if it constitutes a separate prosodic unit, in which case this is an instance of clitic right dislocation. See Chapter 2.4.

'I respect Janez.'

The property in (33) and (34) can be accounted for in the same way as the corresponding behavior of pronominal clitic doubling, discussed in Chapter 2.7.1, where it was argued that a clitic and its associate form a constituent (recall in fact that the noun and the clitic are generated together under the Barrie-style analysis adopted earlier in this chapter).

Finally, I would like to point out some additional facts. Unlike Bulgarian, where focalized constituents cannot be doubled, focus and topic being incompatible, doubling of focalized elements in PTS and GS is possible, as illustrated in (35) with focalized pronouns and in (36) with focalized NPs: (Recall that Macedonian allows doubling of focalized elements.)

(35) a. Ma ja **ga**   **NJEGA**   poštujem, a   ne   njuma.   [PTS]
       PTCL I him.CL.ACC him.ACC   respect   and not   her.ACC
    'I respect him, and not her.'

    b. Ma jst se   **mu**   **NJEMU**   jočem,   in   Janezu   tud ne. [GS]
       PTCL I CL.REFL him.CL.DAT   him.DAT   complain.1SG but   Janez.DAT   not
    'I am complaining to him and not to Janez.'

(36) a. Ma ja **ga**   **MILOVANA**   poštujem,   a   ne   **njuma**.   [PTS]
       PTCL I him.CL.ACC Milovan.ACC   respect.1SG and not   her.ACC
    'I respect Milovan, and not her.'

    b. Ma   jst se   **mu**   **JANEZU**   jočem,   in   njemu tud ne.   [GS]

PTCL   I   CL.REFL   him.CL.DAT   Janez.DAT   complain.1SG   and   him.DAT   not

'I am complaining to Janez and not to him.'

3.4   Conclusions

I have analyzed doubling with full NPs, allowed with some speakers of PTS and GS. At first sight, this phenomenon represents a paradox, given that doubling is allowed with nouns, N-elements. Doubling with N-elements contrasts sharply with the major claim of Chapter 2 - that doubling is allowed with D-elements exclusively. A closer examination of this type of doubling, however, has revealed that clitic doubling of full NPs is not an instance of standard clitic doubling found in DP languages. This claim is made based primarily on two pieces of evidence. First, doubling is allowed in non-specific indefinite contexts, a possibility excluded from languages with articles. Second, doubling elements allow left-branch extraction, a phenomenon robustly found only in languages without articles. Additionally, noun doubling in PTS is considerably different from pronominal doubling since the verb can precede the clitic in the former, but not the latter, and doubling with malefactives is allowed in PTS only with full NPs. I have proposed that full NP doubling is similar to noun doubling found in Iroquoian languages, where doubling also surfaces in non-specific indefinite contexts. Finally, I have tied the different behavior of NPs and pronouns with respect to N-doubling (which is unavailable to pronouns) to an independent difference between NPs and pronouns regarding morphological case.

Chapter 4

On the Interpretation of Clitics[1]

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I analyze certain facts regarding the interpretation of clitics in Slavic, Balkan, and Romance, and investigate their implications for the status of null arguments in East Asian languages. The discussion in this chapter will reveal another phenomenon, where clitics reveal a split between article and article-less languages. This time the split is confirmed from a semantic angle, thus offering another piece of evidence against the standard claim that clitics are Ds cross-linguistically. More specifically, based on a contrast in the availability of sloppy interpretation and more generally semantic flexibility, where sloppy interpretation and semantic flexibility show to be associated only with clitics in article-less languages, I argue that clitics are Ds only in article languages, while in article-less languages, they are Ns, which confirms the conclusion reached in Chapter 2. Further, I consider theoretical implications of the account with respect to the Argument Ellipsis Analysis of null elements in Japanese. Based on a parallelism between clitics in Slavic and null arguments in East Asian, I call into question the validity of the Argument Ellipsis Analysis and propose an alternative, unified analysis of Slavic clitics and null arguments in East Asian. Specifically, I claim that in article-less languages, clitics and null

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[1] A much shorter version of this chapter is part of Runić 2013a and Runić, to appear *a.*

arguments are Ns, lacking the DP layer altogether, in the spirit of Bošković's (2008b) NP/DP Parameter. I further propose that clitics and null arguments are predicates of type $<e, t>$, à la Tomioka (2003), achieving semantic variability through Type-Shifting operations. Type-Shifting operations from a predicate to an individual are constrained by the presence of a D in a language (Chierchia 1998), which, I argue, explains why clitics in article languages lack the semantic freedom displayed by clitics in article-less languages. Finally, I analyze two situations where pronouns are semantically inflexible in the relevant sense – full pronouns in SC and Japanese, and the null subject pronoun in SC. I propose that the former situation is due to focus, while the latter involves agreement, which is present in SC, but not in Japanese.

4.2 An Intriguing Slavic Pattern: Strict and Sloppy Readings

My point of departure is Franks (2013), who notes that sloppy reading of clitic pronouns is allowed with some speakers in Slovenian and Serbian/Croatian (SC), as illustrated by Slovenian (1):[2]

(1) Stane je   videl **plav avto** in   tudi Tone **ga**   je   videl. [Slovenian]
    Stane AUX.3SG saw blue car and also Tone it.CL.ACC AUX.3SG   saw
    'Stane saw a blue car and Tone saw it/one.'

_____

[2]Franks (2013) labels sloppy reading as Identity of Sense, while strict reading is named Identity of Reference.

In (1), the clitic *ga* in the second conjunct can have a strict reading, referring to its antecedent, *plav avto* (in other words, Stane and Tone saw the same blue car). The English counterpart under such reading is the pronoun *it*. Interestingly, the clitic *ga* can get a sloppy reading as well (in other words, the reference does not have to be its antecedent *plav avto* from the first conjunct, but any other such entity (hence, Stane and Tone may have seen two different blue cars)). Franks (2013) compares the above facts with English, in which the sloppy reading can be obtained through the pronoun *one* exclusively because the N-pronoun *one* has no referential features, which is what makes it different from pronouns like *it, he, she*.[3] Thus, Franks (2013) concludes that Slovenian and English fundamentally differ in this respect.

All my consultants of SC allow a sloppy reading for (2b) given an appropriate context, as elaborated in (2a):[4,5]

(2) a. The Context for Sloppy Reading:

Nikola and Danilo are best friends. They have many interests in common except their taste in movies is completely different. Specifically, Nikola likes comedies, whereas Danilo likes horror movies. In their town, a movie festival of all film genres takes place every summer. A comedy and

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[3] Franks (2013) reports that there is variation in the judgments, the modification and animacy of the antecedent playing a role. According to his consultants, inanimates allow sloppy interpretation regardless of modification, while animates permit sloppy reading only if unmodified. The data from my consultants reveal no differences if the antecedent is (in)animate or (un)modified as long as there is an appropriate scenario.

[4] Sloppy reading in SC is typically obtained through VP-ellipsis, which is a common cross-linguistic strategy. Put differently, speakers of SC, including myself, would rather use VP-ellipsis in order to convey sloppy interpretation. This preference, nonetheless, does not exclude the possibility of sloppy reading still being available with clitics, as confirmed by all the consultants.

[5] I will not discuss the strict reading any longer since the strict interpretation is always available. Pragmatically, however, the strict interpretation would be odd in the context which forces the sloppy interpretation.

a horror movie played at the same time in two different buildings. Given their very different

tastes, Nikola and Danilo saw two different movies.

    b. Nikola je   vidio **film**, a vidio **ga**   je   i   Danilo.   [SC]

      Nikola AUX.3SG saw   film and saw it.CL.ACC   AUX.3SG and Danilo

      'Nikola saw a movie and Danilo saw it/one too.'

Furthermore, the sloppy reading is possible not only with an indefinite antecedent, as in (2),

but also with a definite/pronominal-containing antecedent, as attested among all the consultants.

Again, an adequate context is given for obtaining the sloppy reading, as in (3a):[6]

(3) a. The Context for Sloppy Reading:

Nikola and Danilo are brothers and their family celebrates St. Nicholas, the patron saint's feast

day in Orthodox tradition that is celebrated annually on December 19. It is a common practice

among Serbs to invite a boyfriend/girlfriend to a family celebration. Both Nikola and Danilo

have a girlfriend (thus, in this context, there are two girlfriends) and they invited their girlfriends

to their family celebration.

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[6] Interestingly, unlike accusative, the dative clitic cannot obtain the sloppy interpretation. Thus, even with the context in (3a), the sloppy reading is not possible in (i) below:
(i)   Nikola je   svojoj djevojci dao   ruže, a   dao **joj**   je   i   Danilo.   [SC]
     Nikola AUX.3SG his   girlfriend gave roses and gave her.CL.DAT AUX.3SG and Danilo
     'Nikola gave his girlfriend roses, and Danilo gave her too' (her =Nikola's girlfriend/*Danilo's girlfriend)
Notice, however, that (i) involves a dative in a double object construction. Some verbs can also take a dative object in a simple transitive construction. In such cases, a dative clitic allows a sloppy interpretation, as illustrated in (ii) (given a context with two girlfriends):
(ii) Nikola se obradovao   svojoj djevojci, a   obradovao **joj**   se i   Danilo.   [SC]
     Nikola REFL looked forward his   girlfriend and looked forward her.CL.DAT REFL and Danilo
     'Nikola looked forward to his girlfriend, and Danilo looked forward to his (his=Nikola's/Danilo's girlfriend.'
I leave open the source of the contrast between (i) and (ii).

b. Nikola je pozvao **(svoju) djevojku** na slavu, [SC]

Nikola AUX.3SG invited his girlfriend on slava

a pozvao **ju** je i Danilo.

and invited her.CL.ACC AUX.3SG and Danilo

'Nikola invited his girlfriend to the slava (family patron's day) and Danilo invited his

(his=/Nikola's/Danilo's) (girlfriend) too.'

Moreover, in addition to SC and Slovenian, the sloppy reading is possible in Czech and Slovak.[7] What unifies these languages is the fact that they all lack articles.[8] Interestingly, however, Bulgarian and Macedonian, the only Slavic languages with articles, disallow sloppy interpretation of clitics, even under the scenarios in (2a) and (2b), as illustrated by Macedonian in (4a, b) and confirmed by all my consultants:

(4)   a. Viktor vide **(eden) film**, a i Dimitar **go** vide. [Macedonian]

Viktor saw one film and Dimitar it.CL.ACC saw

'Viktor saw a movie and Dimitar saw it/*one too.'

b. Nikola ja povika **devojka** si na slava,

Nikola her.CL.ACC invited girl him.CL.DAT.REFL at slava

a Daniel **ja** povika isto.

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[7] Only SC is used for illustration when discussing languages lacking articles. Note also that not all Slovenian speakers allow the sloppy interpretation with clitics. See, however, data from Chapter 4.3, which show that Slovenian clitics pattern with clitics in SC (and other article-less languages).

[8] Here I refer to the definite article. Slovenian does have indefinite articles, which are not important for current concerns. See Bošković 2008a.

and Daniel   her.CL.ACC   invited   same

'Nikola invited his girlfriend to the slava (family patron's day) and Daniel invited her

(=Nikola's/*Daniel girlfriend) as well.'

Crucially, there is a principled cross-linguistic variation in this respect. Thus, alongside

Bulgarian and Macedonian, the semantic freedom of clitics is banned in other clitic languages

with articles I have investigated - Spanish, French, Italian, (Brazilian) Portuguese, Romanian,

and Greek.[9] Put differently, clitic languages with articles disallow the sloppy reading, while

clitic article-less languages allow it. Such state of affairs leads me to propose a new descriptive

generalization, as in (5):

(5) Only languages without articles allow sloppy reading of clitics.

In the following section, I revive an observation made by Mihailović (1970) regarding

differences between English and SC rules on pronominalization, which additionally bolsters the

major claim made in this chapter, namely, that clitics in article-less languages are indeed

different when it comes to their interpretation, their status thus soliciting re-examination.

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[9] There is variation in Italian with some speakers allowing the sloppy interpretation. However, the majority of my
consultants disallows it.

4.3 Clitics in the Non-Specific Context

While investigating the behavior of English and SC with respect to pronominalization, Mihailović (1970) reaches the conclusion that, unlike English, SC appeals to an identical strategy in two rather different contexts. This is illustrated in (6). Specifically, Mihailović (1970) notes that, given the context in (6a), which ic compatible with both specific and non-specific readings, SC appeals to the same strategy, using only definite pronouns (hence, clitics), regardless of whether the reference is specific (6b) or non-specific (6c). Conversely, English, cannot employ definite pronouns in non-specific contexts (6c), such pronouns being used with specific reference exclusively (6b). A similar limitation is imposed on the indefinite pronoun *one*, which is reserved for non-specific contexts, as in (6c).

(6) a. Speaker A: Ona želi   da se   uda   za Šveđanina.   [SC, Mihailović 1970]

              she wants to REFL marry for Swede

             'She wants to marry a Swede.'

  b. Speaker B: Gdje **ga**   je   našla?

             where him.CL.ACC AUX.3SG found

             'Where did she find him/*one.'

  c. Speaker B: Nije **ga**   lako   naći.

             not him.CL.ACC easy to find

             'It is not easy to find one/*him.'

In order to test whether Mihailović's (1970) discerning observation is valid for clitic languages with articles, I present data from Macedonian in (7), which reveal that clitics cannot be used in non-specific contexts in Macedonian (7c), their use being reserved for the specific reading exclusively (7b), just as in the case of the English pronoun *him*:

(7) a. Speaker A: Taa saka da se   venča za Šveǵanin.   [Macedonian]

                she wants to REFL marry for Swede

           'She wants to marry a Swede.'

   b. Speaker B: A kade   **go**   našla?

            where   him.CL.ACC found

         'Where did she find him?'

   c. Speaker B: Ne e lesno da najde/ ***go**   najde/(eden Šveǵanin)

          not is easy to find   him.CL.ACC find   (one Swede)

         'It is not easy to find one/*him.'

The variability of the clitic behavior is even more straightforward in the following non-specific contexts, using both animates (8) and inanimates (9) in argument position for the sake of completeness. The Macedonian (bar) examples do not allow a clitic to surface in such contexts, whereas this is possible (even mandatory) in SC (non-bar examples):

(8) a. Speaker A: Nemam   djevojku.

   a.'Speaker A: Nemam   devojka.

not have.1SG   girl

'I do not have a girlfriend.'

b. Speaker B: A   zašto   **je**   ne   nađeš?

and   why   her.CL.ACC   not   find. 2SG

b.'Speaker B: A   zošto   ne   si   **(*ja)**   najdeš   (edna)?

and   why   not   CL.REFL   her.CL.ACC   find.2SG   one

'And why don't you find one?'

(9)   a. Speaker A: Nemam   auto?

a.'Speaker A: Nemam   kola?

not have car

'I do not have a car.'

b. Speaker B: Pa što **ga**   ne kupiš?

so why it.CL.ACC   not buy.2SG

b.'Speaker B: Pa zošto ne   si   **(*ja)**   kupiš   (edna)?

so why   not REFL   it.CL.ACC   buy.2SG   one

'So why don't you buy one?'

Again, there is a principled and systematic difference at work here in the clitic behavior. Thus, in addition to Macedonian, the non-specific context is not possible for clitics in Bulgarian, Romanian, Greek, (Brazilian) Portuguese, Spanish, and French, while clitics are allowed in such

contexts in SC, Slovenian, Czech and Slovak. Such a robust dichotomy between clitic languages imposes another descriptive generalization, which I provide in (10):[10]

(10) Only languages without articles allow clitics to be used in a non-specific context.

The question to be posed at this juncture is what prevents article languages from obtaining a sloppy interpretation, as well as non-specific readings of clitics. Is it because a certain semantic interpretation cannot be assigned to a particular structure? Conversely, why is the structure of article-less languages able to assign a number of readings with clitics? Before providing an account of the data above, I first consider theoretical implications of the clitic data with respect to the current status of null elements in East Asian languages under the umbrella of the so-called Argument Ellipsis Analysis. This is the task of the following section.

4.4   Theoretical Implications: Clitics and the Argument Ellipsis Analysis

The Argument Ellipsis (AE) Analysis has been quite prominent in the research on Japanese null arguments. Thus, a number of authors have argued, in one way or another, that null subjects and objects in Japanese are best analyzed as involving ellipsis rather than empty pronouns (Oku 1998, Takahashi 2008a, b, among many others). To illllustrate, if the null object (*e*) in (11b) is preceded by the antecedent sentence in (11a), then the null object in (11b) can be ambiguous

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[10] Clitic languages with articles vary as to which tools they use in non-specific contexts. Thus, while some languages, like Bulgarian and Macedonian, may entertain elliptical constructions, others (Spanish, French) appeal to indefinite pronouns, just like English.

between a strict interpretation (meaning Hanako hates her (her = Taro's mother)) and a sloppy

interpretation (meaning Hanako hates her own (=Hanako's) mother):

(11)   a. Taro-wa   **zibun-no hahaoya-o**   aisiteiru. [Japanese, Şener and Takahashi 2010:79]

Taro-NOM   self-GEN   mother-ACC love

'lit. Taro loves self's mother.'

b. Hanako-wa *e* nikundeiru

Hanako-TOP   hates

'Hanako hates *e*.'

According to the above authors, the null object in (11b) cannot be analyzed as an empty pronoun

because an overt pronoun in such a position can achieve a strict interpretation exclusively, as

illustrated by the insertion of the pronoun *kanojo-o* 'her' in (12):

(12) Hanako-wa   **kanojo-o** nikundeiru.   [Japanese]

Hanako-TOP   her-ACC   hates

'Hanako hates her.' (her = Taro's mother)

'*Hanako hates her own (= Hanako's) mother.'

However, the data from Slavic article-less languages, discussed in Chapter 4.2, challenge the AE

Analysis. The major piece of evidence comes from the fact that clitics are overt, yet can obtain

both strict and sloppy interpretation, just like the null object in (11b).[11] Before presenting main Slavic data challenging the AE analysis, let us summarize major claims favoring the AE analysis.

4.4.1   Main Arguments for the Argument Ellipsis Analysis

Like most East Asian languages and unlike English, Japanese permits null subjects and objects in finite clauses, as exemplified in (13):

(13)   A: Taroo-wa   doo simasita ka?   [Japanese, Takahashi 2008a:394]

　　　　 Taroo-TOP how did   ǫ

　　　 'What happened to Taroo?'

　　 B: *e* ie-ni   kaerimasita

　　　　 he home-to returned

　　　　 'He returned home.'

　　 C: Sensei-ga   *e*   sikarimasita.

　　　　 teacher-NOM   him scolded

　　　　 'The teacher scolded him'

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[11] Admittedly, even in English, overt pronouns can achieve sloppy reading in certain contexts, a phenomenon which has been dubbed as "pronouns of laziness" or "paycheck pronouns" (cf. Kartunnen 1969). Nevertheless, the distribution of such pronouns is quite limited, typically allowed only in "paycheck" contexts, as in (i):

(i)   A man who$_1$ gives his$_1$ paycheck to his wife is wiser than a man who$_2$ gives **it** (=his$_2$ paycheck) to his cat.

(Tomioka 2003:323)

In (13), the sentences uttered by Speakers B and C serve as a reply to Speaker's A question. Both sentences contain a null element. More precisely, the subject in (13B) is silent, yet most naturally interpreted as referring to Taroo. Similarly, (13C) contains a phonologically null object, which again indicates a reference to Taroo.

Up to the present, there has been much debate on the precise status of null elements in Japanese and other East Asian languages. Thus, while the initial research argued for a null pronoun theory (e.g., Kuroda 1965), since the late 1980s a consensus has been reached that null elements should not be treated only pronominally but also as an instance of ellipsis (e.g., Huang 1991, Oku 1998, Takahashi 2008a, b, among many others). The 'pro-ellipsis' research movement has made a step further by examining the exact nature of ellipsis *per se*, subsequently leading to the two opposite views – ellipsis involving null arguments (the AE Analysis) and the ellipsis concerning VP (the VP-Ellipsis Analysis). In recent years, the AE view has prevailed due to numerous counter-arguments to both the pronoun theory and the theory of VP ellipsis (Takahashi 2008a, 2008b, among many others).[12] In the remainder of this section, I compare the pronoun theory and the theory of AE.[13]

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[12] For an overview of various analyses of null arguments in Japanese, see Takahashi 2008a.

[13] The first proponents of the VP-Ellipsis Analysis were Otani and Whitman (1991), who argue that null objects in Japanese are derived through VP-ellipsis with concomitant V-to-T raising (now labeled as 'V-stranding VP-ellipsis' (cf. Goldberg 2005)), as illustrated in (i) below:

(i)   a. [$_{TP}$ Taro [$_{T'}$ respects-T [$_{VP}$ t$_V$ three teachers]]]   [Şener and Takahashi 2010:83]
        b. [$_{TP}$ Hanako [$_{T'}$ respects-T [$_{VP}$ ~~t$_V$ three teachers~~]]], too

Nevertheless, Oku (1998) shows that the VP-ellipsis analysis is problematic due to the lack of the adjunct interpretation in the elided construction. Thus, given an antecedent sentence in which Bill washed a car carefully (iia), the elided material in (iib) does not mean that John also washed a car carefully. Since adjuncts are part of VPs, the ellipsis in (ib) cannot be derived by V-stranding VP-ellipsis. For additional arguments against V-stranding VP-ellipsis analysis, see Sakamoto 2014 and references therein.

(ii)   a. Bill-wa   kuruma-o   **teineini**   aratta.   [Japanese, Oku 1998:304]
        Bill-TOP   car-ACC   carefully   washed
        'Bill washed a car carefully.'
        b. John-wa *e* arawanakatta.

That null arguments should be treated as empty pronouns is a direct consequence of the violation of Condition B of the Binding Theory. This condition prohibits object pronouns from having subject NPs as their antecedents within the same clause. This is illustrated in Japanese examples in (14a, b) and their English translations:

(14) a. *$\textbf{Taroo}_1\textbf{-ga}$ $\textbf{\textit{e}}_1$ semeta   [Japanese, Takahashi 2008a:395]

        Taroo-NOM   him   criticized

        '*Taroo_1 criticized him_1'

    b. *$\textbf{Daremo}_1\textbf{-ga}$ $\textbf{\textit{e}}_1$ aisiteiru

        everyone-NOM   him love

    '*Everyone_1 loves him_1'

Since the late 1980s, researchers have deployed arguments that have challenged the pronominal status of null subjects and objects. In the remainder of this section, I discuss some of the most influential counter-arguments to the pronoun theory.

Xu (1986) first showed that in Chinese there are situations where Condition B of the Binding Theory can be violated despite the presence of the null object and its antecedent within the same clause. Such a constructon is also possible in Japanese, as in (15):

    John- TOP   not.washed
    'Lit. John didn't wash *e*.'
    (✓ John did not wash a car.)
    (✘ John did not wash a car carefully.)

(15) A: Dare-ga   zibun-o   sememasita ka?   [Japanese, Takahashi 2008a:396]

who-NOM self-ACC criticized   Q

'Who criticized himself?'

B: **Taroo$_1$-ga/Daremo$_1$-ga**   **e$_1$** sememasita

Taroo-NOM/Everyone-NOM   criticized

'Taroo/Everyone criticized himself.'

Speaker's (B) reply to Speaker's (A) question in (15) can mean that Taroo or everyone criticized himself. That means that the null object in (15B) can take the subject of the same clause as its antecedent. As acknowledged by Takahashi (2008a, b), among many others, if the null object were always pronominal, it would then be expected that (15B) should be ruled out, just like (14b). Nevertheless, the sentence is grammatical, which casts doubt that null elements should be always treated as pronouns.

Another counter-argument to the pronoun theory was developed by Huang (1991) and Otani and Whitman (1991) on the basis of the so-called sloppy reading, as in (16):

(16) Ken-ga   zibun-no sensei-o   semeta   atode,   [Japanese, Takahashi 2008a:396]

Ken-NOM self-GEN teacher-ACC criticized after

Taroo mo *e* semeta.

Taroo also   criticized

'After Ken criticized his teacher, Taroo criticized, too.'

The first clause serves as the antecedent for the main clause, which is ambiguous. Specifically, it can mean that Taroo criticized Ken's teacher, thus referring to its antecedent (the so-called strict reading). Crucially, the main clause can reveal the meaning that Taroo criticized his own teacher, which is what has been dubbed as the sloppy reading. The pronoun theory confines exclusively the interpretation of the null object to the strict reading. This is supported by the following English sentence from Takahashi 2008a:397:

(17)   After John criticized his teacher, Bill criticized him, too.

In (17), the pronominal object 'him' can only have a strict reading, thus referring to John's teacher. Crucially, the meaning where Bill criticized his own teacher is excluded, which is what casts doubt on the pronominal status of null arguments in Japanese.

   Another sound argument favoring the ellipsis analysis was deployed by Takahashi (2008b) and it involves quantificational objects. Consider (18):

(18)   a. Hanako-ga   **taitei-no sensei-o**   sonkeisiteiru.   [Japanese, Takahashi 2008b:310]
         Hanako-NOM   most-GEN   teacher-ACC respect
      'Hanako respects most teachers'
      b. Taroo-mo   *e* sonkeisiteiru
        Taroo-also   respect
      '(lit.) Taroo respects, too.'

(18a) serves as the antecedent sentence for (18b). In addition to the interpretation under which Taroo respects the same set of teachers Hanako respects, Taroo's set of teachers can be different from Hanako's set of teachers, as noted by Takahashi (2008b). Again, this interpretation is difficult to accomodate under the pronoun theory. The presence of an overt, lexical pronoun automatically excludes the sloppy interpretation, as illustrated by (19), which differs from (18b) in just one thing – the presence of a lexical pronoun (the antecedent sentence is also (18a)):

(19) Taroo-mo **karera-o** sonkeisiteiru   [Japanese, Takahashi 2008b:310]

　　 Taroo-also them-ACC respect

　　 '(lit.) Taroo respects, too'

If the null object in (18b) were a pronominal element, under Takahashi's (2008b) view, there should be no difference in interpretation between the two elements, the null object and the lexical pronoun 'karera.' Nevertheless, if both objects in (18b) and (19) are anaphoric to the examples in (18a), only null elements can yield the two meanings.

　　In sum, the examples such as above have made researchers consider additional tools in order to fully account for the presence of a wide range of interpretations of null arguments. Thus, an ellipsis analysis has been proposed as a more comprehensive tool for the data at stake. According to this analysis, the argument is elided in PF under identity with an argument from the antecedent sentence, as illustrated in (20):

(20) a. Hanako-ga **taitei-no sensei-o** sonkeisiteiru.   [Japanese, Takahashi 2008a:310]

Hanako-NOM most-GEN teacher-ACC respect

'Hanako respects most teachers'

b. Taroo-mo ~~taitei-no sensei-o~~ sonkeisiteiru

Taroo-also most-GEN teacher-ACC respect

'(lit.) Taroo respects, too'

In the next section, I present data from Slavic which call into question the validity of the AE Analysis. The main claim is based on the fact that clitics, despite being phonologically overt, can have an identical interpretation as null objects in Japanese and other East Asian languages.

4.4.2 A Counter-Argument to Argument Ellipsis: Evidence from Slavic

As mentioned above, the data from Slavic article-less languages challenge the AE Analysis. The major piece of evidence comes from the fact that clitics are overt, yet can obtain both strict and sloppy interpretation, just like the null object in (11b). This is illustrated by (2) from Serbian/Croatian (SC) above, repeated here as (21b) given the context in (21a):

(21)   a. The context:

Nikola and Danilo are best friends. They have many interests in common except their taste for movies is completely different. Specifically, Nikola likes comedies, whereas Danilo likes horror movies. In their town, a movie festival of all film genres takes place every summer. A comedy

and a horror movie played at the same time in two different buildings. Given their very different

tastes, Nikola and Danilo saw two different movies.

    b. Nikola je   vidio **film**, a   vidio **ga**   je   i   Danilo.   [SC]

        Nikola AUX.3SG saw   film and saw   it.CL.ACC AUX.3SG and Danilo

        'Nikola saw a movie and Danilo saw it/one too.'

In (21b), under the appropriate scenario in (21a), the clitic *ga* can get a sloppy reading (hence,

the reference does not have to be its antecedent *film* from the first conjunct, but any other such

entity (which means, Nikola and Danilo may have seen different movies)). The only English

counterpart under such reading is the pronoun *one*, being deficient in referential features. In

brief, the semantic behavior of the clitic *ga* in (21b) is identical to the interpretation of the null

object in (11b), which casts doubts on the current status of null arguments in Japanese as

involving ellipsis.

    Based on the semantic parallelism between clitics in Slavic and Japanese null objects, I claim

that the AE Analysis needs to be re-evaluated. As shown in Sections 4.2 and 4.3, there is a clear

split within clitic languages - article-less languages allow the semantic freedom of clitics,

whereas article languages disallow it. Therefore, I propose a unified analysis of clitics in Slavic

and null arguments in East Asian, by arguing they are both NP pronominal elements, overt in

Slavic and null in East Asian.

    Alongside definite and indefinite antecedents with respect to the sloppy reading of clitics, I

present another argument against the AE analysis. Previously unnoticed is the pattern involving

quantificational objects in Slavic. This is illustrated in (22b) given the context in (22a) from SC:[14]

(22) a. The context:

Nikola and Danilo are cousins and both are in their fifth grade of elementary school. The cousins live in two different cities – Nikola lives in Belgrade, while Danilo lives in Niš. For the very first time, both Nikola and Danilo have more than one teacher for each subject, unlike their previous schooling in which they had only one teacher for all subjects. Now each of them has eight different teachers for various subjects. In brief, in this situation there are two different sets of teachers.

      b. Nikola gotivi **četiri nastavnika**, a   gotivi **ih**   i   Danilo.   [SC]

        Nikola likes four teachers   and likes   them.CL.ACC and Danilo

        'Nikola likes four teachers and Danilo likes them/does too.'

Given the context in (22b), in which there are two different sets of teachers, Danilo likes his set of teachers, which is different from the set of teachers Nikola likes.

    To conclude, clitics in article-less languages can obtain a variety of interpretations, on a par with null objects in Japanese. Such a variety pertains to the strict and sloppy reading with various types of antecedents - indefinite, definite, and quantificational objects.[15] In the research

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[14] *Gotiviti* 'to like' in (22b) is a popular slang word used in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and some cities in Croatia, such as Zagreb and Vukovar.

[15] As for examples such as (15), which shows that Condition B can be violated (null objects thus not being considered personal pronouns), it is not possible to test this with pronominal clitics since SC entertains reflexive clitics in such environments. I believe that null objects in East Asian can act both as pronouns and reflexives because they are listed twice in the lexicon – as pronouns and as reflexives (that is, Japanese has null counterparts of both SC pronominal clitics and SC reflexive clitics). This, however, raises an issue with respect to (14). I assume

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on Japanese null arguments, these situations have been used as major arguments for the ellipsis analysis given that the overt pronoun in Japanese yields a change in meaning. Nevertheless, the semantic parallelism between clitics and null objects calls into question the validity of the AE Analysis, given that clitics are phonologically overt. In the next section, I propose an alternative, unified analysis of null objects and clitics, whose core lies in the pronoun theory.

4.5 The proposal: Clitics and Null Objects as NPs

Based on the similarities between clitics and null objects, I argue for a unified analysis of the two. First, I claim that clitics are DPs only in article languages, while in article-less languages they are NPs, thus expanding the domain of the NP/DP Parameter (Bošković 2008b, 2012) and confirming the conclusion reached in Chapter 2. Second, due to the semantic similarity between clitics and full NPs, I propose that clitics are predicates of the type <e, t>, similarly to Tomioka's (2003) analysis of Japanese null arguments. Finally, I propose a unified analysis of clitics and null arguments, ultimately arguing that null arguments are pronominal elements (essentially, null clitics), and not derived by ellipsis.

4.5.1   The Semantic Parallelism with Full NPs

There is semantic parallelism between phonologically weak elements and full NPs in article-less languages. As shown above, both clitics and null arguments can achieve a variety of

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that the paradigm in question can be handled with a more fine-grained competition-style approach to anaphors/pronouns, which will prefer *zibun* 'self' to a null anaphor in (14). (Notice also that there would be no repetition of *zibun* in (14), which could be relevant here.)

interpretations. In parallel fashion, determiner-less, full NPs can obtain a wide variety of interpretation in such languages, determiners not being needed for arguments to be licensed (Chierchia 1998). This is exemplified in (23) by SC (23a) and Japanese (23b), article-less languages, where determiner-less arguments enjoy complete semantic freedom ((23b) is from Tomioka 2003:328):

(23) a. Nikola je   vidio **djevojku**.   [SC]

      Nikola AUX.3SG saw   girl

    'Nikola saw a girl/the girl/his girl(friend).'

     b. Ken-wa **ronbun-o**   yon-da.   [Japanese]

      Ken-TOP   paper-ACC read-PAST

    'Ken read a paper/papers/the paper/the papers.'

Thus, depending on the context, the arguments *djevojku* in (23a) and *ronbun-o* in (23b) can obtain any meaning (non-specific indefinite, specific indefinite, as well as definite). Conversely, the presence of the article in a language bans such semantic variability. Consider Macedonian in (24), where the presence of the definite article on *devojkata* can involve only a specific, definite girl:

(24) Viktor ja   vide **devojkata**.   [Macedonian]

     Viktor her.CL.ACC saw   girl-the

   'Viktor saw the girl/his girlfriend'

As discussed in Chierchia 1998, semantic variability in (23) is achieved through Type-Shifting operations, some of which are allowed only in article-less languages because Type-Shifting operations are constrained by the presence of a morphological exponent for the ι-operator (typically, a definite article). Thus, the existence of the definite article, a morphological exponent of the ι-operator, blocks <e, t> to <e> type shifting in a DP language.

I will then assess the status of clitics based on the semantic parallelism with full NPs. If clitics are indeed crosslinguistically Ds, as it is standardly asssumed, we would expect certain limitations in their interpretation. On the other hand, if clitics, similarly to NPs, can cover a broad span of semantic variability, as confirmed above for article-less languages, there should also exist syntactic parallelism with full NPs. In the following section, let us remind ourselves of the syntactic behavior of full NPs in the spirit of Bošković (2008b).

4.5.2   The Syntax of Full NPs: The NP/DP Parameter

As discussed in Chapter 2, Bošković (2008b) establishes an NP/DP parameter by providing a number of generalizations pertaining to the substantial differences in (syntactic and semantic) behavior between languages with articles and languages without articles. Working with an array of data from a considerable number of heterogeneous languages, Bošković (2008b) establishes a number of generalizations revealing differences between article and article-less languages. Since the generalizations in question are syntactic and semantic in nature, the underlying mechanism triggering the differences, according to Bošković (2008b), is not phonological in nature (i.e., the

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difference pertaining to null vs. overt articles) but structural; it reflects the presence of the DP layer in languages with articles (DP languages), and the lack of it in languages without articles (NP languages). Bošković (2008b) in fact deduces all the differences between article and article-less languages from a single factor: the presence vs. absence of the DP layer in the syntax, as in (25).

(25)   a. [DP D [NP N]]   in DP languages (e.g., English)

       b. [NP N]   in NP languages (e.g., Serbo-Croatian)

Following Bošković's (2008b) account of full NPs, in Chapter 2, I extended this syntactic mechanism to clitics in article-less languages. This chapter provides further evidence for this position. I thus claim that clitics are DPs only in languages with articles, whereas in article-less languages, they are NPs, thus expanding the domain of the NP/DP Parameter which thus far, has concerned only full NPs. Accordingly, the following structure of clitics in article-less languages is adopted:

(26)   [NP N]

Given the semantic parallelism between clitics and null arguments, I extend the structure in (26) to null arguments in East Asian. I then follow Tomioka (2003) in order to provide a compositional analysis of clitics and null arguments. Tomioka proposes that Japanese null arguments are property anaphors/predicates of type <e, t> with two necessary semantic

operations: Existential Closure (Heim 1982; Diesing 1992) and Type-Shifting of a predicate to

an individual (Partee 1986), defined as in (27):

(27)   a. Existential Closure (Heim 1982; Diesing 1992): ∃-closure

For any P ∈ D <e, t>

∃-closure (P) = ∃x.P(x)

  b. Type-Shifting of a predicate to an individual (Partee 1986): Iota

For any x ∈ De, P <e, t>

Iota (P) = ιx. P(x) (the unique x such that P(x))

To obtain sloppy indefinite and sloppy definite readings, I propose that the compositional

analysis of clitics and null arguments proceeds via two semantic operations: ∃-closure for the

sloppy indefinite reading in (28), and via Iota Type Shifting for the sloppy definite reading in

(30). (29) gives the LF for the second conjunct of (21b), repeated as (28b) :

(28)   a. The context:

Nikola and Danilo are best friends. They have many interests in common except their taste for

movies is completely different. Specifically, Nikola likes comedies, whereas Danilo likes horror

movies. In their town, a movie festival of all film genres takes place every summer. A comedy

and a horror movie played at the same time in two different buildings. Given their very different

tastes, Nikola and Danilo saw two different movies.

   b. Nikola   je   vidio **film**, a   vidio **ga**   je   i   Danilo.   [SC]

Nikola AUX.3SG saw film and saw it.CL.ACC AUX.3SG and Danilo

'Nikola saw a movie and Danilo saw it/one too'

The Existential Closure then takes scope over a VP (a moved pronoun has a referential (inner) index – 3 and an outer/binding index - 1). The referential index then goes to the function which maps every y such that y is a film. The VP denotes the function which maps an individual to 1 iff it is a film $g(2)$ saw. The entire composition is given below:

(29) Sloppy indefinite reading: Via $\exists$-Closure

Input LF: $[_{IP}$ Danilo$_2$ $[ga_3]_1$ $[t_2$ saw $t_1]]]$

$\exists$ $[_{VP}$ $[ga_3]_1$ $[_{VP}$ t_2 saw $t_1]]$

$[[t_2$ saw $t_1]]^g$ = saw $(g(1))$ $(g(2))$

Assume $g := [3 \rightarrow \lambda y.$ film $(y)]$

$[[ga_3]]^g = \lambda y.$ film (y)

$[[[ga_3]_1$ $[t_2$ saw $t_1]]]^g =$

$\lambda x. [[ga_3]]^g (x) = 1$ & $[[1 [t_2$ saw $t_1]]]^g (x) = 1$

$[[1 [t_2$ saw $t_1]]]^g = \lambda z.$ $g(2)$ saw (z)

$\lambda x. [[\lambda y.$ film $(y)] (x) = 1$ & $[\lambda z.$ saw (z) $(g(2))](x) = 1]$

$\lambda x. [$film (x) & saw (x) $(g(2))]$

$\exists ([[ga_1 [t_2$ saw $t_1]]]^g) = \exists x [$film (x) & saw (x) $(g(2))]$

(31) gives the LF for the second conjunct of (3b), repeated as (30b). For any assignment g, referential index goes to the function that maps y to 1 just in case g(2)'s girlfriend. Then iota applies, which combines with the type <e, t> to have type e. Then the VP maps to 1 just in case g(2) invited g(2)'s girlfriend. Finally, the rule of predicate modification applies.

(30)   a. The Context for Sloppy Reading:

Nikola and Danilo are brothers and their family celebrates St. Nicholas, the patron saint's feast day in Orthodox tradition that is celebrated annually on December 19. It is a common practice among Serbs to invite a boyfriend/girlfriend to a family celebration. Both Nikola and Danilo have a girlfriend (thus, in this context, there are two girlfriends) and they invited their girlfriends to their family celebration.

   b. Nikola   je   pozvao   **(svoju) djevojku**   na   slavu,   [SC]

      Nikola AUX.3SG invited   his   girlfriend   on   slava

      a   pozvao **ju**   je   i   Danilo.

      and   invited her.CL.ACC AUX.3SG   and Danilo

   'Nikola invited his girlfriend to the slava (family patron's day) and Danilo invited his (his=/Nikola's/Danilo's) (girlfriend) too.'

(31)   Sloppy definite reading: Via Iota

       Input LF: [$_{IP}$ Danilo$_2$ [ju$_3$]$_1$ [t$_2$ invited t$_1$]]]

       Assume g: = [3 → λy. girlfriend (y) (g(2))]

       [[ju$_3$]]^g = λy. girlfriend (y) (g(2))

iota $([[ju_3]]^g) = \iota y.$ [girlfriend (y) (g(2))]

$[[VP]]^g =$ invited ($\iota y.$ [girlfriend (y) (g(2))]) (g(2))

$[[IP]]^g = \lambda x. [VP]^{g\,x/2}$ (Danilo)=

$= \lambda x.$invited ($\iota y.$ [girlfriend (y) (x)]) (x) (Danilo)

$=$ invited ($\iota y.$ [girlfriend (y) (Danilo)]) (Danilo)

The above composition can be used for null arguments due to the identical semantics between clitics and null arguments. Thus, the sloppy indefinite reading of the Japanese null object in (18b) can be derived in the same way as (29). Similarly, the sloppy definite reading of the Japanese null object in (11b) yields the same composition as in (31). In a nutshell, I have proposed that Japanese null arguments are actually null pronouns.

4.6   The Unavailability of the Sloppy Interpretation

At this juncture, it is necessary to address two exceptions to the above pronominal context. Both exceptions are related to the limitations of semantic flexibility, that is, the lack of the sloppy interpretation with pronouns in SC and Japanese. Thus, even with an appropriate context, the sloppy identity reading is excluded with strong pronouns in SC and Japanese, which contrasts strikingly with the situation with SC clitic pronouns and Japanese null pronouns, respectively. In parallel fashion, unlike Japanese null subjects, which allow both strict and sloppy interpretation, SC null subject pronoun (*pro*) can only obtain a strict interpretation. These two phenomena are discussed and accounted for in turn.

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4.6.1 Strong Pronouns and Their Semantic Inflexibility in SC and Japanese[16]

As discussed above, there is a dichotomy between article and article-less languages with regard to clitic interpretation, such that sloppy interpretation is available only in the latter. This is however not the case with strong pronouns in article-less languages, which seem to be semantically frozen, that is, they cannot achieve a sloppy reading.[17] The asymmetry between strong and deficient pronouns is illustrated in (32b) and (32c), with an adequate scenario in (32a):[18]

(32)   a. The context:

Nikola and Danilo are cousins who live in two different cities in Serbia. Specifically, Nikola lives in Belgrade, while Danilo lives in Niš. They are both five years old and their parents take them to circus performances whenever a circus is in town. A circus is in both Belgrade and Niš at the same time. Both Nikola and Danilo saw an interesting clown in the circus, albeit not the same one.

b.Nikola	je	vidio	**zanimljivog**	**klovna**,	[SC]
Nikola	AUX.3SG	saw	interesting	clown	
a	vidio **ga**	je	i	Danilo.	

and   saw   it.CL.ACC   AUX.3SG   and   Danilo

'Nikola saw an interesting clown and Danilo saw him/one too.'

(✓Nikola saw an interesting clown and Danilo saw him (=the same clown that Nikola saw))

(✓Nikola saw an interesting clown and Danilo saw one (=a different clown from Nikola's.)

c.Nikola   je   vidio   **zanimljivog   klovna**,

Nikola   AUX.3SG   saw   interesting   clown

a   **njega**   je   vidio   i   Danilo.

and   him.ACC   AUX.3SG   saw   and   Danilo

'Nikola saw an interesting clown, and Danilo saw him/*one too.'

(✓Nikola saw an interesting clown and Danilo saw him (=the same clown that Nikola saw).)

(✗ Nikola saw an interesting clown and Danilo saw one (=a different clown from Nikola's).)

As discussed in Section 4.2., alongside the strict interpretation (in which Nikola and Danilo saw the same interesting clown), with an appropriate context in (32a), the clitic *ga* in the second conjunct in (32b) can have a sloppy interpretation as well (that is, Nikola and Danilo saw two different clowns). Such a semantic flexibility is banned when using a full pronoun instead of a clitic, as the example (32c) above demonstrates, in which the strong pronoun *njega* must refer to the same clown, irrespective of the context. In brief, strong/full and deficient/clitic pronouns are different regarding their semantic possibilities.

Furthermore, the aforementioned situation greatly resembles the interpretation of Japanese strong/overt pronouns, which also seem to be semantically frozen. Recall from Section 4.4 that, unlike Japanese null arguments in (11b), which allow both strict and sloppy readings, overt

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pronouns can only have a strict interpretation, as was illustrated by (12). For the sake of exposition, (11b) and (12) are repeated as (33b) and (33c) respectively, both with an antecedent sentence as (33a) ((33a-b)/(11a-b) are from Şener and Takahashi 2010:79):

(33) a. Taro-wa   **zibun-no hahaoya-o** aisiteiru.   [Japanese]

    Taro-NOM   self-GEN   mother-ACC love

  'lit. Taro loves self's mother.'

  b. Hanako-wa e nikundeiru

    Hanako-TOP   hates

   'Hanako hates e.'

  (✓Hanako hates her (her = Taro's mother))

  (✓Hanako hates her own mother (her = Hanako's mother))

  c. Hanako-wa **kanojo-o** nikundeiru

    Hanako-TOP   her-ACC   hates

 'Hanako hates her.'

  (✓Hanako hates her (her = Taro's mother))

  (✗ Hanako hates her own mother (her = Hanako's mother))

In sum, there is close parallelism between overt pronouns in Japanese and SC full pronouns, showing that phonologically strong pronouns are very different from phonologically deficient pronouns. In the remainder of this section, the distribution of strong and deficient pronouns in SC and Japanese is discussed. First, I present several situations that have been used as a

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diagnostic tool for differentiating between strong and deficient pronouns in SC. Then I test Japanese pronouns to verify whether there is a parallel between Japanese and SC strong pronouns. The tests will involve a prominent discourse referent, the Overt Pronoun Constraint (Montalbetti 1984), and backwards pronominalization.

Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) posit typological differences between full pronouns and what they label as "deficient pronouns."[19] Specifically, they present a number of asymmetries between strong and deficient pronouns, as reflected in syntax, morphology, semantics, and prosody. One of the differences relevant for the discussion at stake involves so-called "ostension" situations, which involve prominent discourse referents.[20] To illustrate, if a new referent is introduced in the discourse (e.g., by pointing to a person in a group), a strong pronoun is used, while the deficient one can be used only if there is a linguistic antecedent. Despić (2011:241) shows that SC patterns with other languages obeying this rule, French being just one out of many examples, as illustrated in (34a), followed by SC translation in (34b) (the symbol ☞ marks an ostention situation; $_{DEF}$ = deficient; $_{STR}$ = strong).

(34) a. J(e)   {*☞**la**} ai   aidé   {✓☞**elle**}.   [French]

       I   her.$_{DEF}$ have helped her.$_{STR}$

    b. Pomogao sam {*☞**joj**}/ {✓☞**njoj**}.   [SC]

       helped   am   her.$_{DEF}$ her$_{STR}$

       'I helped ☞her.'

Another diagnostics used for establishing the difference between strong and deficient pronouns is a well-known constraint on full pronouns, as put forth by Montalbetti (1984). Based on a distributional asymmetry between strong and deficient pronouns with respect to the bound variable interpretation in Spanish, Montalbetti (1984) formulates the following principle:

(35)   *Overt Pronoun Constraint* (OPC) (Montalbetti 1984:94)

Overt pronouns cannot link to formal variables iff the alternation overt/empty obtains.[21]

How this principle operates can be illustrated with the opposition between Spanish, a language with the "overt/empty"pronominal contrast, and English, which lacks such an alternation. Thus, Spanish cannot use subject overt pronouns as bound variables, as illustrated in (36a), the reason being the availability of *pro* in the Spanish pronominal repertoire (cf. (36b)). English, on the other hand, lacks this pronominal alternation, overt pronouns thus can then function as bound variables, as the translations of (36) confirms: (The Spanish examples are from Montalbetti 1984: 82.)

(36)   a. Muchos estudantes$_i$ creen   que **ellos**$_{*i/j}$ son inteligentes.   [Spanish]

many   students   believe that they   are   intelligent

b. Muchos estudantes$_i$ creen   que ***pro***$_{i/j}$ son inteligentes.

many   students   believe that they are intelligent

---

[21] What is meant by "overt/empty" is "*pro* and its overt counterpart" (Montalbetti 1984:74)

'Many_i students belevieve that they_i are intelligent.'

Furthermore, Montalbetti (1984) shows that clitic pronouns, similarly to *pro*, are not subject to the OPC. For example, whereas clitics can be used for the bound-variable interpretation in (37a), the strong pronoun in (37b) cannot fulfill this task.[22] Again, English (37b) is grammatical. Below is the illustraton of all that: (The Spanish examples are from Montalbetti 1984:139.)

(37) a. Muchos estudiantes_i creen que Juan **los** vio [e]_i.   [Spanish]
           many   students   believe that John them.CL saw

       b. * Muchos estudiantes_i creen que Juan los vio [**a ellos**]_i.
           many   students   believe that John them.CL saw them

       'Many_i students belevieve that John saw them_i.'

Despić (2011) shows that SC behaves just like Spanish in the relevant respect, as the following example from Despić 2011:243 demonstrates:

(38) a. Svaki predsednik misli da **ga**_i/??**njega**_i svi vole.   [SC]
           every president   thinks that him.CLITIC/him.STRONG everyone loves

       'Every president_i thinks that everybody loves him_i.'

       b. Svaki predsednik_i misli da je *pro*_i/??**on** najpametniji.
           every president   thinks that is *pro*/he   smartest

---

[22] Strong object pronouns in Spanish must be doubled, hence the presence of the dobled clitic *los* in (37b).

'Every president$_i$ thinks that everybody loves him$_i$.'

Finally, Despić (2011:273) also shows that, in contrast to English, the backwards anaphora reading in SC is excluded with a strong pronoun; only deficient pronouns can license a backwards anaphora reading. Strong pronouns can only have disjoint reference. This is illustrated with a minimal pair sentence contrast in (39): (The examples are taken from Despić 2011:273.)

(39) a. Kada je   ***pro*$_i$** ušao   u   sobu, **Jovan**$_i$ je   počeo plakati.   [SC]

       when is.ᴀᴜx *pro*   entered in   room, Jovan is.ᴀᴜx started crying

  b. Kada je   **on**$_{*i/j}$ ušao   u   sobu, **Jovan**$_i$ je   počeo plakati.

       when is.ᴀᴜx *pro*   entered in room, Jovan is.ᴀᴜx started crying

    'When he entered the room, John started crying.'

It is well-know that if a language has two types of pronouns, deficient and strong, the backwards anaphora reading is possible only with a deficient pronoun. Thus, Larson and Luján (1984), among others, shows that there is a difference in interpretative effects between Spanish overt and null pronouns. Conversely, English lacks these effects due to the absence of the relevant pronominal differences. The difference between Spanish and English is illustrated in (40):[23]

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[23] Note, however, that focalized pronouns in English (which mandatorily bear emphatic stress) cannot co-refer in this context, as illustrated in (i). For discusson, see Akmajian and Jackendoff 1970, among others.
(i) '*When HE$_i$ entered the room, John$_i$ started crying.'

(40) Cuando ***pro***_i/***él**_i trabaja, **Juan**_i no bebe.   [Spanish, Larson and Luján 1984:1]

when   pro/he   works Juan NEG drinks

'When **he**_i works, **John**_i doesn't drink.'

In sum, not only are SC strong pronouns unable to obtain a sloppy interpretation, but also they cannot obtain bound-variable and backwards-anaphora readings. Conversely, only strong pronouns are permitted under ostension circumstances, when a new referent is introduced into the discourse. Before providing an account why such distributional properties occur between strong and deficient pronouns, let us explore whether Japanese overt pronouns pattern with SC strong pronouns. If the distribution of Japanese overt and null pronouns resembles SC strong and deficient pronouns, a unified analysis can then be in order.

First, in ostension situations, that is, when a new referent is introduced into the discourse, only overt pronouns can be used in Japanese, just like strong pronouns in SC. Thus, an asymmetry between a *pro*/deficient and an overt/strong pronoun is illustrated in (41):

(41) Watasi-wa {*☞***pro***}/ {✓☞ **kanozy-o** } tasuke-ta.   [Japanese]

I-TOP   *pro*   she-ACC   help-PAST

'I helped ☞her.'

Second, just like SC strong pronouns, Japanese strong pronouns are subject to the Overt Pronoun Constraint (Montalbetti 1984), as illustrated in (42) from Montalbetti 1984:183:

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(42) a. Daremo-ga$_i$ **kare-ga**$_{*i/j}$ atama-ga ii   to   omotte iru.   [Japanese]

      everyone-NOM he-NOM   be-smart   COMP   think

    b. Daremo-ga$_i$ ***e***$_{i/j}$ atama-ga ii   to   omotte iru

       everyone-NOM   be-smart   COMP   think

     'Everyone thinks that he is smart.'

In (42a), if the overt pronoun *kare* is bound by the quantifier *daremo*, the sentence is ungrammatical. (42b), on the other hand, contains an empty pronoun that can be bound by the quantifier expression *daremo*.

     Finally, and again similarly to SC, Japanese overt pronouns are strongly dispreferred in backwards pronominalization contexts, while such reading is perfectly acceptable with *pro*:

(43) a. ??[**Kare-ga**$_{*i/j}$ heya-ni   haitta   toki] **John-wa**$_{*i/j}$ nakihajimeta.   [Japanese]

          he-NOM   room-DAT entered   when John- TOP   cry.started

    b. [***e***$_{i/j}$ heya-ni   haitta   toki]   John-wa   nakihajimeta

       room-DAT   entered   when   John- TOP   cry.started

     'When he entered the room, John started crying.'

In sum, Japanese overt/strong pronouns behave identically to the SC ones, in that they disallow bound-variable and backwards anaphora readings, while being required in ostension situations. Given the parallelism between the two, I argue that SC and Japanese strong pronouns should be analyzed under the same umbrella.

As mentioned above, the differences between strong and deficient pronouns have reflexes in the grammar across the board – in the syntax, semantics, morphology, and prosody. It has been widely discussed in the literature that strong and other emphatic pronouns are related to focus (Chomsky 1976; Larson and Lujàn 1984, *i.a*). Similarly, clitics in SC have been argued extensively not to be related to focus (Browne 1974; Bošković 2001, Godjevac 2000, *i.a.*).

Based on the above tests, which reveal identical results with respect to the distribution and interpretation of SC and Japanese pronouns, I argue that, not only deficient but also strong pronouns in these languages should follow a unified analysis. The aforementioned situations have been argued to be related to focus. Thus, the ostention situation exhibits a prominent referent, newly introduced into the discourse which is the reflecton of information focus. Focus typically cannot interefere with bound variable interpretation.[24] Finally, the backwards anaphora interpretation also requires the lack of focus. Evidence for this comes from English. Normally, English pronouns can act as bound variables because English does not have the morphological diference between strong and deficient pronouns, as illustrated in (44a). Note, however, that when the pronoun is focalized (with the use of stress in English), the sentence automatically becomes ungrammatical, as (44b) reveals:

(44) a. When he works, John doesn't drink.   [Larson and Luján 1984:2]

    b. *When HE works, John doesn't drink.

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[24] See Larson and Luján 1984 and references therein on how these effects disappear when the strong/emphatic pronouns is more deeply embedded or when backwards anaphora is used just as an instance of anaphora (when the adverbial clause is not preposed). See also Despić 2001 for the discussion of focus operator.

Focalized pronouns refer to a unique referent, which thus cannot obtain the sloppy interpretation, but only the strict interpretation. This explains why strong pronouns in SC and Japanese do not have semantic freedom, as the deficient one.[25]

In the next section, I analyze another ban on semantic freedom with pronouns – null subject *pro* in SC.

4.6.2 Null Subjects in Japanese and SC

According to the analysis and the discussion thus far, Japanese and SC strong and deficient pronouns exhibit identical behavior. Thus, the analysis predicts that not only should Japanese null objects and SC object clitics pattern together, but other non-focalized pronominal elements should too. This means that Japanese and SC null subjects should display identical semantic behavior. Before exploring whether there is genuine subject *pro*-drop parallelism between these two languages, the properties of null subjects in Japanese are presented.

As mentioned in Section 4.4.1, like most East Asian languages and unlike English, Japanese has null subjects. What is relevant for the current purposes is that the sloppy identity reading is available with null subjects, on a par with null objects. To illustrate, if there is an antecedent sentence in (45a), then the null subject in (45b) can have not only the strict reading (the null

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[25] This means that focus implies interpretation as a type <e> expression. This claim however may be too strong: Non-type <e> expressions can participate in contrastive focus, for example. In such a case, a type distinction between strong and weak pronouns as an independent stipulation would be needed. Another option is the possibility that the focus requirement and anaphoricity of the strong pronouns in the "sloppy" scenarios might be incompatible. Specifically, the pronoun would be anaphoric to the previous noun but also focused to contrast with it. A final option would be to link the contrast to the OPC. On this view, we would treat the sloppy readings as involving true sloppy readings with bound variables rather than as covert indefinites. Then the lack of sloppy readings could derive from the OPC. I leave all the possibilities open for future research.

subject referring to Mary's paper) but also the sloppy reading (in which the null subject refers to John's paper). This is all illustrated below from Oku 1998:305:

(45)   a. Mary-wa   [**zibun-no ronbun-ga** saiyo-sare-ru-to]   ommottaeiru.

           Mary-TOP   self-GEN   paper-NOM   accept-PASS-PRES-COMP   think

        'Mary$_i$ thinks that her$_i$ paper will be accepted.'   [Japanese, Oku 1998:305]

        b. John-mo [*e* saiyo-sare-ru-to]   ommotteiru

          John-also   accept-PASS-PRES-COMP   think

        Lit. 'John also thinks that *e* will be accepted.'

        (✓John also thinks that it (=Mary's paper) will be accepted.)

        (✓John also thinks that his (=John's) paper will be accepted.)

In order to determine the categorical status of Japanese null subjects, pronominal or otherwise, Oku (1998) compares Japanese with other subject *pro*-drop languages. Thus, he provides a translation of the above sentences in Spanish, a prototypical *pro*-drop language, whose subject *pro* has been argued extensively to belong to the pronoun category (cf. Rizzi 1986, *i.a.*).[26] The Spanish translation, however, renders opposite judgments with respect to the sloppy reading. More precisely, if (46a) antecedes (46b), (46b) can only achieve the strict interpretation, on which the null subject refers to Mary's proposal. Contrary to Japanese, the null subject cannot

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[26] The most prevailing view within the Principles-and-Parameters model is that a null pronominal *pro* is found in languages with a rich agreement system. This view was articulated by Rizzi (1986) and it builds on earlier work by Chomsky (1981, 1982) and Rizzi (1982).

refer to Juan's proposal, despite the presence of the antecedent sentence. The sloppy reading is thus ruled out, as illustrated below:

(46) a. María   cree   que **su propuesta** será aceptada.   [Spanish]

      Maria   believes that her proposal   will.be accepted

    'Maria believes that her proposal will be accepted.'

   b. Juan también cree   que $\boxed{e}$ será aceptada.

     Juan   also   believes that it will.be accepted

  'Juan also believes it will be accepted.'

  (✓Juan believes that Maria's proposal will be accepted.)

  (✗Juan believes that Juan's proposal will be accepted.)

The Spanish data in (46) led Oku (1998) to argue against the pronoun theory.[27] Specifically, it has been standardly assumed that Spanish null subjects are empty pronouns, and not instances of ellipsis. According to Oku (1998), if the null subject in (45b) were a *pro* in Japanese, then it would be expected that (45b) would not allow the sloppy interpreation, just like Spanish (46b) does not. However, we have seen above that the Japanese facts, as well as the Japanese/Spanish

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[27] Oku (1998), who treats Japanese in terms of AE, connects argument ellipsis with the analysis of scrambling, as put forth by Bošković and Takahashi (1998), who treat scrambling as base-generation in adjoined position, with a subsequent movement to Θ-positions in LF. Assuming that Θ-roles are weak in Japanese, the movement to Θ-positions does not have to occur in overt syntax but can be postponed all until LF. Oku (1998) takes such a rationale for analyzing argument ellipsis. Specifically, the object in the antecedent sentence is copied in the object position, where it is assigned Θ-role of the verb at LF. The analysis, however, has been shown to be problematic since it cannot account for Chinese (see Cheng 2013), which has null elements of the Japanese type but no scrambling. The current analysis can be extended to Chinese, since Chinese lacks DP (Bošković 2008b, 2012, Cheng 2013).

contrast, can be accounted for under the pronominal treatment of both Japanese and Spanish null subjects, given the NP/DP Parameter.

Turning back to SC, at this juncture, it is necessary to determine whether it patterns with Japanese and permits the sloppy reading, given the major claim of the present chapter that Japanese and SC pronominal elements behave in the same way, and should have the same status accordingly. The data are given in (47b-c), given the context in (47a), which naturally allows (even forces) the sloppy reading:

(47)   a. The Context

Nikola and Danilo are best friends. Each of them has their own apartment and they both live in the apartment on their own (they are both bachelors). Both of them are employed – Nikola is a bank officer, and Danilo is a chemistry teacher. This summer they have decided to spend their vacation together on the Montenegrin coast. Nikola has been promoted into a senior bank officer, and will be given a long three-week vacation. Nevertheless, there have been lots of nighttime burglaries in his neighborhood recently, and Nikola fears to leave the apartment. Danilo's apartment will also be empty for three weeks, and naturally, he is worried:

b. Nikola se   boji da   će **njegov stan**   biti provaljen.   [SC]

  Nikola CL.REFL fears that will his   apartment be   broken into

  'Nikola fears that his apartment will be broken into.'

c. I   Danilo se   boji da će e biti provaljen.

  and Danilo CL.REFL fears that will   be   broken into

  'Danilo fears that it will be broken into too.'

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(✓Danilo fears that Nikola's apartment will be broken into.)

(✘Danilo fears that his (=Danilo's) own apartment will be broken into.)

Given the context in (47a) and with an antecedent sentence in (47b), the only available reading is the strict reading, according to which Danilo fears that Nikola's apartment will be broken into. The sloppy identity reading on which Danilo fears for his own apartment is not available, despite the scenario in (47a), in which Danilo has his own apartment.[28] In sum, the SC *pro* patterns with Spanish rather than with Japanese in this relevant respect.

Prima facie, such a discrepancy between Japanese and SC *pro* seems to be a problem, given that the present theory appears to predict that non-focalized elements should be able to enjoy identical semantic flexibility. Still, before rushing into stronger claims about the status of SC and Japanese null subjects, some relevant well-known facts should be presented, upon which more firm conclusions can be drawn.

Both SC and Spanish are languages with rich subject-verb agreement, where subject *pro* is licensed by this agreement, unlike Japanese, where there is no agreement in the language, *pro* thus not being licensed by agreement. I suggest that this is what is relevant here, and that agreement blocks the sloppy reading.[29] If this is on the right track, then we should test this hypothesis with a language with a mixed situation, that is, a language that has null subjects and

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[28] Eliding the complement clause in (45c) can license the sloppy reading, as illustrated in (i):

(i) I   Danilo   se   boji   da će   e biti provaljen.   [SC]
     and   Danilo   CL.REFL fears that will   be   broken into
     'Danilo fears that it will be broken into too.'
     (✓Danilo fears that Nikola's apartment will be broken into.)
     (✓Danilo fears that his (=Danilo's) own apartment will be broken into.)

[29] I am following here an insight of Saito (2007), who analyzes that agreement is incompatible with Japanese-style null arguments. Saito, however, states this in terms of the AE Analysis for Japanese.

null objects, but it has only subject-verb agreement not object-verb agreement. The prediction is then that the sloppy reading will be available only where there is no agreement. Turkish is exactly the right kind of language. The prediction is borne out since Turkish has the sloppy interpretaton only with null objects, not with null subject, and only subjects are licensed with rich agreement. The following examples illustrate that. The sloppy reading is possible with null objects in Turkish, as illustrated by (48). On the other hand, the sloppy interpetaton is not possible with null subjects, as illustaretd in (49). Crucially, only null subjects are agreement licensed. ((48) is from Şener and Takahashi 2010:87, and (49) is from Şener and Takahashi 2010:91.)

(48) a. Can **[*pro* anne-si]-ni**   eleştir-di.   [Turkish]

      John   his mother-3sg-acc   criticize-past

    'John criticized his mother.'

   b. Mete-yse   **e**   öv-dü.

    Mete-however   praise-past

    'Lit. Mete, however, praised *e*.'

   (✓Mete praised John's mother.)

   (✓ Mete praised Mete's mother.)

(49) a. Can   [[*pro* öneri-si]-nin   kabul   ed-il-eceğ-i]-ni   düşün-üyor.   [Turkish]

      John   his proposal-3sg-gen   accept   do-pass-nm-3sg-acc think-pres

    'John thinks that his proposal will be accepted.'

b. Aylin-se   **[*e*   redded-il-eceğ-i]-ni**   düşün-üyor

     Eileen-however   reject- PASS-NM-3SG-ACC   think-PRES

'Lit. Eileen, however, thinks that e will be rejected.'

(✓Eileen, however, thinks that John's proposal will be rejected.)

(✖ Eileen, however, thinks that her own (=Eileen's) proposal will be rejected.)

It seems then that agreement-licensing of null, non-focused pronouns, blocks the sloppy interpetation. Thus, SC and Spanish cannot license the sloppy reading with null subjects. Conversely, Japanese lacks agreement, the sloppy reading thus being available with their null subjects. Finally, languages with a mixed agreement situation confirm that the sloppy interpretation and the absence of agreement are closely related. Such is the situaton with Turkish, which can have the sloppy interpetation only with null objects, which are not agreement licensed, and not with null subjects, which are agreement licensed.

In sum, under the analysis pursued here, it is not argument ellipsis, but *pro* (not licensed by agreement) that is responsible for the sloppy interpretation in Japanese, just like clitics in article-less Slavic languages. This indicates that pronominal elements need to be allowed to license sloppy interpretation. Anyway, the current analysis can then unify Japanese null arguments and Slavic clitics. I have suggested that agreement has a damaging effect on the availability of sloppy interpretation, in the sense that agreement-licensed *pro* cannot support it. I have left it open why this is the case. One potentially promising line of research here could be the one where the rich verbal morphology itself is considered to be the argument in languages like Spanish and SC (Jelinek 1984, Barbosa 1995, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, *i.a.*). Under this approach,

there is actually no subject *pro* in Spanish and SC (hence, *pro* cannot license a sloppy reading for a trivial reason), the agreement morphology being the argument. This is not the case in Japanese, where we do have *pro*, hence the Japanese vs. Spanish/SC difference here.

4.7 Conclusions

I have explored several issues regarding the interpretation of clitics in languages with and without articles, as well as the consequences of this investigation for the status of null arguments in Japanese. Based on differences in their semantic behavior concerning the sloppy interpretation and non-specific indefinite contexts, I have argued that clitics are Ds only in languages with articles, while in article-less languages they are Ns, in line with Bošković's (2008b, 2012) account of full NPs in article-less languages. The major evidence comes from the fact that clitics in article-less languages can have more varied semantic interpretation, on a par with full NPs. Further, I have explored the consequences of this claim for null arguments in Japanese, and argued that the Argument Ellipsis Analysis of Japanese null pronouns is problematic. Following Tomioka (2003), I have argued that the sloppy interpretaton of null arguments and clitics is available due to the availability of Type-Shifting operations (from a predicate to an individual). In addition to clitics and null pronouns, I have explored the status of strong pronouns in SC and Japanese, and claimed that they are focalized element, which cannot support sloppy readings due to their focus nature. Finally, a discrepancy between null subjects between SC and Japanese with respect to the availability of sloppy interpretation was accounted for by appealing to agreement, which is present in SC, but not Japanese. Overall, I have argued for a pronoun theory

as a more comprehensve tool in providing a unified analysis of clitics and null arguments with respect to the semantic phenomena discussed in this chapter.

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