

# On some doubling constructions in non-standard Serbian and Slovenian dialects

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## 0. Introduction

This paper explores clitic doubling in Prizren Timok Serbian (PTS) and Gorica Slovenian (GS), two non-standard dialects spoken in Southeast Serbia and Western Slovenia, respectively. Previously unnoticed is doubling with full N(oun) P(hrase)s found with some speakers of these dialects, as illustrated in (1):<sup>1</sup>

- (1) a. % Ja **ga** **Milovana** poštujem. [PTS]  
I him.CL.ACC Milovan.ACC respect.1SG  
'I respect Milovan.'
- b. % Jst **ga** **Janeza** spoštujem. [GS]  
I him.CL.ACC Janez.ACC respect.1SG  
'I respect Janez.'

In both (1a) and (1b) the NPs *Milovana* and *Janeza* are doubled with the clitic *ga* 'him.' The phenomenon in (1) poses a problem for the recent NP/D(eterminer)P(hrase) Parameter, as put forth by Bošković (2008a). Specifically, Bošković (2008a) draws a distinction between languages with articles (DP languages) and languages without articles (NP languages) in the sense that only the former project a DP in the syntax.<sup>2</sup> As far as clitic doubling is concerned, Bošković (2008a) 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. The purpose of this paper is to explore the properties of clitic doubling with

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<sup>1</sup> The relevant constituents are in bold type in all the examples in the interest of clarity.

<sup>2</sup> See also Fukui (1988), Corver (1992), Zlatić (1997), Chierchia (1998), Cheng & Sybesma (1999), Lyons (1999), Willim (2000), Baker (2003), among others, for no-DP analyses of at least some article-less languages.



other languages completely lack it. Additionally, languages allowing clitic doubling differentiate further with respect to the exact requirements triggering it.<sup>4</sup>

A new research flavor has been recently added to the investigation of clitic doubling by Bošković (2008a), who considers this phenomenon under the umbrella of the NP/DP parameter. Specifically, while examining data from a number of heterogeneous languages, Bošković (2008a) reaches the conclusion that the difference between languages with respect to the presence/absence of clitic doubling correlates with the dichotomy concerning the presence/absence of articles. Accordingly, Bošković (2008a: 105) puts forward a new generalization, as in (3):

- (3) Only languages with articles may allow clitic doubling.

In this respect, Bošković (2008a) provides a list of languages that allow clitic doubling. The list includes the following languages: Albanian, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Greek, Somali, Spanish, French (some dialects), Catalan, Romanian, Hebrew, Arabic, Dutch (some dialects), all of these languages being languages with articles.<sup>5</sup> Additionally, Bošković (2008a) 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.

PTS and GS, which are dialects of article-less languages, Serbian and Slovenian, however, challenge the claim that only languages with articles may allow clitic doubling.<sup>6</sup> Clitic doubling is allowed in both of these article-less dialects, as illustrated by pronominal doubling in (4a) and (4b):

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<sup>4</sup> Although the specificity requirement holds cross-linguistically, some languages impose additional requirements on clitic doubling. To illustrate, Bulgarian requires arguments to be topical, whereas in Romanian, for instance, the category *animacy* is an obligatory component of clitic doubling.

<sup>5</sup> 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), Blear (1999), Kallulli (1999, 2008), Franks (2000, 2009).

<sup>6</sup> Note that Slovenian has indefinite but not definite articles (see Bošković 2008b). Bošković (2008b), however, emphasizes that what is relevant for his generalizations, including the one above, is the presence/absence of the definite article. Note also that the use of post-positive article has been reported in the traditional literature on PTS (see, for example, Bogdanović 1987). Importantly, the presence of post-positive article has not been found with any of my consultants (18 in total, see Section 1.3.). 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. Further, like the Macedonian articles, the definite article found in the peripheral area of PTS exhibits triple spatial differentiation. For discussion, see Mišeska Tomić (2006).

- (4) a. Je l' **me** **mene** čekaš? [PTS]  
 AUX Q me.CL.ACC me.ACC wait.2SG
- b. A ti **me** **mene** čakaš? [GS]  
 and you me.CL.ACC me.ACC wait.2SG  
 'And you are waiting for me?'

In (4a) and (4b), the full pronominal form *mene* 'me' is doubled with the clitic *me* 'me.' Additionally, the doubled argument *mene* is not positioned at the left or right periphery of the sentence, which would cast doubt on the possibility of analyzing the construction as an instance of clitic right or clitic left dislocation. Therefore, both PTS and GS display genuine clitic doubling.

According to Marušič & Žaucer (2009), the above type of doubling in GS 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):

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

[GS, Marušič & Žaucer 2009]

In this paper, I present a hitherto unnoticed pattern found with some speakers of PTS and GS. While pronominal doubling is permitted with all speakers (cf. (4a, b) and (5a)), doubling with full NPs is allowed with some speakers in both dialects, contrary to the claims in the literature, at least for GS (cf. (5b)). Further, doubling with full NPs exhibit a variation, depending on the type of an NP. The details of the data collected are given in Section 1.3, after a brief introduction on these dialects.

1.2. *PTS and GS: 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. A map showing boundaries of the area where this dialect is spoken is provided in (6) from Friedman (1977: 88):<sup>7</sup>

(6) Friedman (1977: 88):



As shown in the map in (6), 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. Therefore, PTS concomitantly contains features of Serbian (both the Kosovo-Resava non-standard Serbian dialects and Standard Serbian), on the one hand, as well as those features present in Bulgarian and Macedonian, on the other hand.<sup>8</sup> Transferring these facts in the realm of modern research trends under the NP/DP Parameter

<sup>7</sup> 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).

<sup>8</sup> 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, hence causing the dialect to become, in part, socially unacceptable.

(Bošković 2008a), this means that PTS is situated at the crossroads between languages with articles, DP languages (Bulgarian and Macedonian) and article-less (NP or non-DP) 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.

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 with Italy, and, for illustration purposes, presented in the following map:<sup>9</sup>

(7) The location of Nova Gorica



[http://www.eolc-observatory.net/global\\_analysis/pdf/slovenia\\_country\\_report.pdf](http://www.eolc-observatory.net/global_analysis/pdf/slovenia_country_report.pdf)

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. Again, the general picture is fairly similar to the one encountered with PTS: GS is situated at the crossroads between DP languages (Italian, Friulan) and NP (or non-DP languages), such as Standard Slovenian, speaking in Bošković’s (2008a) NP/DP parlance. Additionally, properties

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<sup>9</sup> Spoken Slovenian has approximately 50 main dialects and subdialects. The term *Gorica Slovenian* has been coined by Marušič & 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 & 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 ([http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/c/Dial/Ponovne\\_SLA/P/index.html](http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/c/Dial/Ponovne_SLA/P/index.html)).

found in GS bear remarkable resemblance to the properties presented in PTS above, as shown in the following subsection.

### 1.3. *The data*

Contrary to what has been reported in the literature at least for GS (Marušič & Žaucer 2009, 2010), doubling with full NPs has been confirmed with some speakers, both in PTS and GS. More precisely, nine (out of eighteen) 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 (8a) and common nouns (8b). GS is more restricted, allowing only proper nouns to be doubled (9a), doubling with common nouns being impossible (9b):<sup>10</sup>

(8) 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.ACC.CL coffee like.1SG to drink.1SG with neighbor  
 ‘I like having coffee with my neighbor.’

(9) a. ?Jst **ga** **Janeza** spoštujem. [GS]  
 I him.CL.ACC Janez.ACC respect.1SG  
 ‘I respect Janez.’

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.’

Further, an NP and a clitic cannot be separated by a verb, as demonstrated in (10) and (11):<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Tatjana Marvin (per. 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.

<sup>11</sup> 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 not an instance of clitic doubling, but clitic right dislocation. See, for instance, Cinque (1990), Iatridou (1994), Anagnostopoulou (1994), among others, on differences between clitic doubling and clitic right and left dislocation.

(10) 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.’

(11) 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  
 ‘I respect Janez.’

Before analyzing clitic doubling with full NPs in PTS and GS more thoroughly, properties of clitic doubling in general should be taken into consideration. It will be shown that clitic doubling in PTS and GS considerably differs from the phenomenon of clitic doubling in languages with articles, in which clitic doubling occurs in a systematic and rule-governed way. Therefore, first I present properties of clitic doubling in article languages, illustrated by Bulgarian and Macedonian for the sake of concreteness.

## 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 both pronouns (12a) and full NPs (12b) to be doubled, as illustrated by Macedonian:

(12) a. Mila **go** zamoli **nego.** [Mac, Franks 2009: 194]  
 Mila him.CL.ACC asked. him.ACC  
 ‘Mila asked him.’

- b. Petko **mu**                    **go**                    dade **pismo 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 the additional requirements triggering clitic doubling. Thus, while for Macedonian specificity is sufficient, in addition to specificity, Bulgarian requires that arguments be topical. Rudin (1997: 247) formalizes these features as in (13):

- (13) 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.

### 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 (14) from Friedman (2001: 50), 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 (14b, c, d):

- (14) a.    Kučeto **\*(ja)**                    kasa **mačkata**.                    [Mac, 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 (15):

- (15) Sakam da \*(go) pluknam eden čovek koj beše včera kaj tebe.  
want.1SG C him.CL.ACC spit-on one man who who was yesterday by you  
'I want to spit on a man who was at your place yesterday.' [Mac, Berent 1980: 172]

In (15), *eden čovek* 'one man' is indefinite still specific, hence obligatorily doubled, otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical. Crucially, non-specific indefinites cannot be doubled, as in (16):

- (16) Profesorot (\*ja) prašuvашe edna studentka. [Mac, Berent 1980: 161]  
professor-the her.CL.ACC questioned one student  
'The professor was questioning a student.'

In (16) above *edna studentka* 'one student' is not specific, or, speaking in Enç's (1991) terms, there is no subset of previously established referent. As a consequence, clitic doubling is not possible. This is in fact a common property of clitic doubling attested cross-linguistically. However, it will be shown in Section 3.1. that clitic doubling in PTS does not follow this universal property. Before discussing that issue, clitic doubling in Bulgarian is presented.

## 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, as illustrated in (17), in which *neja* is both specific and topical:<sup>12</sup>

- (17) Decata ja običat neja [Bg, Franks & King 2000: 53]  
children-the her.CL.ACC love.3PL her.ACC  
'The children love her.'

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<sup>12</sup> 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 experiencer predicates, as in (18):

- (18) **Mene me e jad.** [Bg, Franks & King 2000: 54]  
 me.ACC me.CL.ACC is angry  
 ‘I am angry.’

Franks & King (2000: 253-254) note that topicalized NPs, appearing in initial position as a result, must be doubled, as in (19):

- (19) a. **Na Ivan knigata az mu ja** dadox [Bg, Franks & King 2000: 253]  
 to Ivan book-the I him.CL.DAT it.CL.ACC gave.1.SG  
 ‘I gave the book to Ivan.’  
 b. \***Na Ivan knigata az mu** dadox.  
 c. \***Na Ivan knigata az ja** dadox.

In (19) above, both *na Ivan* and *knigata* are specific and topicalized. Consequently, omitting doubling of any of these constituents results in ungrammaticality, as shown in (19b, c).

Nevertheless, as pointed out by Franks & King (2000), if an NP is focused in preverbal position, then doubling is ungrammatical, as in (20) below, since focus is incompatible with being a topic:<sup>13</sup>

- (20) a. **KNIGATA** dadox na Ivan, a ne ... [Bg, Franks & 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 ...

<sup>13</sup> 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).

In (20), although *knigata* is specific, being definite (20a), it cannot be doubled since it is not a topic (20b-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.<sup>14</sup> Admittedly though, defining topic 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 doubling in Bulgarian.

Crucially, as in Macedonian, doubling with non-specific indefinites is not possible, as illustrated in (21):

- (21) Târsjat (\*go) nov učitel. [Bg, Franks & 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 subsequent sections I turn to the central problem - clitic doubling in PTS and GS, which reveals a very different behavior from the doubling in Bulgarian and Macedonian, what I argue provides additional support that the dialects in question are more like NP languages.

### 3. The proposal

#### 3.1. *Specificity effects in PTS?*

The remaining issue is to test whether there are definiteness/specificity effects involved in doubling with common nouns/full NPs in PTS, given that such effects are found with clitic doubling of full NPs in article languages, as illustrated by Bulgarian and Macedonian.<sup>15</sup> Here I 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 interpretation of articles can be captured in terms of two binary features: whether the article and

<sup>14</sup> See Rudin (1997) for the syntactic encoding of discourse functions in Bulgarian.

<sup>15</sup> Proper nouns are inherently definite, and they will not be analyzed further. As a result, I focus on PTS, which, unlike GS, permits doubling with common nouns by some speakers.

associated NP refer to a specific entity [ $\pm$ specific referent], and whether the article and associated NP are already known from the previous discourse or from the context, to the person who is listening or reading the sentence [ $\pm$ hearer knowledge]. Thus, all possible situations related to specificity will be considered below with the appropriate contexts provided.

***[-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 DP languages with clitic doubling, such as Bulgarian and Macedonian, doubling in this situation is not possible (cf. (16) and (21)). In (22), (23), and (24), there are three situations in which specificity is not involved. Doubling with non-specific indefinites is still allowed in PTS:

*Context:*

A newly married couple has just decided to move from the village Dubovo into the town of Prokuplje. They will be moving into a new building that has eight floors. However, the elevator has not been finished. The couple decided to move in anyway. The wife is a little worried since she has to do shopping on Saturdays and carry all the bags to the eighth floor. Her husband is then telling her:

- (22) % Nemoj da se sekiraš. Će da **(ga)** **lift** napravimo. [PTS]  
 not.2IMP to REFL worry. AUX.1PL to it.ACC.CL elevator make  
 ‘Don't worry. We will make an elevator.’

*Context:*

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

- (23) % Izvin'te. Iimate **(gu)** **salvetu?** [PTS]  
 sorry have.2SG it..CL.ACC napkin  
 ‘Excuse me. Do you have a napkin?’

*Context:*

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

- (24) % Opština (ga) novog lekara traži. [PTS]  
municipality it.ACC.CL. new doctor look for.3.SG  
'The municipality is looking for a new doctor.'

In brief, PTS allows doubling in non-specific indefinite contexts, which means that specificity plays no role in doubling with full NPs in this dialect. What may be is that speakers simply overapply pronominal doubling into the doubling with full NPs.

*[+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 bans it. 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:

- (25) % Ne sekiraj se, tatko. Ću da nađem posao. [PTS]  
not worry REFL dad AUX.1SG to find job  
Imam (gu) jednu debelu vezu.  
have.1SG it.ACC.CL 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 (26) and (27):

*Context:*

You are at a wedding party and the atmosphere is very cheerful. The person in front of you is then telling you:

- (26) % Ma razbij (gu) čašu! [PTS]  
PTCL break.2.IMP it.ACC.CL glass  
'Break the glass!'

*Context:*

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

- (27) Marko, kuku mene! Opet sam (ga) onog belog miša videla. [PTS]  
Marko poor me again AUX.1SG it.ACC.CL that white mouse saw  
'Marko, poor me! I saw the 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 (28):

- (28) % Ja (gu) kafu volim da popijem s komšiju. [PTS]  
I it.ACC.CL coffee like.1SG CL drink.1SG with neighbor  
'I like having coffee with my neighbor.'

In short, doubling with full NPs in PTS does not follow the general properties of clitic doubling, as illustrated in the preceding section through clitic doubling in Bulgarian and Macedonian. GS allows doubling with proper names only, while PTS is more productive in that sense, by allowing both proper and common nouns to be doubled. Nevertheless, PTS allows doubling in non-specific indefinite contexts, which I interpret as indicating that clitic doubling is not triggered by the specificity requirement, typical with clitic doubling in DP languages. Since

doubling with full NPs in PTS does not involve specificity, it does not go against Bošković's (2008a) approach to clitic doubling, which restricts specificity-driven clitic doubling of full NPs in DP languages.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.2. *The adjacency requirement*

Regarding the adjacency requirement, recall that an NP and a clitic cannot be separated by a verb, repeated here as (29) and (30):<sup>17</sup>

(29) 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.’

(30) a. Jst **ga** **Janeza** spoštujem. [GS]  
 I him.CL.ACC Janez.ACC respect.1SG

b. \*Jst **ga** spoštujem **Janeza**.  
 I him.CL.ACC respect.1SG Janez.ACC  
 ‘I respect Janez.’

In Runić (2013), I discuss a similar phenomenon pertaining to pronominal clitic doubling. More precisely, a clitic and its doubled pronoun cannot be separated by a verb in this position, as illustrated below:

(31) a. \*Je l' **me** čekaš **mene**? [PTS]  
 AUX Q me.CL.ACC wait.2SG me.ACC

<sup>16</sup> As for GS, recall that this type of doubling is possible only with proper names, which could be due to their inherent semantics.

<sup>17</sup> 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 not an instance of clitic doubling, but of clitic right dislocation. See Cinque (1990), Iatridou (1994), Anagnostopoulou (1994), among others, on differences between clitic doubling and clitic right and left dislocation.

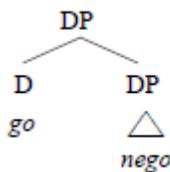
- b. Je I' me mene čekaš?  
 AUX Q me.CL.ACC me.ACC wait.2SG  
 'Are you waiting for me?'

This property of clitic doubling found in PTS and GS is very different from standard clitic doubling, where the clitic and the doubling element must be separated by a verb, as illustrated by Macedonian in (32), in which the clitic and its associate are separated by the verb *zamoli*:

- (32) Mila **go** zamoli **nego**. [Macedonian, Franks 2009: 194]  
 Mila him.CL.ACC asked. him.ACC  
 'Mila asked him.'

Regarding the adjacency effects in PTS and GS (cf. (29) and (30)), and the lack thereof in Macedonian (cf. (32)), 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.*).<sup>18</sup> Under this view, clitics are D heads and they constitute a DP together with their associate. By applying such an analysis to Macedonian in (32), the clitic *go* and the doubled argument *nego* form a constituent in their base position prior to clitic movement, as illustrated in (33):

- (33)



In Runić (2013), I propose 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 (31b). This clam can be extended to the requirement

<sup>18</sup> 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).

between a doubled NP and a clitic in (29) and (30). Therefore, I argue that the adjacency requirement is valid for both pronouns and full NPs.

### 3.3. *Clitic doubling or something else?*

The remaining question is 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 licenser, as shown above? In Runić (2013), I analyze pronominal clitic doubling in dialects in question and propose that they are subject to language change based on some hitherto unnoticed properties regarding the categorial status of pronouns. More precisely, I claim that there are two types of pronouns in PTS/GS pronominal systems in line with Bošković's (2008a) and Fukui's (1988) contention that pronouns do not have the same categorial status crosslinguistically. Specifically, they argue that alongside full NPs, 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.<sup>19</sup> The data in (34a-b) show that in both PTS and GS pronouns can be modified (only PTS is used for illustration), which provides evidence that PTS/GS pronouns are Ns:

- (34) 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**.  
 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 is this the case?'

However, given Bošković's (2008a) claim that clitic doubling is possible with D elements only, that should be taken as providing evidence that PTS/GS pronouns are Ds. We

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<sup>19</sup> 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, according to these authors, such modification is productively available.

thus have a conflicting situation here. In Runić (2013), I show that clitic doubling in PTS and GS is banned with modified pronouns (35a); only non-modified pronouns can be doubled (35b). This actually solves the conflicting situation noted above. Specifically, PTS/GS have both N and D pronouns. This explains why they allow both pronoun modification (34a-b) and clitic doubling (35b). However, (35a) is unacceptable because pronoun modification and clitic doubling cannot be concomitant operations since they are mutually exclusive. In Runić (2013), I argue that PTS and GS display both types of pronouns in their pronominal systems. 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; (34a, b) then involves an N pronoun. As expected, doubling with modified pronouns leads to ungrammaticality, as in (35a). Only a D pronoun can be doubled, as illustrated in (35b) by an acceptable sentence involving a non-modified doubled pronoun. In line with Kroch's (1994) account of syntactic change, I argue that the presence of the dual pronominal behavior in PTS/GS is the reflection of an ongoing language change. Specifically, two mutually incompatible systems co-exist for some time before completely changing to one or another. This explains why D pronouns and N pronouns, which are mutually exclusive, co-exist in the pronominal systems of these languages.

- (35) a. \*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 he why is this the case?’
- b. 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 is this the case?’

Nevertheless, the question remains as to what triggers clitic doubling with full NPs with some speakers. This question seems particularly relevant given that doubling with pronouns is possible only when pronouns are (non-modified) D elements (cf. (35b)), and not when pronouns are (modified) N elements (cf. (35a)). In other words, common nouns in these dialects are N elements but still allow doubling, unlike N pronouns which disallow it. One possibility here is that doubling with full NPs is undergoing a change moving towards the stage in which clitic doubling will show specificity effects, which in turn would require the development of a full

blown DP system existing in languages with articles.<sup>20</sup> Another possibility is that clitic doubling with full NPs is not an instance of standard clitic doubling at all but rather some other phenomenon, i.e., a fundamentally different kind of doubling phenomenon. There are in fact doubling phenomena that are quite different from clitic doubling. In this regard, it is worth mentioning noun doubling in Iroquoian languages, reported in Baker (1988), where an incorporated noun is doubled by an external Noun Phrase. This is illustrated in (36) from Baker (1988: 144):

- (36) 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 (36), there is an incorporated noun root in the verb which is doubled by the same root. The purpose of the external root is to provide more information about the object discussed. The point here is that there are other doubling constructions in which NPs are involved; in fact, the one under consideration (cf. (36)) seems to be a property of NP languages. Turning to PTS, however, it remains unclear what function a clitic performs with a full NP given that doubling is possible in all the contexts, specific and non-specific, as discussed above, doubling with a full NP not being specificity-driven. My suggestion is that we may be dealing here with a fundamentally different kind of doubling, not standard clitic doubling, which is specificity driven. As such, this phenomenon is not limited to DPs and can involve NPs. The evidence that this may be indeed the case is provided by the fact that left-branch extraction, a possibility allowed in article-less languages exclusively, is possible with doubled full NPs, as illustrated below:

- (37) **Debelu**<sub>i</sub>    si    **gu**            je            taj [<sub>NP</sub> **t<sub>i</sub> vezu**]            imao.                    [PTS]  
 thick    REFL    it.CL.ACC    AUX.3SG    he            connection    had  
 ‘He had good connections.’

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<sup>20</sup> 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).

(37) confirms that a double in nominal doubling is an NP. Future research is required in order to shed more light on this phenomenon. What is important for our purposes is that this type of doubling does not involve a DP, i.e., the nominal double is not a DP, evidence which comes from the absence of specificity effects and possibility of left branch extraction.

#### **4. Conclusions**

In this paper, I have shown a previously unnoticed pattern from the two non-standard Serbian and Slovenian dialects, PTS and GS. This pattern involves doubling with full NPs attested by some speakers. The dialects in question lack articles but still have clitic doubling which seems problematic for the recently proposed NP/DP Parameter (Bošković 2008a). Nevertheless, the properties of clitic doubling in these dialects are very different from the same properties in standard article clitic doubling languages, in which only specific elements can be doubled. This is however not the case in PTS, which allows non-specific common nouns to be doubled. More research is required in order to determine the precise nature of clitic doubling in the two article-less languages. What is certain, however, is that the doubling under consideration does not involve specificity effects. Similarly, doubling with full NPs allows left branch extraction, another common property of article-less languages.

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