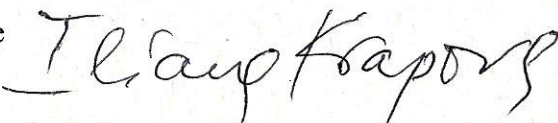ILIANA KRAPOVA krapova@unive.it

DICHIARAZIONE AI FINI DELL'ATTRIBUZIONE DEL CONTRIBUTO INDIVIDUALE NEI LAVORI CON PIU' AUTORI IN CUI ESSA NON SIA ESPLICITA

Io Sottoscritta, Iliana Krapova, nata a Plovdiv, Bulgaria, il 17/12/1960, residente a Venezia (VE), in via Lungomare G. Marconi 76, 30126, codice fiscale KPRLNI60T57Z104Q, DICHIARO di essere autrice, con Olga Arnaudova, del seguente articolo: "Clitic Reduplication in Bulgarian: Towards a Unified Account". In RICHARD COMPTON; MAGDALENA GOLEDZINOWSKA; ULYANA SAVCHENKO (a cura di). *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics. The Toronto Meeting 2006.* vol. 15, pp. 1-24, Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 2007. ISBN: 9780930042974

Anche se i due autori hanno contribuito pariteticamente alla costruzione della ricerca e alla redazione del testo, il mio contributo specifico riguarda le sezioni 2,3,4.

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Contents

Clitic Reduplication in Bulgarian:
Towards a Unified Account[*]

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In this paper, we argue that clitic reduplication in Bulgarian (often referred to as 'clitic doubling' and considered to be a unitary phenomenon) is not optional or linked exclusively to topicality and specificity, as previously claimed, and that there is a need for empirical, structural, and conceptual re-analysis of the conditions that license this phenomenon. More precisely, we argue that Bulgarian possesses a genuine Clitic Doubling (CD) construction, which exhibits many of the properties of its Romance counterpart with the difference that in Bulgarian CD is found predominately with Experiencer predicates, as illustrated in (1):

(1) a. Ivan   *(go)   boli   gârloto.
       Ivan him_{CLACC} aches $throat_{DEF}$ 'Ivan's throat aches'
   b. Na Ivan   *(mu)   xaresa filmât.
       to Ivan him_{CLDAT} liked $film_{DEF}$ 'Ivan liked the film'
       (lit. 'The movie appealed to Ivan Ivan')

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[*] Note that the title of the paper contains the preposition *towards*. This means that we will not be aiming at actually arriving at a unified analysis of what we here call *clitic reduplication*. Rather, we will posit the more modest and empirically motivated goal of carefully distinguishing several clitic reduplication constructions, which are generally lumped together in the already quite vast literature on this topic in Bulgarian. We thank the audience of FASL 15 and the reviewers for their helpful comments.

Following an already quite solid tradition in the generative literature (Belletti and Rizzi 1988, Anagnostopoulou 1999, among others), we show that the Experiencer argument, whether dative (prepositional) or accusative, displays subject-like properties and hence qualifies as a *quirky subject*. We also provide ample evidence that Experiencer objects, unlike topicalized/dislocated constituents which are located in some A'-position within the CP domain, seem to occupy an IP/TP-internal A-position. We consider this to be an important step towards teasing apart genuine clitic doubling as illustrated in (1) from other superficially similar constructions involving doubling clitics, such as the Topic/dislocation constructions shown in (2):

(2) a. Na Maria   ne   sâm   j   kazval   ništo.
         to Maria   NEG   Aux   her $_{CL.Acc}$ told   nothing
         lit.'To Mary, I have not told her anything.'

    b. Ne   sâm   j   kazval   ništo   na Maria
        NEG   Aux   her$_{CL.Acc}$ told   nothing   to Maria
        lit.'I have not told her anything, to Mary.'

1 Preliminary Discussion

In the literature on Bulgarian, 'clitic doubling' has been associated with various features such as Case disambiguation and marked word order (Nicolova 1986:55, Popov 1962), definiteness (Cyxun 1962, Ivančev 1978), specificity (Avgustinova 1997: 92-95), Topicality (Leafgren 1997, Guéntcheva 1994), emphasis (Rudin 1986: 17-18), and argument saturation (Arnaudova 2002). (Compare also the discussion in Jaeger and Gerassimova 2002.) More recently, it has become clear that no single feature can be held responsible for the vast range of reduplication environments, and it has been proposed that the phenomenon relies rather on some combination of features such as specificity and topicality (as in e.g., Tomić 2000, cf. also Franks & King 2000), or Topicality and Case (Schick 2000). Different proposals outline how these two features can be tied up either to Case checking by the clitic within the clause (Rudin 1997, Tomić 2000, Franks & Rudin 2005), or to discourse factors involving (sometimes) a separate Topic projection (e.g. Rudin 1986).

Question-answer pairs of the type in (3)-(4) show, however, that with Experiencer predicates the associate of the clitic can be focused, since it

can serve as an answer to a wh-question. This would be unexpected under a view that reduplication is exclusively linked to topicality.

(3) Na kogo *(mu) stana   žal?
     to whom him$_{CL.Dat}$ got$_{3SG}$ pity
     'Who felt sorry?'

(4) [$_F$ Na deteto] *(mu)   stana žal. / Stana *(mu)   žal [$_F$ na deteto].
     to child$_{DEF}$ him$_{CL.Dat}$ got$_{3SG}$ pity / got$_{3SG}$ him$_{CLDat}$ pity to child $_{DEF}$
     'The child felt sorry.'

In addition, it can easily be seen that specificity and topicality are sufficient but not necessary conditions on doubling, since firstly, postverbal definite or indefinite specific constituents are often not reduplicated, cf (5):

(5)   Maria   šte   zanese kufara/edin kufar.
      Maria   will   bring   suitcase$_{DEF}$ /one suitcase
      'Maria will bring the suitcase/one suitcase.'

and secondly, although reduplication is more frequent in the preverbal domain, it is not the case that all preverbal (definite) Topic elements need to be reduplicated, cf. (8), and Krapova (2002), Arnaudova (2002, 2003):

(6)   Kufara   šte   donese   Maria.
      suitcase$_{DEF}$ will   bring$_{3SG}$ Mary
      lit. 'The suitcase, Mary will bring.'

Additionally, there are a number of left-right asymmetries that need to be taken into account. For example, reduplication of indefinites seems prohibited or highly marginal in the postverbal domain, regardless of intonation, while it is perfectly possible, and sometimes preferable, in the preverbal domain. This is illustrated in the following pairs of examples, featuring the indefinite marker 'edin' (7), distributive phrases (8), and quantified phrases (9). ((7) and (9) are taken from Asenova 2002: 114):

(7) a.   **Edna prikazka ja** razkazvaše   vsjaka večer.
           one   story   it$_{CL.Acc}$ was telling   every evening
           lit.'One story he/she was telling it every evening.'

    b. * Razkazvaše **ja**   **edna prikazka** vsjaka večer..
         was telling   it$_{CL.Acc}$ a/one fairy tale every evening

(8) a. **Na vseki**   šte   **mu**   napiša   pismo.
        to everyone   will   him $_{CL.Dat}$ write$_{1SG}$ letter
        lit. 'To everyone, I will write him a letter.'
    b. ?? Šte   **mu**   napiša   pismo **na vseki**
        will   him $_{CL.Dat}$ write$_{1SG}$ letter   to everyone

(9) a. **Pet glarusa**   kak da   **gi**   nasitja   s   xljab
        five seagulls how MOD them$_{CL.Acc}$ feed up$_{1SG}$ with bread
          i   sirene?
          and cheese
        lit.'Five seagulls, how should I feed them up with bread and
        cheese?!'
    b. *Kak da   **gi**   nasitja   s   xljab i   sirene **pet**
        how MOD them$_{CL.Acc}$ feed up$_{1SG}$ with bread and cheese five
          glarusa?
          seagulls

What we want to show in the next section is that Bulgarian possesses a genuine clitic doubling construction with well-defined properties, as can be inferred by a number of tests. This construction is to be strictly distinguished from Topicalization/dislocation constructions, also involving a clitic. Following again plausible comparisons with Romance, we reserve for the latter the terms CLLD (Clitic left dislocation) and CLRD (Clitic right dislocation), which reflect the position of the reduplicated element in the left or the right periphery, respectively (cf. Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1997, Samek-Lodovici 2005, Arnaudova 2002, Krapova 2002).

2 Genuine Clitic Doubling: Classes of Predicates Requiring Obligatory Doubling

In contrast with Romance, and similar to Modern Greek (Anagnostopoulou 1999), Bulgarian CD is found predominantly although not exclusively with Experiencer predicates belonging to class 2 (*preoccupare-frighten*) and to class 3 (*piacere-appeal to*) of Belletti and Rizzi's (1988) original classification of psych constructions. Most

Bulgarian Experiencer predicates seem to belong to class 3, but there are also quite a few in class 2.[1] The two types are illustrated in (10) and (11) which also show that in both of them reduplication of the Experiencer is obligatory[2]:

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[1] For the sake of convenience, in this paper we will not distinguish between the various types of psych constructions. A full list of these predicates which include verbs, non-agreeing adjectives and nouns, is provided in Krapova and Cinque (to appear). Here we limit ourselves to some representative examples:
A) Psych and physical perception predicates with Dative Experiencers:
a) Verbs: *xaresva mi* 'it appeals to me', *domăčnjava mi* 'I feel sad', *lipsva mi* 'I miss', *dosažda mi* 'it bothers me', *doskučava mi* 'I feel bored', *xrumva mi* 'it occurs to me', *prilošava mi* 'feel faint', etc. (Rožnovskaya 1959: 413; 1971, 229-230; Manolova 1979: 147).
b) Adjectives: *skučen/skučno mi e* 'I find him/it boring', *măčen mi e* 'I find it difficult', etc. *lošo mi e* 'I feel faint', *studeno mi e* 'I am cold', *toplo mi e* 'I am hot', etc. (Maslov 1982: 291-292);
c) Adverbs: *dobre mi e* 'I feel good' (lit. 'well to me is'), *zle mi e* 'I feel bad', etc.
d) Nouns: *žal mi e* 'I feel sorry' (lit. 'pity to me is'), etc.
B) Psych and physical perception predicates with Accusative experiences:
a) Verbs: *mărzi me/ domărzjava me* 'I feel lazy', *trese me* 'I am feverish', etc.
b) Nouns: *jad me e* 'I am mad', *sram me e* 'I am ashamed', *strax me e*, 'I am afraid' etc.
C) Psych predicates with (inalienable) possessor Datives: *olekva mi* (na sârceto) 'my heart lightens; I feel relief', etc.
D) Psych predicates with (inalienable) possessor Accusatives: *boli me* (glavata) 'my head is aching', *sviva me* (sârceto) 'my heart is aching', *probožda me* 'I have a shooting pain', etc.
E) Predicates in the *feel-like* construction:
a) *spi mi se* 'I feel like sleeping'; *pie mi se* 'I feel like drinking', *etc.*
b) *idva mi da* 'I almost feel like/I have the urge', *pisna mi da* 'I am sick of'.
[2] This applies to the predicates listed in fn. 1 which are all stative and which will be the focus of our attention. Class 2 predicates contain also transitive verbs, as in (i) below, but they will not be discussed here. Interestingly, such predicates receive a stative or an agentive interpretation (cf. Slabakova 1996), and reduplication seems to be sensitive to the position of the Experiencer:
(i) a. Filmât podrazni/jadosa/razvâlnuva/užasi **Ivan**.
       film_DEF irritated/angered/moved/horrified Ivan
       'The film irritated/made angry/moved/horrified Ivan'

(10) Ivan   *(go)   boli/ sârbi/ štipe gârloto.   *class 2*
      Ivan   him CL.Acc   ache$_{3SG}$/itch$_{3SG}$/pinch$_{3SG}$ throat$_{DEF}$
      'Ivan's throat aches/itches/pinches'

(11) Na Ivan *(mu)   xaresa/ doskuča filmât.   *class 3*
      to Ivan   him$_{CLDAT}$ liked$_{3SG}$/bored$_{3SG}$ film$_{DEF}$
      'Ivan liked/was bored by the film'
      (lit. 'The movie appealed to Ivan'/'The movie bored Ivan')

As noted in Slabakova (1996), the two classes of Experiencer predicates have a common thematic structure, involving a Cause of the Emotion/Theme syntactically realized as Nominative (hence a Nominative Theme), and differ in the Case realization of the Experiencer (the Recipient of the Emotion), which with class 2 verbs is syntactically realized as an accusative object, cf. (13), but with class 3 verbs as a dative (prepositional) object, cf. (14).[3]

Following an already quite solid tradition in the generative literature (Belletti and Rizzi 1988, Anagnostopoulou 1999, among others), we show below that the Experiencer argument, whether dative or accusative, displays subject-like properties and hence qualifies as a *quirky subject*. It is precisely this structural property of the Experiencer that we want to correlate with obligatory CD and in order to do that, we will first review some arguments which show that Experiencer objects are not dislocated constituents in an A'-position, but rather seem to occupy an IP/TP-internal A-position.

2.1. Dative Experiencers

In this subsection, we consider the syntactic behaviour of Dative Experiencers. In the next subsection (2.2), we show briefly that the conclusions reached here fully apply to Accusative Experiencers as well.

Consider first word order facts and recall the left-right asymmetry

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  b. **Ivan** *(go)   podrazni/jadosa/razvâlnuva/užasi filmât.
     Ivan   him$_{CLAcc}$ irritated/angered/moved/horrified film$_{DEF}$
     'Ivan got irritated/angry/moved/shocked by the film'

[3] A number of additional class-internal differences have to do with the presence vs. absence of an overt Theme, as well as with the types of Theme (e.g., PPs) and their exact semantic import, but since such details are beyond the scope of the paper, we will leave them aside.

noted in (7)-(9) above with respect to topicalized constituents. No such asymmetry is found in the Experiencer construction. In fact, the construction is completely reversible, as shown in (12a-b): either the Theme or the Experiencer can be preposed, the order in (12a) being the unmarked order.

(12) *Exp DAT -V-Theme NOM*
        a. Na Ivan mu   omrâzvat/xaresvat   filmite.[4]
           to Ivan him$_{CL.DAT}$ bore$_{3PL}$/appeal$_{3PL}$ films$_{DEF}$
        Theme NOM-V-Exp DAT
        b. Filmite mu   omrâzvat/xaresvat na Ivan.
           films$_{DEF}$ him$_{CL.DAT}$ bore$_{3PL}$ / appeal$_{3PL}$ to Ivan
        'Films bore/appeal to Ivan.'

A second piece of evidence for treating Experiencer Datives as filling a position distinct from that of topicalized datives comes from the fact that in Bulgarian, as in other languages (e.g., Italian, Belletti and Rizzi 1988: 337, and Modern Greek, Anagnostopoulou 1999: 69) there are contexts where Experiencer fronting is perfectly fine, while fronting of a dative object of a transitive verb, which is an instance of left dislocation, is quite marginal. Two such cases are provided by the adverbial and the relative clauses illustrated below.

(13) ?? Vsički se pritesnixa, zaštoto na Ivan (mu)   pomaga Petar.
        all   got worried   because to Ivan him$_{CLDAT}$ help$_{3SG}$ Peter
        'Everybody got worried because Peter was helping Ivan.'
(14)   Vsički se pritesnixa, zaštoto na Ivan mu   dopada lingvistikata.
        all got worrried   because to Ivan him$_{CLDAT}$ appeal$_{3SG}$linguistics$_{DEF}$
        'Everybody got worried because Ivan likes linguistics.'
(15)   Vsički se pritesnixa, zaštoto Ivan predpočita lingvistikata.
        all   got worried because Ivan prefer$_{3SG}$ linguistics$_{DEF}$
        'Everybody got worried because Ivan prefers linguistics.'

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[4] Note that the Nominative Theme need not be definite, and can be also indefinite (specific or not), or bare. Cf. (i):
(i) a.   Na Ivan mu   xaresvat edni filmi (za vojnata) /filmi
            to Ivan him$_{CLDAT}$ appeal$_{3PL}$ some films about war$_{DEF}$/ films
     b.   Edni filmi (za vojnata)   mu   xaresvat na Ivan.
            some films about war$_{DEF}$ him$_{CLDAT}$ appeal$_{3PL}$ to Ivan

(16) ?? Knigite, deto na Ivan (mu)   dadox, na men sa mi   skučni.
     books$_{DEF}$ that to Ivan him$_{CLDAT}$ gave$_{1SG}$ to me are me$_{CLDAT}$ boring
     'The books I gave Ivan are boring for me.'

(17)   Knigite, deto na Ivan mu   xaresvat, na men sa mi   skučni.
     books$_{DEF}$ that to Ivan him$_{CLDAT}$ appeal$_{3PL}$ to me are me$_{CLDAT}$ boring
     'The books Ivan likes are boring for me.'

(18)   Knigite, deto Ivan čete,   na men sa mi   skučni.
     books$_{DEF}$ that Ivan read$_{3SG}$ to me are me$_{CLDAT}$ boring
     'The books Ivan is reading are boring for me.'

As seen above, Dative Experiencers in (14) and (17) pattern with structural subjects in (15)-(18), and not with dislocated phrases, (13)-(16). According to Belletti and Rizzi (1988), the degraded status of examples like (13) and (16) is due to a discourse-motivated difficulty of topicalizing the indirect object in *because*-clauses, and of extracting some other phrase across it in relative clauses.

Next, consider the co-occurrence of bare quantifiers and indefinites with clitic structures. There is a sharp difference in grammaticality between left-dislocating and Experiencer fronting of a negative quantifier, as the contrast in (19) shows. The same holds for other bare quantifiers like the indefinite *njakoj* 'someone', *edin* 'one', etc. (not shown here):

(19) a. *Na nikogo ne   sâm mu   pisal.[5]   *CLLD*
        to nobody NEG am him$_{CLDAT}$ written
        'To nobody have I written.'

    b. Na nikogo ne   mu   xaresa   pismoto mi.   *Exp*
        to nobody NEG him$_{CLDAT}$ appealed$_{3SG}$ letter$_{DEF}$ my
        'Nobody liked my letter.'

(19a) is hardly surprising given the robust cross-linguistic restriction on quantifiers to function as topics and consequently, to appear in the Clitic Left Dislocation construction. Interestingly, if the quantifier is an Experiencer object, no restriction shows up, which once again points towards its non-dislocated clause-internal status.

Perhaps the strongest argument for (quirky) subjecthood of Experi-

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[5] As expected, the example becomes grammatical when the clitic is removed, since in this case the DP is focus-moved and as is well-known, focus is compatible with quantifiers.

encers comes from Control (Legendre & Akimova 1994: 290 for Russian, Anagnostopoulou 1999: 70 for Greek, Landau 2003: 84-90 for Japanese referring to Perlmutter 1984, and French, among others).

Bulgarian possesses non-agreeing (in person features) adjunct and gerundive constructions, which are perhaps one of the very few instances of Control structures in that language.

(20) a. [PRO$_{i/*j}$ veče razbral istinata], Ivan$_i$ samo podade telegramata
already learned$_{PRT}$ truth$_{DEF}$ Ivan only handed$_{3SG}$ telegram$_{DEF}$

na Petăr$_j$ i pro$_i$ vednaga pripadna$_i$.
to Petăr and immediately fainted$_{3SG}$.

'Now that he has learned the truth, Ivan just handed the telegram to Peter and fainted immediately.'

b. [PRO$_{i/*j}$ vlizajki v stajata], Ivan$_i$ samo podade telegramata
entering$_{GER}$ into room$_{DEF}$ Ivan only handed$_{3SG}$ telegram$_{DEF}$

na Petăr$_j$ i pro$_i$ pripadna.
to Petăr and fainted$_{3SG}$

'Upon entering the room, Ivan just handed the telegram to Peter and then fainted.'

(21) a. [PRO$_{i/*j}$ veče razbral istinata], na Petăr$_j$ Ivan$_i$ samo
already learned$_{PRT}$ truth$_{DEF}$ to Peter Ivan only

mu podade telegramata. i pro$_i$ pripadna.
him$_{CLDat}$ handed$_{3SG}$ telegram$_{DEF}$ and fainted$_{3SG}$

b. ?[PRO$_{i/*j}$ vlizajki v stajata], na Petăr$_i$ Ivan$_j$ samo mu
entering$_{GER}$ into room$_{DEF}$ to Peter Ivan only him$_{CLDAT}$

podade telegramata i pro$_i$ vednaga pripadna.
handed$_{3SG}$ telegram$_{DEF}$ and immediately fainted$_{3SG}$

(22) a. [PRO$_{i/*j}$ veče razbral istinata za nego], na Ivan$_i$ započna
already learned$_{PRT}$ truth$_{DEF}$ about him to Ivan began$_{3SG}$

vse poveče da mu dopad Petăr$_j$.
still more MOD him$_{CLDAT}$ appeal$_{3SG}$ Peter

'Now that he has learned the truth about him, Ivan began liking Peter more and more.'

   b. [PRO$_{i/*j}$ besedvajki   pootdelno s   kandidatite],   na Ivan$_i$
         conversing$_{GER}$ separately with candidates$_{DEF}$ to Ivan

    naj-mnogo ot vsički   mu   dopadna Petâr$_j$
    most   of all   him$_{CLDAT}$ appealed$_{3SG}$ Peter.

    'Having talked to each of the candidates, Ivan liked Peter most of
    all.'

(20a&b) show that in regular transitive sentences, the matrix subject but not the matrix indirect object may control the adjunct/gerundive clause. This difference persists when the indirect object is left-dislocated (21a&b). By contrast, Dative Experiencers, similarly to structural subjects, can act as controllers, (22). Nominative Themes, on the other hand, seem to be impossible controllers, regardless of their surface position, and hence seem to behave like structural objects.[6]

2.2 Accusative Experiencers

Recall that Bulgarian also possesses Accusative Experiencers and belongs to the class of languages (Modern Greek, Icelandic, Faroese) in which Experiencers can appear in any case (Landau 2003: 77). If we apply the tests to Accusative Experiencers, i.e. to Experiencers in psych constructions with accusative clitics, we get practically the same results as with Dative Experiencers. The cluster of properties illustrated below lead us to consider Accusative Experiencers as *quirky* subjects.

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[6] This peculiarity of Bulgarian seems to be shared by Greek (as can be seen by the data in Anagnostopoulou 1999), but not by other languages, like Italian, Japanese (Perlmutter 1984) and French (Landau 2003: 87-9), where both the Dative Experiencer, and the Nominative subject (the Theme) can act as controllers, especially when participle agreement in the adjunct clause forces choice of controller. In Bulgarian, manipulating participle agreement and changing the Nominative Theme to match with the participle in gender does not bring about a change in Control possibilities and produces ungrammaticality.

(i) * [PRO$_j$ veče razbrala   istinata za nego], na Ivan započna vse poveče
       already learned$_{PRTFEM}$ truth$_{DEF}$ about him to Ivan began$_{3SG}$ still more
       da   mu   dopada   Marija$_j$
       MOD   him$_{CLDAT}$ appeal$_{3SG}$ Mary

Word order: *AccExp -V- Theme NOM* and *Theme Nom -V- AccExp*

(23) a. Petârčo   go   boli gârloto/gârlo.
        Little Peter him $_{\text{CL.Dat}}$ ache$_{\text{3SG}}$ throat$_{\text{DEF}}$/throat

    b. Gârloto/gârlo   go   boli   Petârčo.
        throat$_{\text{DEF}}$/throat   him $_{\text{CL.Dat}}$ ache$_{\text{3SG}}$ Little Peter
      'Little Peter has a sore throat'

Accusative Experiencers vs CLLD

(24) a.??Vsički   se pritesnixa, zaštoto Marija ja   sreštnal Ivan.
         everybody worried   because Mary her$_{\text{CL.Acc}}$ met$_{\text{Evid.}}$ Ivan.
         lit.'Everybody got worried because [they say] Mary, Ivan met her'

    b. Vsički se pritesnili,   zaštoto Marija ja   zaboljal
        everybody worried$_{\text{Evid}}$ because Mary her$_{\text{CL.Acc}}$ started-to-ache$_{\text{Evid}}$
                   koremăt.
                   stomach$_{\text{DEF}}$
      'Everybody got worried because [they say] Mary got a stomach ache'

(25) a.??Onezi, deto   Ivan (go)   čakat, sa negovite studenti.
         those that   Ivan him$_{\text{CLACC}}$ wait$_{\text{3PL}}$ are his$_{\text{DEF}}$ students
         'Those [people] that are waiting for Ivan are his students'

    b. Onova, deto   Ivan   go   boli naj-mnogo, e dušata.
        that   that   Ivan   him $_{\text{CL.Acc}}$ ache$_{\text{3SG}}$ most   is soul$_{\text{DEF}}$
        'What hurts Ivan most is his soul.'

Accusative Experiencers and bare quantifiers/indefinites are fine:

(26) a.*Nikogo ne   go   sreštnax po pâtja   nasam.   *CLLD*
         nobody NEG him$_{\text{CLACC}}$ met$_{\text{1SG}}$ on way$_{\text{DEF}}$ here
         'I met noone on my way here'

    b.*Njakogo go   sreštnax po pătja   nasam.
        someone him$_{\text{CLACC}}$ met$_{\text{1SG}}$ on way$_{\text{DEF}}$ here
        'I met someone on my way here'

(27) a. Nikogo ne   go   boli   glavata.   *Exp*
        nobody NEG   him$_{\text{CLACC}}$ ache$_{\text{3SG}}$ head$_{\text{DEF}}$
        'Nobody has a   headache'

    b. Njakogo   maj go   boli   glavata.
        somebody   perhaps him$_{\text{CLACC}}$ ache$_{\text{1SG}}$ head$_{\text{DEF}}$
        'Perhaps someone has a headache.'

Control

(28) a. PRO$_{i/*j}$ vlizajki   v   stajata, Ivan$_i$ samo pogledna   Petâr$_j$
             entering$_{GER}$ into room$_{DEF}$ Ivan only   looked$_{3SG}$ Peter

   i   pro$_i$ pripadna
   and   fainted$_{3SG}$

   'Upon entering the room, Ivan only took a glance at Peter and
   fainted'

   b. PRO$_{i/*j}$ veče razbral   istinata, Ivan$_i$ go   xvana jad
             already learned$_{PRT}$ truth$_{DEF}$ Ivan him$_{CL.ACC}$ got$_{3SG}$ angry

   na Petâr$_j$.[7]
   at Peter

   'Now that he has learned the truth, Ivan got angry at Peter'

   c. ? PRO veče   razbral$_{*i/j}$ istinata, Ivan$_i$ Petâr$_j$ reši
             already learned$_{PRT}$ truth$_{DEF}$ Ivan Peter   decided$_{3SG}$

   pro$_j$ da   go   uvolni.
   MOD   him$_{CL.ACC}$ fire$_{3SG}$
   'Now that he has learned the truth, Peter decided to fire Ivan.'

Given the set of examples (23)-(28), it becomes highly plausible to ana-
lyze Accusative Experiencers in Bulgarian in a manner analogous to that
of Dative Experiencers, i.e. as quirky or inherent subjects, rather than as
structural objects.[8] In order to capture the parallel behaviour between
Datives and Accusatives, various authors have proposed that the latter,
too, are PPs but with a silent preposition, thus collapsing the two types
under a single structure. Without argumentation, in what follows, we will
treat Dative and Accusative Experiencers in Bulgarian as a single class
from a syntactic point of view. We have seen so far that both types pass
successfully the above discussed (and other) tests for subjecthood and are
thus true *quirky subjects*.

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[7] Since Accusative Experiencers in Bulgarian are incompatible with animate
Nominative Themes, we have used a prepositional Theme in the example, which,
trivially, makes the same point with respect to Control.
[8] See also Rivero (2004: §4.1).

2.3 *Experiencers Are in an A-position*

Here, we want to give more specific evidence that Experiencer fronting targets an A-position and that, in terms of hierarchy, this position is higher than the standard subject position (Spec,TP) but lower than the A'-position which hosts left-dislocated (Top) elements.

Consider again the Control facts reviewed above and in particular, (21a&b) and (28b) which contain a left-dislocated dative and accusative, respectively. Given the widespread assumption that left-dislocated constituents occupy an A'-position (a separate TopP within the CP field or an IP/CP-adjoined position, cf. Rudin 1986, 1994, Lambova 2001, Arnaudova 2002, Krapova 2002, among others), the fact that they cannot control, while Experiencers *can* control, shows that the latter occupy an A-position (in accordance with standard views on Control as available only from A-positions). On the other hand, given that in passive and unaccusative contexts, internal objects raised to subject position *can* control (cf. (29) below and Moskovsky 2002: 129) in the absence of another possible controller, such as the Experiencer in a psych-construction, it is plausible to think that the position targeted by the Experiencer is higher than the standard subject position.

(29) a. PRO$_i$ edva vljazâl v stajata,   Ivan$_i$ beše zastreljan na mjasto.
          hardly entered in room$_{DEF}$, Ivan was shot   to place
        'Having just entered the room, Ivan was shot dead.'

   b. PRO$_i$ ostavajki vse taka bezučastno kâm   trevogite na xorata,
         remaining still so indifferent towards worries$_{DEF}$ of people$_{DEF}$

      slânceto$_i$ zaleze kâm   xorizonta.
      sun$_{DEF}$ set$_{3SG}$ towards horizon$_{DEF}$

      'Indifferent as it has always been towards the worries of the
      people, the sun set down over the horizon.' (adapted from D.
      Dimov)

Before we proceed with the analysis, we give two additional facts to strengthen the proposal that the Experiencer is located in an A-position: anaphor binding and pronominal binding. The contrast in (30) shows that similarly to other languages (e.g., Russian, as discussed in Franks 1995: 253, Bailyn 2004: 22, among others) the Dative Experiencer, on a par with subjects, shows the potential to bind an anaphor, which directly

indicates an A-status. Failure to front the appropriate kind of constituent affects binding relations and produces ungrammaticality as a Principle A violation, cf. (30b):

(30) a. Ivan go   dojadja   na sebe si.
         Ivan him$_{CLAcc}$ got-angry$_{3SG}$ at himself
         'Ivan go angry with himself.'
     b. *Na sebe si   go   dojadja   Ivan.[9]
         to himself   him$_{CLAcc}$ got-angry$_{3SG}$ Ivan.

Finally, as (31) shows, the pronominal binding facts illustrate lack of WCO effects in the a. example, as opposed to the b. example, which once again indicates that the fronted Experiencer occupies an A-position:

(31) a. ?Na vsjaka krasiva žena   j   xaresva nejnoto sobstveno kuče.
         to every beautiful woman her$_{CLDAT}$ appeal$_{3SG}$ her$_{DEF}$ own dog
         'Every beautiful woman likes her own dog.'
     b. *Nejnoto sobstveno kuče j   xaresva   na vsjaka krasiva   žena
         her$_{DEF}$ own   dog her$_{CLDAT}$ appeal$_{3SG}$ to every beautiful

woman

Our conclusions from Bulgarian strongly support the analysis of non-agreeing subjects in other (Slavic) languages, according to which the preverbal non-Nominative Experiencer occupies an IP/TP-internal A-position. For some authors, this position is Spec,TP (Bailyn (2004), Lavine (2000), Lavine and Freidin (2002), i.e. the same position that hosts

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[9] A reflexive Nominative Theme would produce an ungrammatical example (i), given the general ban in Bulgarian on subject reflexives (Moskovsky 2002: 127). The minimal pair between (30a) and (i) below corresponds exactly to the one in Italian (ii), as observed by Rizzi (2000: 163) who subsumes the subject anaphor restriction under the more general 'anaphor-agreement effect' not reducible to the Binding Principle nor to the ECP: anaphors are incompatible with agreement construal.
(i)   *Na nego   mu   xaresva samo sebe si.
          to him$_{Pron}$ him$_{CL.Dat}$ appeals only himself
(ii) a.   A loro importa solo di se stessi.
          to them interests only P themselves
     b. * A loro interessano solo se stessi.
          to them interest   . only themselves

the canonical subject, while for others this position is a separate one, higher than the standard subject position in Spec,TP – Spec,L(ogical)P, as in Williams (2006) or Spec,SubjP (Subject-of-predication), in Cardinaletti (2004).[10] We assume, for convenience, the latter proposal, and we emphasize our point that the Experiencer is in a TP-related position, i.e. *lower than the lowest CP position*, which, within a fine left periphery approach (Rizzi 1997), can be identified as FinP. See the hierarchy sketched in (32) and Cardinaletti (2004):

(32) TopP FocusP FinP…ExpSubjP/Non-NonSubjP TP… VP NomTheme
          C-*domain*   T-*domain*   V-*domain*

We also adopt what is common to a host of analyses, namely that Experiencer fronting is triggered by the need to check the EPP feature (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998, Landau 2003, Bailyn 2004, among others), given that EPP can be satisfied by any overt XP movement and is no longer associated with Case (Chomsky 2000). Alternatively, Experiencer fronting could be related to some feature with semantic import related to the position targeted (like the Subj-of-Predication feature of Cardinaletti 2004). The Theme checks Nominative case and phi-features, which can be done from its postverbal position (within VP) via a chain with an expletive *pro* in Spec,TP, via covert movement (Chomsky 1995), or long-distance agreement (Chomsky 2000).

3 Back to Clitic Doubling

We take the following three properties as criteria for the presence of a CD construction in a given language.[11] First, the clitic is obligatory in the presence of the full DP, whether the latter is pre- or postverbal; second, the associate of the clitic can serve as new information and it can also be

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[10] Alternatively, within an approach that adopts multiple specifiers, as in Landau (2003), Experiencer can be said to move to a higher specifier of TP, overtly or at LF, depending on its surface position.

[11] Following Krapova and Cinque (to appear), who in turn follow much solid work on CD in Romance (Jaeggli 1982, 1986).

contrastively focused and wh-moved; and third, the clitic and the associate form one prosodic domain.[12]

Now, Experiencer objects satisfy all three requirements, while dislocation constructions do not. As mentioned before, the former must always appear clitic doubled and under no circumstances can the full DP stand alone (e.g. *Boli glavata Ivan/*Ivan boli glavata). Quite different is the notion of *obligatoriness* of the clitic in the dislocation constructions, e.g. *Ivan vsicki *(go) poznavat* lit. 'Ivan all him know'/ *Vsički (go) poznavat Ivan*).[13] First of all, with postverbal DPs the clitic is not obligatory, and second, with preverbally fronted DPs, the presence of the clitic is epiphenomenal on the choice of the construction: if the object is not dislocated, it need not be doubled and can very well stand alone, as in *Vsički poznavat Ivan* 'Everybody knows Ivan'. In the Experiencer construction, on the other hand, the clitic *has* to be present irrespective of positional motivation, or intonation.

Next, consider the minimal pairs in (33), (34) and (35):

(33) a.   Kogo (*go)   poznavaš?
           who him$_{CL.Acc}$ know$_{2P}$
      b #Ivan go   poznavam./Poznavam go   Ivan.
         Ivan him$_{CL.Acc}$ know$_{1SG}$/ know$_{1SG}$ him$_{CL.Acc}$ Ivan.
         lit. 'Ivan, him I know/I know him, Ivan'
(34) a.   Kogo go   boli   glavata?
           whom him$_{CL.Acc}$ ache$_{3SG}$ head$_{DEF}$?
           'Who has a headache?'

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[12] Obligatoriness of the clitic (independently of the construction), and the ability of the associate to count as new information (bearing the nuclear stress of the sentence) seem bona fide diagnostics distinguishing CD from Clitic Right Dislocation. Thus, even if in some varieties of Spanish the associate of a doubling *accusative* clitic cannot be wh-moved, nor can it be a non-specific indefinite quantifier (see Jaeggli 1986: 39ff., and references cited there), it can always bear the nuclear stress of the sentence and hence be new information focus. Moreover, in all varieties of Spanish doubling is obligatory with pronominal direct and indirect objects (cf. Jaeggli 1982, 1986).
[13] Strictly speaking, only with Clitic Left Dislocated *direct objects* is the resumptive clitic obligatory, as the contrast between *Ivan vsički *(go) poznavat* 'Ivan all him know' vs. *Na Marija az mnogo sâm (i) pomagal* 'To Mary, I have helped (her$_{CLDAT}$) a lot' shows. See Cinque (1990, §2.3.5) for a possible account of the corresponding contrast in Romance.

b. Ivan go   boli glavata. / Glavata go   boli   Ivan
   Ivan him$_{CL.Acc}$ ache$_{3SG}$ head$_{DEF}$/head$_{DEF}$ him$_{CL.Acc}$ ache Ivan
   'Ivan has a headache.'

(35) a. * Poznavam   go   samo   čoveka.   *CLRD*
         know$_{1P}$ him$_{CLAcc}$ only   man$_{DEF}$

      b. Boli   go   glavata   samo Ivan.   *CD*
         hurt$_{3SG}$ him$_{CL.Acc}$ head$_{DEF}$ only Ivan
         'Only Ivan has a headache.'

The Experiencer Subject appears as an answer to a wh-question (34b) and
is compatible with focusing adverbs such as a *samo* 'only', *dori* 'even',
and *i* 'also' (35b), i.e., Experiencer can carry new information or
contrastive focus either in situ or as a result of movement. By contrast, in
the right dislocation construction, as shown in (33b) and (35a), the redu-
plicated object cannot be focused since it cannot be used as an answer to a
wh-question and cannot combine with focusing adverbs. Additionally, as
the contrast between (33a) and (34a) shows, only Experiencer subjects
must be wh-moved and clitic doubled at the time. The facts in (33)-(35)
are well-known from the literature, but they now receive a different
theoretic value in terms of our proposal.

Finally, in the CD construction the verb, the clitic and the associate
form one prosodic domain, as illustrated in (36):[14]

(36)   Boli go **samo Ivan**]φ [glavata]φ

In the dislocation construction on the other hand, the dislocated
constituent belongs to a different prosodic domain since stress is
independently prevented from falling on it:

(37) a. **Poznavam** go az, čoveka → [$_F$ Poznavam go az]φ [čoveka]φ
        know$_{1SG}$ him$_{ClAcc}$ I man$_{DEF}$

     b. **Poznavam** go, čoveka **az** → [$_F$ Poznavam go]φ [čoveka]φ [$_F$ az]φ
        know$_{1SG}$ him$_{ClAcc}$ man$_{DEF}$ I

The prosodic contrast between (36) and (37) is reminiscent of the

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[14] The subject, if present, cannot participate in the same domain, but is parsed as a
separate prosodic unit and is necessarily de-stressed (right-dislocated).

situation in Romance languages, like Spanish and Catalan, which, like Bulgarian, have dislocation constructions alongside CD constructions. As pointed out by Jaeggli (1986) for Spanish, and by Vallduví (1992) for Catalan, dislocated constituents in Romance are typically set off from the rest of the sentence with a sharp intonational break (Jaeggli 1986), and it has also been noted that they are always de-accented with the main stress/ intonational peak (i.e. the focus of the sentence) falling on some previous constituent, typically the V-cluster (Vallduví 1992, 96, 98):

(38)   La vaig   VEURE   la barilla.   Catalan
        it $_{1Sg.Past}$ see   the fight
       'I SAW the fight /I did see the fight.'

As a result, such languages allow more than one dislocated phrase per clause, and in any order. Cf. (39), Zubizarreta (1998) for comparable cases in Spanish, Benincà (1988: 130ff.) for Italian, Philippaki-Warburton et al. (2004) for Greek, and Arnaudova (2002, 2003) for Bulgarian:

(39)   a. DADOX mu   go   #pismoto #na Ivan.
          gave$_{1SG}$ him$_{CLDat}$ it$_{CLAcc}$ letter$_{DEF}$ to Ivan
       a' DADOX mu   go   #na Ivan #pismoto.
          gave$_{1SG}$ him$_{CLDat}$ it$_{CLAcc}$ to Ivan   letter$_{DEF}$

     To summarize, we have used three criterial properties to test the presence of CD in the Experiencer object construction in Bulgarian and we have interpreted these properties as conditions on CD proper. We have also examined (briefly) other constructions that resemble CD only superficially, but in fact have been found to feature a Right dislocation analysis, given that they do not satisfy the conditions on CD proper.[15]

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[15] Although we have not discussed binding and licensing properties of RD, it seems that they clearly point to a clause-external analysis. According to the latter, dislocated constituents first move leftwards to the specifier of a topic projection TopP but are eventually stranded in rightmost position by leftward raising of the remnant IP, as in Samek-Lodovici (2005), who follows Cechetto (1999) who in turn follows Kayne (1995 Harvard class lectures).
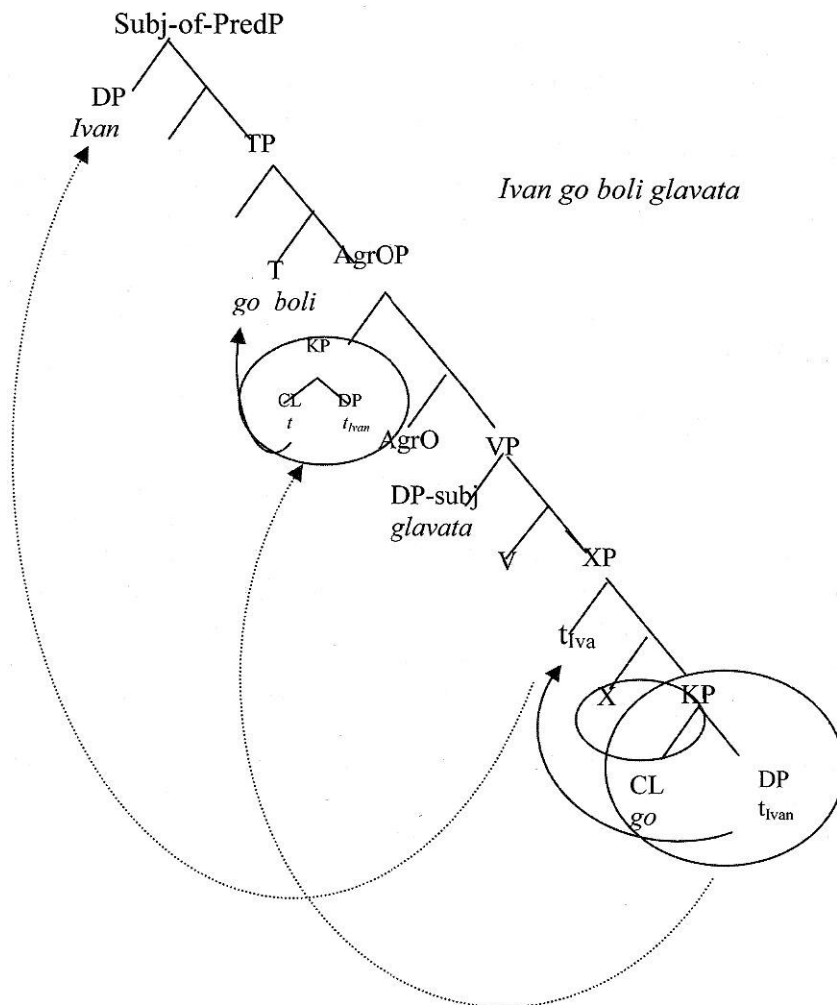
4 How Does the Clitic and Its Associate Get Together?

In this last part we briefly sketch our suggestion for a formal analysis of the derivation of clitic reduplication structures, that is, CD and dislocation structures. To analyze the facts reported in the previous sections, we adopt Franks and Rudin's (2005) proposal that clitics in Bulgarian require more structure and are KP elements with K as the head and the DP (whether an Experiencer object, or a constituent with some discourse-given property) as its complement (following in the steps of Uriagereka 1995 and Kayne 2002, cf. also Werkmann 2003 for a similar proposal). Postulating a KP as a sort of 'big DP' has the advantage of solving the theta problem since the entire KP is assigned a theta role.

(40) $[_{KP} \ [_{K}^{\circ} \ cl] \ [DP]]$

However, in contrast to Franks and Rudin (2005), we follow Kayne (2005) in assuming that no movement of the complement of a head can target the specifier of that head, which means that for us the clitic does not have to pass through the specifier of KP, triggering agreement. Rather, as in Poletto 2006, we postulate an additional layer above KP (XP) which attracts the clitic's associate (the DP) and serves as an intermediate landing site on its way to its final destination – the Spec,Subject-of-PredicationP, in the Experiencer construction case (the CD proper, illustrated in (41) below for the sentence *Ivan go boli glavata* ('Ivan has a headache'), and to Spec,TopP position within the CP field, in the left-dislocation/ topicalization case (not shown here).

(41)

Subj-of-PredP

DP
Ivan

TP

Ivan go boli glavata

T
go boli

AgrOP

KP

CL   DP
t   *t*_{Ivan}

AgrO   VP

DP-subj
glavata

V   XP

t_{Iva}

X   KP

CL   DP
go   t_{Ivan}

We also postulate that after extraction of the associate, the clitic moves up, although not as a head (pace Franks & Rudin 2005), but pied-piping the remnant KP containing the clitic and the trace of the raised associate. We tentatively propose that KP checks case in Spec AgrOP after which the clitic leaves KP and left-adjoins to the verb in T.[16] The

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[16] For reasons of space we are not discussing here other proposals on clitic

derivation of Clitic Left Dislocation structures proceeds in a similar way, with the difference that DP targets the specifier of TopP, located in the CP domain.

To summarize, we have presented in this paper evidence that clitic reduplication in Bulgarian falls under two clearly defined cases with distinct properties: 1) Clitic Doubling in the Experiencer constructions (within the IP/TP domain) and 2) Clitic left and right dislocations (outside of the IP/TP domain). In our view, this new approach opens the door for a re-examination of the conditions that underlie clitic reduplication in Bulgarian and other languages and could be an important step towards an attempt of providing a unified account of the various clitic reduplication constructions in Bulgarian.

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movement and (left) adjunction to V in Bulgarian (e.g., Bošković 2002).

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