Clitic reduplication in Bulgarian: towards a unified account

In this paper we analyze constructions that involve clitic reduplication in Bulgarian and claim that they fall under two basic types: 1) clitic left dislocation, well-known from classic cases such as e.g. Italian (Cinque 1990) and involving categorical judgments about an entity, and 2) obligatory reduplication (clitic doubling proper) typically found in type III class verbs of Belleti-Rizzi’s (1988) scale of psych- constructions and involving an experiencer (quirky) dative (or accusative) arguments and a nominative theme. Following previous work (Anagnostopoulou 1999, Landau, to appear) we will argue that the preverbal experiencer (dative or accusative) behaves as a canonical subject and not as CLLD-ed argument phrases with respect to all relevant diagnostics (except for agreement).

As a starting point we base our conclusions on the obligatoriness argument (Arnaudova 1999, 2002, Krapova 2002, Franks and Rudin 2004), namely that elements eligible for ‘doubling’ in Bulgarian constitute a well-defined set. The CLLD status of topics is manifested by several clear diagnostics which we discuss in the light of ample evidence: (1) sensitivity to islands, (2) WCO effects, (3) reconstruction effects, (4) scope ambiguities, and (5) extraction. Next, we discuss in more detail the constructions with experiencers and their different syntactic behaviour as inferred by the facts of word order (6), behaviour of bare quantifiers and wh-phrases (7), adjunct control in absolute constructions (8), ellipsis (9) in conjunction structures, and appearance in contexts that otherwise preclude or disfavour left dislocation (such as relative deto/kojto (wh-)relative clauses) (10). The evidence thus shows that CLLD topics are base-generated in the CP-field while dative (as well as accusative experiencers) seem to be raised to an A-position as also inferred from co-reference facts like those in (11). The subject position in (6)-(11) seems to be higher than the position of the Nominative subject but is still an IP position, in that it can be shown to be lower than the position hosting CLLD material and crucially, lower than the lowest CP position Fin(iteness)P (in Rizzi’s 1997 proposal; cf. also Cardinaletti 2004). We adopt Landau’s proposal (to appear) that raising of experiencers to subject position is part of the more generalized phenomenon of locative inversion (as also found in English), which involves EPP checking, and is “the technical execution of the (interface-driven) topic-comment predication relation” (Landau, to appear). Moreover, as pointed out by Landau, in many languages there is evidence that object experiencers pattern with locative arguments in terms of topichood and function (in an abstract sense) as an instance of non-dislocated topicalized location, into which the comment is being introduced.

In conclusion, we argue that the presence of these two types of doubling in Bulgarian signals different ways to achieve predication and a THETIC-CATEGORICAL division of the world that is reflected in grammar cross-linguistically (see for example Kuroda 1972 on wa/ga marking in Japanese):
1. Thetic: our attention is drawn to the event itself (single judgment which is negated or affirmed); temporary, arbitrary (non-doubled structures)
2. Categorical: a particular individual (obligatorily specific) is singled out and then some property is attributed to that individual; permanent, essential (clitic reduplicated structures).
Examples

(1)  a.  Knigata ne znae kakvo da *(ja) pravi.  
    book-the Neg (he/she) know what DA it (cl, acc) do  
    ‘He(she) does not know what to do with the book.’

   b. Marija srešnax mazha kojto *(ja) običa.  
   Marija (I) met man-the who her (cl, acc, fem) loves

   c. Vestnika zaspa dokato *(go) cheteshe.  
   newspaper-the fall asleep –Past,3Sg while it (cl, acc) (he) read

(2)  a. [Vsjako dete], majka mu go običa.  
    each child mother his it (cl, acc) likes  
    ‘Each child is loved by his mother.’

   b. [Vsjako dete], običa majka mu, t.  
   each child likes mother his                intended: ‘Each child is loved by his mother.’

(3)  a. Deteto mu, vseki bašta t, šte go zavede na učilište.  
    child-Cl.Poss each father FUT him (cl-acc) take to school.’  
    ‘Each father will take his child to school.’

   b. Deteto mu, šte go zavede na učilište vseki bašta.  
   child-Cl.Poss FUT him(cl, acc) take to school each father.

(4)  a. Edna kniga, ja pročete vsjako dete.  (non-ambiguous)  
    a book it (cl, fem, acc) read-Past each child  
    a book> each child  
    * each child>a book  
    ‘Each child read (a certain) book.’

   b. Edna kniga pročete vsjako dete.  (ambiguous)  
    a book read-Past each child  
    one book> each child  
    each child>a book                                               
    ‘Each child read a (different) book’

(5)  a. * Na Paganini, go slušax concerta.  
    of Paganini him (cl-acc) listen-Past,1Sg concert-the  
    X  
    ‘I listened to Paganini’s concert.’

   b. Na Paganini slušax konzerta .  
    of Paganini listen-Past,1Sg concert-the  
    OK  
    ‘I listened to Paganini’s concert.’

(6)  a. Na Marija *(i) xaresvat knigite.  
    to Maria her like-3pl books-the  
    ‘Mary likes the books.’

   b. Knigite i xaresvat na Maria (less preferred than 6a)  
    books-the her like to Maria  
    ‘Mary likes the books.’

(7)  a. Na nikogo ne mu xaresva knigata.  
    to nobody not like-3sg book-the  
    ‘Nobody likes the book’

   b. Na kogo mu xaresva knigata?  
    to whom him like-3sg book-the  
    ‘Who likes the book?’

(8)  Slušajki PRO go, na neja i se priiska da go pregârne.  
    listening him(cl), to her her(cl) wanted to him (cl) embrace  
    ‘While she was listening to him, she felt like embracing him.’

(9)  Na Maria, i e domaćnjalo za nego, no pro, ništo ne pravi, za da pro, go vidi otnovo.  
    to Maria her-Cl-Dat had felt sad for him, but nothing not do, for to him-CL-Acc see-3sg again
    ‘Mary started to miss him but did nothing in order to him see again.’

(10) a. # Vsički knigi, deto/koito na Ivan mu dadox, sa skučni   
     all books, which to Ivan him(cl) gave are boring

     b. Vsički knigi, deto/koito na Ivan mu xaresvat, sa skučni   
     all books which to Ivan him(cl) like-3pl, are boring

(11) Na Maria, i xaresvaše matematikata, predi *tja/pro, da se uvleče po muzikata.  
    to Maria her (cl) liked-3sh mathematics-the, before she/pro to become intrigued by music
    ‘Maria liked mathematics before she got interested in music.’