

# Clitics and Verb movement in Romance and Slavic

Iliyana Krapova [krapova@unive.it](mailto:krapova@unive.it)

Guglielmo Cinque [cinque@unive.it](mailto:cinque@unive.it)

Ca' Foscari University of Venice

# Plan of the talk

## 0. Introduction

### 1. On the syntax of Romance clitics

#### 1.1. Non-ad-verbal clitics in Romance varieties

#### 1.2. Ad-verbal clitics in Romance varieties

### 2. On the syntax of Bulgarian clitics

#### 2.1. Verb movement in finite and compound tenses

#### 2.2. Types of clitics and their positions in compound tenses

#### 2.3. Clitic positions and adverb interpolation

### 3. Conclusion

<b>a</b>	MOOD <sub>speech act</sub>	<b>b</b>	AdvP <sub>speech act</sub> (frankly,...)
	Mood <sub>evaluative</sub>		AdvP <sub>evaluative</sub> (oddly,...)
	Mood <sub>evidential</sub>		AdvP <sub>evidential</sub> (allegedly,...)
	Mod <sub>epistemic</sub>		AdvP <sub>epistemic</sub> (probably,...)
	Tense <sub>past/future</sub>		AdvP <sub>past/future</sub> (then,...)
	Mod <sub>necessity</sub>		AdvP <sub>necessity</sub> (necessarily,...)
	Mod <sub>possibility</sub>		AdvP <sub>possibility</sub> (possibly,...)
	Aspect <sub>habitual</sub>		AdvP <sub>habitual</sub> (usually,...)
	Aspect <sub>delayed</sub>		AdvP <sub>delayed</sub> (finally,...)
	Aspect <sub>prepositional</sub>		Aspect <sub>prepositional</sub> (tendentially,...)
	Aspect <sub>repetitive</sub>		AdvP <sub>repetitive</sub> (again,...)
	Aspect <sub>frequentative</sub>		AdvP <sub>frequentative</sub> (frequently,...)
	Mod <sub>volition</sub>		AdvP <sub>volition</sub> (willingly,...)
	Aspect <sub>celerative</sub>		AdvP <sub>celerative</sub> (quickly,...)
	Tense <sub>anterior</sub>		AdvP <sub>anterior</sub> (already)
	Aspect <sub>terminative</sub>		AdvP <sub>terminative</sub> (no longer,...)
	Aspect <sub>continuative</sub>		AdvP <sub>continuative</sub> (still,...)
	Aspect <sub>continuous</sub>		AdvP <sub>continuous</sub> (always,...)
	Aspect <sub>retrospective</sub>		AdvP <sub>retrospective</sub> (just,...)
	Aspect <sub>proximative</sub>		Aspect <sub>proximative</sub> (soon,...)
	Aspect <sub>durative</sub>		AdvP <sub>durative</sub> (briefly,...)
	Aspect <sub>prospective</sub>		AdvP <sub>prospective</sub> (imminently,...)
	Mod <sub>obligation</sub>		AdvP <sub>obligation</sub> (obligatorily,...)
	Aspect <sub>frustrative</sub>		AdvP <sub>frustrative</sub> (in vain,...)
	Aspect <sub>completive</sub>		AdvP <sub>completive</sub> (partially,...)
	Voice <sub>passive</sub>		AdvP <sub>manner</sub> (well,...)
	<b>Verb</b>		<b>Verb</b>

Figure 1 (Cinque 1999 and subsequent work)

# 1. On the syntax of Romance clitics

---



(1) [<sub>CP</sub> ... {clitics} ... [<sub>IP</sub> ... {clitics} ... [<sub>XP</sub> {clitics} ... [<sub>VP</sub> ...  
...]]]]

(Beninca' & Tortora 2009)

# Borgomanerese

- The (en)clitics of Borgomanerese are typically found in the lowest zone, between the projection hosting *piö* ‘anymore/no longer’ and the one hosting *sempri* ‘always’ in the adverbial sequence (2):

(2) ..V [mija [ già [ piö **CL** [sempri [ mal ..[VP

NEG already anymore always badly

(Tortora 2002)

Borgomanerese



# Borgomanerese

(3)a. I vœnghi piö-**lla**  
SCL see(1sg) anymore-her  
'I don't see her any more.'

b. I vangumma già-**nni** da dü agni  
SCL see(1pl) already-us of two years  
'We've already been seeing each other for two years.'

c. I porti mi-**lla**  
SCL bring(1sg) NEG-it  
'I'm not bringing it.'

d. I porta-**la**  
SCL bring(1sg)-CL  
'I'm bringing it.'

e. \*I mœngi sempra-**la**  
SCL eat(1sg) always-it

f. \*I trati mal-**lu**  
SCL treat(1sg) badly-him

(Tortora 2002: 729f)

# Romance clitics: other Romance varieties

In other Romance varieties, clitics can also appear in a second, higher, zone (preceding the entire sequence of lower aspectual adverbs), which I will label the “middle zone” of the clausal spine, where they may be separated from the verb by a number of aspectual adverbs:

(4) ..**CL** [mica [già [più [ancora **CL** [sempre [completamente [tutto/troppo/tanto **V** [bene [presto

**NEG** already anymore still      always    completely    everything/too/much well    early

[<sub>CP</sub> ... {clitics} ... [<sub>IP</sub> ... {clitics} ... [<sub>XP</sub> {clitics} ... [<sub>VP</sub> ... ...]]]]

Triestino                      Borgomanerese

Antrodochese

Cosentino

# Triestino: Northeastern Italy

(5) a. No el se gnanca *vedi*.  
not.it/he refl<sub>cl</sub> not.even sees  
'One doesn't even see it/him'

c. La *me* sempre *dizi* (che..)  
she me<sub>cl</sub> always says (that..)  
'She always tells me (that..)'

e. La *ghe* massa *piazi*  
she to.him<sub>cl</sub> too much appeals  
'She appeals to him too much.'

f. *el me* sai *piazi*.  
he to.me<sub>cl</sub> much appeals  
'He appeals to me a lot.'

(Sergio Iannitti, field work)

b. Mario *te* za *conossi*.  
Mario you<sub>cl</sub> already knows  
'Mario knows you already.'

d. nol *me* gninte *piazi*.  
not.he me<sub>cl</sub> nothing appeals  
'He doesn't appeal to me at all'





# Antrodochese: Central Italy (Lazio)

(6)

a. *éssa non če mika krée*  
she not to.it<sub>cl</sub> not believe  
'She doesn't believe it at all.'

b. *če nkóra dda í*  
there<sub>cl</sub> still has to-go  
'He has still to go there.'

c. *če sémpre pozzo parlá*  
to.him<sub>cl</sub> always can talk  
'I can always talk to him.'

d. *lòko če tántu fecéa ko llu síkkju*  
there cl. a lot was doing with the bucket  
'He was(n't) doing a lot there with the bucket.'

e. *íssu če zze póku píggja*  
he to.him<sub>cl</sub> refl. a bit takes  
'He doesn't get on well with him.'

f. *íssu ze nne tróppu ntenne*  
he refl<sub>cl</sub> of.it<sub>cl</sub> too much knows  
'He knows even too much about it.'



(Scorretti 2012: 183f)

# Cosentino: Southern Italy (Calabria)

- (7) a. un *vi mancu cchiù sempre fissìa* cum' a na vota  
Not you<sub>cl</sub> not anymore always he.mocks like to a time  
'He no longer always makes fun of you as in the past.'
- b. 'i risposte, iddra 'i **già sempre canuscia** tutte  
the responses she them<sub>cl</sub> already always she.knows all  
'the answers, she always already knows them.'
- c. *t'ancora parra*  
to.you<sub>cl</sub> still he.speaks  
'(S)he still speaks to you.'
- d. \**ciu bonu/torna cuntù*  
to.him<sub>cl</sub>-it<sub>cl</sub> well/again I.tell  
'I'll tell him everything/well/again.'



(Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005: 84 and 87)

# French

(8) **en/y** [pas [ déjà [plus [toujours [complètement [trop/beaucoup/tout/rien/ [bien **V<sub>inf</sub>** [tôt  
NEG already anymore always completely too much every/nothing well early

[<sub>CP</sub> ... {clitics} ... [<sub>IP</sub> ... {clitics} ... [<sub>XP</sub> {clitics} ... [<sub>VP</sub> ... ...]]]]

Triestino Borgomanerese

Antrodochese

Cosentino

French

(9)a. n'**en pas** parler (Kayne 1991: fn.19)

NEG of.it not to.speak

b. Il essayait de n'**y pas** penser (Engver 1972: 53)

he tried not to think of it

# French

- (10)a. je voudrais **en déjà** posséder deux (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)  
I would like to already own two of them
- b. je voudrais **y déjà** habiter (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)  
I would like to already live there
- (11)a. je vous ai promis de n'**en plus** parler (Engver 1972: 52)  
I have promised you not to speak of it anymore
- b. je voudrais n'**y plus** penser (Engver 1972: 53)  
I would like not to think of it anymore
- (12)a. ?Je voudrais **en toujours** parler. (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)  
I would like to always talk about it
- b. ?Je voudrais **y toujours** habiter. (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)  
I would like to always live there

# French

- (13)a. ..**en complètement** détruire trois. (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)  
..to completely destroy three of them  
b. ?Je voudrais **y tout** mettre (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)  
I would like to put everything there
- (14)a. ..**en bien** lire deux.. (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)  
..to read two of them well  
b. Il pense **y très bien** vivre. (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)  
He thinks he can live there very well
- (15)a. Craignant d'**en trop** dire . . (Kayne 1975: 79fn7)  
Fearing to say too much about it  
b. ..n'**en presque rien** dire (Kayne 1989: note3)  
almost nothing to say about it
- (16) \*Craignant de **lui trop** dire.. (Kayne 1975: 79fn7)  
Fearing to him too much to say
- (17) \*J'aimerais mieux ne **les point** voir (Taraldsen 1983: 308)  
I'd rather like not them to see

# Medieval West Romance varieties; Modern Galician/Portuguese

(18)a. ..para lo mejor conplir [<sub>CP</sub> que [ **lo** [<sub>IP</sub> ella non mando]]] (Old Spanish - Rivero 1986: 777)  
for the better accomplish that it<sub>cl</sub> she not ordered  
'In order to accomplish it better than she ordered it.'

b. [<sub>CP</sub> Cántas veces [ **a** [<sub>IP</sub> Pedro veu!]]] (Galician - Uriagereka 1995: 98)  
how.many times her<sub>cl</sub> Pedro saw  
'How many times has Pedro seen her!'

- Romance varieties give evidence that clitics may also be (internally) merged with the lexical verb, with which they make up a constituent, as verb and clitic may raise together to different positions within the adverbial hierarchy, depending on the verbal form.

(19) They can be (internally) merged

- a. with the **gerundive** form of the lexical verb in the progressive periphrasis (see (11)),
- b. with the **active past participle** form of the present perfect/anterior past (see (14)),
- c. with the **infinitival** form (see (16)),
- d. with the **finite** form (see (18))

Cf. Kayne (1989) "Romance clitics have two options: attachment to V or attachment to I" (p.240).

# Gerundive (in the progressive periphrasis)

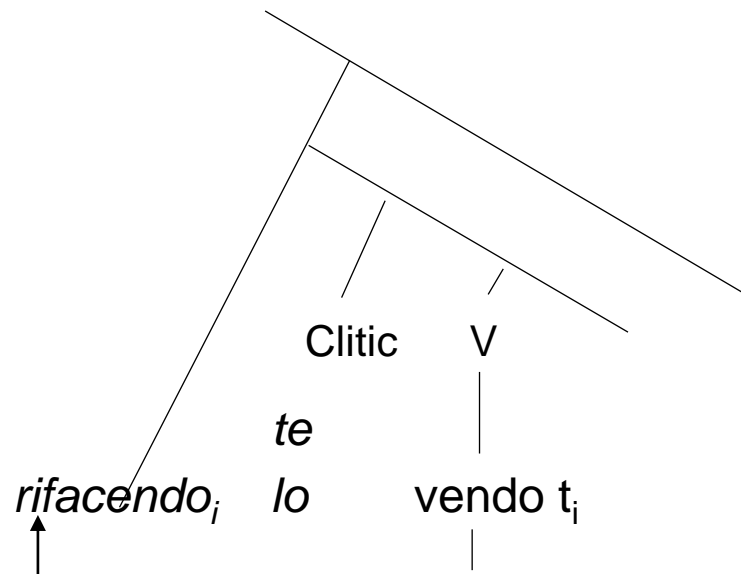
(20)a. Estava sempre [**te** vendo] (Brazilian Portuguese - Galves 2000: 148)

I.was always you<sub>clitic</sub> seeing 'I was always seeing you'

b. Stava completamente [rifacendo<sub>i</sub>**lo** t<sub>i</sub>] (Italian)

He.was completely redoing it

c.



(estava sempre) **te** vendo

(stava completamente) rifacend**olo**

# Brazilian Portuguese

- Brazilian Portuguese [clitic + V<sub>gerundive</sub>] raises obligatorily above *completamente* ‘completely’, *tudo* ‘everything’, *bem* ‘well’ and *cedo* ‘early’, and optionally above each of the following: *sempre* ‘always’, *ainda* ‘still’, *mais* ‘anymore’, and *jà* ‘already’ (Aquiles Tescari Neto, p.c.).

(21) / [jà<sub>i</sub> [mais<sub>i</sub> [ainda<sub>i</sub> [sempre<sub>i</sub> [completamente<sub>i</sub> [tudo<sub>i</sub> [bem<sub>i</sub> [cedo<sub>i</sub> [cl + V<sub>gerundive</sub>]  
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|  
already anymore still always completely everything well early



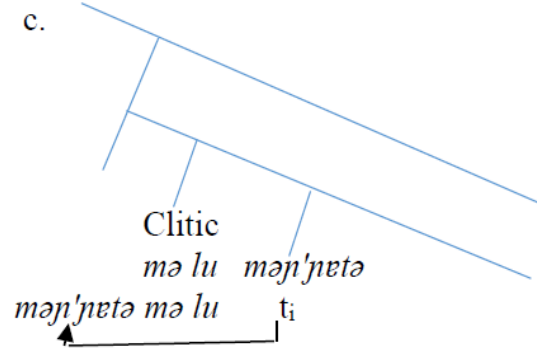
# Italian

In Italian, instead, the [V<sub>gerundive</sub> + clitic] of the progressive periphrasis raises obligatorily above *presto* 'early', *bene/male* 'well/badly', *tutto* 'everything', and optionally above each of the following: *completamente* 'completely', *sempre/mai/spesso* 'always/never/often', *più* 'anymore', *già* 'already', and *mica* 'neg'.

(22) [già	[più	[ancora	[sempre	[completamente	[tutto	[bene	[presto	[V<sub>gerundive</sub> + cl] (Ital.)
already anymore still always completely everything well early

# The active past participle

- (23)a. 'ajə dɔʒa [mə lu məŋ'ɲetə]  
 I.have already to.me= it= eaten  
 b. 'ajə dɔʒa [məŋ'ɲetə; mə u t<sub>i</sub>]  
 I.have already eaten =to.me =it  
 'I have already eaten it'  
 (Sanvalentinese - Benincà and Pescarini 2014: 57)



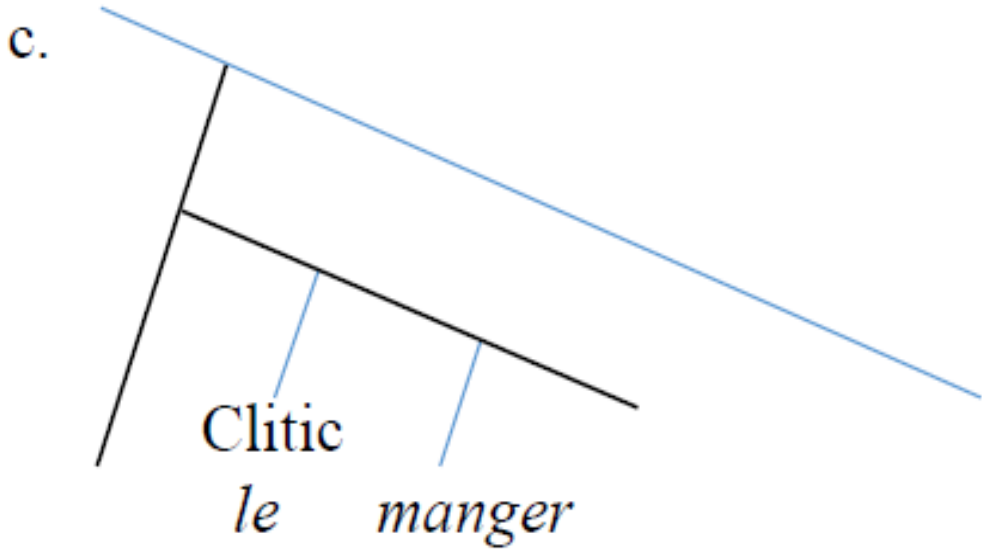
mə lu məŋ'ɲetə (Sanvalentinese)  
 məŋ'ɲetə mə lu (Sanvalentinese)



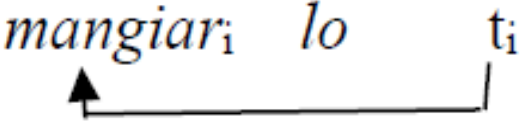
- (24)<sub>i</sub> [micə<sub>i</sub> [dɔʒa<sub>i</sub> [cchiù<sub>i</sub> [nkóra<sub>i</sub> [sémpre<sub>i</sub> [tuto<sub>i</sub> [bonu<sub>i</sub> [<cl> active pp. <cl>]  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 NEG already anymore still always everything/completely well

# Infinitive

- (25)a. pour [**le** manger].. (French)
- b. per [mangiar<sub>i</sub> **lo** t<sub>i</sub>].. (Italian)
- ‘In order to eat it..’



**le manger** (French)  
**mangiar**lo**** (Italian)



(26)a. [paʃ [dejà [ plus<sub>i</sub> [toujours<sub>i</sub> [complètement<sub>i</sub> [tout<sub>i</sub> [bien<sub>i</sub> [ têt [**<cl>** V<sub>inf</sub> ]

NEG already anymore always completely everything well early

b. [già [più [ancora [sempre [completamente [tutto [bene [presto [V<sub>inf</sub>+ cl]

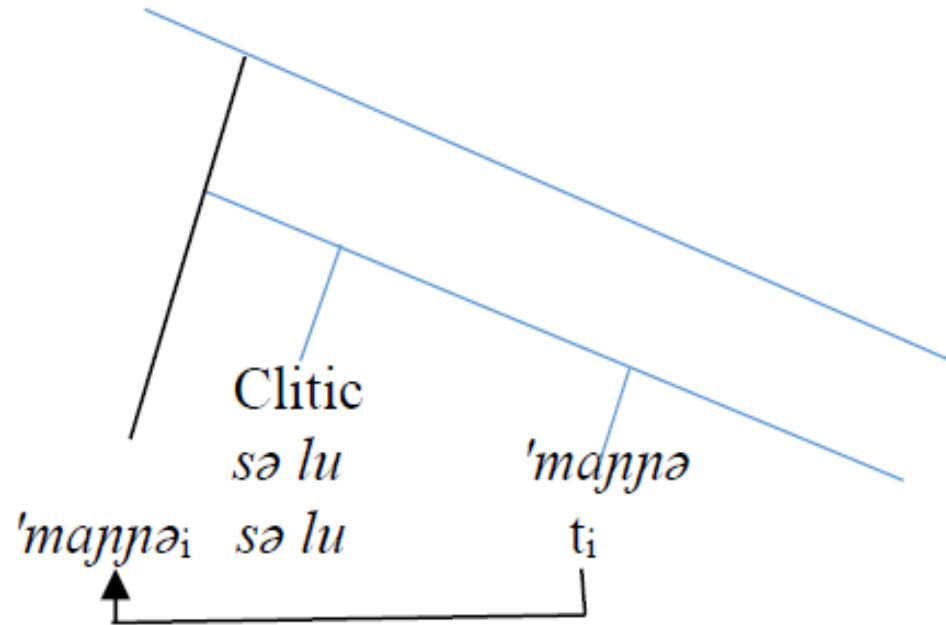
already anymore still always completely everything well early

# Finite V

(27)a. 'do:ʃə ka [sə lu 'majɲə] 'sɛmprə (Sanvalentineese - Benincà and Pescarini 2014: 51)  
says that to.him/her-self= it= eats always

b. 'do:ʃə ka ['majɲə<sub>i</sub> sə lu t<sub>i</sub>] 'sɛmprə  
says that eats =to.him/her-self =it always  
'He/she says that he/she always eats it'

c.



sə lu 'majɲə (Sanvalentineese)

'majɲə<sub>i</sub> sə lu (Sanvalentineese)

# Putting the orders together

- Putting together Benincà and Tortora's (2009) three (free) clitic zones and the clitic positions merged with each verbal form, we arrive at the different possibilities illustrated in (28), activated or not activated, depending on the language and on the specific verbal form (the constituents [cl V] can also raise to different positions within the adverb sequence).

(28) [<sub>CP</sub> {**CL**}... [<sub>IP</sub> {**CL**}... [<sub>XP</sub> {**CL**} [... [cl V<sub>fin</sub>]... ]]]

[cl V<sub>inf</sub>]...

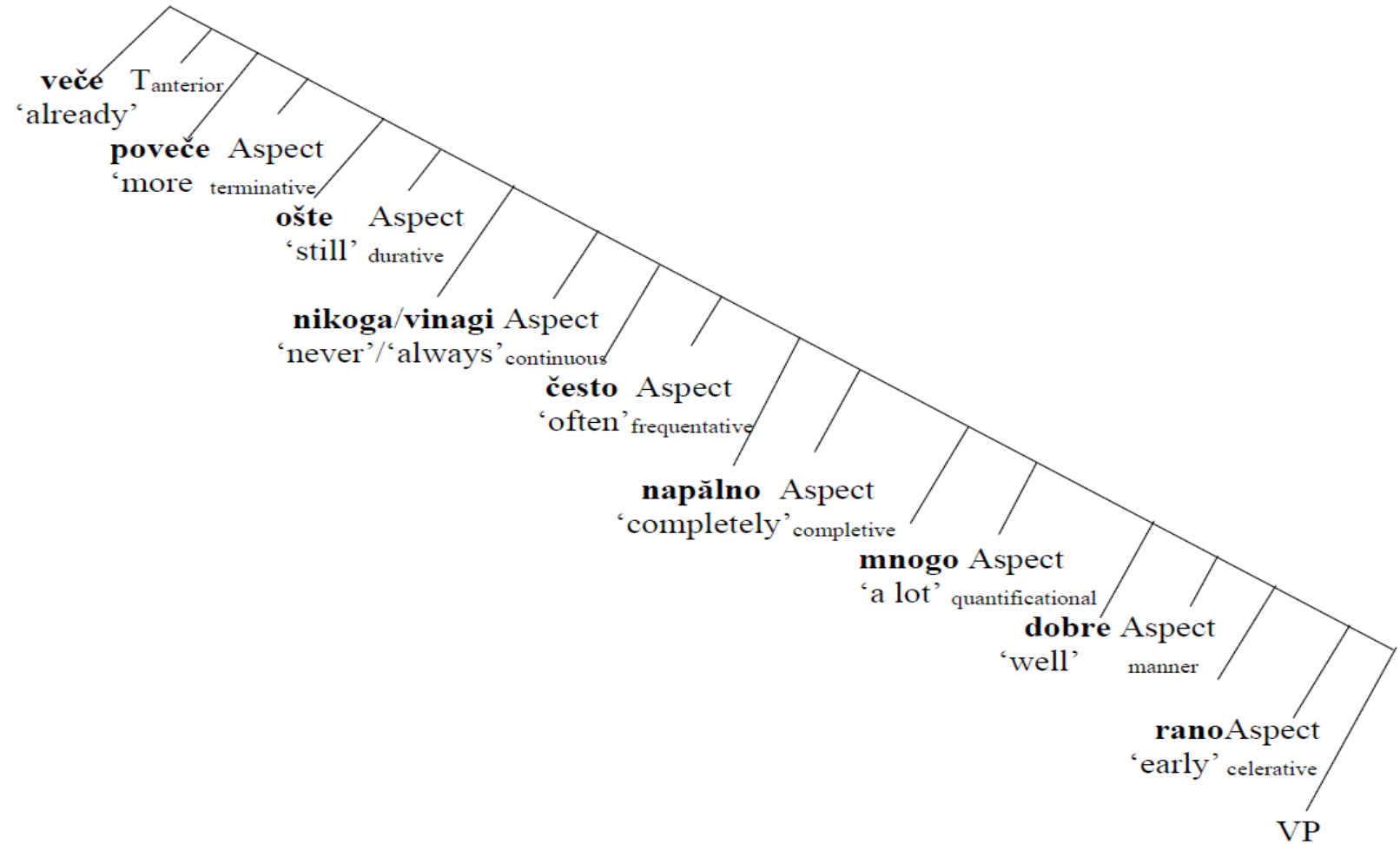
[cl V<sub>part</sub>]...

[cl V<sub>gerund</sub>]...

# Bulgarian

Bulgarian exhibits a very similar and rigid ordering/hierarchy of adverbs:

(29)



# Deriving the adverbial hierarchy for Bulgarian

(30) a. Minalata Koleda az ne pušex **veče poveče**.

Last Christmas I not smoked already any more

b. \*Minalata Koleda az ne pušex **poveče veče**.

Last Christmas I not smoked any more already



*veče* 'already' > *poveče* 'any more/no more'

(31) a. Toj dosega **vinagi napålno** e udovletvorjaval našite iziskvanija

he until now always completely has satisfied our-def requirements

b. \*Toj dosega **napålno vinagi** e udovletvorjaval našite iziskvanija

he until now completely always has satisfied our-def requirements



*napålno* 'completely' > *vinagi* 'always'

# Movement of the finite verb in Bulgarian

- (32)a. Toj (RANO) stava **rano**. Cf. Toj (\***rano**) stava **rano** SAMO PREZ SEDMITSATA  
He (EARLY) wakes-up early He (\*early) wakes-up early only during the week
- b. Toj (DOBRE) razbra **dobre** problema. Cf. Toj (\***dobre**) razbra **dobre** SAMO TEZI UKAZANIJA  
He understood well the problem. He (\*well) understood well ONLY THESE INSTRUCTIONS
- (33) a. Toj (MNOGO) puši **mnogo**.  
He (a lot) smokes a lot
- b. Toj (NAPÂLNO) priključi **napâlno** тази vrazka.  
He (completely) ended completely this love story
- c. Toj (VINAGI ČESTO) pobezhdava **vinagi/često**/\*često vinagi  
He (always often) wins always often/\*often always
- d. Toj (OŠTE) puši **ošte** mnogo.  
He (still) smokes still a lot

- (34) (MAI) lo vedrò mai (Italian)  
Never him will-I-see  
'I will never see him'

- The finite verb raises obligatorily above all of the lower aspectual adverbs. Focalized adverbs (given in capitals) are special; they are not indicative of the canonical word order





## No V movement across the higher Mood/Tense field

(35)a. Toj **verojatno** ne puši (\***verojatno**).

‘He probably not smokes \*probably’

‘He does not probably smoke’

b. Toj **maj** puši (\***maj**).

He perhaps smokes \*perhaps

‘Perhaps he does not smoke’

c. Az **čestno (kazano)** ne običam da pluvam (\***čestno kazano**).

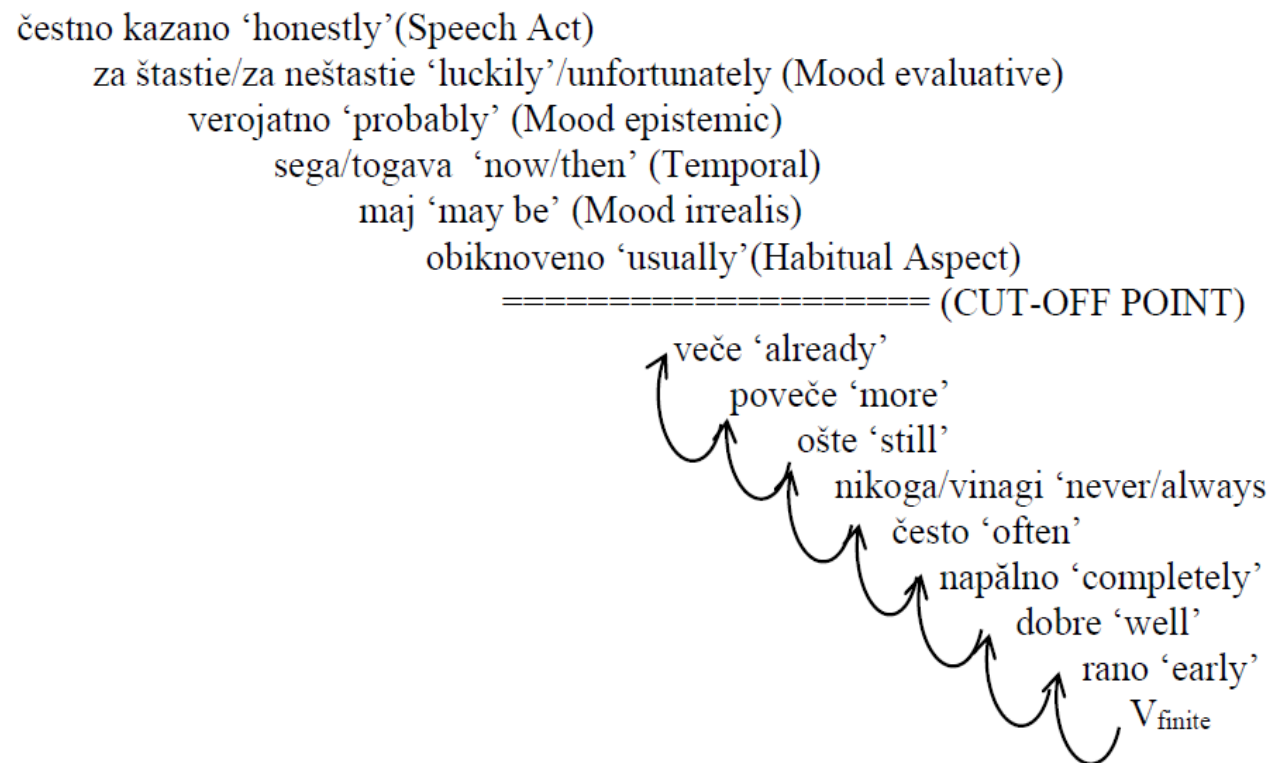
I honestly (speaking) not like to swim (\*honestly speaking)

‘Honestly, I don’t like swimming’

- Finite V cannot cross over, and consequently cannot raise above the higher aspectual adverb *obiknoveno* ‘usually’, above the temporal adverbs *sega* ‘now’, *togava* ‘then’, above the modal and mood adverbs *verojatno* ‘probably’, *maj* ‘perhaps, maybe’, *za štastie* ‘luckily’, and all speech adverbs, like *čestno (kazano)* ‘honestly’

# Finite V-movement

(36)



## Movement of the active past participle in compound tenses

- (37) Toj beše (**\*rano**) stanal **rano**.                      V-prt > rano 'early'  
He had early risen early  
'He had risen early'
- (38) Toj beše (**\*dobre**) spal **dobre**.                      V-prt > dobre 'well'  
He had well slept well  
'He had slept well'

➤ The *-l* participle raises obligatorily above the lowest aspectual adverbs *rano* 'early' and *dobre* 'well'

# Optional raising of the active past participle

- (39) Toj beše (**vinagi**) živjal **vinagi** kato svoboden tvorec. *always*  
he had (always) lived always as free artist
- (40) Toj beše (**napålno**) prozrjal **napålno** nejnite namerenija *completely*  
he had (completely) understood completely her intentions
- (41) Toj beše (**veče**) pratil **veče** parite. *already*  
he had (already) sent already money-the
- (42) Toj ne beše (**ošte**) izljazål **ošte**, kogato ... *still*  
he not had yet left yet, when....
- The –/ participle can appear either following or preceding the aspectual adverbs **vinagi**, **napålno**, **veče**, **ošte**, which shows that it raises optionally to the highest aspectual projection of the lower adverbial field (indicated with dashed lines on the following slide).

čestno kazano 'honestly' (Speech Act)

za šťastie/za nešťastie 'luckily'/unfortunately (Mood evaluative)

verojatno 'probably' (Mood epistemic)

sega/togava 'now/then' (Temporal)

maj 'may be' (Mood irrealis)

obiknoveno 'usually' (Habitual Aspect)

===== (CUT-OFF POINT)

veče 'already'

poveče 'more'

ošte 'still'

nikoga/vinagi 'never/always'

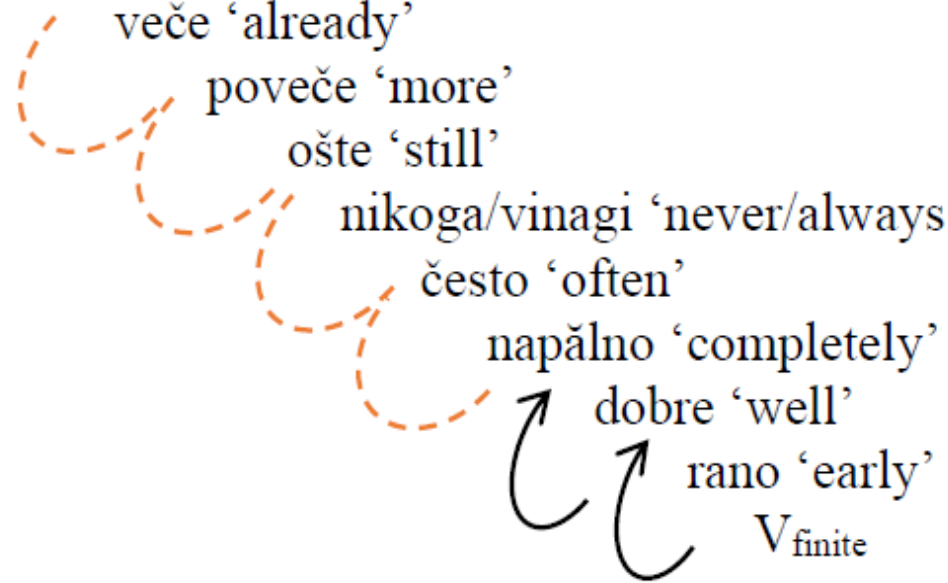
često 'often'

napáľno 'completely'

dobre 'well'

rano 'early'

V<sub>finite</sub>



# Passive participles

➤ **Passive participles must follow the lowest aspectual adverbs of the clausal spine:**

- (44) a. Toj beše **dobre** priet (\*dobre) u nas  
he was well accepted (\*well) in our country  
He was accepted well in our country'  
b. Tja bila **rano** săbudena (\*rano).  
she was-evid early woken-up (\*early)  
'He was woken up early'

➤ Passive participles raise even less in Bulgarian than their English equivalents which can optionally raise above *well* but has to obligatorily cross over *early*.

# Clausal clitics: the pronominal cluster

- Bulgarian special clitics, i.e., the pronominal clitics, are usually considered **verb-adjacent** in contrast to West and South Slavic where clitics are 2P (obeying Wackernagel's law formulated originally for Indo-European (Wackernagel/Langslow 2009/1892))
- On Cl-V-adjacency see discussion in Progovac 1996, 2000, Franks & King (2000), Bošković (2001, 2004), Migdalski (2006, 2013), Franks (2008, 2017), Zimmerling 2013, Zimmerling and Kosta 2013, a.o).

(45) a. Vera včera [CL-DAT mi [CL-ACC go [V dade ]]] (Bulgarian: Cl-V adjacency)  
Vera yesterday to-me it gave

b. Včera Vera [CL-DAT mi [CL-ACC go [dade]]]

(46) a. Vesna [CL-DAT mi [CL-ACC ga [CL-Aux je [jučer [kupila ]]]] (Serbian/Croatian: 2P)  
Vesna to-me it is yesterday bought

b. Jučer mu ga je Vesna kupila. (Franks & King 2000, p. 25, ex. (14c))

- Harizanov (2011) formulates the following generalization
- Clausal clitics are left-adjacent to the highest verb in the clause unless this leaves them in CP-initial position, in which case they are right-adjacent to the highest verb.

(47) [<sub>CP</sub> Dade [<sub>CL<sub>DAT</sub></sub> mu <sub>CL<sub>ACC</sub></sub> go] [<sub>IP</sub> Vera včera ]]]  
 gave him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> Vera yesterday  
 ‘Vera gave it to him yesterday’

- **Our goal is to show that:**

- Bulgarian has two types of clitics

A) not adjacent to a verbal form, i.e., not strictly speaking ad-verbal. As such they do not form a constituent with the verbal participle, and

B) clitics which are strictly ad-verbal making up a constituent with the verb.



# The clitic cluster in compound forms

- In compound forms, clitics form a template (cluster), in which each of them occupies a separate functional head. The pronominal clitics follow the 1/2p. clitic auxiliary, while the 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitic auxiliary comes at the end:

(48) AUX<sub>1</sub> (all persons except 3p. SG) **DAT** **ACC/REFL** AUX<sub>2</sub> (3p)

săm/si/sme/ste/sa                      mu      go/se                      e

- a. Az săm mu go podaril.  
I am to-him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> given 'I donated it to him'
- b. Vie ste mu go podarili.  
you are to-him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> given 'You donated it to him'
- c. Toj mu go e podaril.  
he to-him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> is given 'He donated it to him'

# The adverb interpolation argument

(49)a. Ivana **go e** (\***dobre**) *razbrala* (dobre) tova .

Ivana it<sub>CL</sub> is<sub>CL</sub> well understood well this .

‘Ivana understood this well’

b. Az **sām go vinagi mnogo** xaresval

I am<sub>CL</sub> him<sub>CL</sub> always a lot liked

‘I have always liked him a lot’

c. Ti **si go napālno** *prozrjal*

you are<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> completely understood.

‘You understood it completely’

d. **Ne sme im go** (**vse**) **ošte pokazali.**

(Avgustinova and Oliva 1991: 26)

not are<sub>CL</sub> them<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> (all) still showed

‘We still did not show it to them.’

# Lower aspectual adverbs

(49) e. Ivana **go e** **veče** *pročela*. (Bošković 2001: 181fn.1, Krapova 1997, 1999)

Ivana it<sub>CL</sub> is<sub>CL</sub> already read

'Ivana already read it'

f. Az **sām mu se** **veče** *predstavil*

I am<sub>CL</sub> him<sub>CL</sub> refl<sub>CL</sub> already introduced

g. Toj **ne go e** **poveče** *pristenjava*

he not him<sub>CL</sub> is<sub>CL</sub> any longer bothered

'He no longer bothered him'

- Lower aspectual adverbs can all interpolate between the clitic cluster and the verbal participle.
- The clitic cluster is located above the highest adverbial projection of the aspectual field hosting the adverb (**veče** 'already') = the CUT-OFF point, i.e., the highest landing site of the participle.

# The interpolation argument: the higher adverbial field

(50)a, Az **obiknoveno** **săm gi** (\***obiknoveno**) *praštal* navreme (pismata).  
I usually am<sub>CL</sub> them<sub>CL</sub> usually sent on time (the letters)  
'I usually sent the letters on time'

b. Toj **verojatno/togava** **gi e** (\***verojatno/togava**\*) *polučaval* navreme (pismata)  
he probably/then them<sub>CL</sub> is<sub>CL</sub> (\*probabry/\*then) received on time (the letters)  
'He probably did not receive the letters on time'

- All adverbs located above the CUT-OFF point (the higher aspectual adverb *obiknoveno* 'usually', as well as all temporal and modal adverbs) cannot interpolate between the clitic cluster and the verbal participle and must precede the clitic cluster.

(51)      čestno kazano 'honestly' (Speech Act)  
             za šťastie/za nešťastie 'luckily'/unfortunately (Mood evaluative)  
             verojatno 'probably' (Mood epistemic)  
             sega/togava 'now/then' (Temporal)  
             maj 'may be' (Mood irrealis)  
             obiknoveno 'usually' (Habitual Aspect)  
             **AUX1 CLITICs AUX2**  
                     veče 'already'  
                     poveče 'more'  
                     ošte 'still'  
                             nikoga/vinagi 'never/always'  
                             često 'often'  
                             napälnö 'completely'  
                                     dobre 'well'  
                                     rano 'early'  
   V-participle

➤ The position of the clitic sequence is above the CUT-OFF point separating the lower aspectual adverbs from the higher Mood/Tense field.

- In passive compound tenses, possibilities of interpolation are even richer given what we saw above, namely that the *-n/-t* participle does not necessarily raise above the two lowest adverbs of the functional field, *rano* ‘early’ and *dobre* ‘well’:

(52) a. Văprosát **ne e nikoga** *rešavan* kaktó trjabva. (Billings 2002: 91)

question.Det NEG 3SG.S never solved as needed

‘The question is never solved in the right way.’

b. Tova javlenie **e često** *sreštano*.

this phenomenon is often encountered.

c. Tozi proces **e dobre** *opisan* v literaturata

this process is well described in the literature

d. Tazi privilegija **mu e bila** *rano otneta*.

This privilege him is been early taken-away

# Clitic-V constituency

- Bulgarian clitics also have the option of attaching to a verbal form with which they make an impenetrable constituent.
- Evidence comes from compound tenses containing the non-clitic auxiliary *bjax/beše* ‘was/were’ (labeled ‘past anterior’ in Bulgarian grammars). Such forms exhibit an interesting asymmetry in terms of clitic positioning and adverb interpolation.
- Clitics may either appear to the left or to the right of the non-clitic auxiliary.

(53) Toj **mu go beše** večē dal.      Cf. also Toj mu go dade večē  
he him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> was given                      He him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> gave already  
‘He had already given it to him’

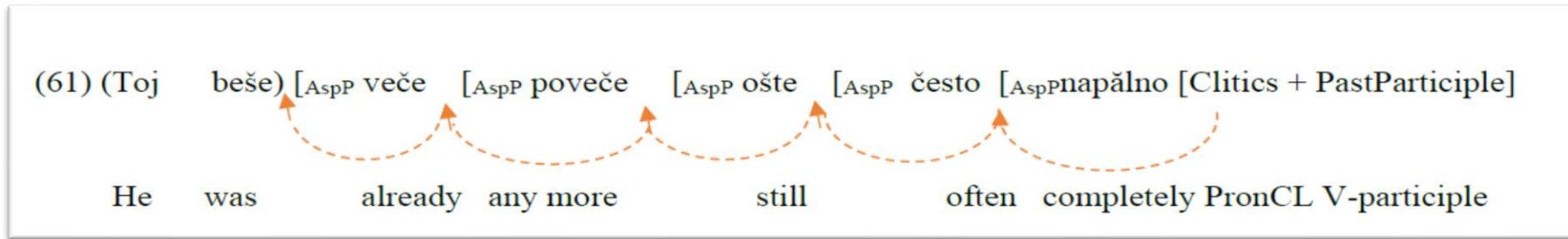
(54) Toj beše (veče) **mu go**              (\*veče) **dal** večē.  
he was (already) him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> (\*already) given already

- In (53), the cluster is in 2P, enclitic to the initial subject constituent; interpolation is available.
- In (54), the cluster is proclitic to the verbal participle; interpolation is no longer available.
- Hypothesis: lack of interpolation reveals CL+Vprt constituency.

- Once the constituent [clitics + -/ participle] is formed, it cannot be broken up in the derivation.
- This constituent raises obligatorily across the lowest adverbs like *rano* ‘early’ or *dobre* ‘well’ (for the independent reason that these adverbs may not appear in front of the participle, cf, (37)-(38)).
- This constituent raises optionally above each of the lower aspectual adverbs that the participle alone can cross over (as seen in (39)-(42) above).
- See for confirmation the paradigm in (55)-(60) where the constituent is shown in red.

- (55) Toj bese [mu go dal] rano  
 he was him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> given early
- (56) Toj beše mu go opisal dobre  
 he was him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>C</sub> described well
- (57) Toj ne beše <često> [go (\*često) sreštal] <često>  
 he not was frequently it<sub>CL</sub> met frequently
- (58) Toj ne beše <ošte> [go (\*ošte) razbral] <ošte>  
 he not was still it<sub>CL</sub> understood still
- (59) Toj ne beše <poveče> [mu go (\*poveče) daval] <poveče>  
 he not was any more him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> (\*any more) given any more
- (60) Toj beše <veče> [mu go (\*veče) dal] <veče>  
 he was already him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> \*already given already





(62) XP =AUX<sub>CL</sub> =CL (mu go) =AUX<sub>CL</sub> AUX<sub>Non-CL/Past</sub> AspP [CL(mu go)=V]

To summarize, there appear to be two fields accessible for clitics at Merge in Bulgarian:

- a) a higher field allowing for interpolation (not ad-verbal), and
- b) a lower ad-verbal field which sticks with the verb, hence no interpolation is available.

# Our proposal

- Syntax is fully responsible for the linear position of clitics in the sentence string, i.e., clitics do not move in the phonology.
- Phonology does not even play a passive filtering role in clitic placement, i.e., what appear to be phonological dependencies are actually resolved in syntax.
- Bulgarian clitics do not have a preference for the direction of their phonological attachment; they are not inherently specified as phonologically enclitic or proclitic (Pancheva 2005: 114, Franks 2017: 190-91).
- The phonological behavior of clitics is a function of their syntactic position in each of the two available fields which determines the type of host.

# Tobler-Mussafia effects (CLs are nonInitial in their prosodic domain: Franks 2006, 2011, 2017)

- An apparent problem for the idea that the clitics form a constituent with the participle may seem to be provided by (63), where the clitic cluster following the non-clitic Aux *beše* 'was/were' is separated from the participle by one lower adverb, implying that CL and V is a non-constituent:

(63) a. Beše **mu go**  $t_{AUX}$  **veče** dal  
was him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> already given  
b. Toj mu go beše veče dal  
c. # AUX **CL** ~~AUX~~ Adv CL V

- Interpolation in (63b) is allowed because if the higher clitic field is exploited Aux movement must take place from below this position in order to avoid undesirable T-M effects (which we take to be a prosodic constraint).

➤ Note however that any type of intra-clausal constituent can satisfy the T-M prosodic constraint: a subject, as in (64), a left peripheral Topic (65) or a left-peripheral Focus (66):

(64) Toj mu go bese **veče** podaril, kogato go popitax.

he him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> was already given, when him<sub>CL</sub> asked-I

‘He had already given it to him, when I asked him (about that).’

(65) [<sub>Top</sub> Knigata] mu ja bjax **veče** podaril, kogato ti me it<sub>CL</sub> popita dali e u men.

book-Det him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> was already given when you me<sub>CL</sub> asked if I have it

‘The book, I had already given it to him when you asked me if I had it’

(66) [<sub>Foc</sub> KINIGA] mu bjax podaril, ne butilka vino .

BOOK him<sub>CL</sub> was given, not bottle (of) wine ‘I had given him a book as a present, not a bottle of wine’

‘It was a book that I had given him as a present, not a bottle of wine’

➤ In all of these cases, interpolation by a lower aspectual adverb is allowed, and the clitic cluster turns out 2P.

➤ If on the other hand, clitics occupy the lower field, interpolation is not allowed, as expected, irrespective of whether the initial XP is a subject, a topic or a focus.

(67) Toj beše (**veče**) mu go (\***veče**) dal **veče** XP CL AUX Adv **CL V**

he was (already) him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> (\*already) given already

‘He had already given it to him’

(68) Podarākāt beše (**veče**) mu go (\***veče**) dal **veče**.

present-Det was (already) him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> (\*already) given already

‘The present, he has already given it to him’

# A possible connection with diachrony

- Zimmerling 2013; Zimmerling, Kosta 2013, Zimmerling to appear) argue that “Bulgarian is a  $W^+$  language: word order systems with **clitic-verb** adjacency **and** the 2P condition defined for one of the pivotal categories — either CL or V; these two properties are complementary rather than mutually exclusive”. Bulgarian seems to be the only representative of this subtype in Modern Europe.
- Tobler-Mussafia effects can be reanalyzed as a residue of 2P cliticization.
- 2P cliticization was characteristic for Old Church Slavonic and Old Bulgarian (until the 17<sup>th</sup> c., Pancheva 2005, Migdalski 2006, 2013).
- Present tense auxiliaries (AUX2) expanded the cluster to the right, most often following the pronominal cluster (in contrast to Modern Bg). Past tense auxiliaries could be found either in their Merge position or in sentence-initial position as a result of Aux-movement:  
(AUX1 **бѣ** ‘was’) Operator clitics (*bo* ‘because’, *že* ‘emphatic’, *li* ‘Q’) > AUX1 **бѣ** > CL<sub>DAT</sub> > (REFL)  
CL<sub>ACC</sub> > AUX 2  
(Zimmerling 2013, cf. also Dimitrova [to appear] on the fluctuation of the verbal elements in the cluster).

# Questions for further research: explain the nature of Aux/V-movement in T-M contexts

➤ *Aux-movement and V-movement as Last Resort operations in all of Slavic?*

(63) a. Beše **mu go** več dala Vera. (Bulgarian: Aux movement)

was him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> already given Vera

b. Dala **mu go** beše več Vera (Bulgarian: Remnant VP movement/Long Head

Movement?, cf. Rvero 1994, Embick and Izvorski 1995)

given him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> was already Vera

c. Kupila **mu ga je** jučer Vesna. (Serbian/Croatian)

bought him<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> is yesterday Vesna

# Conclusion

- Bulgarian, in contrast to the received wisdom, has ad-verbal clitics as well as non-ad-verbal clitics, which are presumably a residue of the historic 2P cliticization patterns (Večerka 1993, Migdalski 2006, Zimmerling 2013, Dimitrova to appear).
- in the Romance varieties which differ from Italian, a language with strict Cl-V orders, display both ad-verbal and non-ad-verbal clitic systems.

**Thank you!**



# References

- Benincà, Paola and Christina Tortora** 2009. Towards a finer-grained theory of Italian participial clausal architecture. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 15: 17-26 <https://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol15/iss1/4/>)
- Beninca', Paola and Diego Pescarini**. 2014. Clitic placement in the dialect of San Valentino in Abruzzo citeriore. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*. 99: 37-65
- Bošković, Željko**. 2001. On the nature of the syntax-phonology interface. Cliticization and related phenomena. Elsevier.
- Bošković, Željko**. 2004. Clitic placement in South Slavic. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics*, Vol. 12. № 1—2, 39—90.
- Dimitrova, Tsvetana**. On the diachrony of the clitic cluster in Bulgarian. To appear in *Balcania et Slavia*.
- Embick David, Roumyana Izvorski**. 1994. 'On Long Head Movement in Bulgarian', *Proceedings of ESCOL 12*.
- Engver, Karl**. 1972. *Place de l'adverbe determinant un infinitif dans la prose du francais contemporain*. Uppsala: Université de Uppsala.
- Franks, Steven, Tracy Holloway King** 2000. *A Handbook of Slavic Clitics*. OUP.
- Franks, Steven**. 2006. Another look at *li* placement in Bulgarian. *The Linguistic Review* 23: 161-211
- Franks, Steven**. 2008. Clitic Placement, Prosody, and the Bulgarian Verbal Complex, *Journal of Slavic Linguistics*, 91-137.
- Franks, Steven**. (2017). *Syntax and Spell-Out in Slavic*. Bloomington, IN: Slavica.
- Galves, Charlotte**. 2000. Agreement, Predication, and Pronouns in the History of Portuguese. In J.Costa, ed., *Portuguese Syntax. New Comparative Studies*. 143-168. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Harizanov, Boris.** 2011. NonInitiality within Spell-Out Domains: Unifying the Post-Syntactic Behavior of Bulgarian Dative Clitics. In *Morphology at Santa Cruz: Papers in Honor of Jorge Hankamer*.

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9c84q1bz>

**Kayne, Richard S.** 1975. *French syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

**Kayne, Richard S.** 1989. Null Subjects and Clitic Climbing. In O. Jaeggli and K. Safir, eds., *The Null Subject Parameter*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

**Kayne, Richard S.** 1991. Romance clitics, verb movement, and PRO. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22: 647–686

**Krapova, Iliyana.** 1997 Auxiliaries and complex tenses in Bulgarian. Wayles Browne et al., eds. Formal approaches to Slavic linguistics: The Cornell meeting. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications, 320-44. ,

**Krapova, Iliyana** 1999. The system of auxiliaries in Bulgarian. In Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Lars Hellan, eds. Topics in south Slavic syntax and semantics. Amsterdam: John Benjamins  
**Ledgeway, Adam and Alessandra Lombardi.** 2005. Verb movement, adverbs and clitic positions in Romance. *Probus* 17: 79-113

**Migdalski, Krzysztof.** 2006. The syntax of compound tenses in Slavic. Netherlands: LOT.

**Migdalski, Krzysztof.** 2013. “Diachronic Source of Two Cliticization Patterns in Slavic.” Salvesen, C.M.; Helland, H.-P. (eds.), *Challenging Clitics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 135-158. <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.206.06mig>

**Pancheva, Roumyana.** 2005. The rise and fall of second position clitics. *Natural language and linguistic theory* 23: 103-67.

**Pancheva, Roumyana.** 2008. Head-directionality of TP in Old Church Slavonic. In Andrei Antonenko et al., eds. Formal Approaches to Slavic linguistics: The Stony Brook meeting. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publishers, 313-332.

**Progovac, Ljiljana** 1996. Clitics in Serbian/Croatian: Comp as the second position. In: A. L. Halpern, A. M. Zwicky (eds), *Approaching second: Second position clitics and related phenomena*. Stanford: CSLI Publications, 411—428.

**Progovac, Ljiljana** 1996. Where do clitics cluster? In F. Beukema and M. den Dikken (eds.) *Clitic phenomena in European languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 249-268.

**Rivero, Maria-Luisa**. 1994. Clause structure and V-movement in the languages of the Balkans. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 12.63–120.

**Scorretti, Mauro**. 2012. *Il dialetto di Antrodoco*. Pescara: Fondazione Ernesto Giammarco.

**Taraldsen, Knut Tarald**. 1983. *Parametric Variation in Phrase Structure: A Case Study*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Universitetet i Tromsø.

**Tortora, Christina**. 2002. Romance enclisis, prepositions, and aspect. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 20: 725-758

**Tortora, Christina**. 2014a. *A Comparative Grammar of Borgomanerese*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Tortora, Christina**. 2014b. Clausal domains and clitic placement generalizations in Romance. In K.Lahousse and S.Marzo, eds., *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2012. Selected papers from 'Going Romance' Leuven 2012*. Amsterdam: Benjamins

**Uriagereka, Juan**. 1995. Aspects of the Syntax of Clitic Placement in Western Romance. *Linguistic Inquiry* 26: 79-123

**Zimmerling, Anton** 2013. *Sistemy porjadka slov slavyanskix yazykov v tipologičeskom aspekte*. Moscow: Yazyki slavyanskoj kultury. [Romanized from Циммерлинг Антон В. 2013. *Системы порядка слов славянских языков в типологическом аспекте*. Москва: Языки славянской культуры.]

**Zimmerling, Anton, Peter Kosta**. 2013. Slavic clitics: a typology. *Language Typology and Universals STUF* 66 (2): 178–214)

**Wackernagel/Lanslow** 2009/1892: Wackernagel J. *Lectures on syntax*. With special reference to Greek, Latin and Germanic. Translated and edited with notes and bibliography by David Lanslow. Oxford.