# Chapter 16

# Torlak clitic doubling: A cross-linguistic comparison

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This paper examines the types of clitics and clitic placement in Torlak. This vernacular, spoken in South-Eastern Serbia, also called the Prizren-Timok variety, whose genealogical position is still debatable, requires more attention from the scientific community. In this article, I describe clitic constructions, particularly the ones of clitic doubling and word order in Torlak by presenting data collected in the area of Trgovište and comparing it to the description of Bulgarian provided in Krapova & Cinque (2008). A further crosslinguistic comparison with Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, and Macedonian gives an insight into the relatedness of Torlak to the two typologically different areas: a Balkan Slavic and a non-Balkan Slavic one. This is particularly interesting since Torlak has clitic doubling, which makes it similar to Bulgarian and Macedonian, but it has second-position clitics, which makes it similar to Serbo-Croatian, thereby challenging certain cross-linguistic generalizations of Bošković (2001, 2004a,b, 2007, 2016). The overall results allow us to have a clearer picture of the use of clitics in this non-standard variety.

Keywords: clitic doubling, Torlak, cross-linguistic comparison

## 1 Introduction

Torlak is a dialect spoken in the Southern or Southeastern area of Serbia. It is often called Prizren-Timok dialect to delineate its area in Serbia, despite its distribution in closer areas in Bulgaria and Macedonia as well (Figure 1) and some minor sub-varieties in the inner Bulgaria and Romania.[1]

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[1]The areas inhabited by the populations of Gorani and Carashovans are disputed and not always considered as Torlak (Ivić 1956, Browne 1993). I will not refer to these areas in this article. The map in Figure 1 does not represent the current distribution, but it is the closest one.
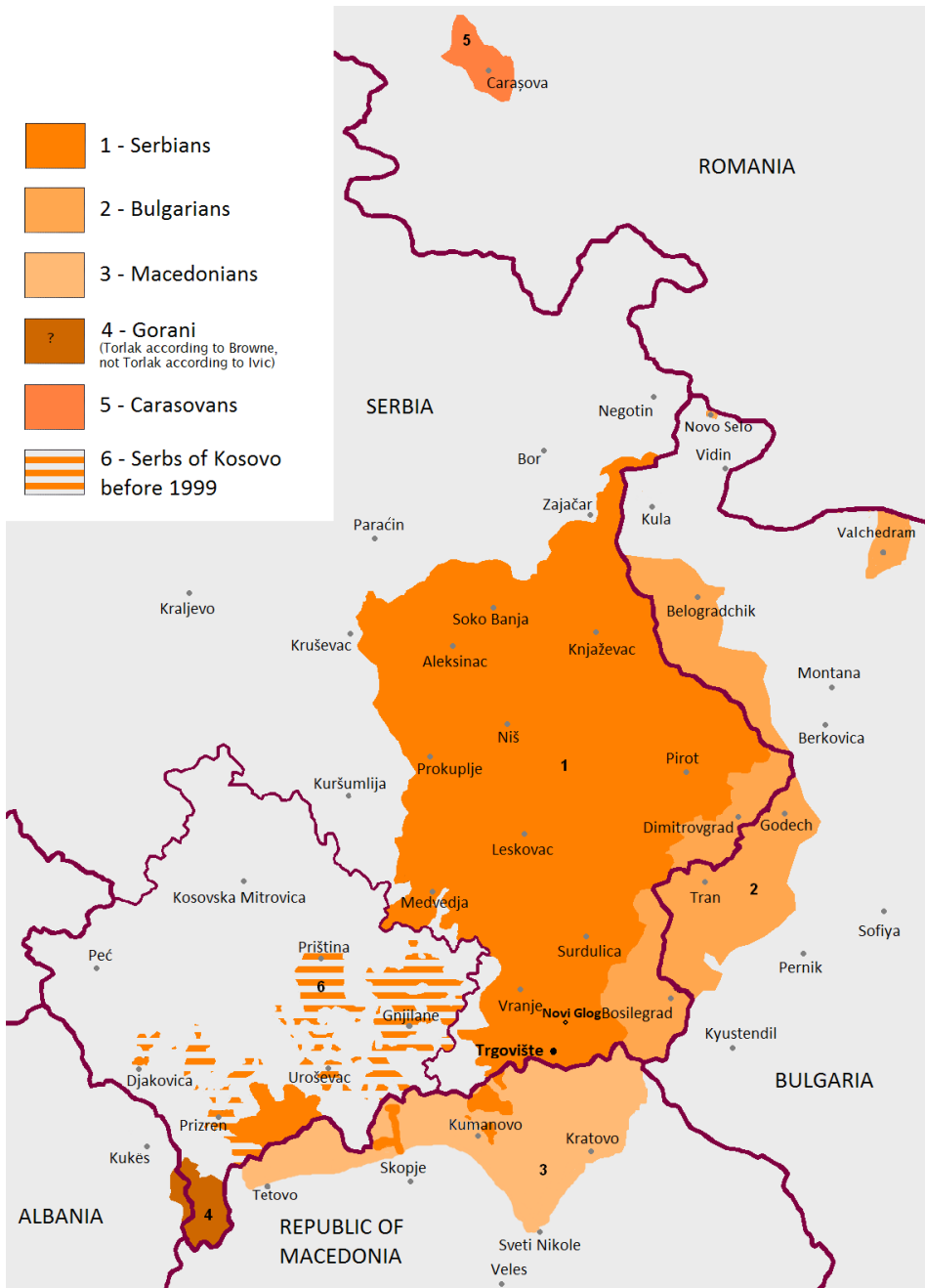
Figure 1: Distribution of the Torlak dialect (CC BY Jingiby https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Torlak_dialects_map_en.png)

What is relevant is that Torlak contains the majority of features of the so-called Balkan Sprachbund and that there is a high level of microvariation within its area of distribution. It is often disputed by Serbian/Croatian and Bulgarian scholars, who claim that

1.  Torlak (Prizren-Timok) is a Shtokavian or a Serbian dialect (Belić 1905, Ivić 1956, Brozović & Ivić 1988, among others),

2.  Torlak is a Bulgarian dialect (Stojkov 2002, as one of the most recent studies).

Therefore, its classification remains controversial, having some features in common with Serbo-Croatian and some others with Bulgarian and Macedonian. Despite genealogical issues, this work seeks to provide a valuable contribution in the domain of typology of South Slavic languages.

In this article, I will address two important issues concerning the phenomenon of clitic doubling. On the one hand, I will represent different types of reduplication constructions by confronting Torlak data with the framework illustrated in Krapova & Cinque (2008). On the other hand, I will deal with word order issues and clitic placement in the same structures.

The introductory §2 will discuss the theoretical framework of clitic doubling, address the phenomenon of doubling in Balkan languages, and delineate the methodology and fieldwork conducted in South-Eastern Serbia. §3 will deal with different types of reduplication constructions, mainly based on Krapova & Cinque (2008), and provide evidence from the gathered data. Finally, §4 will carry out a cross-linguistic comparison between Torlak and its surrounding languages, with respect to word order.

## 2 Theoretical framework: The phenomenon of clitic doubling in a nutshell

The phenomenon of CLITIC DOUBLING involves the reduplication of a verbal argument by a clitic pronoun. The doubled argument is usually a full pronoun (1) or a DP (2), or in certain circumstances a CP (3), according to Kallulli & Tasmowski (2008: 1–4), for example:[2]

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[2]If not indicated otherwise, examples are from Torlak.

(1) Mene    me        boli  stomak.
    Me.ACC me.CL.ACC hurts stomach
    'I have stomach ache.'

(2) Lo    vimos   a Juan.
    Him saw.1PL to Juan
    'We saw Juan.'                      (Rioplatense Spanish; Jaeggli 1986: 32)[3]

(3) Ana         $e_i$        dinte [$_{CP}$ qe   Eva kishte shkuar]$_i$.
    Ana.the.NOM 3SG.CL.ACC knew       that Eva had     left
    'Ana knew (it) that Eva had left.' (Albanian; Kallulli & Tasmowski 2008: 2)

Such patterns have been widely discussed with reference to Romance languages, see, for instance, Jaeggli (1982, 1986), Kayne (1991), Sportiche (1996). Among the mentioned works, the pioneering one is surely Jaeggli (1982) on Rioplatense Spanish, a language spoken in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, along with Farkas (1978) and Steriade (1980) on Romanian. Research has shown that both obligatorily demand a construction of doubling, although there are systems in other languages allowing an optional use of it.

Scholars' opinions have been divided when it comes to the formal description of clitic doubling. On the one hand, some scholars assume that clitics move from an argument position to a derived position, whereas other scholars suggest they are base-generated in their surface position as agreement markers. Sportiche (1996), however, proposes a combination of the two approaches. According to his explanation, pre-existing $X^0$ elements are directed to a specifier position where they license a feature F, which has to be marked off in a Spec-Head configuration, since the doubled XP* must move at LF to XP^ position, as indicated in Figure 2.

In addition, many more recent works deal with the phenomenon of cliticization, such as Roberts (2010), who assumes that a head $X^0$ is a category which is exclusively dominating itself and claims that clitics do not necessarily need to be part of their host, although they can, or Kramer (2014), who provides different criteria on how to distinguish cliticization from agreement.[4] I will not insist on any specific theoretical proposal, however, further investigation on cliticization in Torlak might shed light on how this phenomenon works in the grammar.

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[3]The glosses have been slightly modified compared to the original citation.

[4]Roberts (2010: 54), following Chomsky (1995), distinguishes $X^0$ from $X^{min}$; $X^0$ being a head itself and $X^{min}$ consisting merely of features.

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                        ClP
                       /    \
                    XP^      Cl′
                            /   \
                         Cl⁰     VP
                                /   \
                             Spec    VP
                                    /   \
                                  V⁰     XP*
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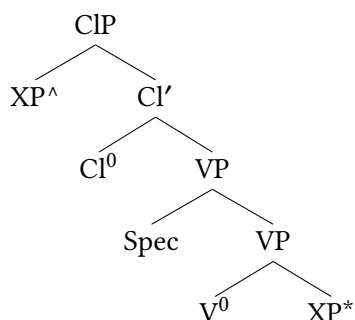
Figure 2: Sportiche's structural analysis of CD (Kallulli & Tasmowski 2008: 6)

## 2.1 Clitic doubling in Balkan languages

Clitic doubling seems to represent an innovation in Balkan languages arisen among the languages themselves, since there is no historical attestation in either Old Church Slavonic or Ancient Greek (Kallulli & Tasmowski 2008: 9). According to certain works, such as Lopašov (1978) and Mišeska Tomić (2008a,b), there is consistent variation across Balkan languages and even more microvariation within Balkan Slavic. Lopašov (1978) claims that western and southern areas might have strict grammatical constraints which doubling constructions are subject to, whereas northern and eastern areas might use discourse-pragmatic factors to influence CD. Mišeska Tomić (2008a,b), despite being more focused on Balkan Slavic, provides an illustration of the Balkan dialectal continuum. Doubling appears to show variation across a vertical North-South axis as well as across a horizontal East-West one. Moving North to South, "along with the reduction of the distance between the clitics and the verb, the restrictions on the word classes that can be clitic doubled are relaxed" (Mišeska Tomić 2008a: 81). Therefore, Serbo-Croatian shows almost no traces of clitic doubling constructions, Torlak exhibits a wide usage of accusative doubling and to a lesser extent dative doubling, while Macedonian requires clitic doubling constructions obligatorily with definite direct and indirect objects. As one moves from East to West, "along with the gradual disappearance of the rule for non-occurrence of the clitics in clause-initial position, the restrictions on the environments for clitic doubling are relaxed" (Mišeska Tomić 2008a: 81).

## 2.2 Data and methods

The data for this study was collected in the area of Trgovište in South-Eastern Serbia. What is interesting is that the subvariety of Torlak spoken here exhibits overt postposed articles just like Bulgarian and Macedonian (Balkan languages) but unlike Serbo-Croatian (non-Balkan).[5] In fact, we find:

(4) Vide li ga        ribarata?
    saw  Q him.CL.ACC fisherman.ACC.DEF
    'Have you seen the fisherman?'

The majority of data was collected as free production, particularly due to the age of participants, whose physical conditions did not make specific assignments possible. However, a short elicitation task was done in addition to the free production, with the use of targeted questions, in order to trigger the use of the target word order. Some of the examples can be found in §4.4. The variety of Torlak recorded for this study is specifically relevant due to its geographical position, which is relatively close to both the Macedonian and the Bulgarian border. Therefore, an investigation of contact-induced phenomena might prove fruitful. However, in this article I will focus on a mere comparison of Torlak with its bordering languages.

# 3 Clitic reduplication constructions

## 3.1 Relevant background: Krapova & Cinque (2008)

According to Krapova & Cinque (2008), who worked on Bulgarian, clitic doubling cannot be treated as a uniform phenomenon without first mentioning different subtypes of it. As a matter of fact, they identified four divergent subtypes within this macro group. We find:

- HANGING TOPIC LEFT DISLOCATION (HTLD),

- CLITIC LEFT DISLOCATION (CLLD),

- CLITIC DOUBLING PROPER (CD),

- and CLITIC RIGHT DISLOCATION (CLRD).

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[5]Other subvarieties of Torlak might not exhibit overt postposed articles, such as the one analyzed in Runić (2013, 2014).

CD, exemplified in (5), is a construction involving specific groups of predicates, as listed in Krapova & Cinque's (2008) work. For instance, they list psych and physical perception predicates with dative experiencers (e.g. *lipsva mi* 'I miss', lit. 'miss me.DAT'), psych and physical perception predicates with accusative experiencers (e.g. *dostrašava me* 'I am afraid of'), predicates with possessor datives (e.g. *bučat mi ušite* 'my ears ring'), predicates with possessor accusatives (e.g. *vărti me ramoto* 'I have a stitch in the shoulder'), predicates in the feel-like constructions (e.g. *iska mi se* 'I feel like'), modal predicates (e.g. *slučva mi se* 'it happens to me'), and predicates indicating presence or absence of something (e.g. *ima* 'there is', *njama* 'there isn't'). Such constructions require obligatory clitic doubling, even in focus movement constructions and allow the clitic's associate to take the stress of the utterance (as new information), to be wh-moved, to be contrastively focused and to be an indefinite quantifier.

(5) Ne mu        se    speše samo na Ivan.
    not him.CL.DAT REFL slept only  to Ivan
    'Only Ivan didn't feel like sleeping.'                    (Bulgarian)

CLRD is a complementary structure to CD, but at the same time very different, according to Krapova & Cinque (2008). Namely, as in all of the constructions that will follow, doubling is not obligatory. Furthermore, there are no peculiar constraints in terms of types of predicates used, but the associate correlates with topicality and can neither be wh-moved, constitute contrastive focus, nor contain an indefinite quantifier.

(6) Poznavam go       tova čuvstvo.
    know.1SG   it.CL.ACC this  sentiment
    'I know this sentiment.'                                  (Bulgarian)

HTLD and CLLD are two additional complementary topic structures which mainly differ in pragmatic properties from the previous two subgroups.

Specifically, HTLD, as clearly stated in the name, creates a general context for the comment from a pragmatic point of view. From a prosodic point of view, instead, there usually is a sharper intonational break between the dislocated element on the left and the rest of the sentence. Here is an example of HTLD in Bulgarian, taken from the corpus presented in Džonova (2004):

(7) Tja    i    bez    tova ne moga da    ja        nakaram da
    she.ɴᴏᴍ and without that  not can.1sɢ ᴄᴏᴍᴘ her.ᴄʟ.ᴀᴄᴄ make.1sɢ to
    jade.
    eat.3sɢ
    'Her, anyway, I cannot make her eat.'                    (Bulgarian)

Syntactic properties are the key for distinguishing apparent cases of overlapping between ʜᴛʟᴅ and ᴄʟʟᴅ. Namely, as Krapova & Cinque (2008) point out, in case of a dislocated phrase as a simple DP without overt case marking, it is necessary to take into account syntactic properties. The presence or absence of case connectivity effects, that is case matching between the dislocated element(s) and the resumptive one inside the clause, draws a clear distinction between the two subcategories. Case connectivity effects are visible in Bulgarian but only with topicalized pronouns and, accordingly, this feature is absent in ʜᴛʟᴅ, where a topic simply bears the nominative case. Furthermore, ʜᴛʟᴅ is more likely to appear only and exclusively in root contexts and its resumptive element can be any DP.

ᴄʟʟᴅ, on the other hand, requires case connectivity effects to show up mandatorily, unlike ʜᴛʟᴅ. In addition, it appears both in root and non-root contexts and the resumptive element can only be a clitic.

(8) Na Maria njama    da ì        piša      az.
    To  Maria ɴᴇɢ.will to her.ᴄʟ.ᴀᴄᴄ write.1sɢ I
    'To Maria I will not write.'                            (Bulgarian)

Based on these assumptions, the examples mentioned seem to represent four distinct types of doubling. More examples are to be found in Krapova & Karastaneva (2002) and Krapova & Cinque (2008).

## 3.2 Evidence from gathered data

Data that I am presenting here was gathered in April 2018 in the area of Trgovište, more precisely in the village Novi Glog, relatively close to the borders to Macedonia and Bulgaria. Not so surprisingly, many constructions in this dialect have a very similar, if not identical, structure to Bulgarian and/or Macedonian. However, my aim here is to examine whether gathered data can meet the requirements presented in Krapova & Cinque (2008) and to illustrate any possible discrepancy.

I will begin with the most characteristic structure in Torlak involving clitic doubling.

(9) Mene    me       boli stomak.
    me.ACC me.CL.ACC hurts stomach
    'I have a stomach ache.'

This appears to be a case of CD and similar examples with tonic pronouns can be found in Bulgarian as well. What determines the classification of the structure as the CD subtype is the use of topicalization and a specific verbal construction, involving a predicate with possessor accusative. Clitic doubling in such constructions is mandatory. Further confirmation of CD can be found in the following examples using the types of predicates listed in Krapova & Cinque (2008).[6]

(10) *Psych and physical perception predicates with accusative experiencers*
     Mene    me       je jat.
     me.ACC me.CL.ACC is anger
     'I am angry.'

(11) *Predicates in the feel-like constructions*
     Na Marinu      gu       se    spije.
     to  Marina.DAT her.CL.DAT REFL sleep.3SG
     'Marina is sleepy.'

(12) *Predicates with possessor dative*
     Na Marinu      gu       lkna         čim        … .
     to  Marina.DAT her.CL.DAT felt.relief as.soon.as
     'Marina felt relief as soon as … .'

It is necessary to point out that doubling in Torlak mainly occurs with constructions involving accusative case, whereas there are fewer examples involving dative case. In fact, specific predicates mentioned by Krapova & Cinque (2008), such as *pari mi* (*na ezika*) 'my tongue is burning', are not grammatical in the distinct variety of Torlak analyzed here. CLRD occurs in Torlak as well, being the complementary structure to CD. Indeed, example (6) in Bulgarian has its equivalent formation:[7]

(13) Poznavam ga         toga čoveka.
     know.1SG   him.CL.ACC that man
     'I know that man.'

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[6]The indicated interpretation of (12) is not the only possible one. Another possible translation is 'Marina felt better as soon as …' ('after being sick for days, she felt better'), apart from 'Marina felt relief (on the soul) as soon as …'.

[7]Torlak does not make a distinction between proximal = V, neutral = T and distal = N articles, as Macedonian does.

Other options which are present in Bulgarian, namely ʜᴛʟᴅ, ᴄʟʟᴅ, are lacking in Torlak. In fact, the equivalent Torlak examples of (7) and (8), illustrated in Krapova & Cinque (2008), are ungrammatical.

(14)   * Ona      i    bez    toj ne moga da    gu        nakaram da
         she.ɴᴏᴍ and without that not can.1sɢ ᴄᴏᴍᴘ her.ᴄʟ.ᴀᴄᴄ make.1sɢ to
         jede.
         eat
         Intended: 'And without that, I could not make her eat.'

(15)   * Na Mariju nema      da gu      pišem    ja.
         to  Maria  there.is.not to her.ᴄʟ.ᴀᴄᴄ write.1sɢ I
         Intended: 'To Maria I do not write.'

Torlak, therefore, only partially resembles the well-defined Bulgarian structure.

# 4  Clitic word order

The following section presents issues on word order with respect to the phenomenon of clitic doubling. §4.1 presents a theoretical part on generalizations illustrated in Bošković (2001, 2004a,b, 2007, 2016). §4.2 and §4.3 respectively describe all cases of word order involving cliticization in Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgarian and Macedonian, whereas §4.4 provides a general picture of word order in Torlak with respect to the above-listed bordering languages.

## 4.1  Relevant background: Bošković's generalizations

The basic assumptions for this section mainly involve crosslinguistic generalizations presented in Bošković (2001, 2004a,b, 2007, 2016) and are based on the presumption that languages differ with respect to a number of syntactic and semantic phenomena depending on whether or not they have articles.

Here are the main generalizations, relevant for our word order puzzle:

1. Only languages with overt articles may allow clitic doubling.

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

3. There is no clitic doubling with second position clitics.

The remaining generalizations provided by Bošković are not relevant for the purpose of this article. I will refer to these generalizations in the following sections, by illustrating clitic constructions involving auxiliary, pronominal, and other types (such as question clitics, e.g. *li*) of clitics in Torlak and its surrounding languages.

## 4.2 Word order in Serbo-Croatian

Serbo-Croatian has Wackernagel position clitics, according to Franks & King (2000: 217), whereas according to Bošković (2001) and Radanović-Kocić (1988, 1996) SC clitics occur in the second position of their intonational phrase. The following examples seem to merge these two approaches:

(16) Olga nam     nešto     dovikuje.
     Olga us.CL.DAT something shout.out.3SG
     'Olga is shouting out to us.'                                                    (SC)

(17) Nešto     nam       dovikuje.
     something us.CL.DAT shout.out.3SG
     'S/he is shouting out to us.'                     (SC; Radanović-Kocić 1988: 105)

However, Franks & King (2000: 219) further specify that "in SC clitics are traditionally described as being able to fall after either the first prosodic or syntactic phrase". In case of the presence of multiple clitics, the internal organization of the clitic cluster is the following:[8]

$$\text{LI (Q)} > \text{AUX} > \text{DAT} > \text{ACC} > \text{GEN} > \text{SE (REFL)} > \text{JE (be.3SG)}$$

In fact, we find the following examples of a maximal projection as in (18) or a prosodic word as in (19).

(18) [Ovu zanimljivu knjigu] sam     joj        pročitao.
      this  interesting book    AUX.1SG her.CL.DAT read
     'I read this interesting book to her.'          (SC; Franks & King 2000: 219)

(19) [Anina im         sestra] nudi     čokoladu.
      Ana's them.CL.DAT sister   offer.3SG chocolate
     'Ana's sister is offering them chocolate.'          (SC; Progovac 1996: 414)

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[8] *Je* is an exceptional, yet problematic clitic in SC. It can occur as a 3SG copula/auxiliary but also as a question clitic. Further details can be found in Franks (2017) and Živojinović (2020), among others.

Second position clitics are to be found in different types of configurations: in verb-initial clauses as in (20) and with a clitic in first position as in (21).

(20) Dade    mi    ga    Nena.
     gave.3sg me.DAT it.ACC Nena
     'Nena gave it to me.'                              (SC; Franks & King 2000: 222)

(21) Je       li on došao?
     AUX.3sg Q he come
     'Has he come?'                                    (SC; Radanović-Kocić 1988: 46)

The clitic-first configuration in (20) illustrates one of the two possible exceptions to the second-position placement. Namely, clitics as unstressed particles cannot occur in the first position. However, the clitic *je* has a stressed counterpart, making it a non-clitic, according to Franks & King (2000: 226). It is followed by the question clitic *li*, which occurs in the typical second position.

   Another apparent exception to the second-position is illustrated in the following example:

(22) [Ono najvažnije]    dade    mi        mama.
      that SUP.important gave.3sg me.CL.DAT mum
     'The essential thing I received from mum.'                    (SC)

Despite the apparent violation of the second position placement claimed by both Franks & King (2000) on the one hand and Bošković (2001) and Radanović-Kocić (1988) on the other, this example requires a specific intonation and a separation of the initial constituent from the remaining part of the sentence. In this way, this constituent does not violate the second position placement.

   This section concludes that there is no evidence for SC to have any other configurations than second-position placement of clitics.

## 4.3 Word order in Bulgarian and Macedonian

Despite being typologically related, Bulgarian and Macedonian differ with respect to clitic doubling. Namely, they both allow CD but relate to it in a very different manner. Macedonian has obligatory clitic doubling with definite direct and indirect objects, whereas CD in Bulgarian is optional. In fact, as already mentioned above, it is associated with topicality and specificity (Sportiche 1996, Krapova & Cinque 2008).

   In Bulgarian, clitics precede finite verbs (except when the finite verb is in the first position). This means that clitics can be placed in any position in the sentence, except for the first one; see (23).

(23)  Vera mi      go      dade.
      Vera me.CL.DAT it.CL.ACC gave.3SG
      'Vera gave it to me.'              (Bulgarian; Franks & King 2000: 234)

(24)  Koj kakvo ti        e    kazal?
      who what   you.CL.DAT AUX told
      'Who told you that?'                  (Bulgarian; Rudin 1988: 461)

A slightly different configuration can be found in Macedonian. Namely, clitics always precede finite verbs and there are no further restrictions. In fact, unlike Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian, Macedonian allows first-position clitics as well.

(25)  Im        rekov oti  čovekot   te        videl.
      them.CL.DAT told.1SG COMP person.DEF you.CL.ACC saw
      'I told them that the person saw you.'
                                  (Macedonian; Franks & King 2000: 236)

Let us now examine the word order in Torlak.

## 4.4  Word order in Torlak

When it comes to the variation in clitic placement, Torlak surely stands somewhere in between the above-mentioned possible scenarios. Because Torlak allows clitic doubling, as exemplified in (26), one might be tempted to assume that word order in clitic constructions might resemble either Bulgarian or Macedonian. But let us check some examples and counter-examples:

(26)  Ti      me      mene  čekaš?
      you.NOM me.CL.ACC me.ACC wait.2SG
      'Are you waiting for me?'

Example (27) illustrates the use of a clitic-first construction. Just as in SC, the first-position *je* is stressed and may function as an auxiliary or a copula, or be part of a complex question marker (ex. 27). Therefore, it is not a regular clitic, but is followed by a regular question clitic *li* (shortened *l'*) in the second position.

(27)  Je    l' me      mene  čekaš?
      be.3SG Q me.CL.ACC me.ACC wait.2SG
      'Are you waiting for me?'

(28)  Mene  li me      čekaš?
      me.ACC Q me.CL.ACC wait.2SG
      'Are you waiting for me?'

(29)  Ja ga          poznavam Milovana.
      I   him.CL.ACC know.1SG   Milovan
      'I know Milovan.'

Unlike examples (28) and (29), example (30) displays a configuration involving a verb-initial construction. Just as in previous cases, the clitic appears in the second position (as in example 27).

(30)  Poznavam ga           Milovana.
      know.1SG   him.CL.ACC Milovan
      'I know Milovan.'

The following Torlak examples display different configurations suitable for Macedonian, Bulgarian and SC:

(31)  Milovana ga           poznavam.
      Milovan   him.CL.ACC know.1SG
      'I know Milovan.'

(32)  * Ga          poznavam Milovana.
      him.CL.ACC know.1SG   Milovan
      Intended: 'I know Milovan.'

(33)  Odamna       ga           upozna Milovana.
      long.time.ago him.CL.ACC met.1SG Milovan
      'I met Milovan a long time ago.'

(34)  Odamna       ga           Milovana upozna.
      long.time.ago him.CL.ACC Milovan   met.1SG
      'I met Milovan a long time ago.'

(35)  Milovana ga           upozna odamna.
      Milovan   him.CL.ACC met.1SG long.time.ago
      'I met Milovan a long time ago.'

(36)  Milovana ga           odamna       upozna.
      Milovan   him.CL.ACC long.time.ago met.1SG
      'I met Milovan a long time ago.'

(37)  * Odamna       Milovana ga           upozna.
      long.time.ago Milovan   him.CL.ACC met.1SG
      Intended: 'I met Milovan a long time ago.'

(38)    Toga ga         čoveka poznavam.
        that   him.CL.ACC man   know.1SG
        'I know that man.'

It emerges from the above-listed examples that configurations which are allowed in both Bulgarian (see (37) where the clitic is in the third position and precedes the main verbs) and Macedonian (see (32), clitic-first construction) are not acceptable in Torlak. On the other hand, as examples (34) and (36) show, Torlak allows non-verb-adjacent clitics, unlike Bulgarian and Macedonian. Just as Serbo-Croatian, it supports the use of clitics after the first prosodic word (example 38), following Bošković (2001) and Radanović-Kocić (1988).

How does such evidence relate to Bošković's generalizations? This sub-variety of Torlak seems to fit into Bošković's Generalization 1, mentioned above, but not into the Generalizations 2 and 3. However, the postposition of the article does not seem to be widespread all across the distribution of Torlak. In fact, the Torlak (Prizren-Timok) data presented in Runić (2014) and gathered in the Timok area shows the use of clitic doubling but no overt articles, fitting into Generalizations 2 and 3, but not 1.

## 5 Conclusion

The theory displayed in Krapova & Cinque (2008) satisfactorily describes the phenomenon of clitic doubling in Bulgarian by identifying four subtypes:

- clitic doubling proper,

- clitic right dislocation,

- hanging topic right dislocation,

- and clitic left dislocation.

However, this branching does not seem to adequately work for Torlak, which adopts the canonical structure of clitic doubling mainly with tonic pronouns, but also with DPs.

Concerning word order, it emerges that, although Torlak allows clitic doubling as Bulgarian and Macedonian, it is closer to Serbo-Croatian, which allows only one constituent to precede the clitic cluster. This specific variety, having post-positioned overt articles, is incompatible with Bošković's generalizations.

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## Abbreviations

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | first person | DEF | definite article |
| 3 | third person | NEG | negation |
| ACC | accusative case | NOM | nominative case |
| AUX | auxiliary | REFL | reflexive marker |
| CL | clitic | SG | singular |
| DAT | dative case | PL | plural |
| COMP | complementizer | Q | question particle |

## Acknowledgements

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