

[論文]

Areal Diffusion of Clitic Doubling of Objects: A Case Study of Bulgarian Moesian Dialects¹

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1. Introduction

It is well known that clitic doubling of objects is a widespread phenomenon in the Balkan languages. This morphosyntactic phenomenon has been studied along with other Balkanisms for more than a century since Miklosich (1861: 7–8) first observed clitic doubling of personal pronouns in the Balkan languages. It is currently said that the clitic doubling and other Balkanisms were formed through intensive and long-term language contact among the dialects of the Balkan languages (cf. Friedman 2008 etc.). For this reason, the phenomenon observed in the Balkan dialects undoubtedly requires thorough description and comparative analysis, as Lopašov (1978: 124–125), for example, pointed out in his notable work on clitic doubling in the Balkan languages.

The main purpose of this research is to reveal the uses and conditions of clitic doubling in the northeastern Bulgarian dialects, that is, the Moesian dialects. In order to achieve this goal, I will first examine the areal diffusion of the phenomenon in the Bulgarian dialects. Next, I will analyze morphosyntactic characteristics in the Moesian dialects based on typological observations of the phenomenon. I hypothesize that clitic doubling in the Moesian dialects spoken in the northeastern periphery of the Bulgarian dialect continuum is a pragmatically conditioned phenomenon.

The structure of this paper is as follows: in Section 2, the general characteristics of clitic doubling in Bulgarian dialects will be discussed. In Section 3, analysis based on dialectal maps will be conducted to demonstrate the areal diffusion and restricted use of clitic doubling in the Moesian dialects. In Section 4, the morphosyntactic characteristics of the phenomenon in the Moesian dialects will be examined from a typological perspective. Finally, the conclusion of our discussion will be provided in Section 5.

2. Clitic Doubling in the Bulgarian Dialects

The definition of the clitic doubling of objects is given by Kallulli and Tasmowski (2008: 1), according to whom it is “the doubling by a clitic pronoun of a verbal argument [...] inside the same propositional structure.” See the following example² in which the sentence-initial direct

object *kartinata* ‘the picture’ is doubled by a clitic pronoun *ja* ‘it’.

- (1) *Kartinata* *mu* *ja* *podarihme* *veče*.
 picture-the.F.SG he.M.SG.DAT.CL it.F.SG.ACC.CL present.AOR.1.PL already
 ‘I presented him the picture already.’

Such a phenomenon is observed typically in the colloquial style of the standard Bulgarian language. According to Stojkov (1993: 261), however, it is observed throughout every dialect of Bulgarian as well.

First, I will discuss the general characteristics of the phenomenon in the Bulgarian dialects.

Clitic doubling in the standard Bulgarian language is a device that marks the information structure of a sentence (cf. Nicolova 2008, Tiševa and Džonova 2006); the objects doubled by the clitic pronoun become the topic of the sentence. For this reason, clitic doubling is often referred to as a morphosyntactic device to topicalize an object (Guentchéva 1994, Asenova 2002). Thus, it is possible to say that, in general, the clitic doubling of objects in Bulgarian is a pragmatic device. However, for some types of clitic doubling, realization is conditioned grammatically. Such “grammaticalized doubling” can be observed when the predicates are of the following types: predicates for psychological or physical states with a dative or accusative experiencer argument; modal predicates; and predicates indicating presence or absence (Krapova and Tiševa 2006, Tiševa and Krāpova 2009). While this type of doubling is grammaticalized³ and therefore occurs obligatorily, there are some dialects in which clitic doubling may not be observed even if the above-mentioned predicates are present (Krapova and Tiševa 2006, Tiševa and Krapova 2009).

Clitic doubling of objects is structurally distinguished according to the position of the doubled object in the sentence. Although SVO is known to be the formally and pragmatically neutral word order in Bulgarian (cf. Popov et al. 1983: 274, Andrejčin 1978: 393, Maslov 1982: 338, Rudin 1986: 15, Tiševa 2014: 42), objects may precede verbs in sentences. We can therefore observe preverbal and postverbal object doubling, which Lopašov (1978: 14–15) calls *repriza* ‘resumption’ and *anticipacija* ‘anticipation’ respectively. The two structurally distinguished types of doubling, that is, preverbal and postverbal, are not distributed throughout the language equally. Research conducted by Tiševa and Krapova (2006, 2009) reveals that preverbal object doubling is much more widespread in the Bulgarian dialects, which is quite natural if we consider that clitic doubling is a morphosyntactic structure marking the topical object in sentences. As is well-known, in preverbal, typically sentence-initial position is closely related to the notion of topicality. Another feature of preverbal

doubling that revealed by Tiševa and Krapova (2006, 2009) is that various types of noun phrases can be clitic-doubled as long as definite articles or other determiners are used together.

These general characteristics found in the Bulgarian dialects suggest that clitic doubling of objects as a whole remains a pragmatically related phenomenon, rather than a grammaticalized one. In the next section, I aim to demonstrate that the phenomenon lacks uniformity in the Bulgarian dialects and shows considerable variation in its realization depending on the regions in which a dialect is spoken.

3. Areal Diffusion

3.1. Previous studies

As mentioned above, the implementation of clitic doubling differs among the dialects. Popov et al. (1983: 187) and Mirčev (1963: 224) pointed out that clitic doubling is a frequently observed phenomenon in the western dialects. Consequently, when clitic doubling is viewed from the dialectological point of view, there is a difference in its manifestation between the eastern and western dialects. In the beginning of the 20th century, Selishchev (1918: 250) argued that the clitic doubling of objects is a typical Macedonian feature that is frequently apparent, especially in the southwestern areas of today's Republic of Macedonia. As Friedman (1994: 109–110) stated, it has been suggested that in the Balkan Slavic continuum, clitic doubling is most grammaticalized in southwestern Macedonia and least grammaticalized in northeastern Bulgaria. Thus, it follows that clitic doubling of objects should rarely occur in the northeastern Bulgarian dialects, which are spoken in the peripheral zone of the Balkan Slavic continuum.

3.2. Differences in the Realization of Clitic Doubling in the Bulgarian Dialects

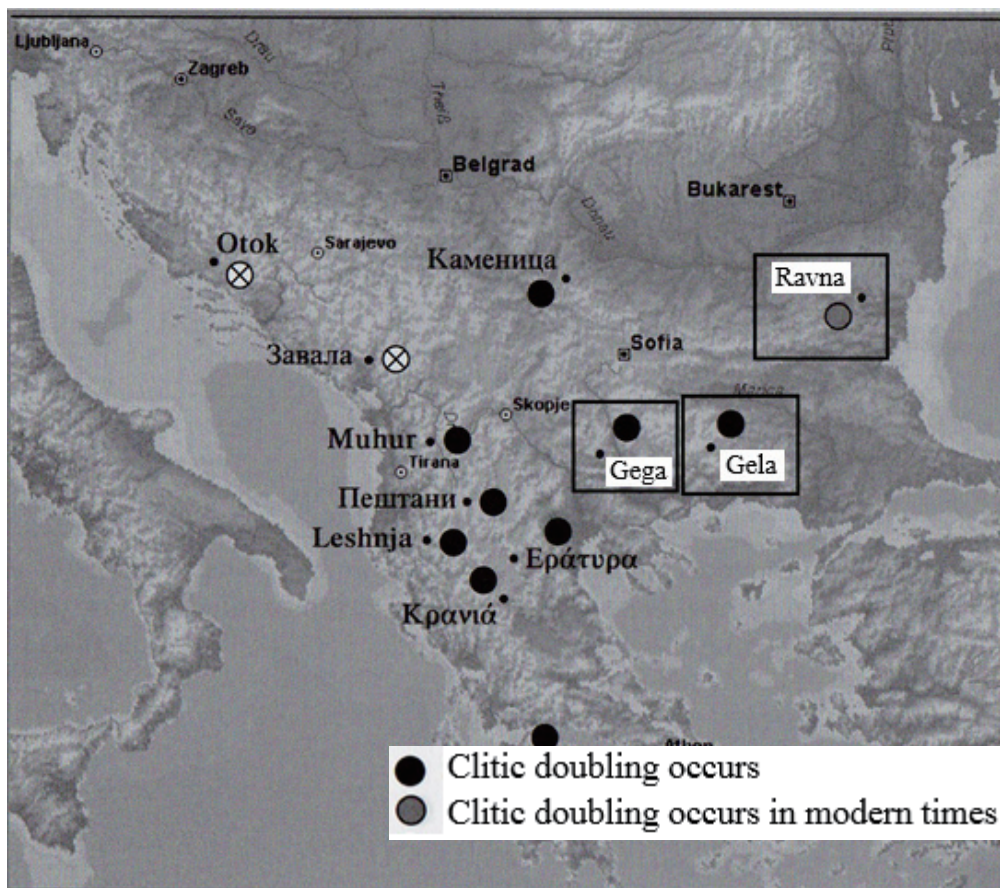
Here, I will demonstrate the varied realization of the phenomenon in the Bulgarian dialects using the dialectological maps from the book *Malyj dialektologičeskij atlas balkanskih jazykov* 'A Small Dialectological Atlas of the Balkan Languages' edited by Sobolev (2005). Although data from the other Balkan languages are also present in the maps, I will focus only on the following three Bulgarian dialects:

- a) Gega (Bulgaria, Pirin Macedonia / Southwestern Pirin Dialect)
- b) Gela (Bulgaria, Central Rhodope / Rhodope Dialect)
- c) Ravna (Bulgaria, Moesia / Northeastern Moesian Dialect)

When analyzing the maps, it is necessary to consider the following two parameters

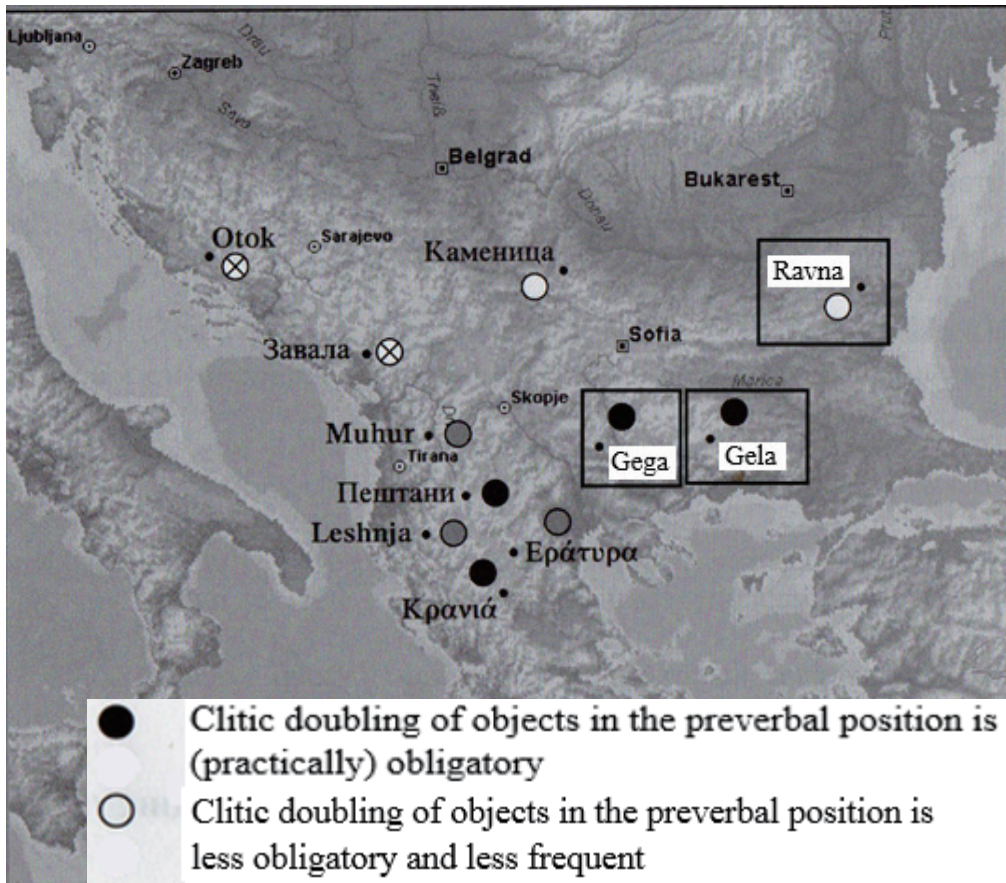
related to the realization of clitic doubling constructions: definiteness and sentence position. As I demonstrated in the previous section, clitic doubling is a pragmatically conditioned phenomenon. Thus, it is reasonable to expect its realization when objects are topicalized. As for definiteness, it is most likely to be used with definite noun phrases that become the topic of a sentence. Sentence position also affects the realization of the phenomenon since topicalized objects typically take the preverbal position.

Maps 1 to 4 are related to the clitic doubling of direct objects.



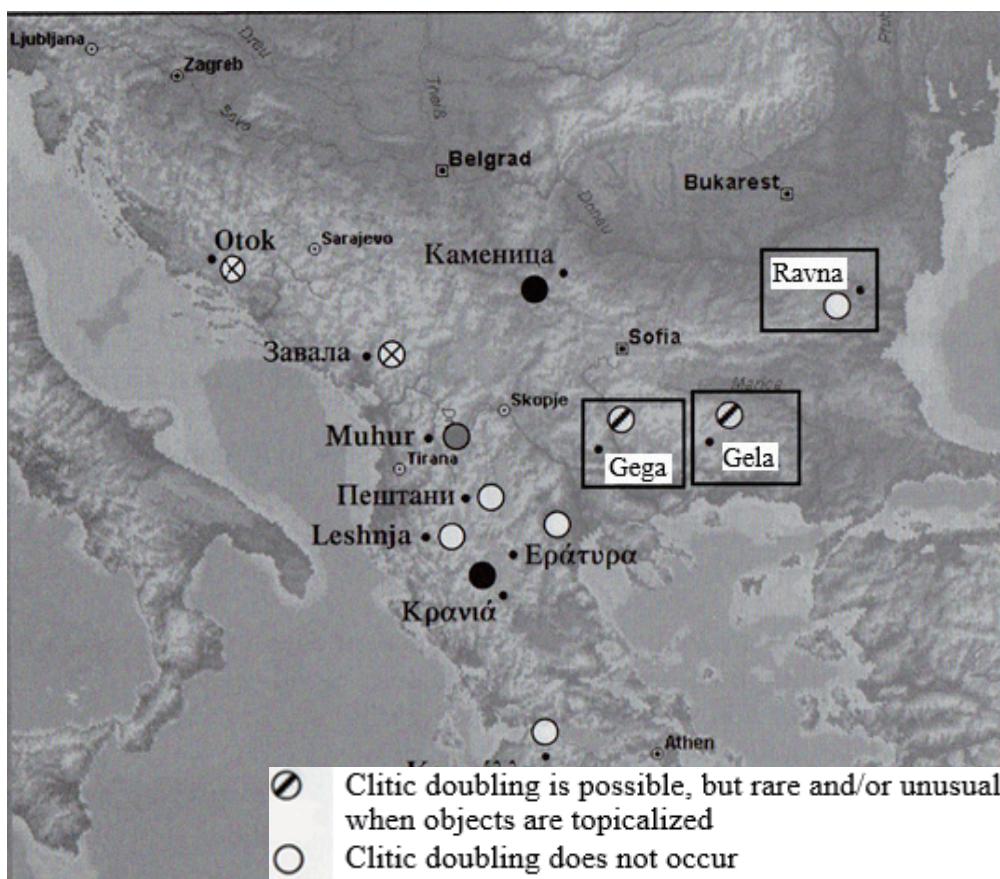
Map 1 (Karta № 38, Sobolev 2005: 93)

Map 1 shows whether definite direct objects can be clitic-doubled. From the map, it is obvious that clitic doubling can occur in all three dialects, but is only a modern phenomenon in Ravna. Although clitic doubling of direct objects in these three dialects is generally possible, it is not at all compulsory.



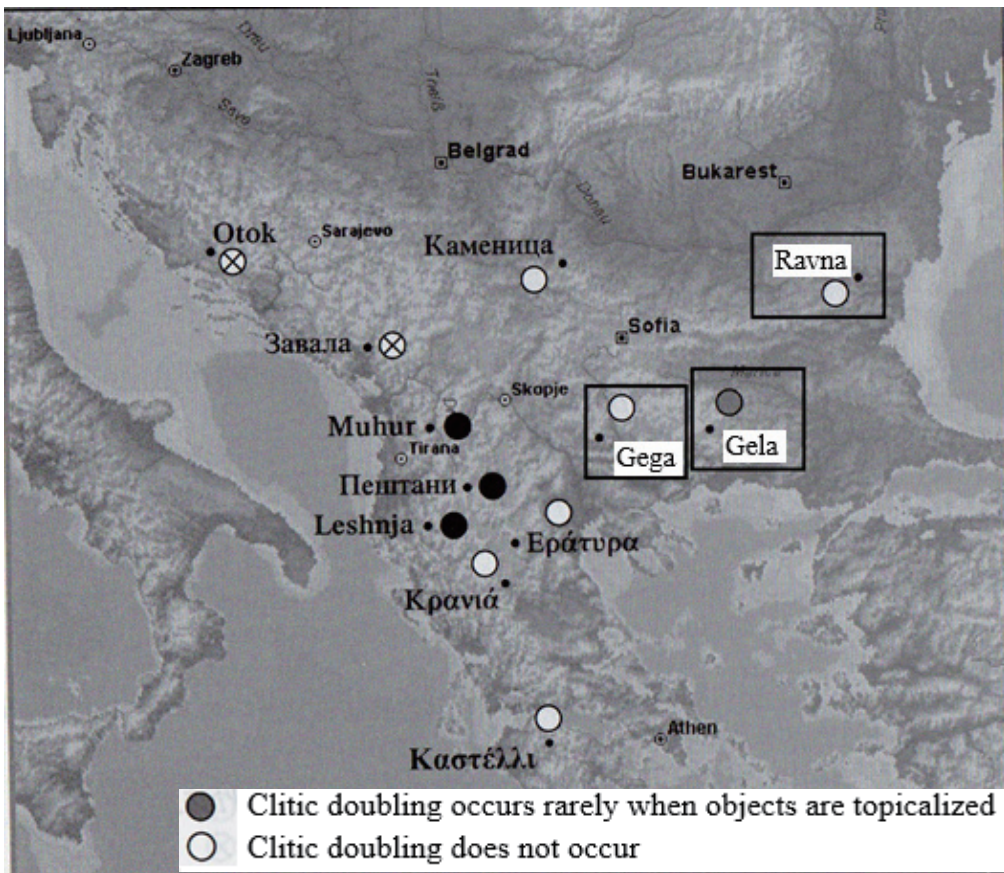
Map 2 (Karta №48, Sobolev 2005: 113)

Map 2 represents the obligatoriness of the clitic doubling of definite direct objects. In the Gega and Gela dialects, if the direct objects are in the preverbal position, clitic doubling is practically compulsory. In the Ravna dialect, however, it is a less frequently observed phenomenon and is not at all obligatory.



Map 3 (Karta №42, Sobolev 2005: 101)

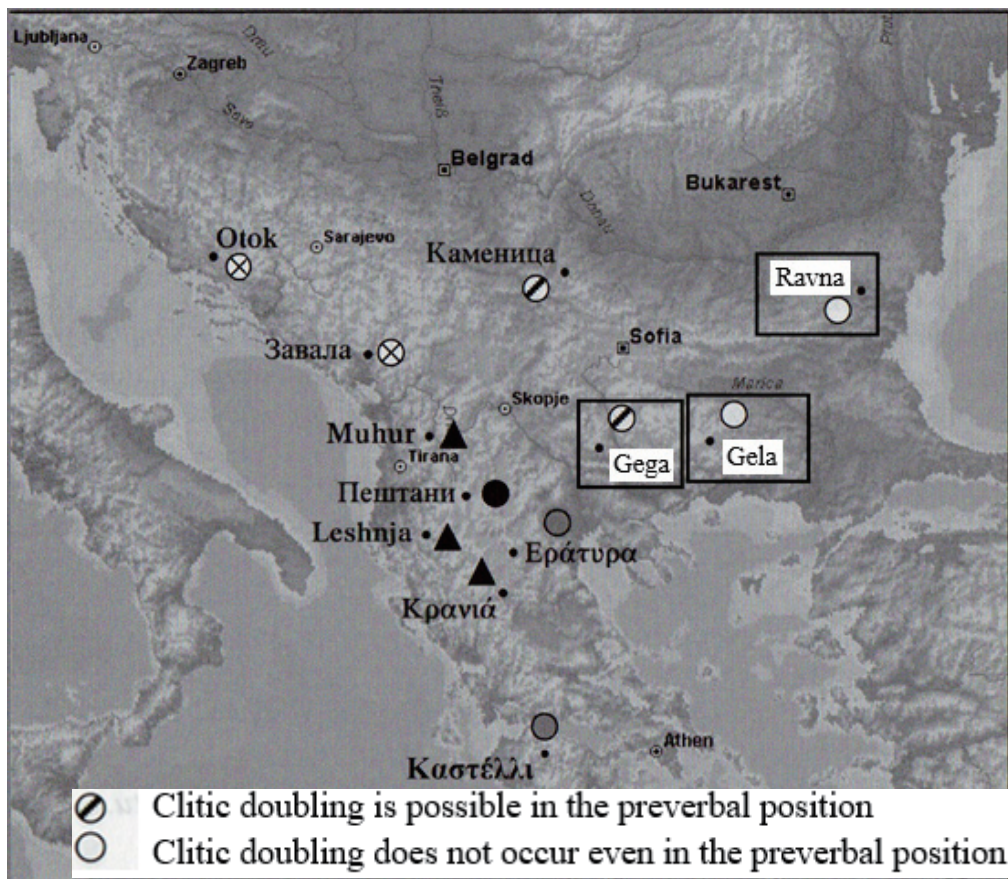
Map 3 shows whether indefinite direct objects (except combinations with indefinite articles) can be clitic-doubled. In Ravna, clitic doubling is impossible, while in the Gega and Gela dialects it is a rarely observed phenomenon and cannot occur unless the object is topicalized.



Map 4 (Karta №43, Sobolev 2005: 103)

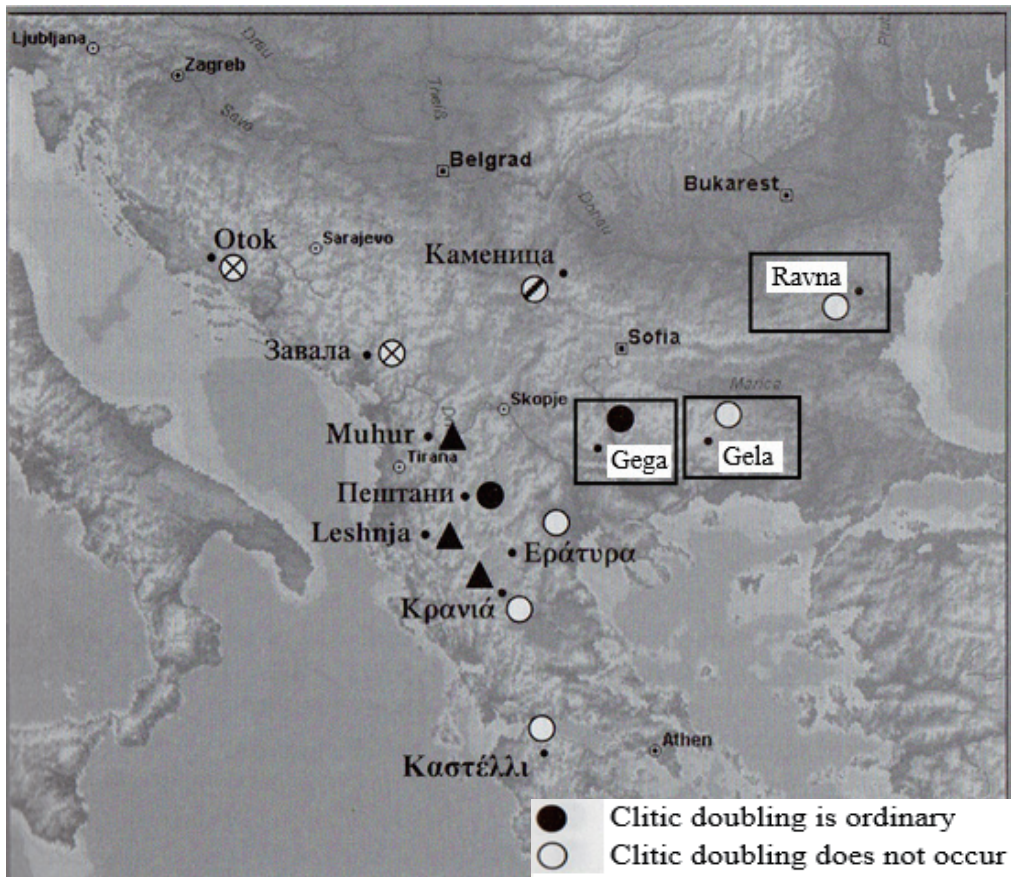
Map 4 shows whether direct objects in combination with indefinite articles can be clitic-doubled. Clitic doubling is not observed except in the Gela dialect, in which, however, topicalization of the object is obligatory for the phenomenon to be realized.

The following two maps, 5 and 6, are related to clitic doubling of indirect objects.



Map 5 (Karta №60, Sobolev 2005: 137)

Map 5 represents the obligatoriness of clitic doubling of definite indirect objects in the preverbal position. This phenomenon is only possible in the southwestern Gega dialect, with the condition that indirect objects are in the preverbal position. In Ravna and Gega, it is not observed, even though definite noun phrases occur in the preverbal position.



Map 6 (Karta №59, Sobolev 2005: 135)

Finally, map 6 shows whether indefinite indirect objects can be clitic-doubled. While this is a regular phenomenon in the Gega dialect, it is rarely found in the Ravna and Gela dialects.

From an analysis of clitic doubling based on the dialectological atlas, it is obvious that this phenomenon shows different manifestations of its realization depending on region. In the Gega and Gela dialects, clitic doubling can occur under certain conditions, namely when the object is topicalized. For example, as shown in map 1, if direct objects are definite, they can be clitic-doubled. However, if they are indefinite, clitic doubling is possible only when the objects are topicalized, as shown in maps 3 and 4. In addition, according to map 2, when direct objects are both definite and preverbal, clitic doubling in these dialects is realized obligatorily.

In the Ravna dialect, however, clitic doubling of direct objects is not allowed unless the object is definite. It should be noted that even definite direct objects in the preverbal position do not trigger an obligatory clitic doubling in the Ravna dialect, as seen in map 2 and the following example (2). While the Gega dialect obligatorily requires clitic doubling of definite

direct objects in the preverbal position, it is optional in the Ravna dialect⁴.

(2) a. **Gega**

Lebo go izede.
 bread-the.M.SG it.M.SG.ACC.CL eat_up.AOR.3.SG
 ‘(S)he has eaten up the bread.’ (Sobolev 2005: 112)

b. **Ravna**

P’ismotu (gu)⁵ poľučiu fčera.
 letter-the.N.SG it.N.SG.ACC.CL receive.AOR.1.SG yesterday
 ‘I received the letter yesterday.’ (Sobolev 2005: 92, 112)

As for indirect objects, Gega is the only dialect of the three in which clitic doubling is allowed. In the Gela⁶ and Ravna dialects, even when indirect objects are definite and preverbal, they may not be clitic-doubled, unlike in the Gega dialect.

(3) a. **Gega**

NA ofčaro mu došlo na akəlo...
 DAT shepherd-the.M.SG he.DAT.CL come.EVID.N.SG to mind
 ‘It came to the shepherd’s mind...’ (Sobolev 2005: 136)

b. **Ravna**

NA fs’akogo dadoum’e po edna.
 DAT everybody.M.SG.OBL give.AOR.1.PL each one.F.SG
 ‘We gave everybody one each.’ (Sobolev 2005: 136)

Therefore, clitic doubling is generally possible in the southwestern dialect of Gega although definiteness and sentence-initial position do influence its occurrences. On the other hand, in the northeastern dialect of Ravna, one of the Moesian dialects, clitic doubling is quite uncommon and its realization is strictly restricted to cases of definite direct objects.

In the next section, I will focus on the northeastern Moesian dialects to reveal the conditions necessary for the phenomenon to occur in the dialects from a typological perspective.

4. Clitic Doubling in the Moesian Dialects

4.1. The Moesian Dialects

The main focus of this section is the Moesian dialects. Moesian dialects can be further divided

into the Greben, Razgrad and Shumen subdialects. The distribution of the Moesian subdialects are shown in map 7 (Kočev 1969: 7). Data from all of these subdialects will be analyzed.



**Map 7: The subdialects of the Moesian dialects and their distribution
(Kočev 1969: 7)**

Examples of clitic doubling used for analysis are quoted from the following sources.

- a) Data from the website “Bulgarian Dialectology as a Living Tradition”⁷
Names of villages: Garvan (Greben), Srebarna (Greben), Drjanovec (Razgrad),
Petrov Dol (Shumen/Särt)
- b) Data collected by the author during fieldwork in the villages of the province of Silistra
in August 2015
Names of Villages: Kalipetrovo (Greben), Popina (Greben)

4.2. Typology

The universal hierarchy of topicality by Givón (1976: 152) will be adopted for my analysis. From a typological perspective, the likelihood of various noun phrases arguments being the topics of sentences is suggested as in (4). (Givón 1976: 152).

- (4) a. HUMAN > NON-HUMAN
- b. DEFINITE > INDEFINITE
- c. DATIVE > ACCUSATIVE
- d. 1st PERSON > 2nd PERSON > 3rd PERSON

According to Givón (1976), while (4a) reflects the “ego/anthropocentric” nature of discourse, (4b) is related to old information being the topic and new information being the assertion. As for (4c), datives very often have a human component. Finally, the “ego-centric” character of discourse is reflected in (4d).

Such a universal hierarchy of topicality is obviously related to the general characteristics found in the mechanism of clitic doubling in the Balkan languages, which were first revealed by Lopašov (1978: 56–58). Asenova (2002: 110) listed them based on Lopašov’s findings as follows:

- (5) a. Objects with definite articles are most frequently clitic-doubled.
- b. Preverbal objects are clitic-doubled more often than postverbal ones.
- c. Clitic doubling of personal pronouns is most typical.
- d. Indirect objects are clitic-doubled more often than direct objects.
- e. Objects which are not definite cannot be clitic-doubled.

(5a), (5c), and (5e) are related to definiteness and are therefore connected to (4b) in the universal hierarchy of topicality. As for (5c), it is related to (4a), and (5d) is the same as (4c). In addition to these, we can also take (5b) into consideration, although it does not have a direct counterpart in Givón’s hierarchy. Let us recall that the characteristics, except for (5c) and (5d), are also found in the status of clitic doubling in the Gega and Gela dialects according to the dialectological maps shown in the previous section.

In the following section, the above-mentioned hierarchy will be used to analyze the data of the Moesian dialects.

4.3. Analysis

To begin, let us recall that, according to dialectological map 1, definite direct objects can be clitic-doubled in the Moesian dialects. My data also reveal that clitic doubling of definite direct objects is most typically observed. The following in (6) are some examples:

- (6) a. Vālnāťā jā parim.
 wool-the.F.SG it.F.SG.ACC.CL scald.PRS.1.PL
 ‘We scald the wool.’ (BDLT_Srebärna 2: 44)
- b. Bulkāťā jā vrāšťāt nā tejkutu i majkātā.
 bride-the.F.SG she-F.SG return-PRS.3.PL to father-the and mother-the
 ‘They send the bride back to her father and mother.’ (BDLT_Garvan 1: 157)
- c. Žetvāta jā prajm’e.
 harvest-the.F.SG it.F.SG.ACC.CL do-PRS.1.PL
 ‘We harvest [the crop].’ (BDLT_Petrov Dol 3: 1)
- d. A pāk dribn’it’i mamā gi rāspr’edili
 but as_for small-the.PL mom they.ACC.CL distribute-AOR.3.SG
 nā vsičkiti s’etni...
 to all-the.PL later
 ‘But as for the small ones, mom gave them to [us] all later.’
 (150709_001_Popina: 26.50)

In these examples, direct objects in the preverbal position are clitic-doubled. It turns out, however, that direct objects in the postverbal position may also be clitic-doubled, as shown by the following examples in (7).

- (7) a. Sridžeš jā tās ufcā.
 shear.PRS.2.SG it.F.SG.ACC.CL this.F.SG sheep.F.SG
 ‘You shear this sheep.’ (BDLT_Srebärna 2: 53)
- b. As ni gu znaew tuj n’eštu.
 I.NOM NEG it.N.SG.ACC.CL know.IMPF.1.SG this.N.SG thing.N.SG
 ‘I didn’t know that.’ (BDLT_Drjanovec 1: 14)
- c. Šā gu zāmnīš li Canku.
 FUT he.M.SG.ACC.CL take.PRS.2.SG Q Canko
 ‘Will you take Canko [as a bridegroom]?’ (BDLT_Drjanovec 2: 52)
- d. Toj gi potkukurosal i dv’ečkit’e.
 he.NOM they.ACC.CL incite.EVID.AOR.M.SG both two-the.PL
 ‘He incited both of them.’ (150709_003_Popina: 6.29)

It should be noted that all the clitic-doubled objects in (7) are definite; clitic doubling of indefinite direct objects is not observed. Thus, it is possible to assume that in Moesian dialects,

Moesian dialects, although this is more common with direct objects. In addition, it is worth noting that such morphosyntactic features as “na-drop” and Hanging Topic are also present.

Regarding the hierarchy comprising the non-clitic personal pronouns (5c), Moesian dialects apparently deviate from typical characteristics; only a few examples of such clitic doubling constructions can be observed. In my data, except the above-mentioned two examples (8b) and (8c), only the following three examples in (9) can be found.

- (9) a. To gu dawăș nă majstur.
 it.N.SG it.N.SG.ACC.CL give.PRS.2.SG to master_craftsman
 ‘You give it to a master craftsman.’ (BDLT_Garvan 1: 20)
- b. Ni mă dawăt m’ene.
 NEG I.ACC.CL give.PRS.3.PL I.ACC
 ‘[They] don’t give me.’ (150709_001_Popina: 1.02.22)
- c. N’amă gu zăbrajă i negu.
 FUT.NEG he.ACC.CL forget.PRS.1.SG also he.ACC.CL
 ‘I will not forget him, either.’ (150709_003_Popina: 8.45)

Thus, clitic doubling of personal pronouns indeed occurs in Moesian dialects, but with more restrictions regarding definite full noun phrases.

In my data, there is one example of grammaticalized clitic doubling, which is seen in (10).

- (10) (=8c) Garvan # as mnogu mi hăresvă...
 Garvan I.NOM very_much I.DAT.CL like-PRS.3.SG
 ‘Garvan, I like [it] very much.’ (150709_003_Popina: 61.12)

It can therefore be asserted that predicates for psychological states with a dative experiencer require clitic doubling in Moesian dialects. This piece of data, of course, is not enough to prove whether the doubling is obligatory, but it is significant that there is indeed such an example, because there are some Bulgarian dialects in which such grammaticalized doubling is absent (cf. Krapova and Tiševa 2006, Tiševa and Krapova 2009, etc.).⁹

Finally, in my data, there are no examples in which indefinite objects are clitic-doubled, as dialectological maps 3, 4 and 6 illustrate. This is suggestive in that the phenomenon is closely related to the notion of topicality, because definite noun phrases are more likely to be the topic of sentences than indefinite ones, as shown in the universal hierarchy of topicality.

5. Conclusion

One of the most typical Balkanisms, clitic doubling of objects, is not a unified phenomenon across the Bulgarian dialect continuum, but instead varies in its manifestation between the southwestern and northeastern dialects. In the northeastern Moesian dialects, the realization of clitic doubling is considerably restricted compared to the southwestern Gela dialects, which are located closer to the center of Balkanisms¹⁰ (cf. Lindstedt 2000: 234, Asenova 2002: 17, etc.). The reason for this areal difference “can be sought at least in part in the complexity of language contact” (Friedman 1994: 109) because northeastern Bulgaria was previously less densely populated compared to the southwestern area.

As a result of the analyses performed in my research using both the dialectological atlas by Sobolev (2005) and the oral data of the northeastern Moesian dialects, it can be asserted that clitic doubling in the Moesian dialects is observed most frequently when the definite direct object is situated in the preverbal position. While indefinite direct objects may also be clitic-doubled in southwestern Bulgarian dialects (cf. map 3), in the northeastern Moesian dialects the realization of clitic doubling is strictly restricted to the case in which the direct objects are definite. Moreover, contrary to the data shown in the dialectological maps 5 and 6, I confirmed that indirect objects can also be clitic-doubled in the Moesian dialects as long as they are definite, as seen in the example (8). Thus, it is possible to assume that definiteness should be considered the most important factor in the realization of clitic doubling in the Moesian dialects.

In conclusion, clitic doubling of objects in the Bulgarian dialects is definitely a discourse-bound phenomenon in general and it can thus be regarded as a pragmatic device with a topic marking function, especially in the northeastern Moesian dialects, in which definiteness is an inevitable condition for the clitic doubling to occur.

Finally, it is certainly necessary to confirm the findings of this research in the future by performing statistical analyses based on more abundant data related to the Moesian dialects, as well as the other Bulgarian dialects.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	N	neuter
AOR	aorist	NEG	negation marker
CL	clitic	NOM	nominative
DAT	dative	OBL	oblique case
EVID	evidential	PL	plural
F	feminine	PRS	present tense
FUT	future tense marker	Q	question marker
IMPF	imperfect tense	SG	singular
M	masculine	SMP	subordinating modal particle

Notes

- ¹ I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their suggestions and comments, which helped me improve the manuscript. I would also like to express my appreciation to Profs. Miloradović and Nomachi for their insightful comments during and after the panel session, held at the annual meeting of the Japan Society for the Study of Slavic Languages and Literatures on 29.03.2018. I am also grateful to Prof. Sobolev for permitting my use of the dialectological maps from ‘A Small Dialectological Atlas of the Balkan Languages.’
- ² In the examples, both clitic pronouns and coreferent clitic-doubled objects are underlined.
- ³ Grammaticalization is defined as “a process leading from lexical to grammatical and from grammatical to more grammatical forms.” (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 14) Grammaticalization of clitic doubling involves desemanticization and decategorialization of pronominal clitics in particular, which will eventually be reanalyzed as a grammatical marker of coreferential objects. Thus, grammaticalization of doubling can be understood as a process in which pronominal clitics acquire the grammatical function of marking its coreferential object.
- ⁴ I consider it optional because examples both with and without clitic-doubled objects are provided: P’ ismotu gu poľučiu... (Sobolev 2005: 92) and P’ ismotu poľučiu... (Sobolev 2005: 112).
- ⁵ () denotes that the words inside are optional.
- ⁶ The fact that the Gela dialect disallows doubling of indirect objects regardless of their classification as either definite or indefinite may be explained by the relatively restricted realization of grammaticalized doubling in Rhodope dialects. Krapova and Tiševa (2006: 418), for instance, argue that doubling “is not completely absent, but is either considerably restricted or used as an alternative strategy” in Rhodope dialects.
- ⁷ <http://bulgariandialectology.org/>
- ⁸ As Rudin (1986: 34), for example, points out, an intonational break (marked by # in this article) is one of the distinguishing features of this type of construction. See also Tiševa (2014: 52).

- ⁹ According to Krapova and Tiševa (2006: 419–420), these are the Northwestern, Southwestern, Rhodope, and Thracian dialects.
- ¹⁰ The situation of the Serbian southeastern dialects is also worth noting as, according to Selishchev (1918: 252–253), for example, the use of the phenomenon is more restricted because only personal pronouns can be clitic-doubled (cf. Friedman 2008: 46–47; Krapova 2016: 52–53). This fact also indicates that the center of the Balkanisms lies in Southwestern Macedonia and with movement away from the center, the realization of the clitic doubling becomes more restricted in some ways.

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Разпространение на удвояването на допълнението в българските диалекти, с особен оглед към мизийските говори

Кента Суган

Удвояването на допълнението се смята за един от най-характерните балканизми и се наблюдава във всички български диалекти. Целта на настоящата статия е да се изяснят употребата и условията за реализиране на удвояването в мизийските диалекти, разпространени в Североизточна България. За да постигнем тази цел, първо проучихме разпространението на удвояването между диалектите, като използвахме „Малый диалектологический атлас балканских языков“ под редакция на проф. Соболев. След това анализирахме морфосинтактичните характеристики на въпросното явление в мизийските диалекти от типологична гледна точка, въз основа на диалектните материали, събрани от автора по време на теренно проучване през 2015 г., както и материали от сайта на българската диалектология „Bulgarian Dialectology as Living Tradition“.

Вследствие на анализите се изясни, че съществува известна разлика при реализиране на удвояването между югозападните и североизточните диалекти. В мизийските диалекти въпросното явление се среща много рядко и реализирането му е обусловено от прагматични фактори, като най-често се среща, когато прякото определено допълнение стои в предглаголна позиция. От това следва да изтъкнем, че удвояването на допълнението в мизийските диалекти може да се смята за прагматично зависимо явление, което изпълнява функцията маркер на топик на изречението.