

Notice! The pragmatic basis for object reduplication in Albanian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian

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A significant feature shared among many languages in the Balkan Sprachbund is the use of weak resumptive pronouns to reduplicate substantive direct and indirect objects, although the rules differ from language to language. There is strong evidence suggesting that this morphosyntactic phenomenon has spread through the region by means of language contact, beginning as a pragmatic feature and subsequently becoming integrated into grammatical structures (Friedman 2008). Motivated by such a shared origin, this article incorporates the most recent, but differing, accounts of object reduplication in Albanian (Kallulli 1999), Macedonian (Petroska 2007), and Bulgarian (Leafgren 2004) into a single framework that unifies grammatical and pragmatic factors in providing an account of substantive object reduplication in these three languages. The distribution of reduplicating clitics is predicted through a combination of definiteness, directness, register, Vallduví's (1993) information structure categories of Focus and Ground, and Ionin's (2006) information status category of noteworthiness. Noteworthiness especially proves crucial in accounting the facultative reduplication of indefinite substantives in Balkan languages with higher degrees of grammatical integration of object reduplication. The synchronic motivations for this unusual, but attested variety of object reduplication are rendered compatible with their conjectured diachronic origins by giving conversational context a determining role in the feature's use. This illustrates the vital role that pragmatics can play in predicting the usage of grammatical structures that have arisen through language contact.

1. Introduction. Linguists have come to recognize that crucial distinctions made by languages' syntactic, morphological, and phonological structures cannot be reconciled into a universal theory of language without analyzing the context in which these distinctions appear: discourse (Steedman & Kruijff-Korbayová 2001). Throughout a discourse, the organization of individual utterances cues shifts in the background knowledge shared between speakers, allowing them to communicate efficiently. Speakers do not merely provide Hearers new information—they also provide Hearers with instructions about how to incorporate that information into the knowledge store. The position of information relative to the knowledge store has been referred to as INFORMATION STATUS, and the 'instructions' which tell speakers how to update the store with new information as INFORMATION PACKAGING. Information packaging can be accomplished, for example, through distinctions in tonal contour, as in English (Pierrehumbert & Hirschberg 1990), through choice of subject- or object-marking affix, as in Japanese (Kuroda 1965), or through the syntactic arrangement of 'free word order' languages, as in Finnish (Vallduví & Vilkuna 1998). Such a variety of manifestations suggests that information packaging must be incorporated into any comprehensive theory of language. However, information packaging has a complex relationship with the status of information in a discourse, not deterministic but also not wholly independent. This has made its analysis problematic compared to relational structures whose properties can be isolated in self-contained, 'context-free' systems of interdependence, the sort of systems often examined in studies of syntax and semantics. Even relatively common varieties of information packaging such as definite and indefinite articles have proven resistant to broad, predictive, and theoretically consistent accounts of their behavior (Abbott 2004). Because of these difficulties, information packaging has often been relegated to what Bar-Hilel (1971) called

the ‘pragmatic wastebasket,’ a nebulous domain of often-divergent phenomena that are not readily amenable to the standard tools of syntactic or semantic theory.

The challenge of rummaging through the pragmatic wastebasket, however, is worth the increased predictive and explanatory power yielded from what may be found there. Some fundamental components of languages’ grammars, and by implication of language in general, may be inalienable from discursive context. In recognition of this, I will draw evidence from pragmatics to account for a morphosyntactic phenomenon, known in Balkan linguistic literature as OBJECT REDUPLICATION, in Albanian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian (hereafter referred to as ‘AMB’ when the three languages are taken as a group). I will argue that object reduplication across AMB, previously accounted for in each individual language by differing frameworks, can be accounted for by a single set of five determining factors, including the information status feature of NOTEWORTHINESS developed by Ionin (2006). The discourse-dependent nature of noteworthiness and its presence among the determining factors of object reduplication in all three languages considered here confirms and builds upon a previously argued position (Kazazis & Pentheroudakis 1976; Buchholz & Fiedler 1987; Leafgren 1992; Guentchéva 1993: *inter alia*) that Balkan object reduplication is a form of information packaging and impossible to account for without considering discourse.

I will begin my argument by giving rough guidelines for object reduplication in AMB to show how these languages compare to one another in terms of the phenomenon’s behavior. I will cite evidence that object reduplication developed in AMB through long-term language contact, beginning as a pragmatic device for structuring conversation in a multilingual society and subsequently becoming integrated into the grammars of Balkan languages to varying degrees. This

suggests that the underlying structural aims of object reduplication in AMB are similar across these languages, making it worthwhile to consider this morphosyntactic pattern as a unitary phenomenon. In the next section, I will summarize approaches to object reduplication developed by Kallulli (1995; 1999; 2001), Petroska (2007), and Leafgren (2002) for Albanian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian, respectively. I will show that, while each analysis successfully accounts for object reduplication within the individual language, the analyses are not mutually compatible with one another due to terminological and conceptual differences. Moreover, some ambiguities remain in each account in regards to indefinite object reduplication. In section four, I will argue that Kallulli, Petroska, and Leafgren's analyses can be unified under a single model that incorporates Vallduví's (1993) basic units of information packaging FOCUS and GROUND and Ionin's information status feature of NOTEWORTHINESS. The advantages of this unified approach are that it accounts for discrepancies in the interpretation of reduplicated indefinite objects in Kallulli's data, it makes predictions about the acceptable circumstances for reduplicating non-specific, indefinite, direct objects in Macedonian and Bulgarian, and it accommodates evidence that focus marking and topic marking are simultaneously present on some reduplicated constituents in Leafgren's data. I will illustrate the model with flow charts that show the similarities and differences in how AMB correlate Focus/Ground, noteworthiness, definiteness, directness, and register with the presence or absence of an object-reduplicating clitic. In my conclusion, I will discuss the implications of my unified analysis for the interface between referential and relational structures of language and speculate as to how my account may be expanded to incorporate other languages of the Balkan Sprachbund.

2. Object reduplication in AMB. AMB share several morphosyntactic features with other Balkan languages. One of these is called BALKAN OBJECT REDUPLICATION, which Friedman (2006: 662) defines as ‘the use of clitics or weak resumptive object pronouns that agree in gender, number, and case with the nonclitic/strong pronoun or substantive they refer to.’ Reduplicating clitics are attested in other languages both Balkan—such as Greek and Romanian—and non-Balkan—such as French and Catalan. Here a distinction should be drawn between ‘Balkan languages’—languages in the Balkans that share significant features because of participation in long-term, complex multilingualism—and ‘languages in the Balkans’—languages spoken in the geographical area of the Balkans but only weakly or not at all participant in Balkan multilingualism (Friedman 2006). AMB are Balkan languages proper, and their form of object reduplication is distinguishable from other varieties throughout the world’s languages for the breadth of circumstances in which reduplication is not just an option, but a necessity. The unique qualities of this morphosyntactic phenomenon, in addition to its shared status among languages from divergent branches whose grammars have famously converged, has lead linguists who study the area to give it the particular name of Balkan object reduplication.

Both substantive and pronominal objects are reduplicated in AMB and interesting observations can be made about the differences among AMB in pronominal reduplication, but for lack of adequate space, this paper will consider primarily substantives. Object reduplication in the Balkans does not involve syntactic dislocation, which differentiates it from structures observed in non-Balkan Romance languages such as French or Catalan that bear a surface resemblance (Sandfeld 1930). One may give the extremely rough characterization of Balkan object reduplication that definite substantive objects are reduplicated. However, both prescriptive

standards and spoken realities stray considerably from this rule. According to the Standard Albanian norm, indirect objects are always reduplicated and direct objects are reduplicated if their referents are ‘known to the audience’ (Newmark et al. 1982: 27), a condition that usually corresponds to definiteness in the object, but need not always. The Macedonian norm likewise prescribes the reduplication of all indirect objects and sets definiteness as the general condition for the reduplication of direct objects (Koneski 1967: 335). Yet the reduplication of indefinite direct objects is well-attested in the colloquial language, and occasionally in the literary language (Friedman 2008). Moreover, indirect objects WITHOUT reduplication appear (Petroska 2007). These exceptions to the norm are restricted to certain contexts, even for speakers who accept deviations from the norm. The situation in Bulgarian is even more complex. Reduplication is discouraged in the literary language. Reduplicating clitics are associated with western dialects closer to the border with Macedonia and appear less frequently the farther one moves east (Popov 1963; 1973; Popov et al. 1983). Thus reduplication cannot be described as integrated into the grammar of Bulgarian to the same extent as in Albanian or Macedonian, though some prescriptive accounts demand it in differing contexts. Thus, for example, Popov (1973: 183) and Manolova (1974: 165) state that objects fronted to preverbal position must be reduplicated in the literary language in order to disambiguate case relations, while the 1984 Academy grammar [see the account in my 2008 article]. However, numerous authors have pointed out that case disambiguation may be a side effect of, rather than a motivator for reduplication (c.f. Rudin 1986; Dyer 1992; Friedman 2000). Facultative reduplication of non-fronted objects (which, since they are in their ‘neutral’ syntactic position, should not require disambiguation) is widespread in colloquial Bulgarian and amply attested in the conversational corpus collected by Aleksova

(2000). Even in the literary language, reduplication of non-fronted, often definite objects is frequently attested in quoted dialog (Leafgren 2002: 110). This suggests that, if case disambiguation is a motivation for Bulgarian object reduplication, it is not the only motivation. Leafgren asserts that object reduplication is a matter of speaker choice and dialect, but that at every register, the conditions for reduplication are the same and may be roughly characterized as ‘aboutness.’ Aboutness correlates with definiteness in that a Hearer generally must be familiar with, or at least be able to infer, the referent that a Speaker is constructing a sentence ‘about.’ Bolinger (1977) proposed familiarity, or *KNOWNNESS*, as a necessary condition for definiteness, and Prince (1992) extended this to include *INFERRABLES* that can be accommodated into familiarity. This may go some way to explaining the prevalence, although by no means dominance, of definite substantives among conversational Bulgarian object reduplication (Leafgren 2002). Thus although we find a prevailing tendency toward the reduplication of definites among substantive objects in AMB, factors associated with, but different from definiteness must also be at work. As I noted, the spoken forms of AMB often diverge from the literary standard in regards to object reduplication, so the colloquial language will play a vital role in uncovering determiners of object reduplication that may not be sanctioned by prescriptive authorities, but feature among the communicative toolset of a typical speaker.

Given that the rules governing object reduplication are clearly not identical across AMB, it is worth asking whether the differences are enough to advise against seeking a unified model for the phenomenon. I argue that what speaks for an inclusive approach to AMB object reduplication is the context of its development. AMB belong to the core of one of the most famous contact zones in linguistics: the Balkan Sprachbund. Diachronic and comparative

evidence suggests that object reduplication did not arise independently in AMB, or at least that the current state was influenced by diffusion (Lopašov 1978). While AMB each rely upon their own inherited resources to integrate object reduplication into their grammars, the transmission of such a morphosyntactic feature is possible even without lexical borrowing, as it is precisely the sort of shallow structure amenable to contact-induced spread (Joseph 2001). Moreover, the geographic distribution of Balkan object reduplication suggests that this feature began as a pragmatic device (Friedman 2008). The degree to which object reduplication is integrated into the grammar of a Balkan language's dialect is related more to the dialect's areal position than to its genealogical affiliation. The center of grammatical integration of object reduplication is in southwestern Macedonia, which was the most intense zone of multilingualism in the Ottoman Empire. Facultativity increases as one examines languages (and more importantly, dialects) more distant from this center, whether speaking of Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance, or Albanian (Friedman 2008: 36).¹ This sort of distribution, combined with earlier attested phases of the respective languages, indicates that object reduplication must have been initially facultative in all the Balkan languages that now possess it, and this is in accordance with the hypothesis of its origin as a pragmatic device. Object reduplication is only one of several classic Balkanisms that appear to have begun as ways of structuring conversation and to have later become more grammatical, losing aspects of their facultativity (Friedman 1994). The shared origin of object reduplication in AMB as a pragmatic device not only justifies attempting to characterize Balkan object reduplication as a unitary phenomenon with one set of determiners across the participating languages, but also suggests that some aspect of discourse context would be likely to feature among the phenomenon's determiners to this day. Indeed, I will argue that this pragmatics was the original determiner of Balkan object reduplication and that current determiners are derivable

from the phenomenon's original function as a conversation structuring device.

3. Three models of Balkan object reduplication. Having given an overview of object reduplication in AMB, I will continue to the particulars. For each of these languages, I take a model that has successfully explained its object behavior. For Albanian, I will use Kallulli's (1995; 1999; 2001) model on the basis of semantic focus. For Macedonian, I will use Petroska's (2007) model on the basis of focus and information status. For Bulgarian, I will use Leafgren's (2002) model on the basis of explicitness and aboutness. I will compare the models to one another and show where inconsistencies or incompatibilities occur. This will act as a bridge into my proposal for a unified account that uses Vallduví's (1993) Focus and Ground and Ionin's (2006) noteworthiness to incorporate the evidence from all three languages.

3.1 Albanian. Indirect substantive objects in Standard Albanian must be doubled under all circumstances, but the language allows more flexibility with direct objects.² Thus, both sentences in the following example are grammatical:

- (1) a. *Xhon-i* *e* *lexoi* *libr-in.*
 John-NOM.DEF it.ACC he.read book-ACC.DEF
 'John read the book.'
- b. *Xhon-i* *lexoi* *libr-in.*
 John-NOM.DEF he.read book-ACC.DEF
 'John read THE BOOK.'

While 1a and 1b are both permissible, they are not freely interchangeable. The small-caps of the object in 1b shows that *librin* 'the book.ACC' is the semantic focus of the sentence—that

is to say, it is new information specifically highlighted as such by the sentence structure and intonation. It appears that a definite direct object fails to reduplicate when it is the semantic focus. This can be confirmed by testing with interrogatives. According to Kallulli (2001: 133), sentences 1a and 1b may serve as answers to only a subset of the focus-eliciting questions in 2-4:

(2) *Çfarë lexoi Xhon-i?*
 what he.read John-NOM.DEF

'What did John read?'

(3) *Çfarë bëri Xhon-i?*
 what he.did John-NOM.DEF

'What did John do?'

(4) *Kush e lexoi librin?*
 who.NOM it.ACC he.read the.book.ACC.DEF

'Who read the book?'

Example 2 asks the Hearer to fill in the direct object of the sentence. A natural reply to the question in 2 is simply the information sought: *Librin* 'the.book.ACC.DEF'. However, if a Hearer chooses to reply with a full sentence to 2, Kallulli observes that only the sentence in 1b, without a reduplicating clitic can answer "What did John read?".³ The sentence WITH a reduplicating clitic, 1a, is an ungrammatical answer to 2. Example 1a can only answer the question in 4, where the SUBJECT is the information sought after. This shows that the absence of a direct object-reduplicating clitic corresponds to a definite, direct object in focus. Example 1a is also ungrammatical as an answer to 3, even though it is the overarching VP rather than object DP itself that is in focus. The question "What did John do?" demands new information encompassing the

full predicate: *lexoi librin* ‘he.read the.book.ACC.DEF.’ In this case, *librin* falls under the domain of the focus, but only as a part of the predicate unit. The requirement that 1b answer both 2 and 3 shows that the lack of a reduplicating clitic in of itself does not ASSIGN focus to the direct object. Rather, its absence implies focus somehow encompassing the direct object. Given the symmetries of focus assignment with clitics involved here, it appears that the presence of a reduplicating clitic is what requires more narrow conditions.

Kallulli concludes from this evidence that the Albanian object reduplication has a defocusing effect and that an object in the domain of semantic focus is incompatible with reduplication (Kallulli 1999: 25). This explains why only 4 allows an answer of 1a, with a reduplicating clitic. Since the object of the predicate is specifically NOT a portion of the new information sought in 4, it can be marked by a reduplicating clitic. Here it is worth highlighting that when the object of the predicate or the predicate as a whole IS the new information sought, the interrogative *çfarë* that fills in for this requested information is not reduplicated. If we compare the direct object-eliciting questions in 2 and 3 to a indirect object-eliciting question in the following example, we find an important distinction in this regard.

- (5) *Kujt ia lexoi Xhon-i libr-in?*
 who.DAT him/her.DAT.it.ACC he.read John-NOM.DEF book-ACC.DEF
 'Who did John read the book to?'

In 5, the pronoun *kujt* ‘who.DAT’ must be reduplicated, since it is an indirect object and all explicit indirect objects are reduplicated in Albanian. It appears that this rule applies whether the indirect object is the semantic focus or not. The same requirement does not apply to direct objects. Since interrogatives are generally considered to be focused by nature (in that they mark

requests for new information), a reduplicating clitic is incompatible with *çfarë* ‘what’. This accords with Kallulli’s interpretation of the reduplicating clitic as a morpheme with a defocusing effect.

The behavior of direct objects marked by *vetëm* ‘only’ and *edhe* ‘even’ lends further support to Kallulli’s account.

- (6) a. *Pap-a* *e* *vizitoi* *Tiran-ën*
 pope-NOM.DEF it.ACC he.visited Tirana-ACC.DEF
 ‘The Pope visited Tirana.’
- b. *Pap-a* *vizitoi* *vetëm/edhe* *Tiran-ën*
 pope-NOM.DEF he.visited only/also Tirana-ACC.DEF
 ‘The Pope visited only TIRANA.’ / ‘The Pope even visited TIRANA.’

As shown in 6b, the direct objects are not reduplicated. This follows from Kallulli’s theory, since both *vetëm* and *edhe* bring the nouns they modify into semantic focus and thus block the defocusing action of the Albanian direct object clitic. It is important to note here that Kallulli’s theory speaks only for the incompatibility of SEMANTIC focus with direct object-reduplicating clitics (1999: 25). Contrastive focus or psychological focus do not affect reduplication (refer to §3.3 and 4.1 for what differentiates these forms of focus from semantic focus). By positing direct object clitics as defocusers, Kallulli accounts for the full behavior of clitic reduplication in Albanian.

But something puzzling remains in Kallulli’s explanation. As shown in 7b, indefinite, direct objects can optionally undergo reduplication.

- (7) a. *Ben-i* *do* *të* *shohë* *një film.*

Ben-NOM.DEF he.wants SUB he.sees a film-ACC

'Ben wants to/will see a film.'⁴

b. *Ben-i do t-a shohë një film.*

Ben-NOM.DEF he.wants SUB-it.ACC he.sees a film.ACC

'Ben wants to/will see a film.'

Examples 7a and 7b are both grammatically permissible and structurally identical in all respects except for the presence or absence of a reduplicating clitic to correspond to the indefinite, direct object. Regarding indefinite substantives, which may be either accompanied by an indefinite article *një* or bare, Kallulli argues that the indefinite article-headed DPs are UNMARKED for specificity. They may be either specific or nonspecific depending on the context. In contrast, the bare indefinite substantive, without *një*, is MARKED for NONspecificity (Kallulli 1995: 68). Kallulli asserts that a bare indefinite cannot be reduplicated because direct object clitics are 'incompatible with nonspecificity.' The clitic pronoun cannot designate an individual referent when the speaker has no referent that could be individuated in mind. Yet Kallulli also argues that a reduplicating clitic does not force a specific reading on an indefinite article-headed DP (Kallulli 1995: 80). This seems to be a contradiction. It would also lead to exactly equivalent meanings for the unreduplicated 2a and the reduplicated 2b (indeed, her translation of the two sentences is the same). Friedman (personal communication) disagrees with her translation, asserting that there is a difference in meaning between the two sentences and that a reduplicating clitic forces a specific reading indefinite DPs (Friedman 2008). These conflicting impressions of the function of an indefinite reduplicating clitic in Albanian remain to be reconciled, and their relationship to the facts observed for definite, direct objects remains unclear.

To summarize, Kallulli argues that direct object-reduplicating clitics are defocusers that are incompatible with nonspecific readings. But she does not posit a difference between reduplicated and unreduplicated indefinite, direct objects, which seems to contradict her assertion that reduplicating clitics and nonspecificity in the direct object are incompatible.

3.2 Macedonian. In Macedonian, as in Albanian, oblique long-form pronouns used as direct objects are reduplicated in all contexts. But in contrast to Albanian, definite, direct substantive objects are also reduplicated in all contexts. There is no grammatical equivalent in the standard Macedonian language to Albanian's 1b. Even an explicit focus marker like *i* 'and', the Macedonian equivalent to Albanian's *edhe*, does not overrule the imperative to reduplicate definite, direct objects. Nonetheless, focus still has an effect on the Macedonian system of object reduplication. Where Albanian reduplicates indirect objects irrespective of definiteness or focus, Macedonian shows optionality. This optionality is confined to the colloquial language, but well-attested. The following sentences from Petroska (2007: 8) provide some examples:

- (8) a. *Profesor-ot im dade poddrška na studenti-te.*
 professor-DEF them.DAT he.gave support to students-DEF
 'The professor gave support to the students.' Or
 'It was THE STUDENTS that the professor gave support to.' (standard only)
- b. *Profesor-ot dade poddrška na studenti-te.* (colloquial only)
 professor-DEF he.gave support to students-DEF
 'It was THE STUDENTS that the professor gave support to.'
- c. *Profesor-ot (*im) dade poddrška na studenti.* (colloquial only)

professor.DEF he.gave support to students

‘The professor gave support to students.’ Or

‘It was STUDENTS that the professor gave support to.’

d. *Profesor-ot dade poddržka na edni studenti.* (coll. only)

professor-DEF he.gave support to some students

‘It was CERTAIN STUDENTS that the professor gave support to.’

e. *Profesor-ot im dade poddržka na edni studenti.*

professor.DEF them.DAT he.gave support to some students

‘The professor gave support to certain students.’ Or

‘It was CERTAIN STUDENTS that the professor gave support to.’ (standard only)

Standard Macedonian demands a reduplicating clitic for the indirect object regardless of its definiteness. But Petroska observes that colloquial Macedonian allows sentences without reduplication as in 8b-d. In 8b, the definite indirect object *na studentite* ‘to the students’ must be read as semantically focused due to the lack of reduplication. In contrast, the reduplicating construction *im . . . na studentite* in 8a may be read as either unfocused or focused, with a focused reading resulting from the standard’s insistence on reduplication regardless of focus status. Likewise, the focused reading of the unreduplicated indefinite indirect object in 8e is a result of the standard’s influence. The colloquial allows 8d, without reduplication, in which case the indefinite indirect object *na edni studenti* ‘to certain students’ is explicitly marked as focused. It is worth highlighting here that 8c, where there is no explicit indefinite article for the indirect object, is only grammatical without reduplication. There is no way of eliciting an unfocused reading for the bare indefinite *na studenti* without either violating the standard’s insistence on indefinite object reduplication or violating the colloquial’s association of an

unreduplicated object with focused reading.

The parallels with Albanian here are significant. Just as it is for Albanian DIRECT objects, object reduplication appears to have a defocusing effect for Macedonian INDIRECT objects, at least in the colloquial language. The effect is not as pervasive in Macedonian since the standard provides alternative readings for reduplicated and unreduplicated sentences that somewhat blunt the effect of reduplication on focus status. But object reduplication clearly plays a defocusing role in both Albanian and Macedonian.

There are further parallels between the two languages, but also some significant contrasts, when we look at the details of indefinite, direct object reduplication. Like Albanian, Macedonian allows the reduplication of these objects in the colloquial language.

(9) *Ja slušnav edna žena kako zboruva turski.* (Petroska 2007: 129)

her.ACC I.heard a woman how she.speaks Turkish

'I heard a (certain) woman speaking Turkish.'

Petroska observes that the reduplicated direct object of 9, edna žena, is incompatible with a focused reading. As with all other cases thus examined, it appears that object reduplication is closely associated with lack of semantic focus. As with 8e, the indefinite object in 9 can only undergo reduplication because it is headed by an indefinite article. Petroska asserts that edna žena is specific and that this specificity is engendered by the reduplication. Macedonian accords with Albanian in that the indefinite article is unmarked for specificity (Friedman 2003). Yet cases of semantically nonspecific reduplicated indefinites occur in Macedonian text corpora (Friedman 2008). Thus it appears that Macedonian parallels Albanian with a puzzling ambiguity about the specificity effect of reduplication on indefinite objects. As a further parallel, both languages have a prohibition against reduplicating a direct object marked for nonspecificity (that

is, an object lacking an article) in the postverbal position. Yet the languages differ on the acceptability of reduplicating a bare indefinite in preverbal position. While the reduplication of a substantive, indefinite, direct object without *një* is thought to be impermissible in Albanian, reduplication of a such objects lacking *eden* in Macedonian is attested, even in the literary language.⁵ For example, this sentence from Marko Cepenkov cited in the writings of Blaže Koneski (1967: 262), the standardizer of the Macedonian language who himself prescribed against bare indefinite object reduplication:

- (10) *Star čoek da go pregrnuvaš vo son [...] boles kje te fati.*⁶
 old person SUB him you.embrace in dream ... sickness FUT you.ACC it.gets
 'If you dream of embracing an old person, you'll get sick.'

Both context and the null determiner guarantee that *star čoek* is nonspecific. Yet the object is reduplicated. This calls into question the utility of specificity as a determiner of clitic reduplication in any regard. Whereas the impermissibility of bare indefinite object reduplication in Albanian might be explained by appealing to the incompatibility of a resumptive pronoun with a referent marked as nonspecific (the consequence of a null indefinite article), that explanation is not available for Macedonian. There is a clear contrast between the grammaticality of the reduplicating clitic in 10 and the nongrammaticality of a reduplicating clitic in 8c. An article does not appear to be a necessary condition for indefinite reduplication in Macedonian, but only if the object is in preverbal position. An integrated model of clitic reduplication across AMB would need to incorporate both the pattern of indefinite object reduplication in Albanian, where bare indefinite reduplication is outright ungrammatical, and the pattern in Macedonian, where bare indefinite reduplication appears possible, but not in all contexts. Even when an indefinite article IS available, it remains unclear what effect clitic reduplication has on specificity. Despite

these conflicts, it may be generally held that semantic focus plays a role in determining the acceptability of a reduplicating clitic in both Macedonian and Albanian—namely, among direct objects in Albanian, indirect objects in the Macedonian colloquial, and indefinite, direct objects in Macedonian overall, reduplication is incompatible with semantic focus.

3.3 Bulgarian. In such cases where they are used, do reduplicating clitics in Bulgarian obey the same patterns of usage as in Macedonian and Albanian? Leafgren’s account suggests that they may, but some work will be required to render the terminology used in his examination compatible with that used by Kallulli and Petroska.

As in Macedonian and Albanian, both definite and indefinite objects in Bulgarian undergo reduplication. This occurs whether or not the object is fronted to preverbal position, as demonstrated in the following example (Alexandrova 1997: 17).

- (11) *Uvažavat go edin učitel zaradi vseotdajnost-ta mu.*
 they.respect him.ACC a teacher due.to devotion-DEF his
 'A teacher is respected for his devotion.'

Alexandrova asserts that the indefinite in 11 can take either a specific or a generic interpretation. In other words, reduplication does not force a specific reading in Bulgarian. This matches the pattern seen in Albanian and Macedonian, but Alexandrova adds a caveat to this observation. She gives evidence that a reduplicating clitic’s associate “must introduce/induce reference to which the clitic relates” (Alexandrova 1997: 22). Objects reduplicated, even if nonspecific, must be accompanied by information that somehow narrows the scope of reference to something identifiable. Once again, the specificity effects of reduplicating clitics remain ambiguous and controversial, whether speaking of accounts for Albanian, Macedonian, or Bulgarian.

But in contrast to Kallulli and Petrovska, Leafgren does not base his analysis of Bulgarian clitic reduplication on semantic focus. Rather, he proposes that reduplication acts to topicalize objects. He argues that all reduplicated objects in his corpus—whether direct or indirect—are topics, although being a topicalized object does not guarantee reduplication. In other words, reduplication is not a necessary condition for topicalization, but topicalization is a necessary condition for reduplication. In speaking of topicalization, he relies on a definition of ‘topic’ that encompasses more than just ‘old information’ in a discourse (a common pragmatic approach to topichood) or the sentence-initial position (a common syntactic approach). Instead, Leafgren links topichood with ‘aboutness,’ which he uses to designate both discourse-themehood and clause-level topic. Discourse-level theme and clause-level topic do not necessarily have to match each other. Clause-level topic does not even have to match the topic of the sentence within which it is found, in cases of clause-level topics isolated within subordinate clauses. The specific point that a clause is ‘about’ does not necessarily need to be what the discourse at that moment is ‘about.’ Moreover, while discourse-themehood favors less explicitness (and by implication would favor the absence of reduplication), clause-level topichood favors greater explicitness. Leafgren (2002: 179) argues that ‘it appears that when language users wish to say something at the clause-level about a particular participant, they are more likely to signal this topicality (i.e. are more likely to reduplicate) when this clause-level aboutness is less in keeping with what the addressee would be lead to expect by the content and structure of the preceding discourse.’ Slightly over 60% of reduplicated objects in Leafgren’s data are clause-level topics, but not discourse-level themes. The other 40%, barring one citation, are what he calls ‘destabilized discourse topics,’ for which clause-level topichood would still surprise a hearer. Leafgren theorizes that the potential for surprise in the Hearer at the choice of a clause-level topic

encourages the Speaker to reduplicate for greater explicitness. Such mismatches may arise precisely because the clause-level topic for which the clause is providing new information may be a newly introduced referent itself, elaborated upon within the context of an overarching, differing discourse-level theme.

Leafgren maintains that his definition of topic not only allows Discourse-New and Hearer-New constituents to be topicalized, but also allows these topics to be marked as foci. An example of what he considers a focused topic follows (Leafgren 2002: 161).

(12) *I na tjax ne im e lek-o.*

also to them not them.DAT is easy-N

‘It’s not easy for THEM either.’

This is curious from a semantic or syntactic perspective, since topic and focus are supposed to be mutually incompatible. While constituting a minority, focused participants like na tjax ‘to them’ in 12 made up 37.6% of reduplicated (and thus topicalized) objects in four works of fiction Leafgren surveyed, putting to rest any notion that the collocation of his ‘focus’ and ‘topic’ is an isolated phenomenon. But in defining focus, he highlights qualitative rather than structural conditioners: ‘A focused element in a clause is one which, in the opinion of the speaker or writer, stands out semantically or pragmatically as contrastive, surprising, or in some other way deserving of special attention’ (Leafgren 2002: 23). Focus as strictly new or sought after information is not mentioned in this definition. Instead, focus is predicated on psychological prominence or contrast, which seems to correlate Leafgren’s concept of focus with what Gundel (Gundel 1999a) termed PSYCHOLOGICAL and CONTRASTIVE focus, both of which receive emphasis but neither of which has the same truth conditional effects as strictly semantic focus. While the collocation of topic and semantic focus would be problematic, it is possible for

topics to be contrastively or psychologically prominent (Lee 2006). Thus it appears that semantic foci are still incompatible with reduplication in Bulgarian, as in Macedonian and Albanian.

This could be a false appearance of concord, however. Leafgren is not using the same terminology as Petroska and Kallulli. He examines object reduplication from functional perspective, which is not, as he notes, incompatible with a generative perspective, but certainly differing in its emphasis. We cannot firmly conclude that Balkan object reduplication is affected the same way by ‘topic’ and ‘focus’ across AMB when our definitions of ‘topic’ and ‘focus’ remain disjointed across these languages. Moreover, Kallulli specifically argued for Albanian object reduplication as a grammatical phenomenon with a defocusing effect, not a topical zing effect. Petroska’s account accords with Kallulli’s. Considering the ambiguities of the terms ‘topic’ and ‘focus’ and whether they are oppositional or overlapping, it is not clear whether defocusing necessarily means topical zing.

A further comparison between Bulgarian and Macedonian and Albanian remains to be made. What is the status of indefinite object reduplication? Assuming reduplication is acceptable, it appears indefinite reduplication is also acceptable for a Bulgarian speaker. Moreover, bare indefinite reduplication is cited for direct objects both in Aleksova’s colloquial corpus and in formal written Bulgarian, although it appears to be exceedingly rare. Two examples follow from Leafgren (2002: 176) and Alexandrova (1997: 17).

(13) *Banan* *ne običa-m* *da go ja-m,* *taka banan*
 Banana not like-1SG.PRES SJT it.ACC eat-1SG.IMP such banana
 ‘I don’t like to eat banana, banana like that.’

(14) *Njama da (go) priem-at* *student bez preporāki*
 will-not SUB him accept-3PL.PRES student without references

‘A student will not be accepted without references.’

Here, not only does bare indefinite reduplication occur, but it also takes place postverbally. We now see a three-way contrast between AMB, with bare indefinite reduplication being prohibited, tolerated in preverbal position, and tolerated either preverbal or postverbal, respectively. As in Albanian and Macedonian, it appears that specificity is not directly affected by reduplication, with 13 and 14 both featuring reduplicated nonspecific objects.

I have now given the challenges facing a unified account of AMB object reduplication. Object reduplication appears strongly tied to the marking of a constituent as non-focused, but it remains to be seen whether ‘non-focused’ translates into the same semantic category across the accounts considered. Specificity also seems to be involved in object reduplication, but approaches to the specificity effects of reduplicating clitics offer contradictory evidence. Moreover, if AMB object reduplication is to be considered a phenomenon with a shared set of determiners, the differences among them in terms of indefinite reduplication will need to be accounted for.

4. Focus, Ground, and noteworthiness. All of the ambiguities and conflicts outlined above relate to the interaction of information packaging and information status with object reduplication. A unified approach to the informational component might address the differences in object reduplication usage among AMB while maintaining a sense that this phenomenon emerges from a shared origin of contact. I propose that Vallduví’s concepts of Focus and Ground and Ionin’s concept of noteworthiness will allow us to see AMB object reduplication as a phenomenon with a unitary set of determining conditions.

4.1 Focus and Ground. Vallduví (1993: 14) defines information packaging as ‘A small set of instructions with which the hearer is instructed by the speaker to retrieve the information carried by the sentence and enter it into his/her knowledge store.’ Information packaging is a purely relational way of structuring a sentence; it places sentence elements in relation to one another along an axis between new information and anchoring information. The packaging of information as ‘new’ to the Hearer and the actual status of information as ‘new’ in reference to the discourse may not match each other, implying that new information may be found among sentence elements packaged as ‘old’ or ‘anchoring.’ Nonetheless, it is reasonable to deduce that even new anchoring information must in some way already be ‘given’ in a discourse, whether that givenness is a result of prior mention or a result of derivability from the knowledge store (Gundel 1999a). A discourse, of course, does not necessarily have to be a conversation. A spoken monologue or a written series of utterances can also constitute a discourse. The peculiarities of written discourse can have corresponding effects on the types information packaging employed (Abbott 2000). For example, ‘first mention’ definites contradict the newness of a referent in the discourse by packaging it as given, and yet these are the most common variety of definites in some samples of written discourse (Prince 1992; Farkas 2002). Information packaging thus takes on an important role as both a correlate and a contrast to information status, with the two interacting in complex ways.⁷

Vallduví used the concept of information packaging to address the long held distinction between 'topic'/'focus,' 'theme'/'rheme,' 'topic'/'comment,' 'focus'/'background' and other terminology linguists have proposed for the intuitively sensed division of sentences into 'old' and 'new' (or 'more important' and 'less important') information. Working from the discourse semantic model of the Heim File Card System (Heim 1983), Vallduví developed his own model

of topic/focus arrangement in the sentence. In a tripartite hierarchy, he divided the sentence into FOCUS and GROUND, with the Ground further divided into the LINK and the TAIL. The division between Focus and Ground resembles the division between focus and background, with the Focus introducing new information into the discourse and the Ground instructing the hearer on how to anchor this information into the knowledge store. Focus, according to a Heim-style file card system, is the new information which is written on a card drawn from the knowledge store. The Link portion of the Ground designates the particular file card onto which a listener should record new information. As such, it acts as a 'pointer' or an 'address' for recording information. Vallduví posits that Links, if explicit, must always come sentence initial. This operationalizes the Link designation and avoids a description of 'topic' too vague to have predictive value. Links, though sentence initial, do not have to be singular. For example, both a subject and an object can be part of the Link, if what is being updated to their filecards is the relationship between them. In that case, they will both occur sentence initial. This position makes up one portion of Vallduví's Ground. The other portion, the Tail, provides information as to HOW the Hearer should record new information onto a given file card. It allows the Hearer to relate new information given by the Focus to other presupposed information in the Speaker's knowledge store. The Tail thus provides 'pointers' to other filecards in the Hearer's knowledge store that are relevant to the description of the Focus's relationship with the Link. Information in the Ground does not necessarily need to be 'old' (Discourse-New indefinites can occur in the Ground, for example), but what is important is that its occupants are not designated as the new information in the sentence and thus are accommodated as if they were old information (Lewis 1979). All sentences must include a Focus, but need not include either portion of the Ground if the way in which information should be stored is obvious from context.

Focus does not mean the same thing as the commonly used, collapsed term 'focus,' which can include both contrastive and semantic focus. As Gundel (1999a) observes, these two notions of focus are often conflated, but they have differing consequences for utterance truth conditions and the current center of the speaker's attention, which she refers to as the 'psychological focus.' While contrastive focus does not necessarily have to be new information, but always attracts psychological focus, semantic focus must be new information, but need not necessarily attract psychological focus. In Vallduví's model, contrastive focus may occupy any portion of the tripartite division of the sentence, and if it falls on an element in the Ground, it yields a contrastive topic (Jackendoff 1972; Lee 2006). However, semantic focus and Focus are identified must match.

Vallduví's definition of Focus and Ground can be used to encompass the disparate models of 'topic' and 'focus' employed for AMB. The limitations of Focus assignment correspond to the restrictions on reduplication of direct objects in Albanian as well as of indefinite, direct objects and all indirect objects in Macedonian. Since Focus is equivalent to semantic focus, and both Kallulli and Petroska demonstrated the incompatibilities between semantic focus and object reduplication in certain contexts in each language, it follows that an object-reduplicating clitic is also incompatible with Vallduví's Focus in these contexts. Utterance elements that are incompatible with the Focus must occupy the Ground. Elements in the Ground, however, may still be contrastively or psychologically focused, rendering Ground compatible with Leafgren's concept of 'aboutness.' In instructing a Hearer where and how to add information to the knowledge store, a Speaker tells the Hearer what the utterance is 'about.' Ground can also be organized at the clause level, matching Leafgren's emphasis on object reduplication marking clause-level topic rather than sentence-level topic or discourse-level theme. Thus across AMB a

strong association between object reduplication Grounding can be seen. Since Grounding is mutually incompatible with Focusing, this derives a strong association between lack of reduplication and Focusing. Other forms of information packaging may take precedence over these associations (for example, in Macedonian a direct object's definiteness overrules the incompatibility between Focus and a reduplicating clitic, yielding reduplicated objects in the Focus). However, in the absence of otherwise overruling imperatives, a reduplicating clitic marks an object as part of the Ground in AMB. This joins Leafgren's aboutness determiner with Petroska and Kallulli's semantic focus determiner under a single framework, overcoming one barrier toward a unified account of Balkan object reduplication.

However, while it is clear that reduplicated indefinite objects are marked as part of the Ground across AMB, they differ from definite objects in that their reduplication is always optional. A relational, information packaging model like Focus/Ground cannot handle the nuances of this facultative aspect of object reduplication. To explain the role of Speaker choice in certain kinds of AMB object reduplication without losing the ability to rule out infelicitous contexts, I will turn now to a referential property: NOTEWORTHINESS.

4.2 Noteworthiness. In her analysis of the indefinite, specific, referential *this* (hereafter *this_{ref}*) in such colloquial English expressions as 'Yesterday I saw this guy playing the piano with his feet!', Ionin (2006) relies on a particular notion of specificity which she terms noteworthiness. She develops this from the observation on usage of *this_{ref}* in Maclaran (1982: 90 cited in Ionin 2006) that '[*this_{ref}*] draws attention to the fact that the speaker has a particular referent in mind, about which further information may be given.' Particularly relevant is that the speaker can provide some noteworthy property in order to motivate the specificity of the *this_{ref}* DP. *This_{ref}*

highlights the noun it modifies, shifting the center of attention and bringing the referent into psychological focus. This attention-shifting is justified by new information modifying, accompanying, or following the *this_{ref}* DP, showing WHY the DP is worthy of note. If new information that cannot be derived from context is not provided about the referent to which *this_{ref}* has shifted attention, *this_{ref}* is not felicitous. Interestingly, the speaker does not have to know the exact referent of the *this_{ref}* DP at the time of utterance as long as the speaker can say SOMETHING about the unknown referent that justifies shifting attention onto it, as in the following example (Ionin 2006: §18a-b).

- (15) a. #Mary wants to see this new movie; I don't know which movie it is.
 b. Mary wants to see this new movie; I don't know which movie it is, but she's been all excited about seeing it for weeks now.

The felicity difference between 15a and 15b is determined by the speaker's ability to make a noteworthy comment about *this new movie* in 15b, even though the specific referent of *movie* is unknown. In other words, *movie* is not specific at initial mention. Rather, it BECOMES specific through the addition of new information that the speaker considers important (*she's been all excited about seeing it for weeks now*). *This_{ref}* marks *movie* as SPECIFIABLE for the purposes of giving further information. This is an important distinction between typical specificity and noteworthiness.

Another distinction is that a standard indefinite article a is acceptable as a replacement for *this_{ref}* in either sentence. Noteworthiness is a felicity condition, not a presupposition, and thus marking noteworthiness is always optional. Moreover, Ionin posits noteworthiness as a category that encompasses uniqueness: if a referent is unique, a Speaker must by implication be capable of listing various noteworthy properties about it. Uniqueness is widely (though controversially)

considered to be important for definiteness and a presupposition of definite article usage (Abbott 2004), so Ionin argues that since definite articles are more informative than *this_{ref}*, and since a noun in English cannot bear both a definite and an indefinite article, definites are preferred. Consequently, *this_{ref}* cannot be substituted for a definite article, even though definite nouns are also noteworthy by nature. Ionin proceeds to show that optional markers for noteworthiness exist in languages other than English, including Hebrew and Sissala. While these markers may not be directly equivalent to one another, in that other grammatical or pragmatic restrictions may affect the breadth of their application, they share noteworthiness as a necessary condition for usage. Through such examples as well as data about ESL speakers' performance on specificity-related tasks, Ionin determines that noteworthiness is a language universal that receives morphological expression crosslinguistically.

Given this explanation, indefinite object reduplication may be seen as a means of marking noteworthiness, playing a similar role to that of *this_{ref}* in English. As already established in §3.1-3.3, specificity distinctions cannot explain the occurrence of reduplicated indefinites in AMB, since nonspecific and bare indefinite objects undergo reduplication in Macedonian and Bulgarian. But such nonspecific, indefinite objects as well as their already specific counterparts must be noteworthy. If they are not at minimum SPECIFIABLE, or if they are specifiable but the Speaker fails to provide subsequent information to give them determined reference, reduplication is infelicitous (Friedman 2008). Recall that in 9, the information that justified the reduplication of *edna žena* was the focus of the sentence, *kako zboruva turski* 'speaking Turkish'. This is the noteworthy information that justifies marking *edna žena* as specific. Recall also that Friedman sensed a specific denotation for the reduplicated object in the Albanian of 7b even though Kallulli felt that from a strictly semantic perspective the DP *një film*

was nonspecific. The sensation of specificity is encouraged by the expectation that some comment about *një film* is about to follow that will justify marking it with a reduplicating clitic (which is a pronoun that demands a specific referent). In the Bulgarian colloquial corpus example of 13 and the artificial example of 14, the nonspecific DPs are followed by clarifying information which constitutes the most informative part of the sentence. While 14 is given without context, 13 occurs within an ongoing discussion of ‘bananas,’ making *banan* firmly a topic (Aleksova 2000). For good measure, *banan* is followed by a fully determined DP as a tag to the sentence, *taka banan*, reinforcing its specificity despite its initially nonspecific packaging. In all of these examples, the reduplication is optional and the sentences would be perfectly felicitous without it. This is exactly the data we would expect were object reduplication in AMB to be a noteworthiness marker.⁸

Given what we know about noteworthiness, it is now possible to treat the matter of bare indefinite reduplication. Indefinite articles are highly integrated into the grammar of Albanian. In fact, Albanian together with Turkish may have inspired through contact the indefinite article that is now increasingly found in Balkan Slavic and Greek (Friedman 2003). The integrated nature of the Albanian indefinite article probably explains why its presence appears necessary for reduplication—the bare indefinite is too highly marked as generic and nonreferential for it to be considered specifiable.

In contrast, Macedonian does not have as thorough integration of its indefinite article into the grammar, and the literary standard discourages the use of *eden* as an indefinite article in writing. Restrictions on the use of an indefinite article is thus not wholly incompatible with specifiability, though there are tendencies in the modern colloquial language toward marginalizing this interpretation. That reduplicated bare indefinites are only found at the

beginning of sentences in my examples probably traces to the Link designation for topical, sentence-initial elements. While it is possible for Focus to be fronted to sentence initial position, this is accompanied by an explicit intonational prominence. My native speaker informants only judge such examples as 10 acceptable with intonational prominence on boles kje te fati ‘you will get sick’. Intonational prominence on star čoek in this context is judged incorrect, as well as on reduplicated, sentence-initial, bare indefinites in other contexts. This gives me confidence in saying that these reduplicated bare indefinites are Links. An explicit Link by nature guarantees subsequent new information, since a Link cannot exist without a Focus. This position in the tripartite division of the clause or sentence thus reinforces topicality and noteworthiness which might otherwise be in question for a bare indefinite and permits its designation as specifiable through reduplication.

The same situation seems to hold for Bulgarian, with 13 presenting a bare indefinite in Link position (and with a specified mention of the object again at the end of the sentence for good measure). But the pressures against use of *edin* as an indefinite article are even greater in the Bulgarian standard (Friedman 2003). This allows for the construction of artificial, written-language examples such as 14 with a postverbal, reduplicated indefinite. As long as such reduplication is vanishing rare in the colloquial language, the same reasoning based on the interaction of Link and noteworthiness can apply to Bulgarian. The differences among AMB concerning the acceptability of bare indefinite reduplication are thus derivable from their differing integration of indefinite articles into the grammar.

What about in cases where the reduplicated object is not definite? In Bulgarian, noteworthiness continues to be relevant. Leafgren observes that about 60% of his corpus’s reduplicated objects are not discourse-level themes, with the remaining 40% being unstable

discourse-level themes that require greater explicitness to maintain. The anchoring effect of reduplication associated with noteworthiness helps to clarify a DP as a clause-level topic whether it is definite or not. Though a definite DP is already marked as noteworthy by the nature of being definite, greater explicitness in marking this noteworthiness is encouraged by the instability of the DPs status as a topic in comparison to the discourse. Thus in a language like Bulgarian, where reduplication is always a matter of speaker choice, noteworthiness remains relevant even in definite objects. In Macedonian and Albanian, however, other types of information packaging take precedence in determining reduplication and the practice becomes a matter of grammar rather than speaker choice. Definiteness (in Macedonian) and Grounding (in Albanian) are types of information packaging correlated with but logically independent of the information status feature of noteworthiness, and so the overriding imperative to abide by their dictates among definite objects renders noteworthiness irrelevant.

6. A unified model for Balkan object reduplication. I propose that clitic reduplication in all three languages under examination can be captured by reference to directness, definiteness, noteworthiness, and presence in the Ground, with register an additional but structurally irrelevant factor. Each language relies on noteworthiness and Focus/Ground membership to determine whether reduplication is permissible, while Albanian and Macedonian take definiteness and directness into account to determine whether it is furthermore required or prohibited. The differences in each language arise because each language assigns more importance to particular components of information packaging than to other components, with greater grammatical integration occurring at the geographical center of the contact zone (standard Albanian and Macedonian) and greater pragmatic facultativity at the geographical periphery (Bulgarian).

Nonetheless, all languages allow pragmatics to determine some aspect of clitic usage, and the pragmatic determiner shared between them is noteworthiness.

I will represent the ordered priorities of AMB object reduplication with flow charts. A star indicates that the particular implication for clitic usage is affected by register.

INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

The implications of the decision tree in Figure 1 are that a) all IOs in Albanian are reduplicated, b) focused DOs are never reduplicated, c) definite DOs are reduplicated if they are in the Ground, and d) indefinite DOs may be reduplicated if they are in the Ground and noteworthy (which in Albanian implies that there is an explicit indefinite article *një*)

INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

The implications of the decision tree in Figure 2 are that a) DOs are reduplicated if they are definite. If they are indefinite, assigned to the Ground, and noteworthy, they may be reduplicated otherwise, they are not. b) definite IOs are reduplicated in the standard, but in the colloquial they may remain unduplicated if they are assigned to the Focus, and c) indefinite IOs are reduplicated in the standard, but in the colloquial reduplication occurs more often if they are assigned to the Ground and noteworthy (implying the presence of an explicit indefinite article *eden*).

INSERT FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE

The implications of the decision tree in Figure 3 are that noteworthy objects tend more strongly toward reduplication than non-noteworthy objects, which correlates with status in the Ground.

The flow charts thus capture all the circumstances in which object-reduplicating clitics appear in AMB. They utilize the same categories of information status and packaging to do so, providing a unified account for the three languages centered on noteworthiness.

7. Conclusion. Object reduplication behavior in AMB can be predicted by the ranking of the determining conditions of directness, definiteness, presence in the Ground, and noteworthiness, modulated by register. The inclusion of noteworthiness among AMB object reduplication conditioners implies that Balkan clitic reduplication emerged as and remains to some extent a strategy for structuring discourse. While directness, definiteness, and presence in the Ground are all forms of information packaging and thus intermediaries between clitic reduplication and information status, noteworthiness is an element of information status itself. Since noteworthiness plays a role in determining whether a reduplicating clitic is permissible in all three languages examined, it is clear that object reduplication is not just a correlative phenomenon that replicates other forms of information packaging. The breadth of circumstances in which the pragmatic component of object reduplication is relevant is greater in languages on the periphery of the Balkan contact zone and less in the center where object reduplication has been partially integrated into the grammar. Noteworthiness, as a determining condition, implies that AMB object reduplication cannot be broken down into solely syntax or semantics. Nor is it unstructured sociolinguistic variation. In Bulgarian, object reduplication obeys noteworthiness felicity constraints regardless of register. Speakers of the more grammatically integrating languages studied here appear to have generalized over time the Bulgarian state of affairs to broader state of information packaging agreement between reduplication and definiteness, directness, or focus status. But when packaging and status conflict more explicitly, as with indefinites and especially nonspecific indefinites in the Ground, the discourse-structuring utility of object reduplication is retained. Thus such occurrences of object reduplication in the spoken language should not be considered ‘performance error,’ but rather a deliberate grammatical

strategy available to speakers for encoding discourse-conditioned specificity that has been inherited from the grammatical structure's origin in multilingual, communal language contact.

There is great potential for extending this unified treatment of clitic reduplication to other languages within the Balkan contact zone. Considering the accumulation of evidence in favor of treating the Balkan languages as a Sprachbund and object reduplication as a shared feature developed through contact, I expect this approach would be applicable to other Balkan languages more on the geographic and/or social periphery, such as Modern Greek, Romanian, Judezmo, and Romani (Friedman 2000). If further research confirms that details of object reduplication behavior in these peripheral languages conform with what has been seen here for AMB, it might be possible to elevate this particular kind of morphosyntactic noteworthiness-marking to the level of a Balkanism. More research on the use of object reduplication in Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian is especially needed, as these two Balkan Romance languages are spoken in the center of the contact zone.⁹

Further data for AMB themselves is also needed. At the time of writing, no corpus work appears in the literature on object reduplication in colloquial Albanian and Macedonian of the type pursued by Leafgren. Confirmation of the legitimacy of bare indefinite reduplication in Albanian remains to be made and a wider set of examples in each of the languages studied here would also help test the conditions negatively associated with clitic reduplication. A preponderance of examples showing postverbal bare indefinite reduplication in Macedonian or Bulgarian, or finding tonally emphasized constituents that are not contrastive topics, but rather pure semantic foci and nonetheless reduplicated, would suggest that a different approach is needed from the one I have taken. Much work remains to be done on the topic of Balkan object reduplication. However, all evidence indicates that no study can afford to ignore the central

structuring role of discourse, context, and pragmatics in the use of this grammatical device.

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¹ Judezmo, Romani, and Balkan Turkish, also participants in the Balkan linguistic league, are exceptions in this regard due to the historical circumstances of their use and prestige in the Ottoman Empire. As they did not participate in multilingualism in the same way as other Balkan languages, their place in the continuum of Balkan object reduplication is less studied and more complex (Friedman 2000).

² With some dialectal variation. Southern Tosk dialects may feature non-reduplicated first- and second-person pronouns (Kallulli 1995: 49)

³ The subject *Xhoni* ‘John.NOM’ of example 6b would probably also drop, considering the pressure toward brevity exerted by cooperativity in discourse (Grice 1975).

⁴ The invariant particle *do*, derived from the conjugable verb *do* ‘want’ normally marks future tense. The meaning of ‘to want to [verb]’ is rather expressed with the phrase *ka dëshirë të* ‘to have a desire to [verb].’ However, Kallulli’s original examples provide a translation with ‘want to’ rather than ‘will.’

⁵ Friedman (2008) suggests that more corpus research is needed to confirm this, which means that the impossibility of bare indefinite reduplication in Albanian should be taken as tentative for the moment.

⁶ Native speaker informants judged the object reduplication in this sentence to be substandard and dialectal, but possible. It should also be noted that the non-standard spelling of the words *čoek* and *boles* (standard: *čovek*, *bolest*) was considered irrelevant to this judgment.

⁷ While it is generally accepted that relational and referential information components are logically independent, it has been argued that they are not wholly separate from one another and that relational givenness should be somehow derivable from referential givenness (Gundel 1999b). The nature of this relationship remains controversial.

⁸ Another fortuitous parallel between AMB indefinite object reduplication and *this_{Ref}*, although less relevant to the discussion at hand, is that both are considered colloquial and somewhat inappropriate for written discourse (although both occur there).

⁹ Megleno-Romanian is especially interesting in that it is spoken very close to the Greek border, but its object reduplication behavior patterns after that of Southwestern Macedonia, where grammatical immigration of the feature is more extensive (Friedman, personal communication).

*register pressure may counteract this implication

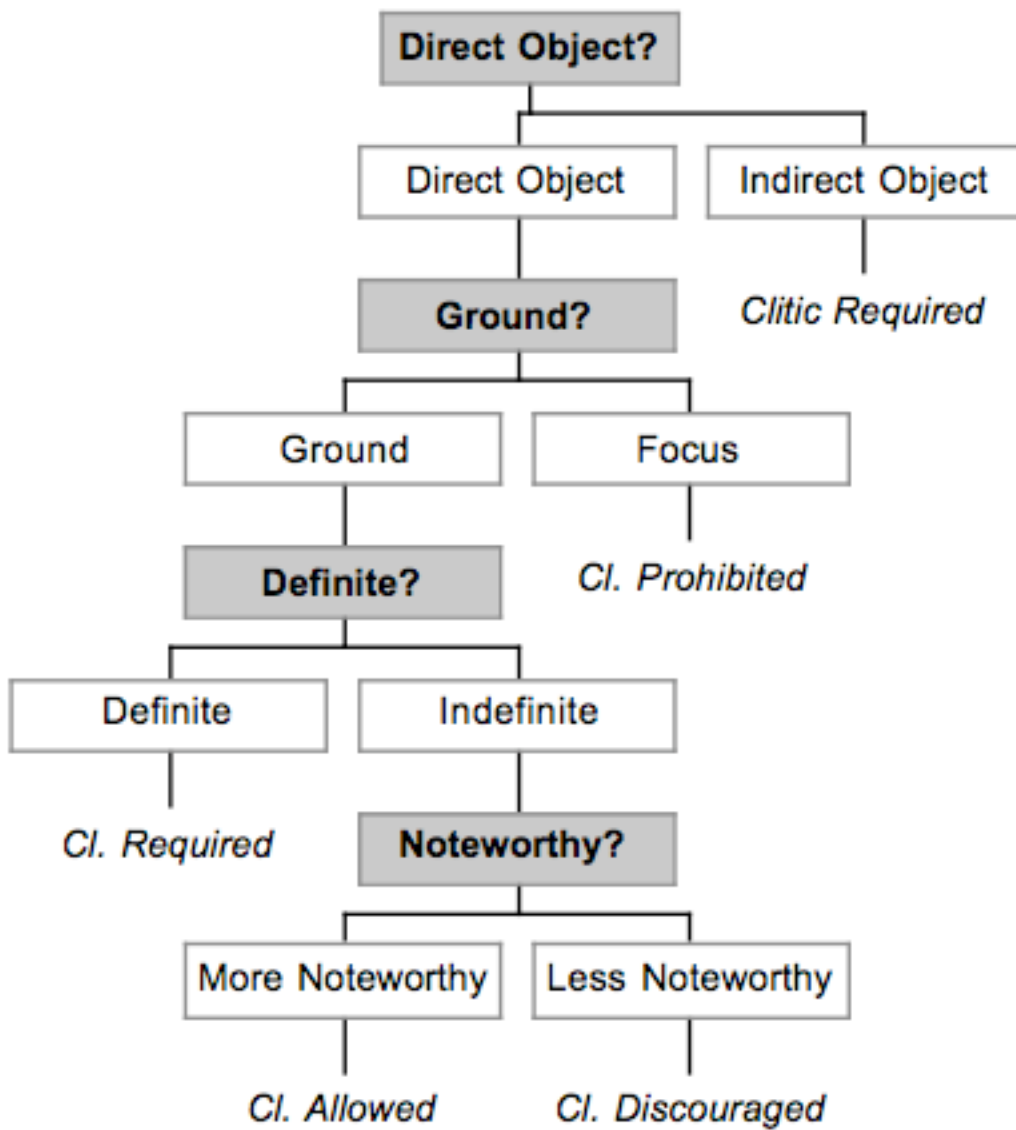


FIGURE 1

Object reduplication in Albanian

*register pressure may counteract this implication

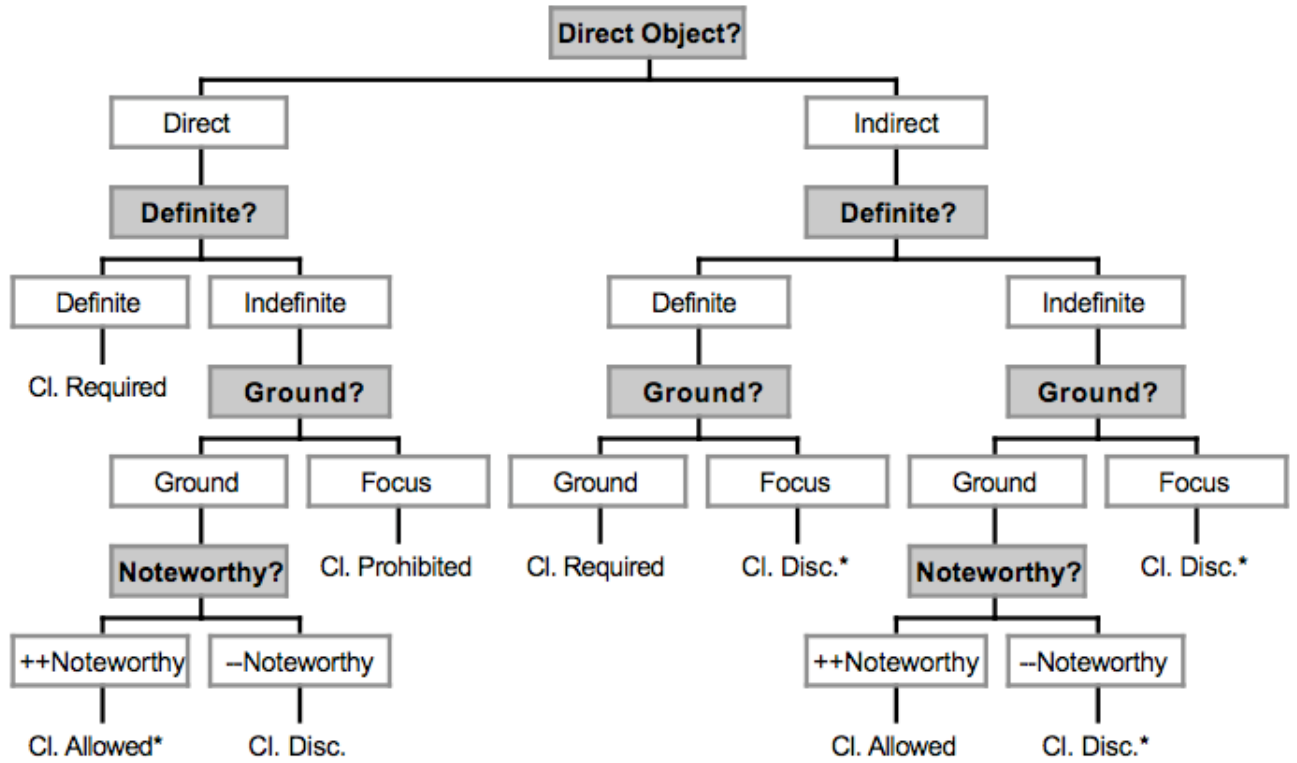


FIGURE 2

Object reduplication in Macedonian

*register pressure may counteract this implication

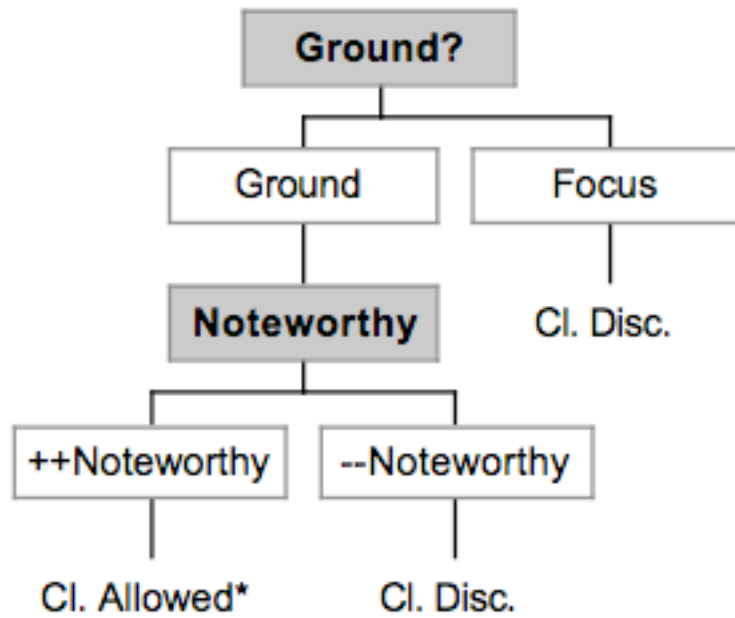


FIGURE 3

Object reduplication in Bulgarian