South Slavic Clitic Placement is *Still* Syntactic[*]

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1. Introductory Remarks

This paper sketches out some of my ideas about special clitic placement in the Slavic languages. My main claim will be that clitics play an extremely active part in their syntactic fate. While much of the time a host comes to them, when this fails to occur clitics search for a host themselves. I will argue that in doing this they take advantage of any syntactic operation available to find a suitable host, possibly including lowering.

There has been much recent debate about whether clitic placement can be handled exclusively through the exploitation of familiar syntactic categories and movement mechanisms or whether some special phonological reordering is required, such as Halpern's "Prosodic Inversion" (PI). I will try to show that clitic placement is a syntactic phenomenon and should be assimilated to other more familiar types of syntactic movement rules, rather than involving a special kind of phonological clitic placement operation. Clitics are syntactic entities—in particular, functional heads—and they move as such. There is a straightforward way of introducing apparent phonological effects into clitic behavior: if the output of the overt syntax does not meet PF requirements, then the derivation will crash at PF. Thus, although clitic placement is done by regular rules of syntax, the phonology in essence subsequently "filters out" any syntactic representation that upsets it, as in Bošković (1995).[1]

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[1]The fact that different clitics behave differently is consistent with the current view that syntactic variation is lexically driven. It is reminiscent of the kinds of variation one finds in anaphora systems, which

2.   Against Prosodic Inversion

2.1.   Some Serbian/Croatian Facts

Although word order is generally relatively "free" in Slavic, the clitics are required (i) to appear in a particular position (or positions) in the sentence and (ii) to be ordered in specific ways among themselves.[2] In SC the clitics go in second or "Wackernagel" position:

(1)   a. Vesna **mu** uvek   nudi čokoladu.
            Vesna him always   offers chocolate
            'Vesna always offers him chocolate.'
        b. Uvek **mu** nudi čokoladu Vesna.
        c. Nudi **mu** uvek čokoladu Vesna.
        d. Čokoladu **mu** Vesna uvek nudi.

The debate centers around whether this position should be defined in prosodic or syntactic terms. A standard proposal is that clitics in SC can be either prosodically or syntactically dependent, with these two factors in competition, so that either may prevail. A typical explanation of the variation in (2) is thus that the clitic cluster is free to fall either after the first prosodic word (2a) or after the first syntactic phrase (2b). It cannot however be initial, as in (2c); instead the verb must appear first, as in (2d).

(2)   a. Taj   **m i**   **je** pesnik napisao knjigu.
            that me.dat aux.3sg poet   wrote   book
            'That poet wrote me a book.'
        b. Taj pesnik **mi je** napisao knjigu.
        c. ***Mi je** taj pesnik napisao knjigu.
        d. Napisao **mi je** taj pesnik knjigu.

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have been successfully interpreted in terms of the morphological properties of the specific anaphors. That is, idiosyncratic properties of individual words and morphemes, rather than the parametric "switches" on otherwise universal principles of the earlier "Principles and Parameters" model, determine the relevant differences. It should thus be borne in mind that when a claim is made about a particular clitic being, say, proclitic or enclitic, this will not necessarily be true of all the clitics in that language.

[2]Clitics are represented in boldface throughout.

2 .   Prosodic Inversion

An important line of research, stemming from Zwicky (1977) and best exemplified by Klavans (1982) and Halpern (1992/1995), has therefore been to pursue a mixed system, whereby reference may be made to both types of criteria in anchoring the clitics. In Halpern's version of PI the clitics move to initial position, adjoining to IP.[3] A phrase can then move to their left, to [Spec, CP], producing (2b). If however this fails to occur, the output of the syntax will be (2c). PI then applies to move the clitics to after the first prosodic word to their right—*taj* in example (2)—producing "split" (2a).

There are numerous objections to PI in the literature which I do not have space to repeat here. Rather I will concentrate on arguments that clitic placement displays clearly syntactic effects and that the apparent advantages of PI are spurious.

2.2.1. Against PI in SC: Syntactic Effects

As demonstrated by Ćavar and Wilder (1994), Franks and Progovac (1994), and Progovac (1996), inter alia, clitic placement in SC is subject to familiar syntactic constraints. First, Progovac argues that, despite predictions made by PI, although different phrases can support clitics, V is the only head which can. Any other head-complement relation is an impenetrable context, dubbed a "fortress" by Halpern. The fact that PI fails in her examples (3a) and (3b) is a serious problem for his phonological movement account, since it should not be able to discriminate *syntactic* criteria.

(3)   a. *[P Prema] **ga   je**   Milanu   Marija bacila,
               towards it.acc aux.3sg Milan.dat Mary threw
                  a   ne   od   njega.
                  and not from him
            'Mary threw it toward Milan, not away from him.'
        b. ?*[N Roditelji] **s u   s e** uspešnih
               parents   aux.3pl refl successful.gen
                  studenata   razišli.
                  students.gen dispersed
            'The parents of the successful students dispersed.'

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[3]Halpern (1992:chapter 3) slightly revises this so that clitics are adjoined to CleftP, a phrase he posits between CP and IP. This makes exactly the wrong prediction regarding adjunction of a phrase to IP.

Schütze (1994, 1996), who offers perhaps the most persuasive argumentation for PI, has only some vague suggestions about accommodating fortresses in prosodic rather than syntactic terms.[4] Although there is variation among speakers in the tolerance of "invading" fortresses, Schütze (1996:242) notes a correlation between allowing clitics inside and allowing *syntactic* extraction from the fortress, which completely contradicts his PI account.

Progovac (1993, 1996) makes a distinction between "subjunctive-like" and "indicative-like" complement clauses on the basis of a broad range of syntactic criteria. The fact that clitic placement also respects this dichotomy shows that it too is a syntactic phenomenon: clitic climbing in SC only takes place out of subjunctive-like complements. Compare (4d) with (4b):

(4)   a. Milan kaže da **ga**   vidi.
           Milan says C   him.acc sees
           'Milan says that he can see him.'
       b. *Milan **ga**   kaže da vidi.
           Milan him.acc says C sees
       c. Milan želi   da **ga**   vidi.
           Milan wishes C   him.acc sees
           'Milan wishes to see him.'
       d. Milan **ga**   želi   da vidi.
           Milan him.acc wishes C sees

Obviously, there can no phonological explanation of domain extension in subjunctive clauses for various syntactic dependencies, including movement, which crucially embraces clitic placement. It is for reasons such as this that even Schütze (1996) concedes that almost all SC clitic placements are syntactic. There is only a miniscule residue of facts which suggest PI might be inescapable.

2.2.2. Against PI in SC: Dubious Advantages

It is often claimed that only PI can handle "splitting" constituents, as in the split DP in (2a) or the split PP in (5).

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[4]His one example of a heavy PP tolerating separation, *Studenti **su** iz prelepog grada na moru upravo stigli* 'The students from the beautiful town on the sea have just arrived', from Percus (1993), is problematic since the PP is not only an adjunct, but also one which is ambiguous between NP and clasual interpretations.

(5)   U   veliku **je**   Jovan ušao   sobu.
        in   big   aux.3sg Jovan walked   room
        'Jovan walked into a large room.'

Without going into details, I assume the kind of "remnant topicalization" analysis argued for elsewhere by myself, Progovac, Ćavar, and Wilder, whereby extraposition of NP from inside the phrase moved to initial position precedes the actual fronting of that phrase. Crucially, I take "NP" to mean a head noun plus its complement, if any, assuming the kind of structure for DP proposed by Abney (1987), where AP is not included in NP, but rather heads its own projection dominating NP. This explains the contrast in (6), assuming NP but not AP can move out of DP:

(6)   a. U izuzetno   veliku **je** Jovan ušao   sobu.
           in exceptionally large aux.3sg Jovan walked   room
           'Jovan walked into an exceptionally large room.'
        b. ?*U izuzetno   veliku **je**   Jovan ušao
           in   exceptionally large aux.3sg Jovan walked
             praznu sobu.
             empty room
           'Jovan walked into an exceptionally large empty room.'

There is no way PI can distinguish these two contexts, since the relevant information—NP or AP extraction—is syntactic, despite Schütze's (1996:238-9) claims. Also, PI clearly cannot handle (6a) anyway, or comparable examples adduced by Ćavar (1996:58), since the clitic seems to interrupt the PP but does *not* fall after the first prosodic word. A further indication that (5) must involve the preposition plus the adjective as a *syntactic* unit, as pointed out to me by Ž. Bošković, is that fact that it moves as a single *wh*-phrase in instances of unequivocal syntactic movement, such as (7).

(7)   U   koju   tvrdiš **da je**   Jovan ušao   sobu.
        into which   claim C aux.3sg Jovan walked   room
        'Into which room do you claim that Jovan walked?'

In general, then, the claim is that clitics can "split" phrases to the extent that those phrases can be broken up anyway, so that in point of fact the clitics are never actually doing any "splitting".
        Another phenemenon traditionally taken as problematic for syntactic movement accounts is the "splitting" of names, which some speakers allow, as in (8), from Browne (1975:114); see also Halpern (1992/1995), Progovac (1996), and Schütze (1996):

(8)   ?Lav   **je**   Tolstoj veliki ruski   pisac.
        Leo aux.3sg Tolstoi great   Russian writer
        'Leo Tolstoi is a great Russian writer.'

Splitting of proper names is in fact syntactically driven, and can only occur when both first and last names are treated as separate heads. Although one ordinarily declines both parts, it is marginally possible just to decline the first name, as in (9).

(9)   ?Lava   Tolstoj čitam.
        Leo.acc Tolstoi   read
        'I am reading Leo Tolstoi.'

Splitting is however only possible when both parts are declined, as shown in (10). Rather than providing evidence for PI, as typically claimed, the correlation between splitting and declining both parts constitutes a serious problem for any PI-based account.

(10)   a. ?Lava **sam**   Tolstoja   čitala.
            Leo.acc aux.1sg Tolstoi.acc read
            'I read Leo Tolstoi.'
        b. *Lava **sam**   Tolstoj čitala.
            Leo.acc aux.1sg Tolstoi read

2.2.3. Against PI in SC: False Predictions

In addition to PI not taking place in fortresses, Ćavar (1996) points out a specific problem with the claim that clitics in SC are adjoined to IP. A point frequently made is that the clitics follow the first *wh*-phrase rather than the group of them:

(11)   a. Šta   **je**   Ivan komu   dao?
            what   aux.3sg Ivan whom.dat gave
            'What did Ivan give to whom?'
        b. Šta **je** komu Ivan dao?
        c. *Šta komu **je** Ivan dao?

Under the standard analysis of multiple *wh*-movement in Slavic, due to Rudin (1988), only the first of multiple *wh*-phrases in SC is in [Spec, CP]; the others are adjoined to IP. This assumption explains why (11b) is grammatical, rather than (11c): (11c) would require the clitic *je* to be in a lower head position than C°, which given the interrogative *šta* 'what', must be the highest one in the structure.

Ćavar (1996) offers similar arguments based on the fact that scrambling can only adjoin a phrase to IP *below* the clitics.

3. Clitics as Functional Heads

3.1. Second Position Clitics

3.1.1. SC Clitics Go to Highest Position They Can

I assume a clause structure roughly as in (12), although phrases only as high as called for are actually projected in any given clause:

(12) $[_{CP}$ C $[_{AgrSP}$ AgrS $[_{TP}$ T $[_{AgrIOP}$ AgrIO $[_{AgrOP}$ AgrO $[_{AuxP}$ Aux $[_{vP}$ SUB v $[_{VP}$ IO $[_{V'}$ V OBJ]]]]]]]]]

Clitics are generated in various functional head positions in the clause. Second position pronominal clitics, as in SC, are generated in argument positions as D° (or K°) heads. In SC, they have a phonological requirement, hence one which must be met at PF. The clitics and the material around them move by syntactic means, but if the syntax happens to leave a clitic in a place that is not sanctioned phonologically, then the derivation will crash at PF.

Although it has often been claimed that Wackernagel position clitics are in C°, Bošković (1995) demonstrates that this is not a consistent position.[5] I assume instead that second position clitics are realized in the highest head position projected. They reach that position by moving first to the appropriate Agr° for Case-checking purposes, then continuing until they reach the highest functional head in the phrase structure. How can SC clitics be forced to appear *as high as possible*, not just with something to their left? Special clitics move to address some kind of syntactic deficiency. Such an assumption is I think inescapable, since a syntactic deficiency (in addition to the obvious phonological one of not projecting prosodic structure) is the defining characteristic of a special clitic, the property that distinguishes them from simple clitics.

Further, the driving force behind clitics moving to second position should be connected to the fact that this is something verbs

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[5]I thus reject the simple solution to defining Wackernagel position that SC clitics must move to C° on empirical grounds: a putative feature of C° could not be "attracting" clitics since clauses are not always CPs and second position clitics are not always in C° anyway.

also do.[6] Since V2 exists, the minimalist assumption is that all languages are V2 at LF. All verbs undergo head movement, raising as high as they must overtly and completing the raising covertly.[7] There are then two ways of instantiating the relationship between clitics and verbs: either (i) clitics move because they are looking for their verbs or (ii) the verb and the clitics both move for the same reason. Under the first variant clitics "know" that verbs must eventually raise to the highest functional head in the phrase structure, they just don't know that the verb (or its features) does not actually get to where the clitics are until LF. A possible conceptual glitch arises however since the syntactic deficiency that makes second position clitics seek the verb must presumably be stated in terms of *strong* features, but moving the clitics in the syntax to where the verb *is going to be at LF* has to be enough to satisfy these strong features. The second variant gets around this dilemma, although the details remain to be worked out.[8]

3.1.2. SC Clitics Are in Separate Functional Heads

The judgments in (13), due to Stjepanović (1996), provide compelling evidence that SC clitics head distinct projections:

(13) a. Ona **mu ga je** dala,
she   him.dat it.acc aux.3sg gave
a i ja **sam mu ga dala**.
and also I aux.1sg him.dat it.acc gave
'She gave it to him, and I did too.'

b. Ona **mu ga je** dala, a i ja **sam mu ga dala**.

c. Ona **mu ga je** dala, a i ja **sam mu ga dala**.

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[6]That is, in keeping with traditional ideas recently highlighted by Anderson (1993), clitic second and verb second are part and parcel of the same Wackernagel phenomenon. I just want to argue that this is strictly a *syntactic* phenomenon.

[7]V2 may not even be a consistent position; see Zwart (1993) on Dutch.

[8]Conceivably, there is some functional projection of V, perhaps T or AgrS, to which the pronominal Agr clitics become attached and *that head* moves overtly as high as it can, and the features of the verb move at LF to that same highest position for checking, or in V2 languages the verb itself moves, overtly. The right kind of solution to the clitic problem depends on what the right kind of solution to the V2 phenomenon in general turns out to be.

      d. ?*Ona **mu ga je** dala, a i ja **sam mu ga dala**.

The possibility of eliding material, indicated in outline, reflects the phrase structure in (12), where AuxP ellipsis occurs in (13a), $\text{Agr}_\text{O}\text{P}$ ellipsis in (13b), and $\text{Agr}_\text{IO}\text{P}$ ellipsis in (13c). (28d), on the other hand, can only be obtained by eliding the Agr_IO dative head ***mu*** independently of AuxP ellipsis, an extremely marginal possibility.[9] These facts show that, wherever they end up, the clitics are introduced as separate functional heads.[10]

      S. Stjepanović (p.c.) also notes an interesting effect with respect to clitic climbing out of subjunctive *da*-clauses in SC, as in (4d) above. If the downstairs verb has multiple arguments, in addition to climbing both or neither, it is also possible to climb only one out of the *da*-clause, as in (14), where the dative clitic has climbed and the accusative one remains in the lower clause:

(14) a. Želio **sam**   **mu** da**ga** kupim.
           wanted aux.1sg him.dat C it.acc buy.1sg
           'I wanted to buy him it.'
      b. Marko**mu** **je**   želio da**ga** kupi.
           Markohim.dat aux.3sg wanted   C it.acc   buy.3sg
           'Marko wanted to buy him it.'

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[9]The grammaticality of (i) shows that ellipsis cannot be simply a matter of surface string adjacency, as suggested to me by P. Sells:

(i)   Ja **sam**   **mu**   **ga**   dala,
       I aux.1sg him.dat it.acc gave
          a   i   ona **mu**   **ga je**   **dala**.
          and also she him.dat it.accaux.3sg gave
           'I gave it to him, and she did too.'

At the relevant level of abstraction, ***je*** heads a phrase *above* both AgrIO head ***mu*** and AgrO head ***ga***, presumably TP or AgrSP.

[10]They raise however a serious problem for the strictly syntactic approach adopted here. Specifically, ellipsis must target the phrase in which clitic features are checked *before* the clitic continues its upwards move. This is impossible if ellipsis is a PF phenomenon and clitic raising is syntactic. The paradox might be resolved by abandoning the syntactic raising analysis in this paper and letting clitics combine in the morphology, undergoing postsyntactic merger, as in "Distributed Morphology" and following Marantz (1988). Further evidence for rejecting syntactic clitic cluster formation can be found in the fact that Czech adverbials can be part of the cluster *if they happen to fall in it and they themselves are clitic*s; cf. Avgustinova and Oliva (1995:25).

It is however not possible to climb the accusative to the exclusion of the dative (15):

(15)   a. *Želio**sam**   **ga**   **g̣a mu**   kupim.
           wanted   aux.1sg   it.acc   C him.dat   buy.1sg
       b. *Marko   **ga je**   želio   g̣a**mu**   kupi.
           Marko it.acc   aux.3sg   wanted   C him.dat   buy.3sg

The lower Agr head cannot climb over the higher one, which is a familiar Relativized Minimality effect.

3.1.3. Czech Clitics Are *Only* Functional Heads

In Czech (and probably also Macedonian) auxiliary forms in the *jsem* 'I am' series are clitics and copular forms are not. Toman (1980) describes no less than five formal differences between these two functions, listed in (16); see also Fried (1994).

(16)   a. As copula can be fronted to initial position in Yes/No questions, as auxiliary cannot;
       b. Negation prefixes to copula, but not to auxiliary;
       c. Colloquial contraction of 2sg *jsi* to *s* is possible with auxiliary, but not with copula;
       d. Colloquial dropping of 1sg and 1pl forms as auxiliary, but not as copula;
       e. Special 2sg form *seš* for *jsi* as copula, but not as auxiliary.

The data Toman presents indicate that items in the *jsem* series are clitics only in their auxiliary function, and that as a copula there is strong pressure to distinguish them as ordinary present tense verb forms. The form *jsem* is thus ambiguous between being the 1sg of the copular verb *být* 'to be' or the realization of subject agreement features, and its status as a clitic depends on this factor. This is because only a functional head is eligible to be a special clitic, and only as a clitic does *jsem* lack prosodic structure in its lexical representation, projecting no word tree of its own. Without this, it is simply unpronounceable.

3.2. Verb Adjacent Clitics

3.2.1. Bg and Mac Clitics Are Generated in Agr

I now turn to the analysis of verb adjacent clitics as functional heads. My basic approach is that verb adjacent clitics, as in Bulgarian (Bg) and Macedonian (Mac), are generated directly in Agr and never need to raise overtly, since the verb comes to them. The verb adjacent option provides another obvious reason why special clitic placement in general should be connected to the syntax of verbs and, more importantly, it gives us a potential handle on the problem of variation between Wackernagel position and verb adjacent clitics.[11] Some basic Bg and Mac examples follow:

(17)   a. Vera **m i g o**   dade včera. [√Bg, √Mac]
           Vera   me.dat it.acc gave   yesterday
           'Vera gave me it yesterday'
       b. Včera **mi go** dade Vera.   [√Bg, √Mac]
       c. Včera Vera **mi go** dade.   [√Bg, √Mac]
       d. Vera **mi go** včera dade.   [*Bg, *Mac]

(18)   a. **Mi go** dade Vera včera.   [*Bg, √Mac]
       b. Dade **mi go** Vera včera.   [√Bg, *Mac]

Verbal auxiliaries and pronominal clitics in Bg and Mac go immediately before the verb, hence the order in (17c) is acceptable in Bg and Mac but not in SC, whereas the order in (17d) is acceptable in SC but not in Bg or Mac. The pair in (18) shows that, in Bg but not Mac, if there is nothing to the left of the clitic cluster, then the verb precedes rather than follows it. This contrast reveals that in Mac most clitics are prosodically neutral, whereas in Bg most are enclitic only.[12]

Following a number of analyses, including Halpern and Fontana (1994), Izvorski (1995), and Rudin (1997), the possibility

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[11]Moreover, in the history of Slavic there is clear migration from one option to the other, suggesting that these two strategies for clitic placement have to be closely related, with the difference between verb adjacent and second position clitics being relatively superficial. See especially Izvorski (1995) for insightful discussion of Bulgarian.

[12] As emphasized in fn. 1, variation is a lexical phenomenon. Thus, for example, Mac interrogative *li* is enclitic rather than proclitic and the Bg future marker *šte* is proclitic rather than enclitic.

of clitic doubling in Mac (19a) and Bg (19b) is a major reason for maintaining that verb adjacent clitics are generated outside VP.[13]

(19)   a. Marija*(**go**) poznava učenikot.   [Mac]
            Mary him.acc knows   pupil.def
            'Mary knows the pupil.'
        b. Ivan(**go**)   târsjat.   [Bg]
            Ivan him.acc seek.3pl
            'They are looking for Ivan.'

If the pronominal clitics are generated in Agr°, then an argument phrase (or its features) can be "checked" in [Spec, AgrP] (or Agr°, at LF). This account provides corroboration for the difference between the two types: doubling is possible precisely because the clitic is generated in Agr, allowing the associated argument to have *its* case features also checked. Pronominal clitics that seek second position, on the other hand, *are* that argument, so when they move to Agr, there is nothing left behind for them to "double".

3.2.2. Clitic Lowering?

There is an on-going debate about the existence of syntactic clitic lowering (as opposed to PI); this was proposed for Bg *li* by Rivero (1993) and rejected by Izvorski, King and Rudin (in press). Here I briefly consider some Mac constructions in which pronominal clitics necessarily follow rather than precede their hosts. The motivation cannot be prosodic, since as shown in (18) these elements are proclitic in Mac.
        The relevant verbal contexts are after imperatives and gerunds, which clitics always *follow* in Mac:[14]

(20)   a. Donesi   **m i**   **go**!
            bring.impv   me.dat it.acc
            'Bring it to me!'
            (***Mi go** donesi!)

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[13]There are notable differences in the factors that call for clitic doubling in the two languages. According to Rudin (1997), among others, doubling is more sensitive to specificity in Mac (typically marked by a postpositive demonstrative) and to topicality in Bg.

[14]The one element which can support preverbal clitics in Mac imperative clauses (but not gerundive ones!) is *ne* 'not', presumably because it is a head and the clitic can (but need not) raise to it.

  b. Penkaloto kupuvaj **m i**   **g o!**
     pen.def   buy.impv me.dat it.acc
     'Buy the pen!'
     (*Penkaloto **mi go** kupuvaj!)
  c. Utre   kupuvaj **m i**   **g o**   penkaloto.
     tomorrow buy   me.dat it.acc pen.def
     'Buy the pen tomorrow!'
     (*Utre **mi go** kupuvaj penkaloto.)

(21) a. Nemarno pišuvajk'i **g o**   pismoto, ...
         carelessly writing   it.acc letter.def
         'Carelessly writing the letter, ...'
         (*Nemarno **go** pišuvajk'i pismoto, ...)
      b. Zaneseno   gledajk'i **g o**   filmot, ...
         enthusiastically watching   it.acc film.def
         'Enthusiastically watching the film, ...'
         (*Zaneseno **go** gledajk'i filmot, ...)

The clitics in (20) and (21) cannot be preverbal. Prosodic factors cannot be relevant, since the clitics in Mac can be phonologically supported in either direction. There thus has to be some syntactic deficiency. I suggest that since these verb forms do not raise overtly to the clitics (presumably because of weak imperative and gerundive features), the clitics lower onto them.

        Another obvious context in which Mac and Bg clitics are not initial, and where lowering may be implicated, is inside DPs. Historically dative clitics function as possessive pronouns in both languages. A range of examples is given for Bg (22) and Mac (23).[15] Since these clitics are morphologically identical to clausal Agr$_{IO}$, I posit an optional Agr$_{IO}$P within DP, as in (24):[16]

(22) a. knigata **vi**   b. semejnija(t) **im** praznik
         'your book'   'their family holiday'
      c. mnogoto **mu** novi knigi   d. večno mladata **ni** stolica
   'his many new books'   'our ever young capital'

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[15] In Bg these clitics can express a variety of relations. In Mac their use is highly restricted, limited to the expression of possession of "family-like" relations; examples other than (23a) are quite awkward.

[16] AgrIO only occurs after [+def] D. Unlike the possessive clitic, the definite suffix (article) in Mac and Bg is *inflectional*; see Halpern (1992) or Mišeska-Tomić (1996) for arguments. (I accordingly reject the contrived head movement approach in Fowler and Franks (1994).)

   e. [polučenata **ì** sâs mâka] stipendija
       'her received with pain scholarship'
   f. [vernijat **ti** na žena **si**] brat
       'your faithful to his wife brother'

(23) a. žena **mi**   b. pomladiot **ni** sin
          'my wife'   'our younger son'
      c. sakanata **mi** prva žena d. mnogu postarite **ì** deca
          'my beloved first wife'   'her much older children'

(24) $[_{DP}$ D[+def] $[_{AgrIOP}$ Agr$_{IO}$ $[_{QP}$ Q $[_{AP}$ AdvP A $[_{NP}$ N]]]]]

Abstracting away from its limited use in Mac, the clitic appears in the same position *in both languages*, namely, after the head of the highest XP to the right of Agr$_{IO}$. This is true despite differences in prosodic requirements between Mac and Bg pronominal clitics. Phonology must therefore be irrelevant. I suggest instead that, unlike in finite clauses, no head has any independent reason to move up to adjoin to the clitic. The clitic is thus stranded and has to move itself to be supported. The clitic lowers to the first available head, which is to the X° to its right, as shown in (25).[17]

(25)

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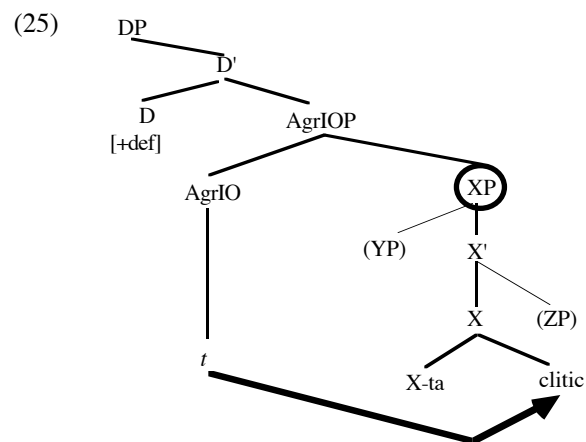
[17]I am making several ancillary assumptions which warrant further investigation. Although movement is the less economical option, the unavailability of raising in (25) is problematic—the fact that D never has phonological content should not be relevant *to the syntax*, again suggesting merger over syntactic head movement. (Alternatively, AgrIOP could either orginate above DP or raise overtly to [Spec, DP].)

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