

An overview of object reduplication in Maltese

Taqisira

Dan l-artiklu jitratta strutturi sintattiċi fejn l-oġġett u l-pronom meħmuż li jirreferi għalih jinsabu flimkien fl-istess sentenza. Dan il-fenomen, magħruf bħala ‘id-duplikazzjoni tal-oġġett’ jew ‘l-irduppar permezz ta’ klitiku’, hu kkunsidrat wiehed mill-karatteristiċi tal-ilsna Balkaniċi, imma jinstab ukoll f’ilsna oħra, fosthom l-ilsna Rumanzi minn barra l-pajjiżi Balkani kif ukoll fl-ilsna Semitiċi. F’dan l-artiklu nipprovaw nużaw ir-riċerka fid-duplikazzjoni tal-oġġett f’dawn il-lingwi biex nistudjaw u niddeskrivu it-tipi varji ta’ dawn l-istrutturi u kif jintużaw fil-Malti.

1. Introduction

Object reduplication – also referred to as ‘clitic doubling’, henceforth OR – is a syntactic phenomenon where the lexical object occurs with a co-referential pronominal clitic within the same clause (Kallulli & Tasmowski 2008b: 1, Friedman 2008: 35–36, Krapova & Cinque 2008: 257), as in the following example from Romanian:

- (1) @grimcris azi l'am vazut
 [handle] today CL.ACC.3SG.M=have-PRES.1SG see-PTCP.PST
 pe fanul tau, Grim :))¹
 ACC fan-DEF your [name] [emoticon]
 ‘@grimcris I saw him, your fan today, Grim :))’
 [http://twitter.com/Sixx_/status/10823172549, retrieved on 04/06/2012]

¹ All examples given here are taken from real texts or speech, those written are cited in their original – often quite distorted – spelling. For glossing, we will use the Leipzig Glossing Rules with the following modifications: the category labels CL.ACC and CL.DAT will be used for the clitic sets {-ni, -k, -h/-u, -ha, -na, -kom, -hom} and {-li, -lek, -lu, -lha, -lna, -lkom, -lhom}, respectively; the traditional labels IMPF and PERF will be used for the prefixal and suffixal conjugations; the object marker *li* will be labeled as either ACC or DAT depending on its function; square brackets will enclose semantic categories; all examples will be followed by the appropriate reference and, whenever necessary for the comprehension of the grammatical features illustrated, context and its translation will be prepended to the glossed example.

This structure is also common in Maltese:

- (2) *Fejn iridu jafu juzawha*
 where 3IMPF-want-PL 3IMPF-know-PL 3IMPF-use-PL=CL.ACC.3SG.F
l bibja biex jiggustifikaw id dhul tal klandestini
 DEF Bible to 3IMPF-justify-PL DEF ENTRY GEN-DEF illegal-PL
 ‘Wherever they want they know how to use the Bible to justify the entry of illegals.’
 [http://www.vivamalta.org/index.php?topic=3812.0, retrieved on 04/06/2012]

In this paper, we aim to provide a broader perspective on object reduplication in Maltese, especially in the light of recent research into this phenomenon in Balkan languages, Romance languages and Arabic. Since this is a first attempt at such a broad description, this study should not be viewed as anything more than a small step towards a full account of this phenomenon.

2. Literature overview

2.1. Balkans and beyond

Object reduplication has been considered one of the hallmarks of the Balkan *Sprachbund* since the earliest days of *Balkanistik* (Friedman 2008: 38–41). Since then, the literature on object reduplication has grown immensely and nothing short of a dedicated monograph can provide even a brief summary. The volume edited by Kallulli & Tasmowski (2008a) stands first as a comprehensive overview of the current state of the question, followed closely by Mišeska-Tomić (2004) and (2006) and Rivero & Ralli (2001).

To students of Afro-Asiatic languages, OR has long been known from not only Arabic dialects (Cowell 1964: 434–435), but also in the context of Syriac prolepsis (Muraoka 2005: 88–89) and related structures in other Semitic languages (Khan 1984). More recently, a number of works appeared examining object reduplication in several varieties of Arabic (Aoun 1999, Choueiri 2002 and Aoun et al. 2010), Eastern Neo-Aramaic (Coghill 2012) and Berber (Guerssel 1995, Ouali 2011).

And finally, since Jaeggli’s (1982) description of an object reduplication structure in Rio-Platense Spanish, the phenomenon has attracted much attention of scholars of Romance languages. As OR in Romance languages often assumes a role in dislocation phenomena, it is in this context that it has been most extensively studied (thus Cinque’s influential 1977 paper and newer works like Cruschina 2009 and partially Cecchetto 1999 for Italian, Zagana 2003 and López 2009 for Spanish, De Cat 2010 for French and Villalba 2000 for Catalan, to name but a few).

2.2. Maltese

In Maltese, the existence of object reduplication has been noted as early as Sutcliffe's grammar (Sutcliffe 1936: 179) where it is introduced by a charmingly puzzled remark "The direct suffixes are often used redundantly, but effectively". Puzzled though he may have been, Sutcliffe offers a keen insight into some aspects of OR in Maltese, noting the similarity of one object reduplication structure to the classical *nominativum pendens* (Sutcliffe 1936: 210–211). Aquilina (1959: 335) adds further description of the behavior of OR, but does not provide much analysis as to its function, and so it is Fabri's groundbreaking monograph on agreement in Maltese (Fabri 1993) which is the first to devote substantial attention to OR constructions, noting the relationship of OR to the constituent order of Maltese. More recent work by Fabri and Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander has built on Fabri's initial research and deepened our understanding of OR in the context of topicalization, especially by viewing object reduplication in the broader context of sentence information structure (Fabri & Borg 2002) and extending the existing analysis to phonological aspects (Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander 2009). Müller (2009) elaborates on Fabri's analysis of constituent order in Maltese and examines one OR structure – Clitic Dislocation – within the framework of Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar as inspired by an analysis of Clitic Dislocation in Greek.

The most recent works to examine object reduplication are Fabri (this volume) and Camilleri (2011). Fabri offers a reevaluation of his and Borg's previous work and provides insights into the semantic aspect of OR phenomena. Camilleri devotes some attention to this phenomenon in the wider context of her succinct and insightful description of clitics in Maltese. Camilleri's analysis of some aspects of OR, firmly rooted in the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG), concludes that "Maltese does not have any Clitic Doubling constructions, and that what one actually finds are occurrences involving U(n)B(ound)D(ependencie)s" (Camilleri 2011: 149). While we regrettably do not have the space to engage with her argument in full, we note that this pronouncement entails at the very least a terminological conundrum: if one were to take Camilleri's 'Clitic Doubling' to mean 'co-occurrence of lexical object with a co-referential clitic in the same clause', then this might raise some doubts concerning the validity of this conclusion, especially considering that it is based only on OR occurring in left dislocation (cf. examples 21 and 22 in Camilleri 2011: 149) and does not take into account other types of OR structures, such as the one given in example (2) above. If, on the other hand, one were to take Camilleri's 'Clitic Doubling' to be a theoretical construct of LFG (which would be justified noting the juxtaposition of UBD with 'Clitic Doubling'), one may wonder – even without detailed examination of the particulars of the underlying theory – if the conclusion isn't somewhat premature. Indeed Camilleri herself notes that the question is much more complex and points out that the right periphery of the Maltese sentence and the role clitics take in phenomena occurring therein still remain woefully understudied (Camilleri 2011: 149–150).

3. Analysis of object reduplication phenomena in Maltese

3.1. Introduction

First, a word on terminology: in what follows, we will use the term “object reduplication” (OR), found in some works on the phenomenon in Balkan languages (e.g. Friedman 2008: 35, Sobolev 2004: 62) believing it best describes the basic properties of the syntactic phenomena under discussion (namely the co-occurrence of a lexical object with a co-referential pronominal clitic), and does so without any theoretical baggage. The more familiar term ‘clitic doubling’, current in Balkanologist literature as well as elsewhere, is consciously avoided. The main reason is that while it is commonly used as defined above, it is also used in a wider sense (such as with reference to co-occurrence of subjects with co-referential clitics, cf. Kallulli & Tasmowski 2008b: 1), a narrower sense (as will be shown below) and a framework-dependent sense (as discussed above in reference to Camilleri 2011).

Despite a long research tradition in *Balkanistik* and Romance studies, object reduplication is still insufficiently understood, in no small part due to the large degree of variation. Recently, however, a comprehensive analysis has been proposed by a number of scholars working independently (e.g. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov 2008 and Krapova & Cinque 2008 on Bulgarian, Tsakali & Anagnostopoulou 2008 and Holton et al. 2007 for Modern Greek, De Cat 2010 for French and López 2009 for Spanish and Germanic in general) arguing that what was traditionally included under the umbrella of ‘clitic doubling’ are actually a number of different syntactic phenomena with different syntactic properties and functions. While the particulars may differ, the following table represents a broad consensus on which phenomena are involved:

I	Clitic Doubling Proper (CD)
II	Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)
III	Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD)
IV	Hanging Topic Construction (HTC)
V	Afterthought (AT)
VI	Focus Fronting (FF)

Table 1: Object reduplication phenomena

One crucial feature that sets Clitic Doubling Proper apart is the position of the object with respect to the rest of the sentence. To quote the definition of CD by Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov (2008: 107): “‘True’ clitic doubling (CD) applies to the cases when the full NP occurs in its argument position inside the clause.” The remaining phenomena thus involve some sort of movement of the object to the periphery of the sentence. This difference, while seemingly minute, is of great importance in understanding the different types of OR, especially from a typological and comparative point of view:

as Friedman (2008: 39) notes with reference to the comparison between Romance languages and the Balkan *Sprachbund*, OR in various dislocation phenomena is relatively common in European languages, but Clitic Doubling Proper (i.e. object reduplication with object in situ) is not.

It should be noted that this breakdown sacrifices inclusion for accuracy and may thus not reflect the description of all languages with object reduplication or, indeed, any particular language. So Focus Fronting or Afterthought, for example, may in some languages not entail OR at all, yet they nevertheless show some overlap with the remaining structures (like HTC, CLLD and CLRD, they involve the movement of a constituent to the sentence periphery and like HTC and CLLD, they play a role in the information structure of a sentence) and may thus help elucidate the behavior and the function of the remaining ones. This analysis also fails to account for other forms of object reduplication, such as OR in restrictive relative clauses which exhibits certain idiosyncratic features (see e.g. Kallulli 1999: 60–72 for Albanian) and which is particularly relevant for Maltese.

For all its shortcomings, this paradigm is an excellent starting point for the study of OR and related issues, and we will apply it to our overview of these phenomena in Maltese. But before we can do so, there are two important theoretical issues to be addressed: first, the status of Maltese clitics, i.e. the old ‘clitic or affix’ question, and secondly, the nature of constituent order in Maltese. For the former, we are fortunate enough to be able to refer to Camilleri’s recent succinct analysis of the issue (Camilleri 2011) which, to our mind, settles the question. The issue of constituent order in Maltese and especially its unmarked variants is a substantially more difficult one, but crucial for the understanding of various types of OR structures. The investigation into Maltese constituent order and information structure by Fabri & Borg (2002) has identified two types of unmarked constituent order – SVO and OVS, a judgment we will accept with some minor reservations. There is, however, one aspect of Fabri & Borg’s work with which we find it necessary to disagree, especially in the light of more recent research: Fabri & Borg treat the variations in constituent order as just that. A closer look at phonological aspects of certain types of constituent order like OSV (e.g. Borg & Azopardi-Alexander 2009 and Vella 2009) have revealed that at least in some cases, the left-most position of the object is to be interpreted not as a variation in constituent order, but as a dislocation of the object to the left periphery of the clause. In fact, the next sections discuss in some detail several types of such structures.

3.2. Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)

Undoubtedly the most prominent – and thus most studied – structure involving object reduplication in Maltese is a construction where object reduplication is accompanied by

movement of the lexical object to the left periphery of the clause, as in the following examples illustrating the reduplication of both a direct object and an indirect object NP:

- (3) *Il-vettura raha ukoll il-kunsillier Francis Callus*
 DEF-car see.PERF.3SG.M=CL.ACC.3SG.F too DEF-councillor [name]
 ‘The car, councilor Francis Callus saw it as well ...’
 [http://lc.gov.mt/mediacenter/PDFs/1_Meeting%20minutes%2040-09_10.pdf,
 retrieved on 23/06/2012]
- (4) *Lit-tfal trid tixtrilhom rigal.*
 DAT-DEF-children 2SG.IMPF-want 2SG.IMPF-buy=CL.DAT.3PL gifts
 ‘You might want to buy a gift for the children.’

[BC – ittorca-8854]

The construction exemplified by (3) and (4), known as Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) in Romance and Balkan linguistics, is generally described as the primary topicalization strategy in Maltese (Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 126 and Fabri & Borg 2002: 361; see also Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander 2009: 71–74 where all of the examples given for topicalization of objects conform to this pattern). But while its function may be uncontroversial, its syntactic properties are not. So for example an observation by Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander (2009: 75) suggests that left dislocation/topicalization of indirect objects is incompatible with the indirect object (IO) marker *lil*. However, as example (3) shows, the IO marker, while not obligatory, can indeed feature in a left-dislocated and topicalized IO NP. In an earlier work, Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 124) also argue that left-dislocation triggers obligatory object reduplication, but a closer investigation by Fabri & Borg (2002) reveals that this is not necessarily the case and our data below will complicate the picture even further.

One particularly fascinating question involving the behavior of CLLD is that of the scope of CLLD. Fabri & Borg (2002: 360) famously assert that “in fact, pronominal clitics can only be co-referential with definite NPs”. This echoes similar observations regarding languages of the Balkans made by Kallulli & Tasmowski (2008b: 10) who extend the impossibility of OR to “bare nouns of all sub-types (i.e., bare plurals, count bare singulars, mass nouns).” Recently, however, a slightly different picture has begun to emerge, and so Camilleri (2011: 149) and Fabri (this volume) note the possibility of CLLD with bare nouns, the latter with some interesting semantic implications. In fact, as real-life data shows, a number of different types of NPs can feature in CLLD – along with pronouns, definite NPs and inherently definite NPs like proper names, the following types of NPs can be left-dislocated and object-reduplicated as well:

Quantified phrases with *kull* (direct and indirect object):

- (5) *Kull sold investejnieh fihom ...*
 every penny invest.PERF-1PL=CL.ACC.3SG.M in-3PL ...
 ‘We invested every penny in them...’ [BC – ittorca-10667]

- (6) *Lil kull sindku fl-Amerika bagħtitilhom*
 DAT every mayor in.DEF-America send.PERF-3SG.F=CL.ACC.3PL
tazza żgħira mimlija bi ħgieġ żgħir imfarrak ...
 cup small-F filled-F with glass small broken ...
 ‘To every mayor in America, she sent them a small cup filled with small glass shards ...’
 [BC – lorizzont-64030]

Quantified phrases with *xi* (direct and indirect object):

- (7) *Lil xi whud minnhom Pablo*
 ACC some one.PL from-3PL [name]
kien jafhom tajjeb ...
 be.PERF.3SG.M 3SG.IMPF-know=CL.ACC.3PL well
 ‘Some of them, Pablo knew them well ...’
 [BC – ittorca-3133]

Lil xi niceċ oħra insterqulhom
 DAT some statue.PL other.PL PASS-steal-PERF.3PL=CL.DAT.3PL
il-fanali li kellhom quddiemhom ...
 DEF-lantern-PL that had.3PL before-3PL
 ‘For some other statues, they stole the lanterns they had in front of them ...’
 [BC – torca10827]

Bare nouns – mass (direct and indirect object):

- (8) *Nies bhal Brian illum trid tfittixhom*
 people like [name] today 2SG.IMPF-want 2SG.IMPF-look=CL.ACC.3PL
bl-immnara biex forsi ssib wiehed.
 with- DEF-lamp so that maybe 2SG.IMPF-find one.
 ‘People like Brian, if you want to find them today, you’ll need to look with a lamp.’
 [BC – ittorca-5334]

Għax kif għedt, il-poplu mhux ballun tal-futbol, ma jingħatax bis-sieq, ma jig-gieghlx jitkaxkar ma’ l-art jew jithaxken bejn is-saqajn u r-riglejn u jitmieghek mat-trab.

‘Because as I said, the people are not a football, they can’t be passed by a foot, you can’t beat them to the ground or squeeze them between your feet and legs and roll them in the dust.’

- (9) *Poplu ma jisthoqqlux hekk.*
 people NEG 3SG.M.IMPF-deserve=CL.DAT.3SG.M-NEG thus
 ‘A people doesn’t deserve this.’
 [BC – lorizzont-27744]

Bare nouns – count (direct and indirect object):

- (10) *Lil mara għallmuha kif issajjar*
 ACC woman teach.PERF-3PL=CL.ACC.3SG.F how 3SG.F.IMPF-cook
u tqassam l-ikel.
 and 3SG.F.IMPF-serve DEF-food
 ‘Wife, they taught her how to cook and serve food.’

[BC – illum-2008-11-16_t2]

Fil-Kenja hija haga normali li bniedem jiekol gurnata iva u gurnata le.

‘In Kenya, it’s normal that one day a person eats, the next day they don’t.’

- (11) *Bniedem toffrilu l-ikel u*
 person 2SG.IMPF-offer=CL.DAT.3SG.M DEF-food and
jghidlek, “Imma jien il-bierah kilt!”
 3SG.M.IMPF-say=CL.DAT.2SG but I yesterday ate
 ‘You offer food to somebody and he’ll tell you “But I ate yesterday!”’

[BC – lorizzont-20720]

Coordinated noun phrases (direct and indirect object):

- (12) *Lili u ohrajn tawna kamra komda*
 ACC-1SG and other.PL give.PERF.3PL=CL.ACC.1PL room comfortable.F
u sabiha f’din il-lukanda ta’ hames stilel.
 and nice.F in-this DEF-hotel GEN five star.PL
 ‘Me and some others, they gave us a comfortable and nice room in this five-star hotel.’

[BC – ittorca-1515]

- (13) *Lili u lil xi tnejn/tlieta warajja*
 ACC-1SG and ACC some two/three behind.1SG
baqa’ jghidilna “full up, full up”
 keep.PERF.3SG.M 3SG.M.IMPF-speak=CL.DAT.1PL full up full up
u balleċ ma tel-lgħaniex.
 and surprise NEG raise.PERF.3SG.M=CL.ACC.1PL-NEG
 ‘To me and to some two or three behind me he kept saying to us “full up, full up” and in fact did not let us board.’

[BC – lorizzont-57191]

Another interesting theoretical aspect of the scope of CLLD (at least to the adherents of some frameworks) is the issue of bare nouns. In *Balkanistik* and beyond, much discussion has been devoted to OR with bare nouns, without any definitive answer. The consensus, however, tends to lean towards specificity (defined as “pinpointing a single specimen from among many of the same kind” by Kallulli & Tasmowski 2008b: 12) as a constraint on OR in the absence of definiteness (see e.g. Mišeska-Tomić 2004: 21–22). This explanation would nicely fit examples (8) and (10) where the context restricts the interpretation of the bare nouns *nies* and *mara* to allow an unambiguous identification; in example (8), this is also further achieved by a modifier prepositional phrase introduced by *bħal*. We

can thus concur with Camilleri's (2011: 148–149) assessment that the specificity criterion holds for Maltese as well. On the other hand, there are examples like 9 and 11 where specificity cannot be a sufficient trigger – neither *poplu* nor *Bniedem* on its own is specific enough, the context does not help and the clitic on the verb is not enough to resolve this conundrum. In this case, we believe there is another explanation, that offered by De Cat (2010: 21) who argues for two ways of reading a bare/indefinite noun in French: existential (i.e. “a single member of the group X”) and generic (“a typical X embodying all properties of X/representing all X”). And indeed this is an explanation that fits well with examples (9) and (11): the dislocated bare nouns in both these examples can be understood as referring to a generic idea of a nation (*poplu* in 9) and a typical inhabitant of Kenya (*Bniedem* in 11).

While Clitic Left Dislocation is the default classification for the structures described above, there are other constructions which involve left dislocation and object reduplication which might fit the observed data better. In the following sections, we will examine those structures to see whether that is indeed the case.

3.3. Hanging Topic Construction (HTC)

3.3.1. Definition

There is another structure closely associated and often conflated with Clitic Left (and Right) Dislocation, known in the classical tradition as *nominativus pendens* and in modern linguistics as Hanging Topic Construction (HTC), or, alternatively, Hanging Topic Left/Right Dislocation (HTLD/HTRD). Cinque (1983) is usually credited with the identification of the difference between CLLD and HTC and establishing the level of connectedness between the dislocated phrase and the rest of the sentence as the main difference between the two constructions. This observation is echoed by Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander (2009: 75–76) who observe that a left-dislocated and clitic-resumed topic is in a “looser relationship” to the rest of the sentence. Consequently, the question now before us is whether at least a part of what we have described here as CLLD actually is HTC.

The precise extent of differences between CLL/RD and HTC is a source of some controversy (see for example De Cat 2010: 107–108 and López 2009: 3–7) as well as subject to differences among individual languages and families. Table 2 (adapted from Villalba 2000: 81 and combined with De Cat 2010: 135–136) contains a list of criteria commonly used to differentiate CLLD from HTC (see below).

This all-inclusive list is not without its problems, so for example some of these criteria are rather difficult to measure (such as 8) while some others cannot be applied to Maltese (for example (1), considering that Maltese object clitics only correspond to NPs). In this section, we will use three of these features as diagnostic criteria to determine whether what we have described in the previous section is CLLD (which would

seem to be the case) or HTC, as the loose relationship of the dislocated constituent to the rest of the sentence would suggest. These features are: (1) connectedness, (2) iterativity and (3) occurrence of the structure in non-root contexts.

	Feature	CLLD	HTC
1.	Category neutral	any	NP only
2.	Iterative	+	–
3.	Non-root contexts	+	–
4.	Free ordering of dislocates	+	–
5.	Obligatory resumptive	clitic only	any
6.	Ordering with respect to wh-	C-CLLD-wh	C-HTLD-wh
7.	Connectedness	+	–
8.	Intonational break	weak	strong
9.	Sensitivity to islands	+	–

Table 2: Differences between CLLD and HTC

3.3.2. Connectedness

As Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander note (2009: 73–74), with left dislocation of both direct and indirect objects, the case markers are no longer obligatory. This is a fundamental characteristic of HTC – as hanging topics, the dislocated elements appear in their invariable or basic form (cf. also the classical *nominativus pendens*, López 2009: 4 and Sutcliffe 1936: 210–211) even when a different morphological form would be required and are thus more loosely connected with the rest of the sentence. In Maltese, this manifests itself chiefly through the use (or a lack thereof) of the object marker *lil* for animate direct objects and all indirect objects. In practice, this means that if what we observe in Maltese are instances of HTC, the normally obligatory object marker would be dropped throughout. However, as examples (6), (7), (10) and (12) above have shown, Maltese left dislocation is very well compatible with object markers. It follows from this that at least in some cases, left-dislocated and object-reduplicated object NPs are instances of CLLD and not of HTC.

3.3.3. Iterativity

HTC, as opposed to CLLD, is generally argued to be non-iterative (Villalba 2000: 86 and the discussion therein) – in other words, only one instance of hanging topic is allowed per sentence, no matter what the argument type. Consider therefore the following example:

Hemm spejjeż li se nħallsuhom aħna, fosthom il-price guns, il-calculators, il-conversion tables u l-istickers li jridu jitwaħħlu.

‘There are costs which we will reimburse, like price guns, calculators, conversion tables and stickers which they will need to replace.’

- (14) *Dawn lil tal-ħwienet qed*
 these DAT GEN-DEF-shop.PL PROG
nagħtuhomlhom aħna ...
 1.IMPF-give-PL=CL.ACC.3PL=CL.DAT.3PL we
 ‘These we are giving to the shop-keepers ...’ [BC – Parliament-882]

This sentence features two objects: the direct object *dawn*, a demonstrative pronoun referring to the list of reimbursed items, and the indirect object *tal-ħwienet*, an NP consisting of a genitive particle and a noun together forming an occupational designation ‘shop-keeper’.² Both objects are resumed by a clitic – *-hom* in case of *dawn* and *-lhom* for *tal-ħwienet* and going by the definition of HTC and CLLD, at least one of them must therefore be interpreted as an instance of CLLD.

3.3.4. Root vs. non-root contexts

Another key feature of HTC in contrast to CLLD is that while CLLD can occur in both root and non-root contexts (i.e. it can be embedded), HTC can only be found in root contexts. Consider therefore the following examples involving both a direct and an indirect object embedded in a subordinate clause:

- (15) ... *jien naħseb li finalment din ir-responsabblià*
 ... I 1SG.IMPF-think that finally this.F DEF-responsibility
trid iġġorrha wkoll
 3SG.F.IMPF-want 3SG.F.IMPF-shoulder=CL.ACC.3SG.F too
it-tmexxija tal-Partit Nazjonalista ...
 DEF-leadership GEN-DEF-party nationalist-F
 ‘... but I think that finally, this responsibility, the leadership of the nationalist party has to shoulder it as well.’ [BC – illum-2008-01-20_t3]
- (16) ... *il-GWU bdiet il-ħidma tagħha biex*
 ... DEF-[name] begin.PERF-3SG.F DEF-work her so that
il-ħaddiema jingħatalhom dak kollu
 DEF-worker.PL 3SG.IMPF-PASS-give=CL.DAT.3PL that everything
dovut kif ipprovdut fil-ftehim kollettiv.
 due as provide-PASS.PART in-DEF-contract collective
 ‘... the GWU began their work so that the workers will be given all they are due as provided in the collective agreement.’ [BC – lorizzont-28721]

In both these cases, the left-dislocated element is embedded in a subordinate clause introduced by *li* and *biex*, respectively, which would not be the case if either were a

² Note that the singular is *tal-ħanut*, literally ‘GEN-DEF-shop’ and the plural of this occupational designation is formed by pluralizing the noun.

hanging topic. The conclusion one must draw is therefore that both these structures are instances of CLLD and not HTC.

3.3.5. Conclusion

Having examined several examples of left dislocated and clitic-resumed objects to determine which of the two phenomena are being observed here, we must conclude that the evidence is ambiguous at best. In some cases, we are no doubt looking at Clitic Left Dislocation, in others, the description of Hanging Topic Construction fits the data better. The conclusion one might thus draw is that, syntactically speaking, both CLLD and HTC occur in Maltese, though what the functional distinction is, if there is indeed any, still needs to be determined.

But then there are structures like the one in example (16): the left-dislocated and clitic-resumed indirect object *il-haddiema* is embedded in a subordinate clause and thus must be – in accordance with the definitions above – considered an example of CLLD. On the other hand, *il-haddiema* is not preceded by the indirect object marker *lil-* which is normally obligatory, so the object NP is disconnected from the rest of the sentence, a feature typical of HTC. This left-dislocated clitic-resumed structure thus displays characteristics of both HTC and CLLD at the same time. Considering the lack of any meaningful distinction between the two structures, the more appropriate conclusion regarding the existence of both phenomena in Maltese would be that the distinction between HTC and CLLD is not applicable to Maltese, at least at the current stage of its development.

3.4. Focus Fronting

Previously, left dislocation was commonly considered synonymous with topicalization and thus the only construction in which object reduplication is obligatory (Borg & Azopardi-Alexander 1997: 124). Consider, however, the following two examples with pronouns as left-dislocated objects and missing clitics on the verbs:

Rajtu kemm hi tajba Marlene tagħna.
‘You saw how good our Marlene is.’

- (17) *Lilha* *ha* *miegħu* *l-President.*
ACC-3SG.F take.PERF.3SG.M with=3SG.M DEF-president.
‘The President took her with him.’

[Bubulistan Corpus – illum-2009-08-30_t14]

It-twegiba kienet qawwija: “Hawn xi hadd f’dan il-pajjiż li jiddubita mill-onestà ta’ Joe Cassar?” L-għada šabi qaluli:

‘The answer was a forceful one: ‘Is there someone in this country who questions the honesty of Joe Cassar?’ The next morning, friends told me:’

- (18) *Lilek* *biss* *iddefenda*.
 ACC-2SG only defend.PERF.3SG.M
 ‘He only defended you.’ [BC – illum-2008-02-24_t149]

Fabri & Borg (2002: 360) describe sentences with this constituent order (OVS) and absent clitics as the only possible structure for placing focus on the object. This description seemingly fits with the examples above and would correspond with what is commonly referred to as Focus Fronting. But is it really how both utterances above should be interpreted? To use the classic definition (Comrie 1989: 62–64), which Fabri & Borg do as well (Fabri & Borg 2002: 355), focus provides new information by selecting one option from a range of choices. And indeed that is precisely what the first statement does: we are informed that out of the many options available, it was Marlene whom the President chose to accompany him. The second statement, however, does not convey any new information or choice at all – both *Joe Cassar* and *Lilek* have the same referent, the author of the text the quote is taken from.

To further illustrate the complexities involved, consider the following two sets of text fragments, paying attention to the words in bold:

*Qed issir hafna hidma tajba minn **nies** li jibqghu fid-dell, u jahdmu minghajr ma jidhru.*

‘Many **people** do a lot of good work and stay in the shadows and work without being seen.’

- (19) *Lilhom* *irridu* *naghtuhom* *kull* *gieh*.
 ACC-3PL 1IMPF-want-PL 1IMPF-give-PL=CL.ACC.3PL all respect.
 ‘To them we wish to give them all respect.’ [BC – ittorca-4486]

*Niftakar li kien kelimni l-president Michael Buttigieg u offrieli li nibda nitharreg b'xejn fuq l-isnuker tal-**kazın**.*

‘I remember that president MB talked to me and offered to start practicing snooker for free in the **club**.’

- (20) *Lilhom* *irrid* *nghid* *grazzi kbira*.
 DAT-3PL 1SG.IMPF-want 1SG.IMPF-say thanks big-F.
 ‘To them I want to say thank you very much.’ [BC – illum-2006-11-19_sport]

Both these examples show essentially the same syntactic and informational structure: first, a group of people is referred to (*nies* in 19, *kazın* in 20) in the first sentence. The second sentence then picks up the reference by a left-dislocated pronoun, the direct object of the verb *ta/qal*, respectively. However, in the first case, the direct object is resumed by a clitic, whereas in the second, it is not. Why that is so, we cannot yet answer. It is quite possible that object reduplication can be suppressed by the verb, especially in particular contexts (as here in the collocation of ‘to say’ and ‘thanks’), but

preliminary corpus data shows no such preference for the verb *qal*, i.e. *qal grazzi* does indeed often occur with object reduplication.

Examples like these highlight the fact that the informational structure of the Maltese sentence is still poorly understood and the traditional labels ‘topic’ and ‘focus’ are perhaps not entirely helpful in elucidating it.

3.5. Right-dislocation phenomena

Having examined object reduplication phenomena involving objects dislocated to the left periphery, we now join Camilleri (2011: 150) in wondering whether similar structures can be found on the right periphery. Recalling what has been said about CLLD above, one might therefore set out to examine the Maltese sentence in search of instances of right dislocation, expecting to find something similar to this example from French:

- (21) *On ne les invite pas, les malotrus.*
 one NEG CL.3PL invite.3SG.PRES NEG DEF.PL lout-PL
 ‘We don’t invite louts.’ [De Cat 2010: 99]

And indeed there are many examples of such a structure to be found in Maltese:

- (22) *Issa meta nkun nibda nitkellem Mr. Speaker*
 now when 1SG.IMPF-be 1SG.IMPF-begin 1SG.IMPF-speak Mr. Speaker
nibda niftakarhom dawn il-fatti
 1SG.IMPF-begin 1SG.IMPF-remember=CL.ACC.3PL these DEF-fact.PL
 ‘Now as I begin to speak, Mr. Speaker, I begin to remember them, these facts.’
 [BC – Parliament-1118, Parliament Debates, 10th Parliament, Session no. 275, June 1st, 2005]

- (23) *Qed nammirah il- il-Prim Ministru*
 PROG 1SG.IMPF-admire=CL.ACC.3SG.M DEF DEF-prime minister
għal kuraġġ li għandu...
 on courage REL have.PRES-3SG.M
 ‘I admire the Prime Minister because of his courage’
 [BC – Parliament-826, Parliament Debates, 10th Parliament, Session no. 543, June 26th, 2007]³

But are these lexical object NPs really at the right periphery (as opposed to the core) of the sentence and, consequently, are these really instances of right dislocation? In both these examples, the order of constituents is (S)VO which is the basic unmarked word order in Maltese. We are therefore looking at object reduplication with object in situ

³ It is notable that examples (22) and (23) are among those where the transcription of the debate (and thus the respective entry in the Bulbulistan Corpus) differs slightly from what was actually said and recorded in the session (see the respective links in the References). Both examples are therefore reproduced from the audio recordings.

which, according to the definitions we provided in section 3.1 above, should be a case of Clitic Doubling proper. The task before us now is therefore to determine whether a) what we have here are instances of (Clitic) Right Dislocation or Clitic Doubling Proper and b) whether it makes any sense to make that distinction. We believe the second part of this question should be answered in the positive and that there are at least two ways in which Clitic Doubling Proper and Clitic Right Dislocation in Maltese differ from each other.

First, there's the issue of grammaticality. In Maltese, there appear to be two types of structures involving object reduplication with object in situ: one where OR is not compulsory and one where it is. In other words, if we leave out the clitic in, say, example (22), the resulting sentence will still be grammatical (what, if anything, changes, in terms of semantics and pragmatics, is a different matter.) There are, however, sentences such as the following example, where once the ACC.1SG clitic *-ni* is removed, the resulting sentence will be ungrammatical:

- (24) *Din tas-south u north f' Malta*
 this.M GEN-DEF-south and north in [name]
ddaħħakni jien.
 3SG.F.IMPF.make.laugh =CL.ACC.1SG I
 'This talk of the South and the North in Malta makes me laugh.'
 [BC – kullhadd_2009.March.18_kullhadd_20090318173]

- (25) **Din tas-south u north f' Malta ddaħħak jien.*

One will of course notice immediately the similarities to what has been discussed in reference to left dislocation and especially HTC. But on its own, this distinction is hardly sufficient as a diagnostic criterion, doubly so since it is only applicable to full pronouns. This is where the phonological aspects come into play. Note the French example (21) and the comma which separates the object NP from the rest of the sentence. This comma indicates an intonational break which is the chief characteristic of Clitic Right Dislocation as opposed to Clitic Doubling Proper (Krapova & Cinque 2008: 271, Friedman 2008: 39). Consider therefore the analysis of intonation in examples (22) and (23) above:

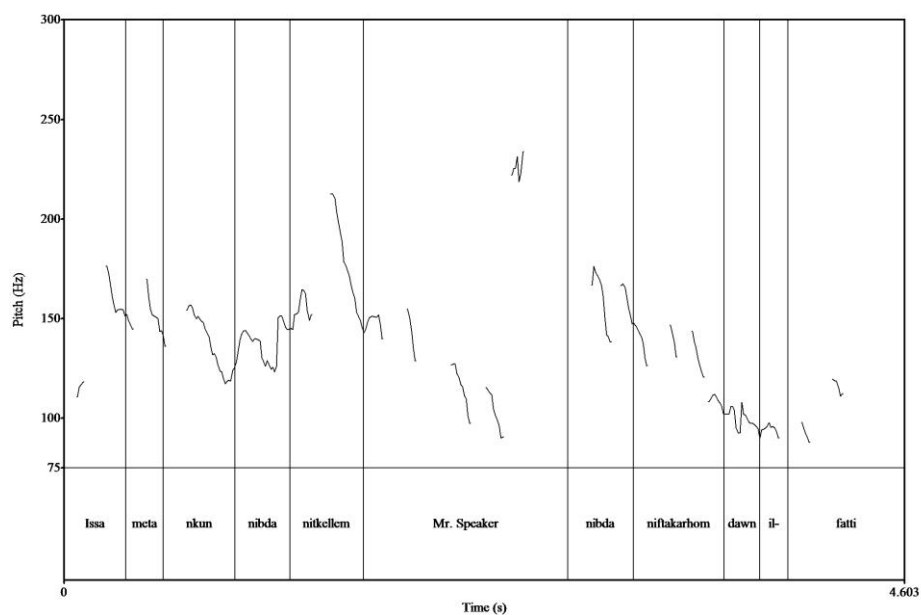


Figure 1: *Issa meta nkun nibda nitkellem Mr. Speaker nibda niftakarhom dawn il-fatti* (Example 22)

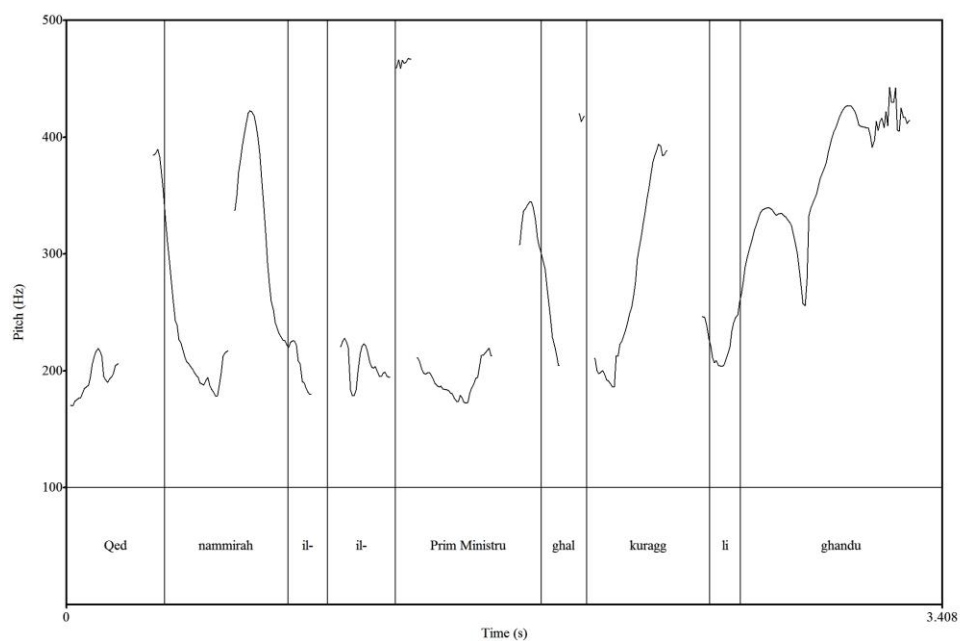


Figure 2: *Qed nammirah il- il-Prim Ministru ghal kuragg li ghandu ...* (Example 23)

Note the distinction here: in example (22) (Figure 1), both the encliticized verb (*nif-takarhom*) and the object NP (*dawn il-fatti*) are a part of a single intonational unit with the straightforward fall typical of Maltese declaratives (Vella 2003: 274). In example (23) (Figure 2), however, that falling contour is limited to the final stressed syllable of the encliticized verb (*nammiRAH*), indicating the end of the statement (cf. also Figure 3 in Vella 2003: 274). The object NP is thus a separate intonational unit, a fact highlighted by the false start definite article (transcribed as *il- il-*). In terms of the analysis of object reduplication phenomena outlined in section 3.1, example (22) with the object in situ would be an instance of Clitic Doubling Proper. Example (23), where the object is in fact dislocated to the right, would then be an instance of Clitic Right Dislocation. This closely mirrors the situation on the left periphery (Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander 2009) where the left dislocated element is separated from the rest of the clause by a pronounced intonational break. Unlike in that case, however, here on the right this phonological aspect is the only reliable test of the Clitic Right Dislocation and only a detailed study of the phonological goings on in the right periphery can confirm and further elucidate our findings here. In what follows, we will nevertheless attempt to take this line of research further by looking at some of the fundamental properties of both constructions aided, whenever possible, by evaluating the secondary evidence for the phonological distinction described above, such as the insertion of a word or phrase between the encliticized verb and the lexical object.

3.6. Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD)/Afterthought

While the name may suggest as much, Clitic Right Dislocation in Maltese is not the exact polar opposite of Clitic Left Dislocation – in fact, CLRD differs from CLLD in several significant aspects. First, the scope of CLRD is much narrower. Recall the various types of NPs that can be dislocated to the left – along with definite and inherently definite NPs, pronouns and bare nouns, some types of quantified phrases and coordinated NPs can be dislocated as well. This is not the case with CLRD – preliminary corpus data shows no instances of CLRD with quantified NPs or bare/indefinite NPs. The scope of CLRD is thus limited to definite and inherently definite NPs.

Secondly, there's the function of CLRD. Where CLLD as the primary topicalization structure in Maltese introduces or highlights what the sentence is about, CLRD often assumes the opposite role and provides clarification as to what has been talked about. This structure whose primary function is to resolve ambiguity is described as Afterthought (Villalba 2000: 155) and is perfectly illustrated by the following example:

Jiena m'iniex ekonomista izda nahseb li min huwa tabilhaqq ekonomista jink-wieta meta jibda jara dan ic-caqliq ta' cifri ta' spiss. Ta' spiss, kif tafu sew intom ukoll, gheziez qarrejja, il-gvern ta' Gonzi jiftahar li l-Unjoni Ewropea qieghda ttaptaplu fuq spalltu talli l-eko-nomija miexja 'l quddiem.

‘I am not an economist, but I think that real economists will be troubled when looking at this numbers game. Often, as you well know, dear readers, Gonzi’s government brags that the EU constantly taps them on the shoulder because the economy progresses.’

- (26) *Min jaghtihomlha, wara kollox,*
 who 3SG.M.IMPF-give=CL.ACC.3PL=CL.DAT.3SG.F after all
dawn ic-cifri lill-Unjoni Ew-ropea?
 these DEF-figure-PL DAT-DEF-union european-F
 ‘Who gives them to them, after all, these figures, to the EU?’ [BC – ittorca-5474]

First, note the discourse particle *wara kollox* which separates the verb from the object NP, thus confirming that we are in fact looking at an instance of CLRD. The pragmatic properties are then immediately obvious – having mentioned the economic figures, the writer of this opinion piece loses that particular train of thought and when the time comes to pick up the reference to the two topics under discussion – the figures and the EU – by means of a clitic, he suddenly finds himself with an ambiguity that he resolves by means of the appropriate right-dislocated NPs, i.e. an Afterthought. The same analysis can, naturally, be applied to example (23).

It should be noted, however, that in Villalba’s analysis cited above (which is based chiefly on Romance languages), Afterthought and CLRD are actually two different structures with different properties. One such criterion is the obligatory connectedness for CLRD (Villalba 2000: 143) versus the lack of this restriction with Afterthought (Villalba 2000: 158). And in fact, both examples (23) and (24) display the lack of connectedness: in (23), the lexical object *il-Prim Ministru* would – as an animate NP – normally require the direct object marker *lil*; in (24), the full pronoun would normally take its oblique form, i.e. *lili*, thus supporting the conclusion that both these examples are instances of Afterthought. However, there are instances such as the following example, where the connectedness is carried across the (presumable) intonational boundary, represented here by the particle *sew*:

- (27) *Marku u Riku kienu jafuh*
 [name] and [name] be.PERF-3PL 3.IMPF-know-PL=CL.ACC.3SG.M
sew lil Salvu wkoll ...
 of course ACC [name] too ...
 ‘Marku and Riku naturally knew Salvu as well ...’ [‘It-Tielet Qamar’, p. 11]

Much like with CLLD and HTC, whether the distinction between CLRD and Afterthought in fact holds for Maltese remains still to be determined.

The picture above is further complicated by the fact that Afterthought may not be the only type of right dislocation structure in Maltese. Consider example (24): here the full pronoun does not provide any additional clarification, but rather serves to emphasize or perhaps provide contrastive focus, in which case this would be more aptly classified as

a focus movement structure, perhaps on par with Focus Fronting. Any full account of right-dislocation structures in Maltese thus still remains a desideratum.

3.7. Clitic Doubling Proper (CD)

Turning now to Clitic Doubling Proper, we will note that in addition to the phonological aspects cited above, CD differs from both CLLD and CLRD in other ways. CD, for example, is an optional phenomenon throughout, whereas in CLLD and CLRD object reduplication is obligatory. Furthermore, the scope of CD is much narrower than that of CLLD, but wider than that of CLRD since CD is possible with bare nouns:

- (28) *Mhux id-divorzju li jkissirha koppja ...*
 NEG DEF-divorce that 3SG.M.IMPF-break=CL.ACC.3SG.F couple ...
 ‘It’s not the divorce that breaks up a couple ...’ [BC – lorizzont-59964]

Fabri (this volume) examines structures of this type in closer detail noting some semantic peculiarities in their interpretation which echo the notion of semantic triggers for some types of CD (cf. Krapova & Cinque 2008: 266–271).

In general, however, the pragmatic role of CD constructions in Maltese remains an open question. In some types of constructions, clear patterns can be observed. For example, one will note the frequent occurrence of CD in exclamations, exhortations and especially questions:

Exclamations:

- (29) *Kemm ghajjruh lill-K. Mifsud Bonnici!*
 how denounce.PERF-3PL=CL.ACC.3SG.M ACC-DEF-[name]
 ‘How they denounced Karmenu Mifsud Bonnici!’ [BC – Parliament-552]

Exhortations:

- (30) *Halli niċċekkjawha dik forsi*
 let 1IMPF-check-PL=CL.ACC.3SG.F this.F maybe
nsibu xi haġa oħra.
 1IMPF-find-PL some thing other.F
 ‘Let’s check this, maybe we’ll find something else.’ [BC – Parliament-1957]

Questions:

- (31) *Niftakruhom in-nies bla xogħol?*
 1IMPF-remember-PL=CL.ACC.3PL DEF-people without work
 ‘Do we remember people without work?’ [BC – Parliament-9883]

This last example is a notable one: the particular speech of which this document is a record contains a veritable litany of questions of this type, each introducing a new ob-

ject. The lexical object in these cases can thus be interpreted as being in focus which would provide further evidence for the deep connection between questions and focus (Dukova-Zheleva 2010).

Then there are examples such as the following one, where the lexical object of the verb *uża* looks like a perfect example of a discourse-level topic. Note that the first instance of that NP (*il-kubrit*) occurs in a question and is object-reduplicated as well:

“Mela issa kull ma jonqosni kubrit,u ġarar tal-fuħħar.” qal Riku, iżjed lil nnifsu milli lil l-oħrajn, “Tużawh il-kubrit hawnhekk biex tiehdu ħsieb ix-xtieli u s-siġar?” ...
“Now all I need is sulphur and some jars,” said Riku, more to himself than to the others. “Do you use sulphur here to take care of seedlings and trees?” ...

- (32) *Nużawh* *il-kubrit.*
 1IMPF-use-PL=CL.ACC.3SG.M DEF-sulphur
 ‘We do use sulphur.’ [‘It-Tielet Qamar’, p. 233]

In other cases, however, the function of CD remains a puzzle (or, as some would put it, a structure in free variation). Consider, for example, this set of sentences with nearly identical structure:

- (33) *Xon qatt ma kien rah*
 [name] never NEG be.PERF.3SG.M see.PERF.3SG.M=CL.ACC.3SG.M
lil dan ir-raġel ...
 ACC this.M DEF-man ...
 ‘Xon had never seen this man ...’ [‘It-Tielet Qamar’, p. 10]

- (34) *Qatt ma kien ra*
 never NEG be.PERF.3SG.M see.PERF.3SG.M
dik id-dehra qabel.
 that.F DEF-view before.
 ‘He had never seen that view before.’ [BC – ittorca-26JUL2012-41922]

To explain the precise extent of the difference between these two sentences and, by extension, the function of CD in the first one, is a task that will require a thorough treatment of the issue of informational structure of Maltese and related questions and we will therefore, begging kind readers’ indulgence, leave it for another time.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, we attempted to provide a brief overview of object reduplication and related structures in Maltese based on research into these phenomena in Romance languages and languages of the Balkan *Sprachbund*. Using that research as a paradigm and real life language data, we have analyzed several types of object reduplication structures

and their properties, reevaluating the current consensus on the subject where necessary and providing additional evidence and analysis when in agreement with it.

The many lacunae in our account highlight the need for the thorough treatment of some of the fundamental aspects of Maltese syntax, such as constituent order and informational structure, which is the direction we expect our follow-up research to take. Additionally, the subject of object reduplication opens up many interesting avenues of comparative research within Arabic dialectology and Semitology in general, as well as in a much broader context, especially in dialogue with Romance linguistics and *Balkanistik*.

References

Primary Sources

- BC: Bulbulistan Corpus, accessible at <http://www.bulbul.sk/bonito2/> (login: guest, password: Ghilm3)
- Bonello, John A. (2009): *It-Tielet Qamar*. Malta.
- Audio recording of Parliament Debates, 10th Parliament, Session no. 275, June 1st, 2005: <http://www.parliament.mt/filebank/audio/275%2001-06-2005%206.00.00%20PM.mp3>, retrieved on August 25th, 2012, backed up at http://www.bulbul.sk/ghilm3/Parliament-1118-275_01-06-2005_6.00.00_PM.mp3 in its entirety and at <http://www.bulbul.sk/ghilm3/Figure1.wav> containing only the cited portion of the audio.
- Audio recording of Parliament Debates, 10th Parliament, Session no. 543, June 26th, 2007: <http://www.parliament.mt/filebank/audio/543%2026-06-2007%201800hrs.mp3>, retrieved on August 25th, 2012, backed up at http://www.bulbul.sk/ghilm3/Parliament-826-543_26-06-2007_1800hrs.mp3 in its entirety and at <http://www.bulbul.sk/ghilm3/Figure2.wav> containing only the cited portion of the audio.

Secondary Sources

- Aoun, Joseph (1999): Clitic-doubled arguments, in: Jaeggli, Osvaldo; Johnson, Kyle & Roberts, Ian G. (eds), *Beyond principles and parameters: essays in memory of Osvaldo Jaeggli*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 13–42.
- Aoun, Joseph E.; Benmamoun, Elias & Choueiri, Lina (2010): *The syntax of Arabic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aquilina, Joseph (1959): *The structure of Maltese: a study in mixed grammar and vocabulary*. Msida: Royal Univ. of Malta.
- Boersma, Paul & Weenink, David (2012): *Praat: doing phonetics by computer* [Computer program]. Version 5.3.23, retrieved 26th August 2012 from <http://www.praat.org/>
- Borg, Albert & Azzopardi-Alexander, Marie (1997): *Maltese. Lingua descriptive grammars*. London: Routledge.
- Borg, Albert & Azzopardi-Alexander, Marie (2009): Topicalisation in Maltese, in: Comrie, Bernard; Fabri, Ray; Hume, Elisabeth; Mifsud, Manwel; Stolz, Thomas & Vanhove, Martine (eds.), *Introducing Maltese linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 71–81.

- Camilleri, Maris (2011): On pronominal verbal enclitics in Maltese, in: Caruana, Sandro; Fabri, Ray & Stolz, Thomas (eds.), *Variation and change: the dynamics of Maltese in space, time and society*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 131–156.
- Cecchetto, Carlo (1999): A comparative analysis of left and right dislocation in Romance, in: *Studia Linguistica* 53(1), 40–67.
- Choueiri, Lisa (2002): *Issues in the syntax of resumption: restrictive relatives in Lebanese Arabic*. Los Angeles: GSIL Publications University of Southern California
- Cinque, Guglielmo (1977): The movement nature of left dislocation, in: *Linguistic Inquiry* 8(2), 397–412.
- Cinque, Guglielmo (1983): ‘Topic’ constructions in some European languages and ‘connectedness’, in: Anagnostopoulou, Elena; van Riemsdijk, Henk & Zwarts, Frans (eds.), *Materials on left dislocation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 93–118.
- Coghill, Eleanor (2012): *Differential object marking in Neo-Aramaic*. In print.
- Comrie, Bernard (1989): *Language universals and linguistic typology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Cowell, Mark W. (1964): *Reference grammar of Syrian Arabic: based on the dialect of Damascus*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Cruschina, Silvio (2009): The syntactic role of discourse-related features, in: *Cambridge Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 5, 15–30.
- De Cat, Cécile (2010): *French dislocation. Interpretation, syntax, acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mira & Vulchanov, Valentin (2008): Clitic doubling and Old Bulgarian, in: Kalluli, Dalina & Tasmowski, Liliane (eds.), *Clitic doubling in the Balkan languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 105–132.
- Dukova-Zheleva, Galina (2010): *Questions and focus in Bulgarian*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa, unpublished PhD thesis (<http://semanticsarchive.net/Archive/zhkMjgzY/Questions%20and%20Focus%20in%20Bulgarian.pdf>, retrieved on August 30th, 2012).
- Fabri, Ray (1993): *Kongruenz und die Grammatik des Maltesischen*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Fabri, Ray & Borg, Albert (2002): Topic, focus and word order in Maltese, in: Youssi, Abderrahim; Benjelloun, Fouzia; Dahbi, Mohamed & Iraqui-Sinaceur, Zakia (eds.), *Aspects of the dialects of Arabic today*. Rabat: Amapatril, 354–363.
- Friedman, Victor A. (2008): Balkan object reduplication in areal and dialectological perspective, in: Kalluli, Dalina & Tasmowski, Liliane (eds.), *Clitic doubling in the Balkan languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 35–63.
- Guerssel, Mohamed (1995): Berber clitic doubling and syntactic extraction, in: *Revue québécoise de linguistique* 24, 111–133.
- Holton, David; Mackridge, Peter & Philippaki-Warbuton, Irene (2007): *Greek: a comprehensive grammar of the Modern language*. Repr. London: Routledge.
- Jaeggli, Osvaldo (1982): *Topics in Romance syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Kallulli, Dalina (1999): The comparative syntax of Albanian: on the contribution of syntactic types to propositional interpretation. Durham: Durham University (unpublished PhD dissertation).
- Kalluli, Dalina & Tasmowski, Liliane (eds.) (2008a): *Clitic doubling in the Balkan languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kalluli, Dalina & Tasmowski, Liliane (2008b): Clitic doubling, core syntax and the interfaces, in: Kalluli, Dalina & Tasmowski, Liliane (eds.), *Clitic doubling in the Balkan languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1–32.

- Khan, Geoffrey (1984): Object markers and agreement pronouns in Semitic languages, in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47(3), 468–500.
- Krapova, Iliyana & Cinque, Guglielmo (2008): Clitic reduplication constructions in Bulgarian, in: Kalluli, Dalina & Tasmowski, Liliane (eds.), *Clitic doubling in the Balkan languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 257–287.
- López, Luis (2009): *A derivational syntax for information structure*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mišeska-Tomić, Olga (ed.) (2004): *Balkan syntax and semantics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mišeska-Tomić, Olga (2006): *Balkan Sprachbund morpho-syntactic features*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Müller, Stefan (2009): A head-driven phrase structure grammar for Maltese, in: Comrie, Bernard; Fabri, Ray; Hume, Elisabeth; Mifsud, Manwel; Stolz, Thomas & Vanhove, Martine (eds.), *Introducing Maltese linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 83–112.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu (2005): *Classical Syriac: a basic grammar with a chrestomathy*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Ouali, Hamid (2011): *Agreement, pronominal clitics and negation in Tamazight Berber: a unified analysis*. London: Continuum.
- Rivero, Maria Lusia & Ralli, Angela (2001): *Comparative syntax of Balkan languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sutcliffe, Edmund (1936): *A grammar of the Maltese language with chrestomathy and vocabulary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sobolev, Andrej N. (2004): On the areal distribution of syntactic properties in the languages of the Balkans, in: Mišeska Tomić, Olga (ed.), *Balkan syntax and semantics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 61–100.
- Tsakali, Vina & Anagnostopoulou, Elena (2008): Rethinking the clitic doubling parameter, in: Kalluli, Dalina & Tasmowski, Liliane (eds.), *Clitic doubling in the Balkan languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 322–357.
- Vella, Alexandra (2003): Language contact and Maltese intonation: some parallels with other language varieties, in: Braunmüller, Kurt & Ferraresi, Gisella (eds.), *Aspects of multilingualism in European language history*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 261–283.
- Vella, Alexandra (2009): On Maltese prosody, in: Comrie, Bernard; Fabri, Ray; Hume, Elisabeth; Mifsud, Manwel; Stolz, Thomas & Vanhove, Martine (eds.), *Introducing Maltese linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 47–68.
- Villalba, Xavier (2000): The syntax of sentence periphery. Barcelona: Universitat autònoma de Barcelona (unpublished PhD dissertation).
- Zagona, Karen (2003): *The syntax of Spanish*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.