

**CLITIC DOUBLING OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS
WITH THE USE OF PREPOSITIONS IN THE DIALECTS
OF THE PRIZREN-TIMOK AREA***

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Abstract. *An overview of the clitic doubling of personal pronouns with the use of prepositions in the speeches of the Prizren-Timok area, as well as the area covered by its use is given in this paper. So far, special attention has not been given to this occurrence in the literature and it has not been registered in certain dialects of the Prizren-Timok area. Firstly, a brief overview of the phenomenon of object reduplication is presented and, then, attention is given to pronominal reduplication. Through the analysis of the monographs on the topic of the dialects of the Prizren-Timok area and the most recent research on the Preševo dialect, the conclusion that the clitic doubling of personal pronouns is done with the use of prepositions, which is primarily connected to the dialects which have a more pronounced analytism, was arrived at.*

Key words: *clitic doubling of personal pronouns, Prizren-Timok dialects, Preševo.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Object doubling and the use of enclitic forms of personal pronouns, along with the emphasised forms of the pronoun are very important syntactic “Balkanisms”, and they are the most important characteristic of the Balkan Language Initiative (Ivić 1990: 196, Neweklowsky 2000: 380). This phenomenon is present in Greek, Romanian Albanian, Macedonian, Bulgarian and to a certain extent in Serbian. Balkan languages differ in the frequency of their use of object reduplication, and it is most present in Albanian, the West and Southwest dialects of Bulgarian, and in Macedonian literary language. In Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian this phenomenon occurs in folk dialects (see Asanova 2002: 116).

During the process of object doubling, the object that is specified is reduplicated, and it is more common for the reduplicated object to be placed before a verb. The indirect object is more susceptible to this process than the direct one. The doubling of the object

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that is expressed through a personal pronoun is the most prominent one (see Asenova 2002), due to which the clitic doubling of personal pronouns is more noticeable in the dialects covered in the literature describing them. Regarding the fact that the fundamental condition for doubling is the specificity of the object, it is evident that personal pronouns are appropriate for that linguistic process since they point to specificity themselves (Asenova 2002: 110–111). The instance of object replication is explained by Asenova as the compensation for the loss of synthetism in the process of declination by using the pronoun forms and their doubling, which could explain syntactic junctures and denote grammatical meanings.

The reduplication of objects occurs in the Balkan languages in different ways. In Greek, doubling is used when the speaker intends to emphasise something, and even then only the non-emphasised form of the personal pronoun is used. In Albania, the doubling of the real object is shown by the emphasised and non-emphasised forms of the personal pronouns for first and second person. In Macedonian the doubling of the real and unreal object (given through the full forms of personal pronouns, demonstrative, reflexive, relative and interrogative pronouns and the noun in a specified aspect, though there are occurrences in speech when there is doubling of an object even if the aspect of the noun is not specified) is done by the use of enclitic forms of personal pronouns. In Bulgarian, the situation is similar to Macedonian, but the occurrence is less common. In Romanian, object reduplication is widely spread, and the object given in the form of first and second person personal pronouns is doubled through the use of non-emphasised forms of personal pronouns.

In Serbian, the phenomenon of object doubling is present in the Prizren-Timok dialect zone, and occasionally in the Kosovo-Resava dialect and certain Zeta-Sjenica dialects, as well as the Serbian dialects through the Romanian Banat (see Miloradović 2007; Bošnjaković, Varenika 2008). Miloradović wrote about the status of object reduplication in Serbian dialects, and said that its occurrence in the Prizren-Timok dialect is sporadic and less widely spread than when Aleksandar Belić researched it (Miloradović 2009: 288, 292). A comparative overview of the occurrence of direct object doubling in the dialect of the Vranje area and in French was carried out by Đelić (2000).

This paper gives an overview of the use of the personal pronoun reduplication in the Prizren-Timok dialects with a special emphasis on the occurrence in the meaning of the unreal object, that is, in the dative case where a preposition is used along with the full form of the pronoun.

2. OBJECT DOUBLING IN THE SERBIAN PREŠEVO SPEECH¹

Based on the material gathered in the Preševo dialect,² which belongs to the most southern type of South-Morava dialects of the Serbian language, and comparing it to other dialects of the Prizren Timok dialect area, the use of clitic pronominal reduplication with the use of preposition is emphasised.

¹ The terms *dialect* and *speech* in Serbian dialectology have different meanings. Namely, *dialect* is a broader term than *speech*, that is, *speech* is subordinate in relation to *dialect*. It further entails that one dialect can encompass several folk speeches and that one speech is found in the frame of a certain dialect. For example, the Prizren-Southmoravian dialect encompasses: the speech of Prizren, Pčinja, Preševo, Leskovac, Niš etc.

² The material for the Serbian Preševo dialect was gathered throughout 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2013 for a PhD dissertation titled The speech of Preševo.

At the beginning of the paper, examples of the use of the doubled object in the Presevo dialect are given, confirming the existence of this Balkanism in actual speech, and later, the occurrence of the use of prepositions in the process of personal pronoun doubling is examined.

Doubling of the object given in the form of a noun:

da ti ga pripazi dete [to look after your child];³ *da ga puštu sina O* [to let your son];⁴ *znaš li ga Čedu P* [do you know Ceda]; *nemoj da ga zamotujete dete P* [do not wrap my child]; *ona ga mnogo očeše devera mi P* [she really wanted my brother-in-law]; *pisamo ga brdo R* [we were writing a lot]; *pčele ga ubole Bobe P* [the bees stung Bobe]; *Rade ga viknem P* [I call Rade]; *tatu ga izele pčele P* [the bees stung dad];

baba Dragu gu odvedoše O [they took grandma Draga]; *da gu vidi sestru O* [to see the sister]; *i doktoricu gu vikali P* [they called the doctor too]; *odvojiše gu školu C* [they separated the school]; *on gu ima bibliju T* [he has got a Bible]; *puštiše gu Terezu P* [they let Tereza]; *u Moravicu gu dovedev devojku P* [they bring a girl to Moravica]; *češmu gu posle praviše N* [they made the fountain later];

ali ne gi zbiram krajke P [but I don't gather crusts]; *noge da gi stavi u vodu P* [to put one's legs in the water]; *pa kad gi napuštamo koprive P* [to put the nettles down]; *što sam gi naredjala lutke P* [how nicely I have organized the dolls] etc.

In some examples the doubling of the object with a noun functioning as an object there is a demonstrative pronoun as the attribute⁵

kude nji ga je imaja taj roman O [they had that novel]; *i ubijev ga toga dečka O* [and they kill that boy]; *kako su ga vikali toj naselje R* [how did they call that settlement]; *toj snašće ne ga poznavam O* [I do not know that daughter-in-law]; *tuj tvoju babu dobro gu znam Č* [I know that grandma of yours very well]; *da gi nema svi tija iminja P* [if only there weren't all those names]; *daj gi tej kese P* [give me those bags]; *kad gi pušti ovej pesme P* [when he/she plays these songs] etc.

Doubling the object given in the form of a personal pronoun:

ma mene me sramota O [I am embarrassed]; *šta te briga tebe P* [why do you care]; *da ga njega tam turi P* [to put him there]; *nesu ga njega vikale Sz* [they did not call him]; *nesu ga njega kazale P* [they did not tell about him]; *dokle njega ne ga pitav O* [until they ask him]; *nas prošli put izlāža ne N* [he lied to us the last time]; *oni nas ne moliše takoj O* [they didn't beg us like that]; *ja vas ne ve poznavam O* [I do not know you];

³ The examples in this paper are not accented since that aspect is not relevant to the topic discussed in the paper. The translation of the meaning from the Standard Serbian language is given in square brackets, since the dialectic form could not be translated appropriately, having in mind that it is formally and semantically specific. For example: *da ti ga pripazi dete* would be: *da ti pripazi dete* or *da ti ga pripazi*, but for the dialect it is the doubling of the object in an utterance that is particularly important and it serves to emphasise the meaning.

⁴ Abbreviations that appear next to the examples from the speech of Preševo represent the name of the Preševo village that the example was noted in: P (Preševo), B (Buštranje), GD (Golemi Dol), Ž (Žujince), Lj (Ljanik), M (Mamince), N (Norča), O (Oraovica), R (Rajince), Rlj (Reljan), Sv (Svinjište), Sz (Strezovce), T (Trnava), C (Cakanovac), Č (Čukarka).

⁵ Mladenović (2001: 488–489) gives special attention to object doubling where it is needed for the noun to be specified by an element: personal name, article morpheme, demonstrative pronoun in preposition or postposition.

Drenci gi vikav nji O [they are called Drenci]; *kako su gi vikali nji R* [how did they call them]; *kromid i nji da gi operem P* [to wash them and the onion]; *nji ne gi pušti P* [do not let them] etc. (more examples in the following text).

Doubling the object given in the form of a non-personal pronoun:

Petrovci su gi vikale naši O [our people were called Petrovci]; *ovoj sam ga čuvala T* [I was saving this]; *ovoj koliko ga plati P* [how much did you pay for this]; *ovoj ne ga uzimam T* [I am not taking this]; *ovuj gu ne rabotimo* [we do not do this one]; *vračav gi ovija P* [they return these]; *znaješ gi ovija O* [you know these]; *ovija gi sretnale Sz* [they met them]; *ovija gi sretnamo P* [we have met them]; *koj ga je pisaja toj O* [who wrote that]; *ima gi on tija P* [he has those]; *tija ne gi znam N* [I do not know those]; *kam gu onaj druga P* [where is the other one]; *glej gi onija Ž* [look at those]; *onija gi sklona Ž* [I moved those]; *nema gi takvi P* [there are no such]; *onoliku gu je dignala M* [she picked up such a big one]; *ti koje gi pušiš Sl* [what are you smoking] etc.

3. CLITIC DOUBLING OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN THE PRIZREN-TIMOK DIALECTS IN THE LITERATURE

Personal pronoun doubling is present in all dialectic variants of the Prizren-Timok Serbian language and even further. It is usually mentioned in the literature in the context of stating that it is a combination of full and enclitic forms of personal pronouns and that “these combinations are used there where the literary language calls for the full form” (Ivić 1985: 113). It is interesting that the doubling of the personal pronoun forms is not connected to the cases when prepositions are used because in those occurrences “the undoubled form remains” (Ivić 1985: 113, see Peco 1985: 20). The examples from monographs on the Prizren-Timok dialects usually confirm that.⁶

During the analysis of the occurrence of pronominal reduplication as one of the types of “second group” analytisms, Miloradović concludes that dative is the case that is “dominantly reduplicated in relation to A [Accusative case], while there are significantly fewer examples in the genitive relation” (Miloradović 2007: 367). Denomination of dative meaning is important for the analysis of the occurrence of pronoun doubling with the use of prepositions. Namely, depending on the manner in which the meaning of this case is given – synthetically or analytically, the preposition will be used or not, along with the full form of a pronoun (or a noun) in the case of reduplication, as well.

In the material gathered by Belić there are no examples of pronoun doubling with the use of prepositions (Belić 1999: 277–285). He states that “the longer, accented forms are used when the pronoun is emphasised, when it is on the first place in a sentence, when it is used along with prepositions (since prepositions do not have an accent of their own)

⁶ For the purpose of this paper the examples from monographs and studies describing the following Prizren-Timok dialects are analysed: South and East Serbia dialects (Belić 1999), the speech of Srećka Župa (Pavlović 1939), the speech of Đakovica (Stevanović 1950), the speech of the Preševo-Bujanovac area (Barjaktarević 1966), Leskovac speech (Mihajlović 1977), Bučum and Beli Potok speeches (Bogdanović 1979), Lužnica speech (Čirić 1983), the speech of Aleksinačko Pomoravlje (Bogdanović 1987), Prizren speech (Remetić 1996), Crna Trava and Vlasina speech (Vukadinović 1996), the speech of Niš and neighbouring villages (Toma 1998), Zaplanje speech (Marković 2000), Gora speech (Mladenović 2001), the speech of the villages Gornji and Donji Pršjan (Milosavljević 2009), Gornja Pčinja speech (Jurišić 2009) and the speech of Kumanovo (Vidoeski 1962).

and when they are a component of the doubled pronoun”, which means that a preposition does not go with the full form of a pronoun in the case of doubling; however, Belić states further: “Instead of the dative form of the longer pronoun the genitive-accusative with a preposition is often used” (Belić 1999: 276), but it cannot be concluded whether that is true for the cases when doubling occurs. In *Dialects* the number of examples with doubling in dative is less common than those in other cases: *daj mi men* [give to me], *šće mi mene* [why do I need it], *a ja mu kaza njemu* [and I told him], *njojze vu daju* [they give to her], *ništa im njim ne bilo* [nothing happened to them] etc. In the examples for first person plural: *to ni neje nam posla* [it is not our job], *zabranujev ni nam* [they forbid us], Belić explains that in such forms *nam* “is not a regular component. That is the nature of *nas* in genitive, without a preposition, as well as in dative, only with a preposition” (Belić 1999: 278).

In Sretečka Župa doubling is more common in dative, and Pavlović (1939) gives the examples:

mene da mi dadeš [give to me], *mene mi dadoa* [gave to me], *da mi mene carstvo bastišete* [if I had a kingdom], *tebe ću ti kažem* [I will tell you], *tebe ti je pisano* [it is written for you], *ja da ti kažem tebe* [let me tell you], *biv mu sluga njemu* [he was a servant to him], *nama ni je žav za njega* [we are sorry for him], *on da vi je vama* [if he were to you], *njima gi skrši* [break to them] (Pavlović 1939: 171–173).

Stevanović (1950) explains the occurrence of personal pronoun doubling in the following manner: “Whenever it is needed to emphasise the pronoun, whenever there is a need to point out whom the meaning of the given sentence relates to, the forms of personal pronouns are doubled – that is, along with the enclitic form of the personal pronoun the accented form is used as well, or, if the pronoun itself cannot to the needed extent give the sought after specificity, instead of the longer form of the pronoun, and along with the enclitic form, the appropriate form of the noun is used” (Stevanović 1950: 113). The examples noted in the speech of Đakovica, relating to the dative case are:

ja ću mu njemu pokazat [I will show him], *nezgodno mu e njemu* [he does not find it comfortable], *mene mi je bija učitel'* [he was my teacher], *tebe će sve da ti kaž'ev* [they will tell you everything], *mene su mi prevarile* [I was cheated], *mene mi prodjoš'e godine* [years have passed for me], *ovaj mi e mene brat* [this one is my brother], *daj mu njemu* [give him], *dade mi mene rabotu* [he gave me a job], *mene mi e milo* [I am glad], *pa bi mi kaza mene* [so he told me].

In one of the examples, prepositions are used: *kolko da mi od mene ne traž'i* [as long as he doesn't ask me], where the full form has the genitive meaning, while the enclitics are dative in nature (Stevanović 1950: 113–114).

In *Leskovac speech* (Mihajlović 1977) two types of dative doubling are given: with a preposition and without one. The two examples given by Mihajlović have the pronoun doubling in dative with the use of the preposition *na* [on]:

odamna ni zbori na nas [he has been telling us for a long time]; *takav gim adet na nji* [their custom is like that].

Special, synthetic forms of dative are doubled without a preposition: *da vi vam kažem*; *nam ni dava, vam ne* [let me tell you; he/she gives it to us but not to you] (Mihajlović 1977: 36).

In the speech of Beli Potok the doubling of pronouns is less common than in Bučum (Bogdanović 1979). All the examples of doubling in dative do not have a preposition with the full form of a pronoun:

mene mi dojde nekako loše [I feel sort of bad], *mene mi se sloša* [I started feeling bad], *tebe ti vrevim* [I am yelling at you], *ka'dno teb ti dado* [when I gave you], *njemu su mu brajća pomreli* [his brothers died], *njoj si jo mati došla* [her mother came], *nam ni je mlogo štetu poprajilo* [he made a lot of damage to us], *sebe sam si isplela* [I knitted for myself], *nama nam je preko rat mnogo pomogo* [he helped us a lot during the war] (Bogdanović 1979: 127).

Ćirić is of the opinion that the doubling of personal pronouns is an “anachronic” occurrence for the speech of Lužnica, since there are very few confirmations (Ćirić 1983: 74). The only noted examples are in the dative case:

da im se njim teka broj ne znaje [their number is not known like that]; *men mi, bre, krivo* [I feel guilty]; *men mi beše došlo da rečem* [I feel like saying], *da mu njemu dademo* [to give him], *men mi ne trebu tvoje njive* [I don't need your fields].

In the speech of Aleksinačko Pomoravlje (Bogdanović 1987) the following examples are noted:

men mi se srce oladi [my heart grew cold], *dali mu njemu* [they gave him].

For the form *njemu* [to him] Bogdanović says that it is “rare, since there is the more common linguistic construction *na + OP na* [on/to + general case (*casus generalis*)]” (Bogdanović 1987: 165). However, there are no given examples with the potential doubling of pronouns with such a construction (see Bogdanović 1987: 163–170).

Remetić (1996) points out that in the speech of Prizren the doubling of the full and short pronoun forms is common. The examples in dative are always without the use of a preposition:

i mene mi zbori [she said to me as well], *što č'e mi mene toj* [why do I need that], *da mi bidne mene gotovo* [for it to be done for me], *rodilo ti se tebe* [it was born for you], *č'e ti kupi ništo i tebe* [something will be bought for you too], *a njemu da mu se poklonim* [and to curtsy to him], *nama č'e ni zatvoti oči* [they will close our eyes], *a, bre, kupi ni i nama* [hello, buy some for us too], *č'e vi kradne i vama nešto* [something will be stolen from you as well] etc. (see Remetić 1996: 483–486).

In the speech of Crna Trava and Vlasina (Vukadinović 1996) the doubling of pronouns is more common in the area of the Timok-Lužnica dialect:

devojca mi je mene umrela [my daughter died], *čovek mi je mene poginul* [my husband died], *na ti tebe* [here you are], *ja ti tebe del dadem* [I give you a piece] (see Vukadinović 1996: 151).

Paul-Louis Thomas (1998) concludes that pronoun doubling is characteristic for the speeches of villages in the Niš area, and that in Niš “it almost never occurs”. Thomas explains the disappearance of this occurrence from the city, with linguistic and extralinguistic reasons (see Thomas 1998: 313). The following examples are found in the *The Speeches of Niš and Neighbouring Villages*:

pa mi mene jošte nije prijatno [well it is still not comfortable for me], *će mi kupi on sat meni* [he will buy me a watch], *šta ti je teb* [what is wrong with you], *da mu dade njemu ovna* [to give him a ram] (see Thomas 1998: 312).

In the speech of Zaplanje (Marković 2000) the occurrence of the doubling of pronoun forms “is not so common” (Marković 2000: 140), and in the example given in dative there are none with a preposition:

ne može mene nikoj da mi zajmi [noone can lend me], *men mi se sve čini* [it seems to me], *da ti ja teb kažem* [let me tell you] etc.

Mladenović, in the speech of Gora (Mladenović 2001: 337) states: “The doubled forms are used in such a function that is done by the orthotonic ones. Prepositions are not used with the doubled form”, and the evidence of that is found in numerous examples in the dative case:

mene mi kaži [tell me], *ti mene mlogo mi se sviđaš* [I like you a lot], *tebe ti dala da jadeš* [she gave you to eat], *meni mi zbori* [tell me], *pa kuća tebi ti zapal'il'e* [well they set your house on fire], *njemu mu bilo krivo* [he felt sorry], *ne mu veruj njemu* [do not trust him], *tako ni kažujem nam mako* [that is what we are told], *vam vi je mati* [she is a mother to you], *ne gim veruaf njim* [I did not trust them] etc. (see Mladenović 2001: 337–340).

In the speech of the village Gornje and Donje Prisjane (Milosavljević 2009) the doubling of pronouns “is not a characteristical phenomenon”(Milosavljević 2009:481), and the only noted example is the following:

ja ću te tebe naučim [I will teach you].

3.15. Mladenović (2013) talks, in the description of the speech of the village Gatnja, about the doubling without the use of prepositions: “Disregarding the prepositional-case constructions, which have only full forms of personal pronouns, the doubled forms OP=A and D are more commonly used than the orthotonic ones” (Mladenović 2013: 231). In the dialects of the village of Gatnja there are specific forms for dative and the doublings are in accordance with them:

njemu da mu nose [to carry to him], *kazujem gu njojzi* [talking to her], *nama ni je teško* [it is hard for us], *nam država ni davala* [the state used to give us], *vam dete vi uč'ilo* [your child studied] etc. (see Mladenović 2013: 224–226, 234).

The material gathered during the research on the speech of Preševo and the villages in its municipality confirms the existence of the doubling of personal pronouns when the full form is used with a preposition. However, such doubling is usually connected to the use of the preposition *na* and the dative case meaning. Unlike the Preševo dialect the aforementioned dialects of the Prizren-Timok area have the dative forms *njemu*, *njojzi*,

njima, nama [to him, to her, to them, to us] or similar, and that is important in order to explain the occurrence of the pronoun doubling in the case of the use of a preposition.

Evidence in the Preševo speech:

vika mi na mene Ž [tell me]; *i na mene mi nudi* B [offers to me as well]; *ti će mi kažeš na mene* Č [you will tell me]; *unuka na mene će mi pomaga* Č [granddaughter will help me]; *na mene mi je daleko* Rlj [it is far for me]; *na mene ne mi odgovara* B [it does not suit me]; *ona mi kaže na mene* P [she tells me];

i na tebe ti kaza P [I told you too]; *na tebe ti je ostavila* B [she left for you]; *na tebe će ti napravim* O [I will make for you]; *na tebe ti vikam* Č [I tell you];

ako ne mu godi na njega O [if he does not need it]; *na njega mu je trebalo* P [he needed it]; *na njega mu ne treba* Lj [he does not need]; *na njega mu žena umrela* [his wife died]; *na njega prai mu rabotu neki* Ž [someone is making him work]; *one mu vikav na njega* P [she tells him]; *reko mu i na njega* Lj [told him too]; *što, će mu na njega* C [why does he need it];

ispričaj vu ti na nju T [you tell her]; *na nju da vu operemo ruke* P [to wash her hands]; *na nju vu dava* Č [give to her]; *na nju vu sleduje toj* P [it is for her]; *na njuma vu dobri* P [she has good ones]; *na njuma vu ubavo* Lj [she has beautiful ones]; *na njum vu ostavija pomoćno odelenje* P [he left her the support sector];

na nas deca ni kazujev P [they tell us the kids]; *na nas ni je dobro* Sl [we are good]; *na nas ne ni dava* Ž [does not give us]; *na nas ne ni dade* P [didn't give us]; *na nas ni nešto dade* M [gave us something];

davaše li vi na vas Č [did he use to give to you]; *da vi dam na vas* B [to give you]; *da li vi je jasno na vas* P [Is it clear for you]; *na vas nema da vi dam* Rlj [I will not give to you];

izvadi gi na nji P [take out for them]; *na nji gi kupija* Sl [he bought it for them] etc.

The lonely example with the use of preposition *za* [for]: *za tebe ti treba* P [you need] refers to the meaning of dative and in this case the preposition *za* could be substituted by the preposition *na* [on, to], retaining the semantics of the utterance.

Of course, there are examples of the dative case with the doubling of pronouns without the preposition *na* [on, to], but they are less common:

mene ne mi kazuje Sl [I am not told]; *mene ne mi treba* P [I don't need]; *mene mi se upropasti* P [it ruined for me]; *mene mi se pa otvrdne, Zore* [it grew hard for me, Zore]; *mene ne mi je dobro* P [I don't feel well]; *m'ene mi se čini* C [it seems to me]; *mene mi jad* C [I am miserable]; *mene mi beše teško* Lj [It wasn't hard for me]; *mene ne mi je teško* Sl [It is not hard for me]; *mene ne mi se faća* Rlj [I do not feel like it];

tebe li ti se žali Lj [did he complain to you].

The situation in the dialect of Preševo will be compared to an older study on phonetic characteristics of the Preševo and Bujanovac dialect (Barjaktarević 1966). Furthermore, an overview of the situation in the geographically closest speeches to the Preševo one, and those being the Kumanovo (Vidoeski 1962) and Gornja Pčinja one (Jurišić 2009) will

be given. In doing so, the status of the occurrence of personal pronouns doubling with the use of preposition would be covered in the linguogeographical sense.

Barjaktarević (1966: 200–201) gives examples of pronoun doubling with the use of prepositions, in dative:

dadoše ni na nas oružje [they gave us weapons], *reče ni kapetan na nas* [the Captain told us].

However, the confirmation with the pronominal forms given by Barjaktarević: *teb će ti dadnu pare* [I will give the money to you], *pa će ti teb dam šupeljku* [I will give you the pipe], *nemoj mu njemu kažeš* [I will tell him], *ako mu njemu prodaš* [if you sell it to him], is not present in the material that has been gathered recently (during 2011, 2012 and 2013).

Vidoeski notices that the full pronominal form is used in dative with the preposition *na* [on, to], but without it as well (Vidoeski 1962: 163), so that there are numerous examples in Kumanovo speech of the personal pronouns doubling even in cases when a preposition is used. In the speech of Kumanovo the following examples have been noted:

na mene mi svedoči [witness to me], *i na mene mi zboreše* [was talking to me] (but also: *ja beše tamo tak i mene mi reče* [I was there then and I was told]), *na nas ni donesoše* [they brought us], *donesoše ni puške na nas* [they brought us rifles], *stokata ni se otna na nas* [they took our cattle], (“rarely and without a preposition” (Vidoeski 1962: 165): *nas ni dadoše u selo Vojnik* [they gave us in the village Vojnik], *nas ne ni se ideše u Skopje* [we didn’t want to go to Skopje], *nas ni reče* [told us]), *koj vi kazaja na vas* [who told you], *na vas vi reče* [told you], *kolektivci na vas vi dadeše* [the collectivists gave you] (but also: *vas vi dade* [gave you]), *na njega mu reče* [told him] (but also: *ti si mu njega rot* [you are related to him]), *malko da mu dademo na njega* [to give him a little], *i na nji će gi napraviv kuću* [will make a house for them as well], *ne gi se dopada na njija* [they don’t like] etc. (see Vidoeski 1962: 163–169).

Jurišić (2009: 134–149) gives examples of pronouns doubling with prepositions. This was noted in the speech of Gornja Pčinja:

na tebe istin li ti je vuk udavija kozu [was it really your goat that the wolf had strangled], *kao na vas što vi davamo leb* [as we give you the bread], *na njega mu noge otičav* [his legs are swelling], *pa vu dava na njuma o[d] triput* [so he gives her three times], *on vu nikja zup na njum* [she had a tooth grow], *tuj gi je bila kućica na nji* [there it was their little house], *i dadev gi na njima* [and give them] etc.

There are examples of such dative forms without prepositions and with doubling, such as:

u tanjirče će mi mene odeli [it will be given to me separately on a plate], *što nesu mi ovija zubi mene* [why don’t I have such teeth], *ja tebe da ti dam* [I give you], *takoj ni pričaše nas taj naša baba* [our grandma told us like that] etc.

In the speech of Gornja Pčinja there are examples with *njemu*, *njoze* and *njim* [to him, to her, to them] and, therefore, there are no prepositions:

cipelka mu ispadne njemu [he dropped a shoe], *pa turiše mu njemu godinu* [they marked the year of his death], *njoze vu kazuju* [I am telling her], *pa vu ga ostavi njoze na krevet* [and I leave it for her on the bed], *puške im njim naodili* [they were finding rifles for them], *ne dala im njim da edev i oni* [she did not let them eat] etc.

It seems that in the process of pronoun doubling with the use of prepositions the deciding factor is to translate the analytism that marks the speech of Preševo. Namely, in Preševo speech there are no forms such as *njemu*, *njojzi* and similar, so the meaning of the dative case can be denoted only through the following linguistic construction: *na* [on/to] + general case. The lack of the dative form such as *njemu* [to him] conditions the doubling of pronouns even when the full form of the pronoun is followed by a preposition, since it is necessary.

Doubling with the use of prepositions relates generally to the phenomenon of object doubling; in the following section examples from Preševo speech are given as evidence, whereby the doubling occurs with the use of a noun or a non-personal pronoun as an unreal object:

na dedu da mu napravim T [to make for my grandpa]; *ne treba na čoveka da mu zavidiš P* [man should not be envied]; *posle ne će mu dade na čoveka O* [and after does not want to give to the man]; *ne vu dava na majku Sz* [does not give to mother]; *dadi gi na Šiptari P* [give to the Shiptars]; *pa da gi pomogneš na ljudi C* [so as to help people];

da mu kažeš na toga P [to tell that one]; *da vu dam na onuj Č* [to give to that one]; *na onoličkog mu dava Č* [he gives to such a little one] etc.

4. CONCLUSION

Analysing the evidence found in monographs on the topic of Prizren-Timok dialects showed that the clitic doubling of personal pronouns used in the function of indirect object usually occurs without the use of prepositions. However, in the speeches that are characterized by pronounced analytism and which have no specific synthetic forms for dative (that could be found in some of the mentioned speeches) or they are not used often, the doubling of pronouns can be done using prepositions. Pronominal reduplication with the use of prepositions has been noted in Leskovac, Gornja Pčinja, Preševo and Kumanovo speeches. Such an occurrence is related only to the indirect object given through the meaning of dative, that is, in the form of the linguistic construction: *na* [on/to] + general case.

Table 1 Evidence of the doubling of personal pronouns with the use of prepositions in the Prizren Timok dialect.

Monographs	Evidence of the doubling of personal pronouns with the use of prepositions
Dijalekti istočne i južne Srbije [East and South Serbia dialects]	–
Govor Sretečke Župe [Sretečka Župa speech]	–
Đakovački govor [Đakovica speech]	–
Preševsko-bujanovačka govorna zona [Preševo-Bujanovac speeches area]	+
Leskovački govor [Leskovac speech]	+
Govori Bučuma i Belog Potoka [Bučum and Beli Potok speeches]	–
Govor Lužnice [Lužnica speech]	–
Govor Aleksinačkog Pomoravlja [Aleksinačko Pomoravlje speech]	–
Srpski prizrenski govor [Serbian Prizren speech]	–
Govor Crne Trave i Vlasine [Crna Trava and Vlasina speech]	–
Govori Niša i okolnih sela [Niš and neighbouring villages speeches]	–
Govor Zaplanja [Zaplanje speech]	–
Govor šarplaninske župe Gora [Šarplanina župa Gora speech]	–
Govor sela Prisjana (Gornjeg i Donjeg) [Village Prisjane (Gornje and Donje) speech]	–
Govor Gornje Pčinje [Gornja Pčinja speech]	+
Govor južnokosovskog sela Gatnje [South Kosovo village Gatnje speech]	–
Kumanovski govor [Kumanovo speech]	+

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UDVAJANJE LIČNIH ZAMENICA UZ UPOTREBU PREDLOGA U PRIZRENSKO-TIMOČKOJ DIJALEKATSKOJ ZONI

U radu se razmatra balakanistička pojava udvajanja objekta u govorima srpskog jezika sa posebnim osvrtom na pronominalnu reduplikaciju. Iznose se potvrde i zaključci o pojavi udvajanja ličnih zamenica sa upotrebom predloga, kojoj do sada nije posvećivana pažnja u domaćoj literaturi, a i nije zabeležena u nekim govorima prizrensko-timočke dijalekatske zone. Analizom stanja predstavljenih u monografijama o prizrensko-timočkim govorima i najnovijih istraživanja preševskog govora, dolazi se do zaključka da se udvajanje ličnih zamenica u nekim srpskim govorima vrši i sa upotrebom predloga i to u značenju dativa, koje se iskazuje analitičkom konstrukcijom: na + opšti padež.

Ključne reči: *udvajanje ličnih zamenica, prizrensko-timočka dijalekatska zona, Preševo.*