CLITICS AND DIRECT OBJECTS IN MACEDONIAN*

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Abstract: This squib investigates the distribution of clitics with direct object DPs in Macedonian. In particular, it aims to explain the co-occurrence restrictions on clitics with IP-internal DPs, i.e., DPs in pre- and postverbal position. The occurrence of the clitics with such DPs is linked to their feature specification for strength, where strength is defined as in Barwise–Cooper (1981). The analysis is then extended to DPs in clause-initial positions, i.e., DPs at the left periphery. It is shown that the overall behavior of DPs with respect to clitic doubling prompts a novel, three-way distinction of the DPs in Macedonian as [+strong], [−strong] and unspecified for strength.
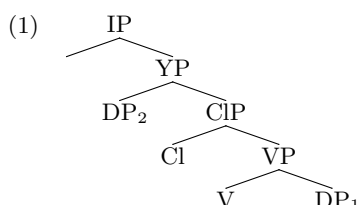
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1. Introduction

This squib aims to explain the distribution of clitic pronouns with respect to direct object DPs in Macedonian. It argues that the presence vs. absence of clitics with such DPs corresponds to the feature specification of the DPs for strength; the features in turn are taken to be a reflex of the DPs' semantic properties.

I begin with an investigation of the distribution of clitics with DPs in IP-internal positions. The part of the clause that is relevant to our discussion is schematically represented in (1).

(1)

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        IP
          \
           YP
          /  \
       DP₂    ClP
             /   \
           Cl     VP
                 /  \
                V    DP₁
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The structure in (1) presupposes one of the key features of the analysis of clitic doubling (CD) in Macedonian presented here, i.e., the claim that the clitic is a head of its own maximal projection (following Sportiche 1998). The structure in (1) also represents the basic patterning of the two types of direct objects that I would like to discuss here: direct objects in pre- and postverbal position. I thus begin with an outline of the basic patterns concerning the co-occurrence of such DPs with clitics.

In section **2**, I explain the occurrence of the clitics with direct object DPs. In section **3**, I extend the proposal to constructions with DPs in clause-internal positions and their interaction with clitics. Section **4** contains the conclusion.

1.1. Basic patterns of clitic doubling in Macedonian

The distribution of the clitics with direct object DPs is as follows.[1] Definite DPs and NPs modified by demonstratives, as well as full pronouns are obligatorily clitic-doubled, as illustrated in (2a) and (2b), respectively.

(2) (a) Ivan *(ja)   pročita knigata/ovaa kniga.
          Ivan   it-f-sg read   book-the/this book
          'Ivan read the book/this book.'

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[1] In what follows, I concentrate on the co-occurrence of clitics with direct objects. I have nothing to say about subjects or indirect objects and their clitic requirements, which I should note are different from that of direct objects (e.g., subjects are never clitic-doubled as there are no subject clitics in Macedonian; indirect objects are obligatorily doubled). I hope that the insights will be applicable to the analysis of those two types of constituents, but I leave the actual investigation of this for future research.

(b) Ana go   vide nego.
     Ana him saw him
     'Ana saw him.'

Note that the definite DP in (2a) can have both an attributive and a referential reading, in the sense of Donnellan (1966) (see Abbott 2004; among others). The two uses of the definite are illustrated in (3).

(3) Ana *(go) bara   profesorot.
     Ana   him look-for professor-the

   (a) 'Ana is looking for the professor (i.e., she is looking for John Smith, who happens to be the professor).'

   (b) 'Ana is looking for the professor (whoever he might be).'

On its (a) reading, the definite in (3) is used referentially, i.e., the description used holds of a particular individual that the speaker has in mind. On its (b) reading, the definite is used attributively, i.e., the speaker says something about whoever happens to fit the description that is being used. Although the definite in (3) can receive both a referential and an attributive interpretation, the clitic requirement does not change. In both cases, the definite must be clitic-doubled.

Proper names are also obligatorily clitic-doubled; see (4).[2]

(4) Pero *(ja) pokani Ana na zabava.
     Pero   her invited Ana to party
     'Pero invited Ana to a party.'

Quantifiers split into two groups: those that obligatorily co-occur with a clitic and those that cannot co-occur with a clitic pronoun.[3] The first group includes the strong quantifiers *sekoj* 'every', *site* 'all', and *povekjeto* 'most'; see (5a). The second group includes the weak quantifiers: bare numerals, *mnogu/malku* 'many/few', *nekolku* 'several/a few'; see (5b).[4]

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[2] Note that CD of direct objects in Macedonian is not subject to "Kayne's generalization", i.e., the doubling of a constituent is not contingent on the presence of a special preposition (for discussions on this issue see Suñer 1988; Anagnostopoulou 1994; Sportiche 1998; Kalluli 1999; Anagnostopoulou 2006; etc.).

[3] CD of (certain) quantifiers is also possible in other languages, e.g., Greek (Iatridou 1995; Anagnostopoulou 2006; Alexiadou 2006; Kalluli 1999; 2000), Albanian (Kalluli 1999; 2000), Spanish (Arregi 2003), etc.

[4] The categorization of the quantifiers as weak/strong follows Barwise–Cooper (1981). The distribution of the clitic with quantifiers is more nuanced: specific

(5) (a) Ana *(gi)   pročita site/povekjeto knigi.
          Ana   them read   every/most   books
          'Ana read every/most books.'

     (b) Ana (*gi)   pročita dve/mnogu/nekolku knigi.
          Ana   them read   two/many/several   books
          'Ana read two/many/several books.'

The behavior of the quantifiers with respect to CD is interesting as it eliminates one of the potential factors responsible for the doubling of the direct objects. That is, the fact that quantifiers in Macedonian can be CDed (and in the case of strong quantifiers the fact that they must be; see (5a)) means that the referentiality of the DPs is not a determining factor for their doubling.[5]

It has been claimed that CD in Macedonian is motivated by the specificity of the doubled object (see Franks–King 2000).[6] This, however, cannot be the case for two reasons. First, we saw that definites in Macedonian can receive both a referential and an attributive interpretation. If we think of the referential interpretation as specific and the attributive interpretation as nonspecific, we see that the distribution of the clitic remains unchanged. In (3) the definite is interpreted either attributively or referentially, but it is invariably doubled by the clitic.[7]

A stronger argument against the claim that CD is driven by specificity comes from the indefinites in data like (6). As (6) shows, an in-

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indefinites, bare numerals (on a specific reading), *several* (on a specific reading) can co-occur with a clitic when in positions at the left periphery. I return to the question of what motivates the co-occurrence of clitics with dislocated weak DPs in section **3**.

[5] The notion of referentiality I have in mind here is that of Cinque (1990). Cinque's notion of referentiality is useful at this point in that it separates in some sense the class of quantifiers from that of the definites. In the discussion that follows, though, I take that the two types of DPs are grouped together as strong in the sense of Barwise – Cooper (1981).

[6] Franks and King (2000) claim that clitic doubling in Macedonian is obligatory for specific direct objects. Their list of specific DPs includes definites, proper names, and pronouns. They follow Enç (1991) in treating all definites as specific.

[7] This parallel between referential/attributive and specific/nonspecific, respectively, has been suggested by Partee (1970; 2004). In particular, she suggests that the referential and attributive (i.e., nonreferential) interpretation of the definites (Donnellan 1966) be extended to the indefinites. For a different take on the parallels between referential/attributive and specific/nonspecific see Kallulli (1999).

definite cannot be CDed in Macedonian. The indefinite can, however, receive a specific and a nonspecific interpretation, given as an (a) and a (b) reading, respectively.[8] Regardless of interpretation, the clitic is not allowed.

(6) Ivan (*ja) bara   edna sekretarka.[9]
    Ivan   her look-for one   secretary

   (a) 'Ivan is looking for a secretary (whom he spoke with yesterday).'

   (b) 'Ivan is looking for a secretary (whoever she may be).'

On the (a) reading, Ivan is looking for a particular secretary, namely Elena. On the (b) reading, Ivan is looking for a secretary regardless of who she turns out to be. Neither use of the indefinite licenses the use of the clitic. Given this, we can conclude that specificity is not a determining factor in the occurrence of the clitic.

When it comes to CD, bare singulars do not behave any differently from the indefinites. As (7a–b) show, a bare singular which is interpreted as an indefinite can never be clitic-doubled.[10]

(7) (a) Ivan (*ja) bara   sekretarka.
        Ivan   her look-for secretary
        'Ivan is looking for a secretary (whoever she is).'

   (b) Pero (*go)   kupi kompjuter.
        Pero   it-m-sg buy computer
        'Pero bought a computer.'

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[8] I take the specific reading of an indefinite to be same as the referential reading as identified by Fodor–Sag (1982). Thus, a specific indefinite is that which is used by the speaker (but not the hearer) to identify a particular referent in discourse. Semantically, I take specific indefinites to be singleton expressions, following Schwarzschild (2002). This means that the indefinites have an implicit restriction on their domain, i.e., the domain of the indefinite has a singleton extension.

[9] When *eden* 'one' is interpreted as a numeral (in which case it is stressed), the clitic is not allowed, either.

   (i) Ivan (*ja) bara   edna sekretarka.
        Ivan   her look-for one   secretary
        'Ivan is looking for one secretary (not two, for example).'

[10] The indefinites in (7) can only receive a nonspecific interpretation.

Bare plurals in Macedonian cannot receive a generic interpretation, but they can get an existential interpretation. Again, a clitic is not allowed here; see (8a). Bare plurals cannot be used with a kind reading. A definite must be used instead (Carlson 1977). In this case, the clitic is obligatory; see (8b).

(8) (a) Ana (*gi)   kupi   jabolka.
          Ana   them bought apples
          'Ana bought apples.'

     (b) Ana *(gi/ja)   saka knigite/knigata.
          Ana   them/it-f-sg like books-the/book-the
          'Ana likes books.'

To summarize, I have outlined the distribution of clitics doubling direct objects in Macedonian and in doing so, I have eliminated two potential factors that can be thought of as the driving factor behind the doubling constructions. First, we saw that the referentiality of the DP cannot be a factor since quantifiers can (and in some cases must) be clitic-doubled in Macedonian. Second, we saw that the specificity of the DP cannot be a factor because: (i) definite DPs regardless of their interpretation (attributive/referential) are obligatorily clitic-doubled, and (ii) specific indefinites cannot be clitic-doubled. Before concluding this section, I show that the distinction of topic/focus is also not a factor in the doubling of the direct objects in Macedonian.

Kallulli (1999; 2000) makes a strong case that CD in Albanian and Greek correlates to topichood.[11] She shows that only nonfocused direct object DPs can be clitic-doubled and argues that CD in these two languages is driven by the need to check the [−focus] feature of the DP in question. Since Albanian and Greek, like Macedonian, belong to the group of Balkan languages, it is interesting to see if the same conditions hold for CD constructions in Macedonian. The following data show that this is not the case.

Consider the context of out-of-the-blue sentences, which Kallulli (1999, 31) identifies as incompatible with doubling of direct objects in

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[11] Kallulli (1999; 2000) uses the term non-focusness and explicitly defines topic to be a complement of focus, rather than old/new information (see e.g., Kallulli 2000, 218, 224 fn. 27). In this context, she argues that the clitic marks the doubled DP as unambiguously [−focus].

Albanian and Greek. In (9) we see that the doubling of the direct object in Macedonian in such cases is possible.[12]

(9) A: What happened here?

  B: Ivan *(go)   skrši stakloto.
      Ivan   it-n-sg broke glass-the
      '[Ivan broke the glass]$_F$.'

The answer to the question in (9) gives new information about the subject, Ivan, which we can take to be the focus of the sentence, as it is the most informative part of the sentence (following Kallulli 1999, 25).[13] The example in (9) then shows that a definite focused DP in Macedonian can, in fact must, be clitic-doubled.[14]

Along the same lines, it is perfectly possible in Macedonian to utter (10) as a response to a question like *Who did you see?*. The direct object (*Petar*) here is focused and clitic-doubled. (10) is also acceptable as an out-of-the-blue sentence.

(10) *(Go) vidov Petar.
      him saw   Petar
     'I saw Petar.'

Finally, in cases where the focus domain is delineated by focus particles (like *even* and *only*), Macedonian direct objects can be clitic-doubled; see (11).

(11) Premierot   go   poseti duri i   Ohrid (ne samo Skopje).
     prime minister-the it-m-sg visited even and Ohrid not only Skopje
     'The Prime Minister visited even [Ohrid]$_F$ (not only Skopje).'

Given that the doubling of direct object DPs in environments that require focus interpretation is possible in Macedonian (see (9)–(11)), we can conclude that the clitic in Macedonian is not a licensor of topichood. We are

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[12] Examples (9)–(11) are fashioned after *op.cit.*, 18, 31–32.

[13] As Balázs Surányi (p.c.) points out, to the extent that question-answer pairs are a reliable test for information focus, in B's response the whole sentence is focused (as marked in the English translation). For our purposes, though, it is important that the object DP is part of the focus domain.

[14] The Albanian and Greek examples in Kallulli (1999) also contain a definite object DP, but this seems to have no bearing on the use of the clitic, which is not allowed; see *op.cit.*, 31.

thus left with the question of what exactly the motivating factor is for the doubling of direct object DPs in Macedonian. In the next section, I present my proposal and analysis of CD in Macedonian.

1.2. Formal representation of clitic doubling

In order to understand what motivates the appearance of the clitic with DPs in Macedonian, I begin by looking at their interaction with quantifiers. As we saw earlier, only strong DPs can be clitic-doubled in Macedonian (see (5a–b)), which means that the presence/absence of the clitic correlates with the strength of the DP. In other words, we see that the clitic is triggered when a strong DP enters the derivation, but it is not allowed when a weak DP enters the derivation.

I take the strength/weakness of the quantifiers (as defined in Barwise–Cooper 1981) to be encoded as a feature specification on the DP. I thus assume that strong DPs are characterized as [+strong], while weak DPs are characterized as [−strong]. This, in turn, means that, structurally, the CD configurations in Macedonian arise as a result of a feature checking operation. More specifically, I propose that the clitic is a licensor of a [+strong] feature on the DP, whereby the licensing is carried through a spec-head relation (Chomsky 1993).

I assume with Sportiche (1998), Anagnostopoulou (1999), Anagnostopoulou (2006) and others that the doubled DP in CD constructions is an argument of the verb, and that the clitic is base-generated in its surface position. Following Sportiche (1998), I take clitics to be heads of their own functional projections, located in the IP domain (specifically above VP; see (12)). The clitic licenses a particular property or feature in the DP it doubles, which in the case of Macedonian is [+strong].[15] (In this I depart from Sportiche (1998) who maintains that clitics license specificity in the doubled DP.) The licensing of the feature is carried out through a spec-head agreement, which means that the doubled DP moves

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[15] For similar proposals see also Kallulli (1999; 2000), Alexiadou–Anagnostopoulou (1997), Anagnostopoulou (1999), who follow Sportiche in analyzing the clitic as the head of ClP. These proposals, however, differ from the one given here in that the clitic is a licensor of features other than strength. Kallulli, for example, argues that the clitic in Greek and Albanian licenses a [−focus] feature because focused elements cannot be CDed in these two languages. Alexiadou–Anagnostopoulou (1997) and Anagnostopoulou (1999) take the clitic to be an agreement marker, following Suñer (1988).

(by LF) to the specifier position of the ClP. The structure of the ClP (and its relative position within the IP) is given in (12).[16]

(12)

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        ClP
       /  \
          Cl′
         /  \
      Cl⁰    VP
            /  \
               DP
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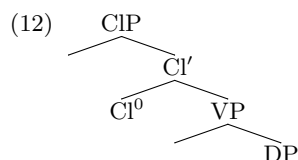
In Sportiche's terms, the licensing of the feature by the clitic, i.e., the movement of the DP to SpecClP, is regulated by the Clitic Criterion as formulated in (13).

(13) Clitic Criterion (Sportiche 1998, 267)

(a) A clitic must be in a spec-head relationship with a [+F] XP at LF.

(b) A [+F] XP must be in a spec-head relationship with a clitic at LF.

This means that if a clitic is related to a particular DP, the latter has to move to the Spec position of the ClP, to satisfy the Clitic Criterion.

Adapting this proposal to Macedonian will mean the following. In all cases of CD in section **1.1**, the direct object DP starts off as an argument of the verb and then moves to SpecClP.[17] From what we have seen so far, the movement of the doubled DP in Macedonian in such cases is covert. The movement of the DP into SpecClP creates the necessary agreement relationship through which the clitic then licenses the [+strong] feature in the DP.[18] On this view, a construction with a [+strong] DP but without

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[16] To account for the fact that clitics in Macedonian are proclitcs and are phonologically dependent on the verb, I follow Rudin (1997) and assume that the verb raises to Cl and right-adjoins to it, forming a complex verb.

[17] In cases like (i), I assume that the DP argument is a *pro*. Following Sportiche (1998), *pro* moves to SpecClP, where it is identified by the coindexed clitic. *Pro* and the trace in argument position form a chain. The derivation of (i) is given in (ii):

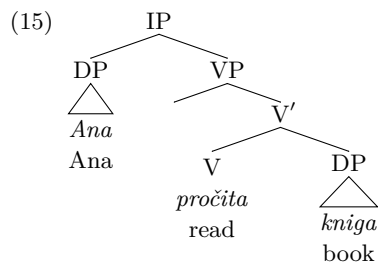(i) Go vidov.

   him saw

   'I saw him.'

(ii) [[$_{ClP}$ *pro$_i$* go$_i$ [$_{VP}$ vidov t$_i$]

[18] In the discussion here, I refrain from drawing a precise relation between the features on the DP/quantifier and their status as (un)interpretable. For concreteness, I will assume that the [+strong] feature on the object DP in interpretable

a clitic would be ungrammatical because the relevant features of the DP cannot be checked, as a result of which the derivation cannot converge.

(14)

```
                        IP
            ┌───────────┴───────────┐
           DP                      ClP
            △              ┌────────┴────────┐
           Ana                              Cl′
           Ana                     ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                                  Cl                  VP
                                   │          ┌────────┴────────┐
                             jaᵢ+pročitaⱼ                      V′
                                it    read          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                                    V                    DPᵢ
                                                    │                     △
                                                    tⱼ                 knigataᵢ
                                                                       book-the
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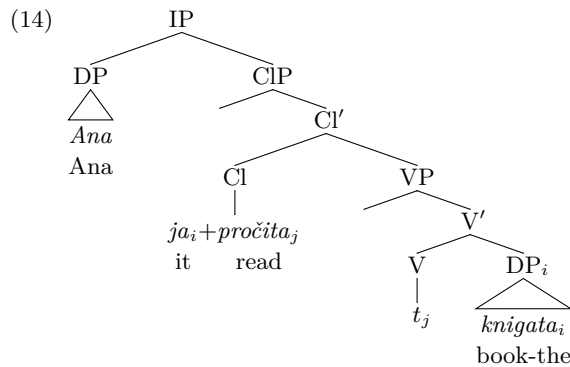
In cases where the DP is not marked with a [+strong] feature (as in (15)), feature-checking between the clitic and the DP cannot be established. Based on the principle of economy of representation (following Rizzi 1997, and others), I further assume that the ClP in such cases will not be projected. That means that the ClP will only be present when the object DP is [+strong].

(15)

```
                    IP
          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
         DP                  VP
          △         ┌─────────┴─────────┐
         Ana                           V′
         Ana              ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
                          V                           DP
                       pročita                         △
                        read                         kniga
                                                      book
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The analysis of CD outlined in this section crucially incorporates the idea that the derivation of such constructions is driven by the presence vs. absence of a [+strong] feature. The discussion so far has concentrated on direct objects that occur in their default, postverbal position. Direct objects in Macedonian, however, can occur in other positions in the clause.

(given that the [+strong] feature is a reflex of the semantic property of the DP/quantifier). I thank Balázs Surányi (p.c.) for pointing this out as well as the alternative option that [+strong] may be an uninterpretable morphological reflex of the DPs semantic property of strength.

In the next section, I look at the behavior of direct objects in preverbal position and their interaction with clitics.

2. Preverbal direct objects

When we consider the clitic co-occurrence restrictions with preverbal direct objects, we notice that they are exactly identical to those of the postverbal ones: clitics are obligatory with strong DPs (as shown in (16)) and not allowed with weak DPs (as shown in (17)).[19]

(16) (a) Pero vesnikot/ovoj   vesnik   *(go)   pročita.
         Pero newspaper-the/this newspaper   it-m-sg read
         'It was a newspaper that Pero read.'

     (b) Ana site/povekjeto knigi *(gi)   pročita.
         Ana all/most   books   them read
         'It was all/most books that Ana read.'

(17) (a) Ana kompjuter/jabolka (*go/gi)   kupi.
         Ana computer/apples   it-m-sg/them bought
         'It was a computer/apples that Ana bought.'

     (b) Pero dve/mnogu/nekolku knigi (*gi)   pročita.
         Pero two/many/several   books   them read
         'It was two/many/few/several books that Pero read.'

Given these facts, it seems plausible to consider the preverbal doubled constructions to be derived from the postverbal ones. One of the implications of such an analysis is that the doubling of preverbal DPs would have to rely on the same set of procedures that were invoked in the analysis of clitic-doubled postverbal DPs. This entails that the presence/absence of clitics with preverbal DPs is tied to their featural makeup. A related question to this is that of the placement of the preverbal DPs, and in particular, the clitic-doubled ones.

Recall from our discussion that strong DPs in postverbal positions move to SpecClP for feature checking purposes. The data in section **1.1**

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[19] The examples with direct object DPs in preverbal position are translated with a cleft construction. This particular rendering of the Macedonian data into English presupposes their status as contrastively focused elements (for arguments, see Kochovska 2010).

seemed to suggest that the movement of these DPs to SpecClP was covert. In this context, the doubling of preverbal DPs is interesting because it raises the question of whether strong DPs can also move to the ClP overtly. The assumption that the preverbal constructions are derived from the postverbal ones leaves it open whether, when fronted, the DPs would occupy the SpecClP position. Although this seems plausible, there are strong reasons to believe that doubled preverbal DPs in cases like (16a–b) move overtly, but to a position other than the ClP. Evidence for this comes from data like (18) where an adverb intervenes between the fronted universal quantifier and the clitic.

(18) (a) Pero site knigi brzo   *(gi)   pročita.
          Pero all   books quickly   them read
          'It was all the books that Pero quickly read.'

     (b) Pero dve knigi brzo   (*gi)   pročita.
          Pero two books quickly   them read
          'It was two books that Pero quickly read.'

If the strong DP in (18a) were in SpecClP position, the adverb would not have been able to intervene between it and the clitic.[20] Thus, we can conclude that fronted strong DPs are in a position different from that of SpecClP. Weak DPs, as in (17a–b) and (18b), presumably follow the same pattern. The association of the clitic with the two types of DPs (strong vs. weak), though, remains unchanged: strong DPs require it because they need a licensor for their [+strong] feature; weak DPs do not allow it because they lack the relevant features. Thus, the behavior of the preverbal DPs with respect to clitics is consistent with their behavior in postverbal position.

That the presence of the clitic with strong DPs is tied to their feature specification explains their obligatoriness, but it does not explain the DPs' placement in the clause. Examples like (18a) seem to suggest that strong DPs go through the ClP but do not stop there. Two questions thus remain open: what is the position of preverbal DPs and what motivates their movement in the first place. I briefly address them next.

To begin with, we can say that the movement of the DPs is motivated by feature checking of [+strong], but if this were the case, then the

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[20] As Balázs Surányi (p.c.) reminds me, the implicit assumption behind the argument presented here is that an adverb cannot adjoin to intermediate positions.

movement of the DP would stop at the point of the ClP and need not go any further. Since this is clearly not what happens in Macedonian, we have to consider an alternative, i.e., that the movement is triggered by something other than feature checking of [+strong]. Evidence for this comes from the fact that the two positions show interpretative differences, i.e., they are not simply variants of each other. In particular, I claim that the preverbal position is different from the postverbal position in that it licenses contrastive focus.

The basic idea is that the difference in the interpretation of the pre- and postverbal DPs is a result of their occurring in positions that associate with different types of focus. I take the main difference between the two to be that of information vs. identificational focus, as defined in É. Kiss (1998). On this view, information focus is new, nonpresupposed information; identificational focus, on the other hand, expresses exhaustive identification. Taking these features as a starting point, let us see how the two verbal positions fare in this respect.

Imagine a simple scenario in which Ana went shopping yesterday and then consider (19a–b) below.

(19) (a) Ana si   kupi   kapa.
          Ana refl bought hat
          'Ana bought a hat for herself.'

    (b) Ana kapa si   kupi.
          Ana hat   refl bought
          'It was a hat that Ana bought.'

By uttering (19a) we convey some new information about Ana, namely that she bought something. By uttering (19b), on the other hand, we claim that out of all the various pieces of clothing available in the given context, Ana chose a hat only, and she did not choose anything else. Thus, the postverbal object in (19a) is information focus; the preverbal object in (19b) is identificational (or contrastive) focus.[21] Further support for this pairing comes from the fact that (19a), but not (19b), can be uttered as an out-of-the-blue sentence.

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[21] É. Kiss (1998), it should be noted, does not draw a one-to-one parallel between identificational and contrastive focus, but argues that the former may or may not be contrastive. We can also interpret (21b) to mean that Ana chose a hat as opposed to something else, for example, a coat.

That objects in postverbal position get nonexhaustive interpretation is evident in (20).

(20) A: Where did you go on a holiday this summer?

    B: (a) Otidov vo Italija.
           went   in Italy
         'I went to Italy.'

      (b) Vo Italija otidov.
           in Italy   went
         'It was to Italy that I went.'

(20a) is understood to mean that the speaker went to Italy, among other places. (20b), on the other hand, is exhaustive, in that it means that the only place the speaker went to was Italy.

Finally, consider Szabolcsi's (1981) test for the difference in the interpretation between the two foci. The test involves a pair of sentences, the first of which contains two conjoined DPs. The second sentence contains only one of the two DPs. The focus expresses exhaustivity if the first sentence does not entail the second sentence.

(21) (a) Ana si kupi   kapa i   šal.
        Ana refl bought hat   and scarf
        'Ana bought a hat and a scarf for herself.'

    (b) Ana si kupi   kapa.
        Ana refl bought hat
        'Ana bought a hat for herself.'

(22) (a) Ana kapa i   šal   si kupi.
        Ana hat   and scarf refl bought
        'It was a hat and a scarf that Ana bought for herself.'

    (b) Ana kapa si kupi.
        Ana hat   refl bought
        'It was a hat that Ana bought for herself.'

The sentence in (21b) is entailed by (21a), hence the focused constituent in postverbal position does not express exhaustive information. (22b), on the other hand, is not entailed by (22a); the focus thus expresses exhaustive information.

Given the facts above, we can conclude that the pre- and postverbal positions fulfill different functions. As a result of this, the DPs that occupy

these two positions are interpreted differently.[22] The identical pattern of co-occurrence of the clitics with post- and preverbal DPs that we saw earlier suggests that the two constructions can easily be linked derivationally, in that the preverbal DPs get to their position by movement from their postverbal position. It is important to remember, though, that the movement of the DP from post- to preverbal position is not triggered by the need to check its strong features. Rather, the movement in such cases is triggered by contrastive focus. This analysis, of course, does not preclude the possibility that the strong DPs stop in SpecClP on their way to focus position. In fact, they would have to so as to check their strong features. The difference between this movement and that of the postverbal DPs is that the feature checking of the preverbal strong DPs can be overt if the DP is forced to move by focus.

3. Direct objects at the left periphery

The discussion so far showed a clear split between strong and weak DPs and their patterning with clitics: the former obligatorily require them, while the latter uniformly disallow them. This was shown to hold for DPs in both pre- and postverbal position. Given the patterning of direct objects in these two contexts, we would expect a similar behavior of such DPs when they occur clause-initially, i.e., at the left periphery. Interestingly, though, this expectation is only partially met. Here, while it is true that strong DPs occur with clitics obligatorily, as expected, the behavior of weak DPs becomes more nuanced. Weak DPs can occur without clitics when dislocated, but a subset of them can also appear with clitics. Consider the data in (23a–c):

[22] Note that the question of whether or not the postverbal position can also be used for contrastive focus remains open. Given the appropriate intonation (i.e., heavy focal stress), I believe the postverbal position can perhaps also be used as such. The issue is even more complex given the fact that the postverbal position may or may not be focused, which as Balázs Surányi (p.c.) points out would alter the relation between the pre- and postverbal position in terms of their focus-relatedness. The fact that is perhaps most clear is that the preverbal position can never be used to convey simple information focus, the way the postverbal position can. At present, I will take this to be sufficient evidence to treat the two positions as different from one another. I thank Balázs Surányi for bringing these issues to my attention. Given the complexity of the issue, I leave the detailed investigation into the role of focus and its syntactic mapping in Macedonian open for further research.

(23) (a) Sekoja kniga$_i$, Ana *(ja$_i$)   pročita.
          every book   Ana   it-f-sg read
          'Every book, Ana read it.'

   (b) Dve knigi$_i$, Ana (gi$_i$) pročita.
       two books Ana them read
       'Two books, Ana read (them).'

   (c) Mnogu knigi$_i$, Ana (*gi$_i$) pročita.
       many   books Ana   them read
       'Many books, Ana read.'

As (23a) shows, the requirement that the clitic be present with strong DPs remains unchanged. The behavior of the weak DPs, on the other hand, changes: the numeral in (23b) seems to optionally allow the clitic, while *many* in (23c) disallows it. This is in stark contrast to the behavior of weak DPs within IP, which uniformly disallow a clitic. How can we explain the distribution of the clitic in (23a–c)?

Given the fact that a universal quantifier in a left-peripheral position must co-occur with a clitic, its presence in (23a) can easily be accounted for by the Clitic Criterion: the clitic will be generated because of the [+strong] feature of the direct object DP.[23] Note that the presence of the clitic with strong DPs at the left periphery is independent of the question of their derivation, i.e., regardless of whether these DPs move or are base-generated in their clause-initial position. Since both options are, in principle, possible, let us briefly look at how the Clitic Criterion applies in each case.

Under a movement analysis, the strong DP would start off as an argument of the verb. The [+strong] feature will trigger the clitic, in keeping with the Clitic Criterion. The DP would move to SpecClP, and

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[23] A detailed analysis of the direct object DPs at the left periphery would be beyond the scope of this squib. For the present discussion, it is important to note that both strong and weak DPs can occur in a left-dislocated position (I use this term to mean position at the left periphery, rather than any particular means of derivation). As one reviewer points out, strong DPs are often restricted in their distribution in left dislocated constructions, which raises questions for the analysis of strong DPs in such positions in Macedonian. It is clear that strong DPs can occur in such positions in Macedonian and that they obligatorily co-occur with clitics (see also Kochovska 2010). When they do, they pattern like left-dislocated weak DPs with clitics in that they show lack of WCO effects as well as violate syntactic islands. For detailed discussion of these issues, see Kochovska (2010).

then continue to its position in the left periphery. Under a base genera-
tion analysis, the strong DP would be generated in its surface position.
Following standard analyses, the object position would be occupied by
pro, which, I assume, would form a binding chain with the DP in clause-
initial position (following Cinque 1990; Baker 1996).[24] Given that the null
pronoun (*pro*) is also strong (under Barwise–Cooper 1981), its [+strong]
feature would trigger the clitic.

How do we explain the presence/absence of clitics with weak DPs at
the left periphery? Under a movement analysis, the absence of the clitic
with weak DPs like *mnogu knigi* 'many books' would also follow from the
Clitic Criterion. In this case, the clitic would not be generated because the
DP lacks the features necessary for its licensing. Under a base generation
analysis, the weak DP would be generated in its surface position, with
pro occupying the argument position. The [+strong] features of *pro* would
obligatorily trigger the presence of the clitic. In order to account for the
obvious absence of a clitic in cases like (23c), I propose that its absence
is a result of general conditions on feature matching in chains: the chain
created by the weak DP and *pro* would no longer match in its features
for strength and as such would be ruled out (see Suñer 1988).

We have thus shown how the distribution of the clitic with left-
dislocated strong and weak DPs follows from the Clitic Criterion. Note,
though, that the analysis so far has relied on a one-to-one correlation
between the semantic properties of the DPs (strong vs. weak) and their
feature specification ([+strong] vs. [−strong]). It is clear, though, that
this distinction is not sufficient to capture the behavior of the numerals
in (23b), which as we know optionally seem to allow for the clitic when
in clause-initial position.

In order to account for the fact that some weak DPs (e.g., the numer-
als) optionally allow for a clitic, following a suggestion by Veneeta Dayal
(p.c.), I propose that the class of weak DPs in Macedonian splits into two
classes: [−strong], like *many*, and unspecified for strength, like the nu-
merals. The three-way distinction does not affect the analysis of the clitic
restrictions with [+strong] and [−strong] DPs given above. However, it
does help to explain the distribution of the clitic with weak DPs like the
numerals in (23b).

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[24] I assume with Cinque (1990) that this kind of construction would be an instance
of Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD). See also Baker (1996); Kochovska (2010).

As was the case with the universal quentifier and *many* in (23a) and (23c), respectively, the numerals in (23b) can be derived either by movement or be base-generated. Under a movement analysis, the numeral would start as an argument of the verb. Given its lack of [+strong] features, the clitic will not be licensed, in accordance with the Clitic Criterion. Under the second option, the numeral would be base-generated, entering into a binding relation with *pro* in object position (Cinque 1990). The presence of *pro*, in turn, would trigger the presence of the clitic. Recall that in the case of [−strong] DPs, this configuration was ruled out because of the mismatch of features in the chain created by the DP and *pro*. Crucially, such feature-mismatch would not arise with the base-generated numerals. Given that these DPs are unspecified for strength, the chain created by the unspecified-for-strength weak DPs and *pro* would not result in a clash of features. This would explain the presence of the clitic with the numeral in (23b).[25]

4. Conclusion

In this squib, I argued that the distribution of the clitics in Macedonian correlates with the feature specification for strength of the DPs with which they co-occur. I showed that the CD of direct objects in Macedonian is regulated in a systematic way in that it licenses strong DPs.

I outlined the parallel distribution of clitics with pre- and postverbal DPs and showed that the (non)occurrence of the clitics with such DPs is regulated by the Clitic Criterion. I proposed that the two positions accommodate different types of foci and thus showed that the preverbal focus phrase is a separate projection from that of the clitic phrase.

Finally, I proposed a three-way distinction of the DPs in Macedonian in terms of strength. The more nuanced characterization of the weak DPs makes it possible to account for the apparent optionality of the clitic when such DPs occur at the left periphery. The presence vs. absence of

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[25] The analysis that I have outlined here predicts a correlation between the manner of derivation of a left-dislocated DP and the presence of a clitic in the sense that base-generated DPs would show up with clitics, while those that move to the left periphery would show up without clitics. The prediction holds in Macedonian. In particular, it is supported by evidence from WCO and island effects which show that left-dislocated DP coindexed with a clitic are base-generated, while those without clitics are derived by movement. For details, see Kochovska (2010).

the clitic in all cases of left-peripheral DPs was argued to follow from general conditions on chains that disallow a clash of features between its elements.

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