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Identical Doubling: Object Marking in Macedonian Main and Relative Clauses

1 Introduction

Macedonian exhibits a form of direct- and indirect-object marking that is rare for a Slavic language, but common to its geographical neighbors in the Balkans. This object-marking phenomenon is called Balkan clitic doubling, due to its commonality across the languages of the Balkan Sprachbund, noted since Miklosich (Miklosich 1862: 7-8) and remarked upon as a distinctive trait of the Balkan Sprachbund by many subsequent Balkanists, including Seliščev (1925: 45), Sandfeld (1930: 192-93), and Lopašov (1978: 123).

Balkan clitic doubling involves coreference between an object pronoun, enclitic to the verb, and an overt direct or indirect object. It was one of the first noted grammatical commonalities among the genetically diverse languages of the Balkans. Despite their varying descent from Slavic, Hellenic, Romance, Albanian, and Indo-Aryan branches of Indo-European, Balkan languages excepting Turkish all possess clitic doubling (Friedman 2008: 36). Balkan clitic doubling does not involve extraposition, which distinguishes it from clitic-left dislocation (CLLD) structures, such as those proposed in Italian (Rizzi 1997). The degree to which clitic doubling is grammaticalized and the object types that it targets, however, differ from language to language. The object targeted by doubling may be a non-clitic pronoun, a non-pronominal referential expression, a *wh*-word, or a whole clause. The following examples illustrate some of the variety that may be found in Balkan clitic doubling, labeled by the type of the object that is doubled. Underlined constituents are coreferent, without making specific claims as to their coindexation at the syntactic level.¹

Full pronoun

- (1) *Vdigna* *răce* *kato* *me* *vidya* *men.* [Bulgarian]
he.raised hands when me_{CL} he.saw me
'He raised his hands when he saw me.'

(internet corpus)

¹ In the following examples, italics indicate the example sentence or phrase in the original language. All examples are from Macedonian unless otherwise indicated. Underlined elements are coreferential. In glosses on the subsequent line, subscripted 'CL' indicates a clitic pronoun. Accusative pronouns will be translated with English oblique pronouns (for example, 'me' for first person Accusative singular) and Dative pronouns with English

Animate, referential proper name

- (2) *îl* *văd* *pe Alexandru.* [Romanian]
 him_{CL} I.see ACC Alexander
 'I see John.'
(informant)

Inanimate, referential substantive

- (3) *Sou* *to* *pléko* *éna poulóver.* [Greek]
 to.you_{CL} it_{CL} I.knitted a sweater
 'I knitted you a sweater.'
(from Kazazis & Pentheroudakis 1976: 400)

Interrogative pronoun

- (4) *Kogo* *go* *vide* *tamu?*
 who.M.ACC him_{CL} you.saw there
 'Who did you see there?'
(informant)

Complement clause

- (5) *E* *besova* [_{CP} *se Beni shkoi*]. [Albanian]
 him_{CL} I.believed that Beni he.went
 'I believed that Beni left.'
(from Kallulli & Tasmowski 2008: 232)

Balkan clitic doubling has attracted considerable attention, inspiring both detailed study of its language-specific manifestations and comparative work across the Balkan Sprachbund with an aim towards uncovering its origins and the means by which it came to be shared by such diverse languages. Several authors (Ilievski 1988; Friedman 1994; Joseph 2001; Topolińska Forthcoming) have argued that clitic doubling arose as a discourse structuring device for marking Old Information, arising in a context of language contact between multilingual speakers of Balkan languages and assuming more grammatical functions with the passage of time through the familiar process of grammaticalization (Traugott & Hopper 1993). Although the remnants of the discourse function of clitic doubling are retained in many Balkan languages to this day, in Macedonian, a language at the geographical and typological center of the Balkan Sprachbund (Friedman 2008), clitic doubling has achieved a position of nearly full grammaticization (Franks 2009).

In Macedonian, pronominal clitics double all full pronouns, all definite direct objects, most indirect objects, and most *wh*-words deriving from argument positions (Friedman 2008: 37). Clitic doubling in Macedonian occurs in a greater variety of verbal predicates with more consistency than any other Balkan language. This accords with arguments that Macedonian is among the most 'Balkanized' of the

Balkan languages, Balkanization being measured in number of grammatical commonalities of its Balkan neighbors. Macedonian occupied both the geographical center of the Balkans and the abstract center of social prestige, carrying neither high nor low social value, and thus was most exposed to the Balkanizing influence of multilingual social contact (Lindstedt 2000). Among the Balkan features that Macedonian came to possess is the almost total loss of synthetic case marking. Although it is not clear whether this loss of case precipitated the current state, the frequency of clitic doubling does mean that these clitics often mark grammatical relations between the verb and its object arguments that would otherwise be ambiguous due to Macedonian's free word order.

Considering this role that clitics play in marking grammatical relations, it is not surprising to find that they feature prominently in relativization on object argument positions as well. It is well known that Macedonian requires an object doubling clitic in relative clauses to mark argument position gaps from which the head has been relativized.

Relativized direct object

(6)	<i>Ova</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>čovekat</i>	[_{CP} <i>koji</i>	*(<i>go</i>)	<i>vidov</i>	< > _i].
	this	is	the-man	who.M	3SG.M.ACC.CL	I.saw	TRACE
	'This is the man I saw.'						

Relativized indirect object

(7)	<i>Ova</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>čovekat</i>	[_{CP} <i>na koji</i>	*(<i>mu</i>)	<i>dadov</i>	<i>kniga</i>
	this	is	the-man	to who.m	3SG.M.DAT.CL	I.gave	book
	< > _i].						
	TRACE						
	'This is the man I gave a book to.'						

As marked in the examples above, the presence of the doubling clitic in the relative clause (RC) is mandatory. In this way, it resembles the object resumption well-known in Modern Hebrew (Borer 1984; Sharvit 1999) and Levantine Arabic (Shlonsky 1992). The usage of clitics in Macedonian RCs differs in important ways from their use in non-relative clauses (NRCs, encompassing both matrix clauses and embedded complement clauses). Yet in agreement, placement, and function they are identical. Although this has been noted in descriptive accounts, syntactic accounts of Macedonian doubling clitics hitherto have not accommodated both their NRC behavior and their RC behavior.

The aim of this paper is to unify the syntactic description of Macedonian NRCs and RCs in relation to clitic doubling. In the process, I will argue that the pronominal reduplication seen in (6-7) is not resumption, but rather a continuation of Macedonian's standard clitic doubling as applied to a null or overt operator. This will require an analysis in which the external head is merged directly as the governor of the CP, rather than base-generated and moved to Spec,CP. I will show that this account best accommodates the data from both Macedonian NRCs and RCs.

In comparing Macedonian RCs to NRCs, I will show that clitic doubling, despite its commonalities with other clitic doubling structures in the Balkan Sprachbund, is best treated as a form of morphological object agreement, lending support to a position argued by Franks (2009). To bolster this argument, I will show how an analysis of Macedonian clitic doubling as a form of object agreement accounts for some peculiar clitic behavior unique to Macedonian in comparison with its Balkan neighbors. This proposal adds further concrete support to the notion that Macedonian shows the greatest grammatical integration of clitic doubling among the Balkan languages, according with its position at the probable geographical center of innovation for this shared morphosyntactic structure.

2 Clitic doubling in NRCs

Macedonian has a system of clitics inseparable from the verb that distinguish gender, person, number, and case (Accusative or Dative). Accusative clitics are used to double direct objects (DOs) and Dative clitics are used to double indirect objects (IOs). When the DO or IO of the transitive verb is pronominal, these clitics are always present. Macedonian also has a set of full, nonclitic pronouns for all genders, persons, and numbers (case in these pronouns is mostly Accusative; Dative forms of full pronouns are used only in formal or dialectal speech). Full pronouns for argument positions are used only emphatically, and invariably accompany a doubling pronominal clitic (Koneski 1967: 123). In the following examples, small caps indicate emphatic intonation. Subscripted numbers will be used to track multiple coreference between clitics and NPs.

(8) *Daj* *(*mi*₂) *(*ja*₁) *knigata*₁ (*na*) *MENE*₂.
Give to.me_{CL} her_{CL} the.book.F (to) me.
'Give the book to ME.'

(9) *Ne* *(*go*₁) *zna-m* *NEGO*₁, *ama* *go*₂ *znam* *Branko*₂.
Not him_{CL} I.know him but him_{CL} I.know Branko.M.
'I don't know HIM, but I know Branko.'

Examples (8) and (9) exhibit the mandatory doubling of full pronouns. Without pronominal clitics, these sentences are ungrammatical. Example (8) illustrates the coexistence of synthetic and analytical Dative case in the pronoun, whereby either the Dative case form of the first person singular pronoun may be used, or the homophonous Accusative case form combined with a Dative-case marking preposition *na*. Other full pronouns show separate Accusative and Dative case forms, such as *nea* 'her.ACC' and *nejze* 'her.DAT'. As (8) and (9) also show, Macedonian allows clitics to double nonpronominal objects like *knigata* 'the book,' a feminine noun, or *Branko*, a masculine personal name.

For nonpronominals, a strong correlate of clitic doubling is definiteness in the object. The following table summarizes the types of noun phrases treated as definite by the Macedonian grammatical system.

Table 1 – Definite forms in Macedonian

Noun phrases considered to be definite	Examples
Noun phrases modified by a definite article: <i>-ot/to/ta/te</i> ‘the/that one’ <i>-ov/vo/va/ve</i> ‘this one,’ <i>-on/no/na/ne</i> ‘that one.’	<i>Kniga-ta</i> ‘the book,’ <i>kniga-na</i> ‘that book over there,’ <i>kniga-va</i> ‘this book here,’ <i>knigi-te</i> ‘the books,’ <i>knigi-ne</i> ‘those books over there,’ <i>knigi-ve</i> ‘these books here.’ <i>stara-ta kniga</i> ‘the old book,’ <i>stari-te ubavi knigi</i> ‘the old, beautiful books’
Noun phrases modified by a demonstrative: <i>toj/toa/taa/tie</i> ‘that/those’ (also the 3 rd person pronouns), <i>ovoj/ova/ovaa/ovie</i> ‘this/these,’ <i>onoj/ona/onaa/onie</i> ‘yonder’	<i>Toj ključ</i> ‘that key’ (masc.), <i>ova selo</i> ‘this village’ (neut.), <i>onie stolovi</i> ‘yonder chairs’ (plur.)
Noun phrases modified by a possessive adjective, either suffixed by a definite article or not	<i>Moja-ta kniga</i> ‘my book,’ <i>moja kniga</i> ‘a book of mine’
Kinship nouns modified by a pronominal clitic that acts as a possessor	<i>Majka mi</i> ‘my mother,’ <i>čičko ti</i> ‘your uncle,’ <i>sin mu</i> ‘his son,’ <i>kerka im</i> ‘their daughter’
Place names (agreement w/ grammatical gender) and personal names (agreement w/ semantic gender)	<i>Dragan</i> ‘masc. personal name,’ <i>Marko</i> ‘masc. personal name with neut. lexical form,’ <i>Amerika</i> ‘fem. place name,’ <i>Tetovo</i> ‘neut. place name’

Any DO considered to be definite triggers clitic doubling on the verb, no matter the semantic, pragmatic, or referential status of the object.

(10) (*Mu*₂) *(*ja*₁) *dadov knjigata*₁ *na momče-to*₂.
to.him_{CL} her_{CL} I.gave the.book.F to the.boy.N.
‘I gave the book to the boy.’

(11) (*Mu*₂) *(*ja*₁) *dadov OVAA KNIGA*₁ *NA ONA MOMČE*₂.
TO.HIM_{CL} HER_{CL} I.gave this.F book.F to that.N boy.N
‘I gave THIS BOOK to THAT BOY.’

Example (10) demonstrates standard object doubling of DOs and IOs, where the definite DO must be doubled, while doubling of the IO is very common, but not obligatory. Example (11) shows that the same conditions hold even if these objects are in focus. IOs in formal Macedonian double regardless of the semantic, pragmatic, or referential status of the object. Thus introducing contrastive focus onto the DO and IO in (11) does not require a change in clitic usage. The DO clitic remains

mandatory, the IO clitic remains optional. In colloquial Macedonian, the doubling of IOs is frequent, but marks them as Old Information. Thus speakers may drop Dative clitics with IOs to mark these arguments as focused New Information (Petroska 2007).

Indefinite DOs sometimes trigger object marking on the verb, especially in the colloquial language (Friedman 2008: 41-42), as in (12).

- (12) *Taa* *sekoj den* *go* *preskoknuva*
 she every.M day.M him_{CL} he.jumped.over
eden čovek *koj* *leži* *na trotoar.*
 a.M person.M who.M he.lies on sidewalk.M
 ‘Every day she jumps over this guy who’s lying on the sidewalk.’
 (colloquial English translation)

Indefinite DO doubling is licensed for specific, non-focused constituents which are immediately followed by further qualifying information (a factor that has been termed NOTEWORTHINESS by Ionin (2006: 176)). Together with IO reduplication, it forms one of the domains of objects in Macedonian for which doubling is optional and conditioned at least partly by pragmatic factors. In the above example, the object is specific, a semantic feature meant here in the sense of having DETERMINED REFERENCE according to Farkas’ (2002: 222) analysis of specificity distinctions. Determined reference in colloquial Macedonian requires the presence of the indefinite article *eden* (Friedman 2003: 3). Without this indefinite article, a bare noun cannot denote an individual entity *e*. The determined reference of the indefinite is reinforced as the speaker immediately provides qualifying information that grounds the reference with the RC *koj leži na trotoar* ‘who’s lying on the sidewalk.’ In addition, the iterativity of the imperfective verb form *preskoknuva* ‘s/he is jumps over’² provides further support for the object doubling in the sentence (Marković: p.c.). In the absence of these factors, this construction would be considered ungrammatical. As it is, this sentence, constructed by a native-speaking informant, is acceptable to some speakers and rejected by others, due to the sociolinguistic pressure exerted by the proscription of doubled indefinite DOs in the standard language (Tanturovska 2005: 111-12).

One further and crosslinguistically unusual set of objects may undergo clitic doubling. These are *wh*-words raised from argument positions. In a similar fashion to the referential pronouns, Macedonian interrogative pronouns occur in both synthetic (case-marked) and analytical (non-case marked) forms, with the analytical forms more common in the spoken language. Nonetheless, synthetic forms distinguishing Dative and Accusative case remain active in the language. The following table provides the full paradigm of interrogative pronouns, separated into those with morphological case marking and those that lack morphological case marking. Only masculine singular forms show case marking in object positions, as in

² Imperfective verbs in Macedonian may denote both repeated actions and incomplete single actions. Thus they are polysemic between a habitual and progressive aspect interpretation.

kogo 'who.ACC.M'; masculine singular is also the default gender for asking questions about unknown participants. Forms without case marking act as interrogative determiners, as in *koj maŝ* 'which.M man.M' or *koja žena* 'which.F woman.F'.

Table 2 – Interrogative pronouns and determiners

	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
synthetic (only pronominal)	<i>koj</i> – masculine <i>koja</i> – feminine <i>koe</i> – neuter <i>koi</i> – plural	<i>kogo</i> – masculine — — —	<i>komu</i> – masculine — — —
analytical (also determiner)	<i>koj</i> – masculine <i>koja</i> – feminine <i>koe</i> – neuter <i>koi</i> – plural	<i>koj</i> – masculine <i>koja</i> – feminine <i>koe</i> – neuter <i>koi</i> – plural	<i>na koj</i> – masculine <i>na koja</i> – feminine <i>na koe</i> – neuter <i>na koi</i> – plural

When an interrogative pronoun raised from DO position acts as a choice function selecting an individual or a subset from a contextually restricted set, the question word must be doubled. Such *wh*-phrases are D[iscourse]-linked, as in the sense of Comorovski's (1996: 2) seminal analysis of interrogatives. The D-linked interpretation with object doubling is the most common realization of the interrogative pronoun in Macedonian:

- (14) *Kogo go vide tamu?*
 who.M.ACC him_{CL} you.saw there
 'Who did you see there?'
 (of the people that we know/we were talking about)

When the interrogative pronoun is not interpreted as selecting from a contextually restricted set (i.e. in an out-of-the-blue question), it is not doubled.

- (15) *Kogo vide tamu?*
 who.M.ACC you.saw there
 'Who did you see there?'
 (no presuppositions about who the Hearer could have seen)

This same semantic differentiation holds for interrogative determiners.

- (16) *Koj jazik go zboruvate?*
 which.M language.M him_{CL} you.speak
 'Which language do you speak?'
 (of the set of languages we know/we were talking about)

- (17) *Koj jazik zboruvate?*
 which.M language.M you.speak

'What language do you speak/are you speaking?'
(no presuppositions about the language the Hearer may speak or is speaking)

While (16) with doubling is the most common configuration for interrogative determiners, (17) would be appropriate for a context in which the Speaker had forgotten which language it was that the Hearer spoken, and thus had no preconceptions about which language this could be.

IOs, whether synthetically or analytically case-marked, are always doubled by a Dative clitic pronoun.

- (18) a. *Komu* *mu* *zboruvavte?*
 who.M.DAT to.him_{CL} you.spoke
 'Who did you speak to?'
 b. *Na koj* *mu* *zboruvavte?*
 who.M.DAT to.him_{CL} you.spoke
 'Who did you speak to?'
 c. *Na koj работник* *mu* *zboruvavte?*
 to which.M employee.M to.him_{CL} you.spoke
 'Which employee did you speak to?'

Without doubling clitics, none of these sentences is accepted as grammatical. The pragmatic differentiation found for DO interrogatives is absent here.

In contrast to relative pronouns declined by gender, number, and case, the relative pronoun *što* 'what' never undergoes doubling.

- (19) a. *Što* *sakaš?*
 what you.want
 'What do you want?'
 b. **Što* *go* *sakaš?*
 what him_{CL} you.want
 'What do you want?'

This data completes the survey of object doubling in Macedonian NRCs. These components form the basis for the analysis of RCs, in which relative pronouns such as *koj* 'who' and *što* 'what' and doubling clitics play an essential role.

3 Clitic Doubling in RCs

Macedonian restrictive RCs use a case-marking relativization strategy in which the head precedes the restricting clause and the case relation of the relativized constituent is marked within the restricting clause. According to Keenan and Comrie's (1977) typology, Macedonian may be categorized by the following scale of positional relativization strategies.

Table 3 – Macedonian Relativization Strategy

	Subj	DObj	IObj	Obl	Gen	OComp
1. postnom, +case	+	+	+	+	+	-

Within the postnominal, case-marking strategy, two kinds of case-marking may be distinguished. The first involves an indeclinable relativizer *što* ‘what’ combined with pronominal elements in the RC indicating the position of relativization. For subjects, this is a null *pro* that triggers φ -feature agreement on the main verb of the restricting clause. For arguments, this is an Accusative or Dative clitic pronoun that agrees in φ -features with the relativized constituent. It is important to note that this clitic pronoun is not drawn from a separate source or invariant. It takes full φ -feature agreement as a doubling clitic in an NRC would. The use of a full pronoun in addition to the clitic to code the position of relativization is ungrammatical. For oblique arguments, however, Speakers deploy a full resumptive pronoun with a preposition. Genitive arguments do not have a grammatical relativization strategy using the indeclinable relativizer *što* – this feature differentiates Macedonian from its closely-related neighbor, Bulgarian. The following sentences illustrate these relativization strategies in which case-marking is indicated wholly within the clause, while the relativizer *što* is invariant.

Relativized subjects with indeclinable *što*

- (19) *Čovekot₁ što go₂ brka kučeto₂...*
 the.man.M that him_{CL} he.is.chasing the.dog.M
 ‘The man who is chasing the dog...’
 (Bužarovska 2008: 6)

Relativized DOs with indeclinable *što*

- (20) *Čovekot₁ što kučeto₂ go₁ brka...*
 the.man.M that the.dog.M him_{CL} he.is.chasing
 ‘The man who the dog is chasing...’
 (Bužarovska 2008: 10)

Relativized IOs with indeclinable *što*

- (21) *Čovekot što mu telefonira včera e tuka.*
 the.man.M that to.him_{CL} you.called yesterday is here
 ‘The man you called yesterday is here.’
 (Bužarovska 2008: 9)

Relativized obliques with indeclinable *što*

- (22) *Stignavme do rekata što pievme voda od nea.*
 we.arrived to.the.river.F that we.drunk water from.her
 ‘We reached the river that we had drunk water from.’
 (Bužarovska 2008: 12)

Failure of Genitive relativization with indeclinable *što*

- (23) a. **Imame eden sosed što negovite oči*
 we.have a.M neighbor.M that the.his eyes
se istaknuvaa koga me gleda.
 they.bulge when me_{CL} he.looks
 'We have a neighbor whose eyes bulge out when he looks at me.'
- b. **Imame eden sosed što očite mu*
 we.have a.M neighbor.M that the.eyes to.him_{CL}
se istaknuvaa koga me gleda.
 they.bulge when me_{CL} he.looks
 '...'
 (intended)
- (24) *Imame edin sased, deto očite mu* [Bul]
 we.have a.M neighbor.M that the.eyes to.him_{CL}
natičat, kato me gleda.
 they.bulge when me_{CL} he.looks
 'We have a neighbor whose eyes bulge out when he looks at me.'
 (Bužarovska 2008: 12)

Example (19) shows the relativization of a subject with indeclinable *što*. No pronominal clitic occurs within the clause, rather the relativized head is coindexed with a null *pro* that determines φ -features on the verb *brka* 'he chases'. Of note is that the shared masculine gender between the subject *čovекot* 'the man' and the object *kučeto* 'the dog' renders this particular sentence ambiguous. Macedonian word order allows both SV and VS word order, and thus the clitic *go* 'him' in this sentence could corefer with *kučeto* instead. This is a matter of ambiguous case-marking, rather than a lack of case-marking. As with subject-agreement inflection on the verb, which can mark either the φ -features of a subject within the RC or the φ -features of a relativized subject external to the clause, the object-marking clitic coordinates with either a clause-internal or a clause-external object. Nonetheless, with a change in word order, as in (20), *čovекot* is unambiguously interpreted as a relativized DO coreferential with the clitic pronoun, since OV word order is not felicitous in a context in which *kučeto* 'the dog' is newly mentioned. The clitic pronoun also serves to mark the case of the relativized head in (21), in this case as the Dative object of the verb *telefonira* 'to make a phone call'. In Examples (20-21), only clitic pronouns may mark the position of relativization. Full pronouns like *nego* 'him' or *nea* 'her' may not play this role and are barred from cooccurrence with a relativized argument.

This prohibition of case-marking with full pronouns for relativized arguments contrasts with obliques, which accommodate a strategy that is clearly resumption, as in the coordination of *rekata* 'the river' with *od nea* 'from her' in (22). With this use of a full pronoun, there is no possibility for case-marking ambiguity.

Macedonian does not allow any kind of relativization of Genitive heads with the indeclinable relativizer *što*. Example (23) demonstrates two attempts at Genitive relativization, both ungrammatical, but for different reasons. Example (23a) is ungrammatical because the relative head *eden sosed* ‘a neighbor’ cannot coordinate with the possessive adjective *negoviot* ‘his’. As an AP adjoined to the NP *oči* ‘eyes’, it appears that *negoviot* is insufficiently accessible to be interpreted as coreferent with *eden sosed*, resulting in ungrammaticality. Example (23b) presents a potential remedy to this problem, instantiating the possessive as a Dative clitic pronoun to the NP, but fails due to Macedonian’s restrictions on the distribution of object clitic pronouns: they may only occur bound to a verb.³ In contrast, Bulgarian regularly encodes possession with the same Dative clitics that mark the IOs of verbs, and thus relativization of a Genitive over the Bulgarian indeclinable relativizer *deto* ‘that’ occurs grammatically, as in (24). It appears that the Bulgarian Dative clitic can play a resumptive role for relativized Genitives in a way that Macedonian does not allow for its own Dative clitic.

The lack of a Genitive relativization strategy with clitic pronouns in Macedonian raises a question: to what extent are these pronouns merely phonologically reduced versions of full pronouns? They do not occur interchangeably with full pronouns, instead, their presence is a obligatory complement to the presence of a full pronoun. They frequently and often obligatorily cooccur with substantive arguments. They are completely inseparable and fixed in their position relative to the verb (preverbal for finite verbs, postverbal for nonfinite imperatives and participles). And they are used for no other function than to mark the object arguments of a verb. Despite their origin as separable clitic pronouns with a clear line of descent from independent pronominals, it is difficult to distinguish them from the inflectional material of subject agreement in their morphosyntactic behavior synchronically. Under an interpretation proposed by Franks (2009), the clitic pronouns in (19-21) do not so much resume the relativized object as agree with it in φ -features, in effect acting as an extension of the verb’s inflectional material. Real resumption only appears in (22), where a full pronoun is used to fill the place of the oblique argument position from which the head has been relativized.

Further support for an interpretation of the object-marking clitics in RCs as verbal inflection stems from the second case-marking relativization strategy in Macedonian: the use of a relative determiner *koj* ‘who’ marked for the φ -features of the relativized head. This relative determiner is identical in form to the interrogative pronoun outlined in Table 2, with the same distribution of analytically and synthetically case-marked forms. For subjects and DOs, the relative pronoun may either occur alone, or combine with the indeclinable relativizer *što* to form a conjoined relativizer *kojšto*. For DOs, the relativizer may be case marked. Only the caseless form of the relativizer is available for all other positions of relativization.

³ Macedonian does allow the use of possessive Dative clitic pronouns with singular kinship terms, such as *sin mu* ‘his son’ or *baba mu* ‘his grandmother’. Franks (CITE), however, argues that these are no longer active uses of the Dative clitic, but rather lexicalized remnants of an older possessive system that allowed the encoding of possession with Dative clitics as in other Balkan languages.

Genitive heads allow relativization with either *koj* or a possessive relative pronoun *čij* ‘whose’. The following examples illustrate the application of this relativization strategy.

Relativized subjects with relative pronoun

- (25) *Čovekot₁ koj₁/kojšto₁ go₂ brka kučeto₂...*
 the.man.M who.M him_{CL} he.is.chasing the.dog
 ‘The man who is chasing the dog...’

Relativized DOs with relative pronoun

- (26) *Tamu e tipot koj/kojšto go saka*
 there he.is the.guy.M who.M him_{CL} she.likes
mojata najdobra drugarka.
 the.my best friend
 ‘There is the guy who my best friend likes.’

- (27) *Počinal Francuzinot kogo go pretepa*
 he.died the.frenchman.M who.M.ACC him_{CL} they.beat
“Grobarite”
 the.Grobari
 ‘The Frenchman who the “Grobari” football club assaulted has died.’
 (newspaper)

Relativized IOs with relative pronoun

- (28) *Čovekot komu/na koj mu telefonira*
 the.man.M who.M.DAT/to who.M to.him_{CL} you.called
včera e tuka.
 yesterday is here
 ‘The man you called yesterday is here.’
 (Bužarovska 2008: 9)

Relativized obliques with relative pronoun

- (29) *Stignavme do rekata od koja pievme voda.*
 we.arrived to the.river.F from who.F we.drunk water
 ‘We reached the river that we had drunk water from.’

Relativized Genitives with relative pronoun

- (30) *Studentot₁ čij₁ test₂ go₂ korigiraše...*
 the.student.M whose.M test.M him_{CL} you.corrected
 ‘The student whose test you corrected...’

- (31) *Studentot₁ na koj₁/od koj₁ testot₂ go₂ korigiraše...*
 the.student.M of who.M the.test.M him_{CL} you.corrected
 'The student whose test you corrected...'

As (25-26) show, *koj* is not inherently marked for case, only gender and number. Thus it may be deployed either for relativized subjects, as in (25), or relativized objects, as in (26). In the standard language, this relativization strategy with either *koj* or *kojšto* for subjects, DOs, and IOs is dispreferred and relativization with indeclinable *što* is promoted. This may be because *koj* is wholly redundant for these constructions, since φ -features are unambiguously marked either in verbal inflection or with object clitics. Nonetheless, the use of *koj* and *kojšto* in these contexts is common in the spoken language and freely alternates with the use of the indeclinable relativizer *što* (Bužarovska 2008).

Example (27) shows the use of the case-marked *kogo* in coordination with a head relativized from DO position. Despite the Accusative case marking on the relative pronoun, the pronominal clitic *go* within the clause remains mandatory and its elision would result in an ungrammatical sentence. Thus case marking on the relative pronoun is redundant. Use of *kogo* for relativization is confined to formal Macedonian, likely due to the redundancy of the case-marking.

Macedonian shows a sharp divergence with other Slavic languages in this respect. Languages such as Serbian or Czech may use Accusative or Dative clitic pronouns to relativize heads from DO or IO position with an indeclinable *relativum generale*, a strategy exactly parallel in form to what we find in (19-21) with *što* in Macedonian. Relativization over a case-marked relative pronoun, however, is strictly incompatible with object-marking in the RC by means of pronominal clitics (Browne 1986). Macedonian is unique in its accommodation of coreference between a case-marked relative pronoun like *kogo* and the Accusative pronominal clitic *go*. The identity of the relativizer no longer plays a role in determining case-marking of relativized heads in Macedonian. The verbal compound has assumed this role. This is further illustrated by (28), in which the identity of the relativizer (synthetically-marked *komu* or analytically marked *na koj*) is irrelevant to the appearance of a Dative-case marking clitic *mu*.

For all other oblique positions, relativization is a straightforward process of fronting the preposition and relative pronoun to Spec,CP, as in (29). No duplication of the relativized head occurs in the RC. This holds likewise for Genitive relativization, as illustrated in (30-31). These sentences differ only in whether the relative pronoun raises with its possessum, as with *čij test* 'whose test' in (30), or whether the possessor alone raises and leaves the possessum in situ, as with *na koj/od koj* 'of who' in (31).

Thus relativization on subject, DO, and IO positions distinguishes itself for its indifference to the identity of the relativizer, whether case-marked or caseless. Argument-marking features appear in the RC regardless of whether this information is coded on a relativizer like *koj* or absent on a relativizer like *što*. In contrast, obliques differ fundamentally in allowing a full resumptive pronoun for the indeclinable relativizer *što* while prohibiting its presence for the declinable relativizer *koj* and instead coding all φ -features and case relations on this relative

pronoun. Relativized Genitives show this difference even more starkly by prohibiting a relativization strategy with indeclinable *što* and utilizing only the relative pronoun *koj*. Tellingly, the absence of a *što*-based strategy traces from the absence of an accessible position for relativization, since Macedonian prohibits the use of Dative clitics on noun phrases to mark possessors.

Confronted with a Macedonian sentence such as (20) or (21) with indeclinable *što* and an object-marking clitic, a reasonable conclusion to draw would be that Macedonian structures RCs with object resumption, as has been proposed for Irish (McCloskey 1990), Hebrew (Borer 1984), and Levantine Arabic (Aoun et al. 2001) among other languages. But the behavioral split in the relativization system between argument positions on the one hand and obliques and Genitives on the other gives reason to pause – while the latter pattern clearly with resumption, the former show behavior unusual in systems of true resumption. For example, the duplication of case-marking information despite the presence of case-marked relative pronouns in sentences such as (27) and (28) is puzzling under a resumption account. In the following section, I will argue against an account of object doubling clitics in Macedonian RCs as resumptive pronouns.

4 Against Argument Resumption in Macedonian

It is well-known that resumptive pronouns optionally or mandatorily appear in the gaps left by relativized arguments in several languages, including Hebrew, Irish, and Levantine Arabic. It has been noted by McCloskey (1990) and Shlonsky (1992) that in these languages, the choice between a gap and a resumptive pronoun is governed by the type of element in C^0 : full inflection on the relative pronoun in Spec,CP patterns with a gap, whereas an invariant complementizer in C^0 in addition to a null operator at Spec,CP patterns with a resumptive. Moreover, Lavine (2003: 3) proposed precisely this analysis for *relativum generale* resumption in multiple Slavic languages. The following Colloquial Czech sentences from Lavine provide an example.

- (32) a. *To je ten chlap, kerýho viděli v tramvaji.*
 that is the guy who.M.ACC they.saw in tram
 ‘That’s the guy they saw in the tram.’
- b. *To je ten chlap, co ho viděli v tramvaji.*
 that is the guy that him_{CL} they.saw in tram
 ‘That’s the guy they saw in the tram.’

Under Levine’s analysis, a relative pronoun *kerýho* is Merged with Accusative case and raised to Spec,CP in (32a), checking its features in the process. If, as in (32b), a pronoun resumes the relativized position, then a covert operator is Merged into Spec,CP directly and the invariant C^0 head is pronounced, yielding the overt complementizer *co* ‘that’. This analysis accommodates oblique relativization strategies in Macedonian perfectly. An overt relative pronoun and the appearance of

a resumptive pronoun in the relativization gap are complementary for Macedonian obliques.

But precisely this assumption of complementary distribution poses a problem for the analysis of DO and IO relativization in Macedonian. As shown in (26-28), the appearance of a clitic pronoun is completely independent of the complementizer used. The relativizer may show case-marking, as with *kogo*. It may show merely φ -values, as with *koj*. It may be invariable, as with *što*. It may show a combined form, as with *kojšto*. No matter the relativizer that is used, a clitic pronoun is required in the RC. This renders Macedonian incompatible with resumptive pronoun analyses used to account for data in other Slavic languages and languages like Irish.

Hebrew does not rely on different relativizers to trigger resumption or its absence, thus perhaps providing a better parallel for Macedonian. Hebrew also shows a differentiation between the pronominal realization of DO arguments and obliques that accords with the Macedonian split seen in (19-22) (Doron 1982: cited in Alexopoulou 2006: 101).

DO relativization in Hebrew

- (32) *Ra?iti ?et ha-yeled še Rina ?ohevet (?oto).*
 I.saw ACC the-boy that Rina loves him
 'I saw the boy that Rina loves.'

Oblique relativization in Hebrew

- (33) *Ha-?iš še xašavti al-*(av).*
 the-man that I.thought about-him
 'The man that I thought about.'

Hebrew deploys a full Accusative pronoun in relativized DO resumption, as in (32), but bound clitic pronouns in oblique resumption, as in (33). This is the reverse image of the split found in Macedonian. But resumption of relativized DOs is optional and triggers semantic effects under quantifiers, resulting in two different readings with or without resumption, as in the following examples noted by Doron (1982) and Sharvit (1999: 588).

- (34) a. *ha-iša še kol gever hizmin hodeta lo.*
 the-woman that every man he.invited she.thanked to.him
 'The woman that every man invited thanked him.'
 (multiple women, universal quantifier has wide scope)

- b. *ha-iša* *še* *kol gever* *hizmin* *ota* *hodeta*
 the-woman that every man he.invited her she.thanked
lo.
 to-him
 ‘The woman that every man invited thanked him.’
 (one woman, relative head has wide scope)

According to Sharvit and Doron, whereas there is only one woman designated in the discourse context of (34b), there are as many women as men in the discourse context of (34a), resulting from the absence of the resumptive object pronoun. This bears on the properties of the complementizer *še* ‘that’, suggesting that two homophonous complementizers may have different feature values that result in the scopal effects observed in (34). The featural identity of the complementizer, once again, seems to play an essential role in resumption based on the data from Hebrew, but the analysis that Sharvit and Doron use to successfully capture this data does not carry over to Macedonian.

Levantine Arabic, in contrast to Hebrew, shows the same mandatory distribution of clitic pronouns to code relativized argument positions as Macedonian. This can be seen in the following example from Shlonsky (Shlonsky 1992: 445):

- (35) *l-bint* *?illi* *šufti-*(ha).*
 the-girl that you.saw-her
 ‘The girl that you saw.’

Like Levantine Arabic, Macedonian also requires a gap for relativized subject positions.

- (36) a. *l-bint* *?illi* *(*hiy)* *raayħa* *all beet.* [LA]
 the-girl that she going to house
 ‘The girl that is going home.’
 (Shlonsky 1992: 446)
- b. *Devojkata* *što* *(*taa)* *odi* *doma.* [Mac]
 girl.the that she she.goes home
 ‘The girl that is going home.’

Under an analysis in which *pro* resumes the point of subject extraction, as proposed by Alexopoulou (2006), this would render Levantine Arabic and Macedonian precisely parallel in their relativization strategies with invariable complementizers. The matter that would be left to explain, however, is Macedonian relativization with relative pronouns. The unavailability of feature-valued relative pronouns in Levantine Arabic results in only a single strategy for relativization of obliques, in which Case-marking depends on mandatory resumption. This holds for Hebrew as well.

- (37) a. *l-bint* *?illi* *fakkarti* *fii-*(ha)*. [LA]
 the-girl that you.thought on-her
 ‘The girl you thought about.’
 (Shlonsky 1992: 445)
- b. *ha-?iš* *še* *xašavt* *al-*(av)*. [Heb]
 the-man that you.thought about-him
 ‘The man you thought about.’
 (Doron 1982: cited in Alexopoulou 2006: 101)

Macedonian, in contrast to Levantine Arabic, allows gapped relativization of obliques. It is difficult to see how this could be attributed to any other factor than the availability of a relative pronoun and its absence in Levantine Arabic. In this case, however, the surface parallels between Levantine Arabic and Macedonian belie the greater extension of Macedonian object doubling across relativization domains. This is supported by the data from Hebrew in (37b): although *še* ‘that’ is able to carry *wh*-features that allow it to license a gap in the restrictive clause for relativized DOs, it cannot occur with prepositions, and thus only unvalued *še* acting as C^0 is available for relativization over oblique positions, forcing a resumption strategy.

Thus in Levantine Arabic and Hebrew, despite the absence of overt phonological differences between resumption-licensing invariable complementizers and gap-licensing relative pronouns, the identity of the relativizing element remains essential to the appearance of resumptive pronouns. In contrast, the identity of the relativizing element only plays a role in the appearance of full pronouns in relative gaps in Macedonian, as with the oblique relatives in (22) and (29). It does not account for the appearance of object clitic pronouns, as in (20-21) or (26-28). Macedonian may be said to have productive pronominal resumption in RCs, but this strategy only applies to obliques. Object clitic pronouns do not pattern like the resumptive pronouns observed in Slavic languages, Hebrew, or Levantine Arabic. While resumptive phenomena observed in the literature depend upon the identity of the relativizing element, specifically its φ - or case-feature makeup, Macedonian object doubling within RCs appears indifferent to the presence of case- or φ -features on the relativizer. This suggests that resumption is not the right approach to accounting for the appearance of object doubling clitic pronouns in Macedonian RCs.

3 Against Head-Raising in Macedonian

The pervasiveness and argument-bound nature of the object clitic usage in Macedonian RCs raises obvious parallels with clitic doubling in the language’s NRCs. At first glance, it appears possible to account for the appearance of object clitics with an analysis in which the RC head is base-generated and triggers object doubling as expected, then raises to a position accessible to the NRC. Precisely this analysis was proposed for similar phenomena observed in Albanian, a neighboring and grammatically similar language, by Kallulli (1999)

Albanian, like Macedonian, shows clitic doubling of DOs and IOs in NRCs. Doubling of IOs is without exception, doubling of DOs is conditioned by the absence of Focus on the constituent, rather than definiteness as in Macedonian. Definiteness does play a role in Albanian relativization, where the language shows a split between relativized indefinite DOs and definite DOs. While indefinites often trigger a doubling clitic within the RC as in Macedonian, definites never do. The following Albanian sentences illustrate the language's available strategies of DO relativization (Kallulli 1999: 61).

(38) *Lexova* *një libër* *që* *(e)* *mora* *në bibliotekë.*
 I.read a book that it_{CL} I.got in library
 'I read a book that I got from the library.'

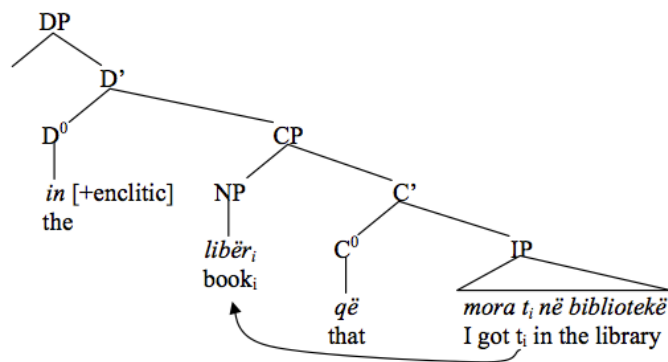
(39) *Lexova* *një libër* *të cil-in* **(e)* *mora* *në bibliotekë.*
 I.read a book which-M.DEF it_{CL} I.got in library
 'I read a book which I got from the library.'

(40) *Lexova* *libër-in* *që* *(*e)* *mora* *në bibliotekë.*
 I.read book-M.DEF that it_{CL} I.got in library
 'I read the book that I got from the library.'

Example (38) shows relativization of an indefinite DO with the indeclinable complementizer *që*. In this construction, a object-doubling clitic in the RC is optional. Contrast this with (39), where the same indefinite DO is coordinated with a relative operator *të cil-in* which is marked for Accusative case, masculine gender, and definiteness. In this case, an object doubling clitic in the RC is mandatory. Finally, these sentences may be opposed to (40), in which a definite relative head *libër-in* 'the book' is only allowed to coordinate with the complementizer *që*, and object doubling within the RC is prohibited.

Kallulli implements the differences between these constructions with the Minimalist Program by positing base-generation of the nominal component of definite relative heads, but *in situ* Merge of indefinite relative heads. The syntactic structure in (41) illustrates her analysis of definite relative heads (Kallulli 1999: 66):

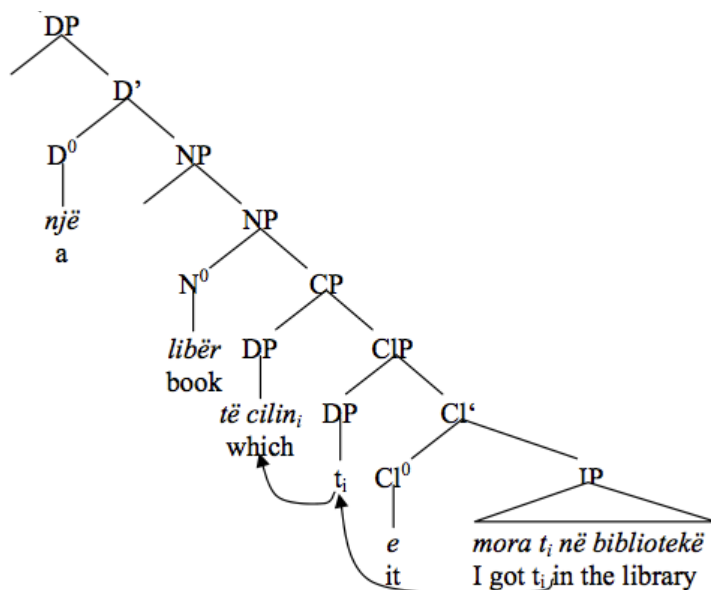
(41)



Under her analysis, the constituent *libër-in* ‘the book’ in (40) does not arise through Merge, but through Move. A bare NP *libër* ‘book’ is Merged into base position within the RC and raised to Spec,CP, where it is dominated by the definite head of a DP and acquires inflection. Because Albanian does not allow the doubling of a bare indefinite, no doubling clitic may appear in RCs headed by a definite, since the NP within these definites originates as a bare indefinite.

In contrast, Kallulli proposes that indefinite heads Merge into their position at the head of the RC. Base-position is occupied by a relative operator, either indeclinable *që* or declinable *i cili* (Accusative definite: *të cilin*), which then moves to Spec,CP position. This is illustrated in the syntactic structure of (42).

(42)



The relative operator *të cilin* raises from a base position to the specifier of a CIP, triggered by its [-Focus] feature and resulting in an overt object-marking clitic in the RC, then raises to Spec,CP. This analysis neatly accommodates the dichotomy

between relativized definite and indefinite DOs. It does, however, require her to posit that *që* functions both as a complementizer and as a relative pronoun. She justifies this supposition by noting that *që* may be used as a factive complementizer, as in (43) below (Kallulli & Tasmowski 2008: 2).

- (43) *Anna e dinte* [_{CP} *që Eva kishte shkuar*].
 Anna it_{CL} she.knew that Eva had left
 ‘Anna knew that Eva had left.’

Considering Macedonian’s close grammatical alignment with Albanian and the degree to which object doubling is integrated into the verbal complexes and common sentence patterns of both, it is worth pursuing this analysis for insight into the patterns of Macedonian. If all relative heads were Merged at base and triggered object doubling through the same mechanisms that apply to Macedonian NRCs, then raised to Spec,CP, this would account for the pervasive object doubling seen in RCs. Definite DOs always trigger object doubling, and as was noted in (12), indefinite DOs optionally trigger doubling. The potential for some aspect of raising to tip the scales toward mandatory object doubling thus exists in the clitic doubling behavior observed in Macedonian NRCs.

The stumbling block for this analysis lies in the particular kinds of indefinite DOs that may optionally undergo doubling. A doubled indefinite object must be accompanied by an indefinite determiner. Bare indefinites, which are fully allowed in colloquial Macedonian grammar and favored by the literary language, may never be doubled. Thus, the following sentence would not be grammatical under any circumstance.

- (44) **Vetrot go odnel čovek na drvo.*
 wind.the him_{CL} it.took person onto tree
 ‘The wind carried a person onto a tree.’

Yet the same sentence, embedded as a RC and headed by the bare indefinite *čovek* ‘person’, is perfectly grammatical.

- (45) *Prv pat spasuvame čovek* [_{CP} *koj go odnel*
 first time we.save person who him_{CL} it.took
vetrot na drvo].
 wind.the onto tree
 ‘This is the first time we’ve saved a person who the wind has blown onto a tree.’

As may be noted, the DO *čovek* ‘person’ is not doubled in the NRC, but its position within the RC is marked by a doubling clitic. A raising analysis would require a kind of clitic doubling in RCs that is impermissible in NRCs.

This leaves Kallulli’s second syntactic approach to Albanian RCs: *in situ* Merge of the relative head and raising of a relative operator from base position. This

approach, I believe, will be the most fruitful both in accounting for Macedonian RC behavior and uniting the triggers for doubling clitics across the grammar.

6 Proposed Analysis for Macedonian RCs: Operator Raising

The analysis proposed here depends crucially upon the data on question-formation in Macedonian presented in Section 2 and is designed to account for the patterns of object doubling observed in Section 3. I propose that the heads of Macedonian RCs are merged at their surface positions, outside the RC syntactically and preceding it linearly, rather than raising to that position from a base position within the RC. This accounts for the fact that the definiteness or specificity of the RC head is irrelevant to object doubling within the RC, which would not be expected if the doubling clitic depended upon the relative head as a trigger. Base position is instead filled by a null or overt relative operator that undergoes A'-movement to meet the selectional needs of the CP, landing in Spec,CP position. In the process, it triggers object doubling in the same way that a *wh*-phrase triggers doubling before raising to clause-initial position in NRCs. The particular way in which this doubling is implemented in the syntax does not affect this analysis, as long as it applies both in NRCs and RCs. Thus if, for example, we were to implement Macedonian object doubling as a matter of categorical features on constituents within the domain of doubling, the relative operator would move through Spec,Cl as in Albanian (42) as an intermediate landing site on its journey to Spec,CP. In the process, it would check the selectional needs of an object doubling clitic. Another option would be to posit an AgrO projection within the verbal domain and to implement clitic doubling through Agree, a proposal suggested by Franks (2009). In either case, the key point is that the same process applies to object doubling in both RCs and NRCs.

The primary difference between relative operators and interrogative pronouns lies in the featural semantics of the C⁰ that raises them, rather than in the features of raising constituents themselves. This accords with the identical form of the overt relative operator *koj* 'who' and the *wh*-question *koj* 'who', extending to all its declensional forms as well. The C⁰ head which triggers relative operator movement is represented phonologically by the indeclinable *što* 'what'. There is also a phonologically null operator and a phonologically null complementizer, whose presence is restricted only by the requirement that the extended projection of the CP must have some phonological realization. Thus the body of the RC may be preceded by *koj* (overt operator and covert C⁰), *što* (covert operator and overt C⁰), or *kojšto* (overt operator and C⁰), but the position between the relative head and the RC content may not be null (covert RelOp and covert C⁰).

Based on the dual analysis of *që* 'what' as an indeclinable complementizer and a relative operator in Albanian, it is worth asking whether *što* used alone as a complementizer in Macedonian might also have this dual identity. If one aims to minimize theoretically-motivated syntactic constituents without overt correlates, this would be preferred to positing a null operator, as I do. But here again I note that *što*, as a main-clause *wh*-word meaning 'what', does not produce clitic doubling as *koj* 'who' does. Thus the sentence in (46) is impermissible.

- (46) **Što go vide?*
 what him_{CL} you.saw
 'What did you see?'

The absence of clitic doubling with the *wh*-word *što* in NRCs discourages an analysis of this form as having a dual complementizer/relative operator identity as proposed for its equivalent *që* in Albanian. If *što* were imbued with φ -features as *që* is in Albanian, we would expect it to trigger object doubling in questions like (46) in the same way that the *wh*-word *koj* 'who' does. The total rejection of this construction by native speakers suggests that *što* should not be treated as a constituent with the same underlying features as *koj*. In addition, the free variation between *koj* and *kojšto* without a change in the object doubling requirements in the RC gives sufficient grounds for positing a null Op^0 with the same featural structure of *koj*. This proposal implements the object doubling found in RCs with *što* without positing an inconsistent featural identity for *što* itself. Due to the null operator's identical featural identity with *koj*, it would also trigger RC object doubling. This null Op^0 parallels the null C^0 required to accommodate RCs headed only by *koj*, rather than *kojšto* or *što*. Whatever the phonological realization of the CP projection, it is then selected for, as a unit, by a DP that serves as the head of the RC. Because the null or overt operator sits in the 'escape hatch' of the CP Phase at Spec,CP, Agree can check the match between the φ -features of the DP head and its CP complement, ensuring that the gender and number of the Op^0 match that of the head noun. Agreement in φ -features between the RC object doubling clitic and the relative head then carries through automatically without any direct relation established between these two positions, ensuring the irrelevance of the relative head's definiteness or specificity to the appearance of a doubling clitic within the RC.

In schematic terms, then, I propose the following (simplified) syntactic structure for the Macedonian RC.

[NP [N⁰ *relative head*] [CP [OpP *koj_i*] [C' [C⁰ *što*] [TP ... *i*]]]

This analysis relies on one key assumption. The relative operator *koj* must always trigger clitic doubling. This contrasts with the *wh*-word *koj*, which may or may not trigger clitic doubling. Considering the contexts which mandate clitic doubling for *wh*-word *koj*, however, this assumption is reasonable. *Koj* as an interrogative, when selecting from a contextually known set, requires a doubling clitic. The relative operator *koj* selects a variable, its trace, within a clause that serves as a limiting condition on the reference of the relative head noun. For a fragment such as (47)...

- (47) *Student [CP koj go znaat].*
 student.the who him_{CL} they.know
 'a student that they know'

...the logical structure in (48) captures the relations between the head noun and the RC.

- (48) $\lambda x. [[\lambda z. \text{student}(z)](x) \wedge [\lambda y. \text{know}(\text{they}, y)](x)] \equiv$
 $\lambda x. [\text{student}(x) \wedge \text{know}(\text{they}, x)] \equiv$
 ‘x such that x is a student and they know x’

For the set of referents that can be labeled ‘student’, the relative operator selects a particular subset that meet a condition, namely that ‘they know’ him or her. This is the same semantic context that requires doubling in interrogative clauses. Compare with (49), in which *koj* is used as a choice-selectional interrogative:

- (49) *Koj go znaat?*
 who him_{CL} the.know
 ‘Who do they know?’ \equiv

‘who is x such that x is a member of the set of discourse-familiar referents and they know x?’

Similar restrictions are applied by the relativizing head in (48) and by the context of usage that requires object doubling in (49), where the Speaker assumes a set of discourse-familiar participants from which he asks the Hearer to select. Due to the nature of the function that the relative operator performs, mandatory clitic doubling of the operator is exactly what we would expect if it obeyed the same rules as its homophonous interrogative counterpart.

Data from free relatives, which do not by their nature impose a selectional requirement, add further support to this point. Free relatives compare with interrogative pronouns in their behavior (Caponigro 2003). As with Macedonian interrogative pronouns, we find optionality in the doubling of free relatives that contrasts with the mandatory clitic doubling of restrictive RCs.

- (50) *Pokaniv koj bilo što (go) sretnav na ulica.*
 I.invited whoever that him_{CL} I.met on street
 ‘I invited whoever I met on the street.’

Example (50) is acceptable either with or without object doubling of the free relative *koj bilo* ‘whoever’. My informant characterized the variation as a matter of intent; leaving the free relative undoubled place emphasis on the indiscriminate nature of the invitations, doubling the free relative placed emphasis on the restriction represented by the RC (‘on the street’ as opposed to ‘at the bar’ or ‘in the shopping center’). This example illustrates particularly well that the same rules governing clitic doubling may operate differently between RCs and NRCs because of the nature of the objects involved. Whereas the free relative in base position of the RC in (50) may trigger clitic doubling due to an emphasis on selection restriction, in the NRC its semantics perform the opposite function of opening up the choice of referents, and thus it remains undoubled.

There is an interesting variant on this same sentence with case marking, as represented in (51).

- (51) *Go pokaniv kogo bilo što go sretnav na ulica.*
 him_{CL} I.invited whoever.ACC that him_{CL} I.met on street
 'I invited whoever I met on the street.'

While caseless *koj bilo* allows variation determined by pragmatic intent in the appearance of a doubling clitic, case-marked *kogo bilo* requires clitic doubling, in both RCs and NRCs. This point does not remain fully accounted for within my analysis. Since *kogo* as an interrogative word does not require object doubling in NRCs, it is unexpected that *kogo bilo* would show that requirement. The appearance of *kogo bilo* does constitute a stylistically-marked usage; such a sentence would be found only in high registers of speech or writing. Although I am not sure how to implement such a proposal, I would suggest that the unusually prominent marking of DO position that the synthetic Accusative case of the *kogo bilo* form provides encourages additional marking of the DO through Macedonian's usual grammatical means, resulting in doubling clitics. An Accusative-marked lexical item that corresponds to the DO position of two clauses, yet does not receive the standard DO markers of the Macedonian grammatical system would be too disharmonic with Macedonian's common object marking strategies. The gradient nature of this restriction would lead to a prediction that some Macedonian speakers, especially those without extensive formal education, would have vacillating or uncertain judgments about the appearance of *kogo bilo* without a doubling clitic.

However this particular form is resolved, however, it is clearly operating on a different dynamic of relations between case-marking and clitic pronominal appearance than that found in other Slavic languages, where the marking of case on the free relative would be expected to prohibit the appearance of clitic pronouns. The collective data from RCs above shows that Macedonian has implemented a new use for its clitic pronouns, one which can be captured most uniformly and simply if RCs are analyzed as operator-raising structures.

7 Conclusion

Despite the resemblance of Macedonian RC strategies to resumption, I have shown that the best account of DO and IO relativization in Macedonian relies instead on the system of clitic doubling well-known in the NRCs of this Balkan language. I presented data that demonstrated how neither the featural identity of the relative head nor of the relativizer affected the appearance of clitic pronouns in RCs. This, I argued, was because the clitic pronouns doubled relative operators raised to Spec,CP from base position as an argument, rather than resuming the trace of an operator's ϕ -features as has been proposed for other languages with pronominal resumption such as Irish, Greek, Hebrew, or Levantine Arabic. With data from Macedonian NRCs, especially question formation, I showed that the triggering conditions for clitic doubling naturally accommodated relative operators, which restrict the reference of the head with which they coordinate and thus parallel the choice-selection interrogative pronouns with which they are homophonous. Given this unified set of triggering conditions for the appearance of object-marking clitics

in RCs and NRCs, I argued that the clitics were better treated as markers of object agreement than as doubling clitics as traditionally understood. Finally, I illustrated the way in which the same triggering conditions in RCs and NRCs could yield differing realizations of clitic pronouns because of the differing roles a free relative could play shared between the two clauses. This paper demonstrates at the syntactic level the degree to which Macedonian clitic doubling has become grammaticalized, consistently marking a distinct set of object constituents characterized by the factors of definiteness, topicality, and specificity.

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