Obligatory Resumption

in Greek Free and Restrictive Relatives·

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1 Introduction

Our paper is embedded within a broader theoretical debate concerning the status of resumption at the interfaces. Two opposing views have been put forward.

According to the view popularised by Pesetsky (1998), resumption is a purely PF phenomenon: all there is in the narrow syntax is a copy of the moved DP. The resumptive clitic is the result of partial pronunciation of this copy that takes place in a post-syntactic component.

According to the view maintained by Boeckx (2001, 2003), resumption is present in the narrow syntax in the form of a clitic which doubles the moved DP. To phrase it differently, resumption and clitic doubling are reduced to the same input (for Greek, see Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2000, and Alexiadou & Varlokosta 2007).

In this paper, we aim to contribute to this discussion by focusing on obligatory resumption (mainly on resumption of indirect objects (IOs)) in Greek free relatives (FRs), and in Greek restrictive relatives introduced by the complementizer *pu* 'that'(*pu*-RRs). These constructions are exemplified in (1a) and (1b), respectively:[1]

(1) a. Ghnórisa   ópjon   * (tu)   édhosan tin ipotrofía.

     met-1Sg   who-3SgMAcc   cl-3SgMGen gave-3Pl the scholarship-Acc

     'I met whoever they gave the scholarship to.'

   b. Ghnórisa   ton mathití   pu   * (tu)   édhosan   tin ipotrofía.

     met-1Sg the student-Acc   that   cl-3SgMGen gave-3Pl the scholarship-Acc

     'I met the student that they gave the scholarship to.'

We demonstrate that, at least in Greek, IO resumption, like IO clitic doubling, displays a number of narrow-syntactic properties that would resist a principled explanation within a purely morphological account (section 2). Based on this evidence, we develop a narrow-syntactic account that treats both types of clitics – resumptive and doubling ones, alike – as D-type pronouns merged at the left periphery of the DP_{IO}. Furthermore, we argue that the obligatory character of IO resumptive clitics, as opposed to the optional character of IO

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[1] We use the following abbreviations: 1, 2, 3= first, second, third person; Acc=Accusative; cl=clitic; CP=Complementizer Phrase; D-Linking=Discourse Linking; DO=Direct Object; DP=Determiner Phrase; F=Feminine; FM=Future Marker; FR=Free Relative; Gen=Genitive; Gend=Gender; IO=Indirect Object; Imp=Imperative; LF=Logical Form; M=Masculine; Neg=Negation; Neut=Neuter; Nom=Nominative; NP=Noun Phrase; Num=Number; PCC=Person Case Constraint; Per=person; PF=Phonological Form; Pl=Plural; Poss=Possessor; RR=Restrictive Relative; Sg=Singular; T=Tense; TP=Tense Phrase; WCO=Weak Cross Over.

doubling clitics is related to a principle that requires visibility of inherent case at LF (section 3). Under this view, IO resumption in Greek is the product of the relation between the narrow syntax and LF. What is left for PF is the mere task of morphological realization.

2 The evidence[2]

In Greek, resumptives (see (2), repeated from (1), above) draw from the same morphological paradigm as doubling clitics (3). To be precise, they are the weak forms of the demonstrative *aftós-í-ó,* and of the first and second personal pronouns *eména* and *eséna* (Table 1: Mackridge 1985; Holton et al.1997, 2004; Joseph & Philippaki-Warburton 1987; Drachman 1997: 221).[3]

(2) a. Ghnórisa   ópjon   tu   édhosan   tin ipotrofía.

  met-1Sg   who-3SgMAcc   cl-3SgMGen gave-3Pl the scholarship-Acc

  'I met whoever they gave the scholarship to.'

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[2] Section 2 is a revised version of Daskalaki (2008: chapter 4).

[3] Whereas doubling clitics can be first, second, or third person, resumptives are mainly third person. This is an epiphenomenon of the fact that Restrictive and Free Relatives resist first and second person antecedents. First and second person resumptives are productive in non restrictive relatives (i):

(i)   Eména,   pu **mu**   íches ðósi ton lógho su

    me-1SgAcc   that cl-1SgGen   promised-2Sg

    óti tha me   voithísis, tóra me   adimetopízis   étsi.
    that FM me-1SgAcc   help-2Sg now cl-1SgAcc   treat-2Sg   so

    b. Ghnórisa   ton mathití   pu   tu   édhosan   tin ipotrofía.

    met-1Sg the student-Acc   that   cl-3SgMGen gave-3Pl the scholarship-Acc

    'I met the student that they gave the scholarship to.'

(3)   Tu   édhosan   tu Kósta   tin ipotrofía.

    cl-3SgMGen gave-3Pl   the Kostas-Gen   the scholarship-Acc

    'They gave Kostas the scholarship.'

Table 1: The morphological paradigm of clitics in Greek

	WEAK/ SHORT PRONOUNS									
Nom	-	-	**tos**	**ti**	**to**	-	-	**ti**	**tes**	**ta**
Gen	**mu**	**Su**	**tu**	**tis**	**tu**	**mas**	**sas**	**tus**	**tus**	**tus**
Acc	**me**	**Se**	**ton**(e)	**ti(n)**(e)	**to**	**mas**	**sas**	**tus**	**tis/ (tes)**	**ta**
PER NUM GEND	1Sg	2Sg	3SgM	3SgF	3SgNeut	1Pl	2Pl	3PlAcc	3PlFem	3PlNeu

In what follows, we will provide evidence suggesting that IO resumptives, like IO doubling clitics, are present in the narrow syntactic component of the grammar (section 2.1). Furthermore, we will argue that IO resumptives are obligatory, because they recover the inherent case of their antecedent (section 2.2.)

2.1 Resumption in the narrow syntax

(i) Placement: The first set of data that are suggestive of the narrow syntactic status of IO resumptives comes from clitic placement. As will become evident, they display the same word order patterns as doubling clitics (on clitic placement in Greek, see Mavrogiorgos 2010 and references therein, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Philippaki-Warburton et. al. 2004, Terzi 1999).

To begin with, we know that IO doubling clitics do not occur in the position of their theta interpretation (4a). Rather, they are proclitics (4b).

(4) a. *édhosan   tu   tu Kósta   tin ipotrofía.

     gave-3Pl   cl-3SgMGen   the Kostas-Gen   the scholarship-Acc

     'They gave Kostas the scholarship.'

   b. Tu   édhosan   tu Kósta   tin ipotrofía.

     cl-3SgMGen   gave-3Pl   the Kostas-Gen   the scholarship-Acc

     'They give Kostas the scholarship.'

That the same is true for IO resumptives is shown in (5) with FRs, and in (6) with *pu*-RRs.[4]

(5) a.* Ghnórisa   ópjon   édhosan   tu   ipotrofía.

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[4] It is true that resumption, unlike clitic doubling, is never enclitic. However, this is an epiphenomenon of the fact that enclisis in Greek occurs exclusively in root contexts (i) (on the properties of enclsisis in Greek, see Mavrogiorgos 2010: chapter 6; Terzi 1999).

(i) dhos   tu   tu Kosta   tin ipotrofia.

    give-2SgImp   cl-3SgMGen   the Kostas-Gen   the scholarship-Acc

    'Give Kostas the scholarship.'

met-1Sg who-SgMAcc   assigned-3Pl cl-3SgMGen scholarship-Acc

'I met whoever they gave the scholarship to.'

b. Ghnórisa   ópjon   tu   édhosan   ipotrofía.

met-1Sg who-Acc cl-3Sg Gen gave-3Pl scholarship-Acc

'I met whoever they gave a scholarship to.'

(6) a.* Ghnórisa   ton mathití   pu édhosan   tu   ipotrofía.

met-1Sg   the student-Acc that   assigned-3Pl   cl-3SgMGen scholarship-Acc

'I met the student that they gave the scholarship to.'

b. Ghnórisa   ton mathití   pu   tu   édhosan   ipotrofía.

met-1Sg   the student-Acc that cl-3SgMGen   gave-3Pl   scholarship-Acc

'I met the student that they gave a scholarship to.'

What is more, IO doubling clitics are always adjacent to the inflected verb (7).

(7)   tu   (* chtes)   édhosan (chtes)   tu Kosta   tin ipotrofía.

cl-3SgMGen (*yesterday) gave-3Pl (yesterday) the Kostas-Gen the scholarship-Acc

'They gave yesterday Kostas the scholarship.'

As shown in (8), and (9), the same holds for IO resumptives in free and restrictive relatives, respectively.

(8) Ghnórisa   ópjon   tu   (*chtes)   édhosan   (chtes)   ipotrofía.

met-1Sg who-SgMAcc cl-3SgMGen (*yesterday) gave-3Pl (yesterday) scholarship-Acc

'I met whoever they gave a scholarship to yesterday.'

(9)   Ghnórisa   ton mathití

       met-1Sg the student-Acc

        pu   tu   (* chtes)   édhosan   (chtes)   ipotrofía.

        that cl-3SgMGen (*yesterday) gave-3Pl (yesterday) scholarship-Acc

        'I met the student that they gave a scholarship to yesterday.'

Finally, in the context of periphrastic tenses, IO doubling clitics 'climb' to the higher auxiliary head, despite the presence of intervening adverbs (10).

(10)   a. * échun   (ídhi)   tu   dhósi tu Kósta   tin ipotrofía.

            have-3Pl (already)   cl-3SgMGen   given tu Kosta-Gen the scholarship-Acc

            'They have already given Kostas the scholarship.'

        b. tu   échun   (ídhi) dhósi tu Kósta   tin ipotrofía.

            cl-3SgMGen   have-3Pl (already) given tu Kostas-Gen the scholarship-Acc

            'They have already given the Kostas the scholarship.'

The pattern is repeated in (11) with IO resumptives in FRs, and in (12) with IO resumptives in *pu*-RRs.

(11) a. *Ópju   échun   (ídhi)   tu   dhósi ipotrofía.

            who-SgMGen   have-3Pl   (already) cl-3SgMGen given scholarship-Acc

            'Whoever they have (already) given a scholarship to.'

        b. Ópju   tu   échun   (ídhi)   dhósi ipotrofía.

            who-SgMGen   cl-3SgMGen   have-3Pl (already) given scholarship-Acc

'Whoever they have (already) given a scholarship to.'

(12) a. *Tu mathití   pu échun   (ídhi)   tu   dhósi ipotrofía.

      the student-Gen   that have-3Pl (already) cl-3SgMGen given scholarship-Acc

      'The student that they have (already) given a scholarship to.'

     b.   Tu mathití   pu tu   échun   (ídhi) dhósi ipotrofía.

      the student-Gen that cl-3SgMGen   have-3Pl (already) given scholarship-Acc

      'The student that they have (already) given a scholarship to.'

Resumptive placement, therefore, provides us with the first counterargument to a purely PF account of resumption. If the resumptive clitic realized the case and phi feature substructure of the lower copy of movement, the question that would have to be addressed is how it would reach its pre-verbal position. Introducing verb and/or clitic movement to the PF component could derive the right serialization. However, it would depart from the well motivated claim that head movement is a narrow syntactic phenomenon (arguments for the narrow syntactic status of head movement are provided in Lechner 2005 and Roberts 2009. For Greek clitic movement as syntactic movement see Anagnostopoulou 2003, Mavrogiorgos 2010, and references therein).

(ii) *Sensitivity to the selecting predicate:* To proceed to the evidence from selection, it can be shown that IO resumptives, like IO doubling clitics, are sensitive to the subcategorization properties of the selecting predicate.

    That doubling clitics are sensitive to the selecting predicate is shown in (13). As pointed out in Anagnostopoulou (2003:fn2), a restricted set of verbal predicates, including *epofelúme* 'to take advantage of', *proighúme* 'to precede', *proedhrévo* 'to preside over', *proipárcho* 'to

pre-exist', and *iperischío* 'to prevail' do not allow cliticization, or clitic doubling of their

(Genitive) DP complements.

(13) a. Iperischíi   tu simathití   tu

    prevails-3Sg   the classmate-Gen his

    'He prevails over his classmate.'

    b. *Tu   iperischíi.

      cl-3SgMGen   prevails-3Sg

      'He prevails over him.'

    c. *Tu   iperischíi   tu simathití   tu.

      cl-3SgMGen   prevail-3Sg   the classmate-Gen his

      'He prevails over his classmate.'

Significantly, the exact same predicates do not allow resumption of their complements (see

(14) for resumption in FRs, and (15) for resumption in *pu*-RRs).

(14) *Lipíthika   ópjon   tu   iperíschises.

    felt-sorry-1Sg who-SgMAcc cl-3SgMGen prevailed-2Sg

    'Intended meaning: I felt sorry for the person you prevailed over.'

(15) *Lipíthika   ton mathití   pu   tu   iperíschises.

    felt-sorry-1Sg   the student-Acc   that   cl-3SgMGen prevailed-2Sg

    'Intended meaning: I felt sorry for the student that you prevailed over.'

The sensitivity to the subcategorization properties of the selecting predicate provides us with an additional counter-argument to a strictly PF account of resumption. If obligatory resumption in FRs did not have a narrow syntactic existence, we wouldn't expect it to show any sensitivity to the properties of the selecting predicate.

(iii) Weak cross over (WCO): The same conclusion is supported by the interference of resumption with binding phenomena, such as WCOs.

As reported in the literature, IO doubling clitics cancel WCO violations. Thus, in (16a), the IO *tu káthe pedhjú* 'every child' cannot bind the pronominal variable inside the subject *i mitéra tu* 'his mother' (Anagnostopoulou 2003). In the presence of an IO doubling clitic, though, the bound variable reading becomes an option (16b).

(16) a. I   mitéra   tu $_{??i/j}$ édhose   tu káthe pedhjú$_i$ fajitó.

the mother-Nom his   gave-3Sg   the every child-Gen   food-Acc

'His$_{??i/j}$ mother gave [every child]$_i$ food.'

b. I   mitéra   tu$_{i/j}$ tu$_i$ édhose   tu káthe pedhjú$_i$ fajitó.

the mother-Nom his   cl-3SgMGen   gave-3Sg   the every child-Gen food-Acc

(Anagnostopoulou 2003a: 208 [294b,d])

Significantly for our purposes, the same effect can be replicated with IO resumptives in free (17) and restrictive relatives (18). Thus, in (17a) and in (18a), the pronominal *tu* within the subject DP *i adherfí tu* 'his sister' cannot be bound by the fronted IO. In (17b) and (18b), on

the other hand, resumption of the IO renders the bound variable construal of the pronominal

possible.[5]

(17) a. [...] ópju$_i$ i adherfí   tu $_{??i/j}$. édhose   fajitó

          who-SgMGen the sister-Nom his   gave-3Sg   food-Acc

      b. [...] ópju$_i$ i adherfí   tu$_{i/j}$ tu$_i$ édhose   fajitó

          who-SgMGen the sister-Nom his   cl-3SgMGen gave-3Sg food-Acc

      '[...] whoever his sister gave food to.'

(18) a. [...] tu mathití$_i$ pu i adherfí   tu$_{??i/j}$. édhose   fajitó

          the student -Gen   that the sister-Nom his   gave-3Sg   food-Acc

      b. [...] tu mathití$_i$ pu i adherfí   tu$_{i/j}$. tu$_i$ édhose   fajitó

          the student-Gen   that the sister-Nom his cl-3SgMGen gave-3Sg food-Acc

      '[...] the student that his sister gave food to.'

The fact, therefore, that resumptive clitics, on a par with doubling clitics, interfere with binding

phenomena, offers further evidence in favor of their narrow syntactic status.

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[5] Because for some speakers IO resumptives are always obligatory in FRs and in *pu*-RRs, we

repeat the test with interrogatives:

(i)   a. pju$_i$ édhose   i adherfí   tu $_{??i/j}$ faghitó?

          who-SgMGen   gave-3Sg   the sister-Nom   his   food-Acc

      b. [...] pju$_i$ tu$_i$ édhose   i adherfí   tu$_{i/j}$ faghitó?

          who-Gen cl-3SgMGen gave-3Sg   the sister-Nom his   food-Acc

      '[...] who did his sister give food to?'

(iv) Intervention effects: Along the same lines, resumptives, like doubling clitics, can be shown to cancel intervention effects.

It has been shown that clitic doubling of genitives is obligatory in constructions in which a theme argument undergoes NP-movement, such as Experiencers of psychological predicates (19a) (Anagnostopoulou 1999), Experiencers of raising predicates (19b), Goals of passivised ditransitives (19c), and Goals of unaccusatives (19d) (Markantonatou 1994; Anagnostopoulou 2003). The phenomenon has been attributed to the fact that the intervening genitive blocks NP movement of the lower theme to T (see Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003). It is only when the genitive is doubled that it ceases to function as an intervener.

(19) a. *(tu)   arési   tu Kosta   i Ghlosologhía.
        *(cl-3SgMGen)   like-3Sg the Kosta-Gen the Linguistics-Nom
        'Kostas likes Linguistics.'

      b. I   María   *(tu)   fánike   ípopti   tu Kósta.
        the Maria-Nom   *?(cl-3SgMGen) seemed-3Sg suspicious-F the Kostas-Gen
        'Maria seemed suspicious to Kostas.'

      c. ?*(tu)   dhóthike   i   ipotrofía   tu Kosta.
        ?*(cl-3SgMGen) was-given-3Sg   the scholarship-Nom the Kostas-Gen
        'Kostas was given the scholarship.'

      d. *(tu)   írthe   tu Kosta   o   loghariasmós.
        *(cl-3SgMGen) came-3Sg tu Kosta-Gen the bill-Nom
        'Kostas received the Bill.'

Interestingly, the same cancelling effect can be attributed to resumption (see (20) with FRs, and (21) with *pu*-RRs).[6]

(20)　a. ópju　　　　　*(tu)　　　arési　　　i　Ghlosologhía

　　　　who-SgMGen　　*(cl-3SgMGen) like-3Sg　the Linguistics-Nom

　　　　'Whoever likes Linguistics.'

　　　b. ópju　　　　　*(tu)　　　　　fánike　ípopti　　i　María.

　　　　who-SgMGen　*(cl-3SgMGen)　　seemed suspicious the Maria-Nom

　　　　'To whoever Maria seemed suspicious.'

　　　c. ópju　　　　　?*(tu)　　　　dhóthike　　　i　ipotrofía.

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[6] Once again, we repeat the test with interrogatives (i):

(i)　a. pju　　　　　　*(tu)　　　arési　　　i　Ghlosologhía?

　　who-3SgMGen　　*(cl-3SgMGen) like-3Sg　the Linguistics-Nom

　　'Who likes Linguistics?'

　　b. pju　　　　　　*(tu)　　　fánike　　ípopti　i　María?

　　　who-3SgMGen *(cl-3SgMGen)　seemed　　suspicious the Maria-Nom

　　　'To whom did Maria seem suspicious?'

　　c. pju　　　　　?*(tu)　　　　dhóthike　　i　ipotrofía?

　　　who-SgMGen　?*(cl-3SgMGen) was-given-3Sg the scholarship-Nom

　　　'Who was given the scholarship?'

　　d. pju　　　　　　*(tu)　　　írthe　　　o　loghariasmós?

　　　who-SgMGen　　*(cl-3SgMGen) came-3Sg　the bill-Nom

　　　'Who received the bill?'

who-SgMGen　　　?*(cl-3SgMGen)　was-given-3Sg　the scholarship-Nom

'whoever was given the scholarship.'

d. ópju　　　　　　*(tu)　　　　　　írthe　　　o　loghariasmós.

who-SgMGen　　*(cl-3SgMGen)　　came-3Sg　　the bill-Nom

'Whoever received the bill.'

(21)　a. Tu mathití　　　　　pu　　*(tu)　　　　　　arési　　　i　Ghlosologhía

the student-Gen　　that　*(cl-3SgGen)　　　　like-3Sg　the Linguistics-Nom

'The student who likes Linguistics'

b.　Tu mathití　　　　pu　　*(tu)　　　fánike ípopti　i　María.

the student-Gen　　that *(cl-3SgMGen)　seemed suspicious the Maria-Nom

'To the student that Maria seemed suspicious.'

c. Tu mathití　　　　pu　?*(tu)　　　　　dhóthike　　i　ipotrofía.

the student-Gen that　?*(cl-3SgMGen)　was-given-3Sg the scholarship-Nom

'The student that was given the scholarship.'

d.　Tu mathití　　　pu　　　　*(tu)　　　írthe　　　o　loghariasmós.

the student-Gen that　　*(cl-3SgMGen) came-3Sg　　the bill-Nom

'The student that received the bill.'

Once again, the very fact that resumption, like clitic doubling, interferes with the syntactic operation of NP movement further reinforces its narrow syntactic status.

(v) D-Linking: Finally, special reference needs to be made to the insensitivity of IO clitics/resumptives to the D-Linking nature of their doubled DP/antecedent (for Greek, see Iatridou 1990. For Spanish, see Jaeggli 1982, 1986, and Suñer 1988, and for Romanian see

Dobrovie-Sorin 1990). Consider, first, IO clitic doubling. Even though IO clitics are not perfectly acceptable with quantificational antecedents (22), they are definitely more acceptable than DO clitics (23).

(22)   a. Dhen (? tu)   édhosa   kanenós   leftá.

       Neg (? cl-3SgMGen) gave-1Sg   anyone-Gen   money-Acc

       'Literally: I didn't give (??him) anyone money.'

       b. Dhen (? tu)   édhosa   kanenós mathití   leftá.

       Neg (?cl-3SgMGen) gave-1Sg any   student-Gen money-Acc

       'Literally: I didn't give (??him) any student money.'

       c. Dhen (?tu)   édhosa   kanenós

       Neg (?cl-3SgMGen) gave-1Sg any

       apó tus mathités   tu Máriu   leftá.

       from the student-Gen the Marios-Gen money-Acc

       'Literally: I didn't give (?him) any out of Marios' students money.'

(23)   a. Dhen (*ton)   ídha   kanéna.

       Neg (*cl-3SgMAcc) saw-1Sg anyone-Acc

       'I didn't see (*him) anyone.'

       b. Dhen(*?ton)   ídha   kanéna mathití.

        Neg (*cl-3SgMAcc) saw-1Sg any-Acc student-Acc

       c. Dhen(?*ton)   ídha   kanéna   apó tus mathités   tu Máriu.

       Neg (*cl-3SgMAcc) saw-1Sg any-Acc from the students-Acc the Marios-Gen

       'I didn't see any out of Marios'students.'

The same observations extend to IO resumption. In FRs, IO resumptives are licit independently of whether they are bound by a bare quantificational FR pronoun (24a), a FR pronoun complemented by an NP (24b), or a partitive FR phrase (24c).

(24)   a. Voíthisa   ópjon   tu   édhoses   to tiléfonó mu.

        helped-1Sg who-Acc cl-3SgMGen gave-2Sg the number cl-1SgPossGen

        'I helped whoever you gave my number to.'

    b. Voíthisa   ópjon peláti   tu   édhoses   to tiléfonó mu.

        helped-1Sg which client-Acc cl-3SgMGen gave-2Sg the number cl-1SgPossGen

        'I helped whichever client you gave my number to.'

    c. Voíthisa   ópjon apó tus pelátes   tu Kósta

        helped-1Sg which from the client-PlAcc the Kostas-Gen

        tu   édhoses   to tiléfonó mu.

        cl-3SgMGen gave-2Sg   the number cl-1SgPossGen

        'I helped whichever one of Kostas' clients you gave my number to.'

Accordingly, in *pu*-RRs, IO resumptives are insensitive to the D-Linking of their antecedent (25).

(25)   a. Voíthisa   kápjon   pu tu   édhoses   to tiléfonó mu.

        helped-1Sg someone-Acc that cl-3SgMGen gave-2Sg the number cl-1SgPossGen

        'I helped someone that you gave my number to.'

    b. Voíthisa   ton peláti   pu tu   édhoses   to tiléfonó mu.

        helped-1Sg the client-Acc that cl-3SgMGen gave-2Sg the number cl-1SgPossGen

'I helped the client that you gave my number to.'

c. Voíthisa   ton peláti   tu Kósta

  helped-1Sg the client-Acc the Kostas-Gen

pu   tu   édhoses   to tiléfonó   mu.

that cl-3SgMGen gave-2Sg the number   cl-1SgPossGen

'I helped the client of Kostas that you gave my number to.'

This final similarity between IO resumption and IO clitic doubling does not add to the evidence for the narrow syntactic character of IO resumptives. However, it is of relevance as it gives further support to the uniform account of IO resumption/clitic doubling that we will eventually adopt.

2.2 Resumption at the interfaces

So far, we have seen that IO resumption shares with clitic doubling a number of narrow syntactic properties. In this section, we will turn to a property that, apparently, sets them apart: whereas clitic doubling of IOs is, typically, optional in Greek active sentences (Anagnostopoulou 2006), resumption of IOs is, typically, obligatory (Alexopoulou 2006a,b). The optionality of IO clitic doubling is illustrated in (26). The obligatory character of IO resumption in free and *pu*-restrictive relatives is illustrated in (27a-b), repeated from (1a-b) above.

(26) (tu)   édhosan   tu Kósta   tin ipotrofía.

   cl-3SgMGen   gave-3Pl   the Kostas-Gen   the scholarship-Acc

    'They gave Kostas the scholarship.'

(27) a. Ghnórisa   ópjon   *(tu)   édhosan   tin ipotrofía.

    met-1Sg who-SgMAcc *(cl-3SgMGen) gave-3Pl the scholarship-Acc

'I met whoever they gave the scholarship to.'

b. Ghnórisa   ton mathití pu   *(tu)   édhosan   tin ipotrofía.

  met-1Sg   the student that *(cl-3SgMGen) gave-3Pl the scholarship-Acc

'I met the student that they gave the scholarship to.'

We would like to suggest that the above patterns receive a principled explanation, once we take into consideration the fact that the genitive case of IOs is inherent. [7] Given that inherent case is interpretable, it will have to remain visible at the LF component of the grammar. [8] With this fairly standard assumption in mind, let us reconsider the contrast between clitic doubling and resumptive relatives.

In clitic doubling constructions, the requirement that inherent case be visible is always met. This is because the inherent case value is retained both on the clitic, and on the IO, and as a result, the former can be omitted.

In FRs, and *pu*-RRs, on the other hand, the relativized IO, and generally, any relativized argument, surfaces in the case required by the matrix predicate (accusative in the examples at

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[7] It should be born in mind that the qualification 'inherent' depends on the diagnostic criteria we chose. For instance, in Anagnostopoulou's (2003: 66-69) terms, the genitive of IOs is 'non-structural', because, even though it is theta related, and it does not enter into case alternations, it may be freely subject to clitic doubling. What is crucial for our purposes, is that the genitive in question is theta-related, and consequently, of relevance to LF.

[8] See also Richards' (2007) who makes the same assumption in order to account for case stacking in Lardil.

hand).[9] It follows that, in the absence of an alternative device, the inherent case of the relativized IO won't survive at LF. As a result, the IO will fail to receive the goal interpretation and the derivation will crash. Under this view, therefore, IO resumption is obligatory, because it guarantees that inherent case survives at LF.[10]

Our account, in addition to capturing the difference between IO clitic doubling and resumption makes two additional predictions that are borne out by the data.

First, it predicts that IO resumption will be optional in constructions in which the fronted IO retains its genitive case value. These include (a) FRs and *pu*-RRs, in which the case required by the matrix is the same as the case required by the relative predicate (28), (b) interrogatives (29), and (c) RRs introduced by the inflected relative pronoun *o opíos* (30) (on the optionality of IO resumption in these constructions, see Alexopoulou 2006a).

(28) a. Tilefónisa ópju   ?(tu)   édhosan   tin ipotrofía.

    phoned-1Sg who-3SgMGen ?(cl-3SgMGen) gave-3Pl the scholarship-Acc

    'I met whoever they gave the scholarship to.'

    b. Tilefónisa   tu mathití pu   ?(tu)   édhosan   tin ipotrofía.

    phoned-1Sg the student-Gen that ?(cl-3SgMGen) gave-3Pl the scholarship-Acc

    'I phoned the student that they gave the scholarship to.'

(29) Pju   (tu)   édhosan   tin ipotrofía?

---

[9] Our assumptions concerning the technical implementation of case alternations will be spelled out in the next section.

[10] Of course, this does not preclude the possibility that obligatory resumption satisfies a non-case related requirement, such as the circumvention of intervention effects. Such examples were discussed in section 2.1.

     who-3SgMGen (cl-3SgMGen) gave-3Pl   the scholarship-Acc

     'Who did they give the scholarship to?'

(30)   Ghnórisa   ton mathití tu opíu   ?(tu)   édhosan   tin ipotrofía.

      met-1Sg the student who-Gen ?(cl-3SgMGen) gave-3Pl   the scholarship-Acc

     'I met the student that they gave the scholarship to.'

Second, it predicts that direct object (DO) resumption will not be required in FRs (31a), or in *pu*-RRs (31b). This is because DOs bear structural accusative, which is uninterpretable at LF. As a consequence, they may have their case value altered in the course of the derivation.[11]

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[11] It should be clarified that, whereas case considerations explain why DO resumptives are unnecessary in FRs, and in *pu*-RRs, they do not explain why they are impossible. A possibility worth exploring is that the illicitness of DO resumptives relates to the fact that, unlike their IO counterparts, they are only compatible with D-Linked antecedents (see Kotzoglou and Varlokosta 2005). This line of approach correctly predicts that, in examples such as (i), where the antecedent is interpreted as presupposed in the discourse, DO resumptives are rendered grammatical.

(i) pjon mathiti   tis Irinis   su   sistisan?

    which student   the Irene-Gen   you-Gen   introduced-3Pl?

    mu   sistisan   to mathiti   tis Irinis

    me-Gen   introduced-3Pl the student-Acc   the Irene-Gen

(31) a. Irthan   ópji   (*tus)   kaleses.

    arrived-3Pl   who-PlMNom   cl-3PlMAcc   invited-2Sg

    'Whoever you invited arrived.'

    b. Irthan   i   mathites   pu   (*tus)   kaleses.

    arrived-3Pl   the   students   that   cl-3PlMAcc   invited-2Sg

    'The students that you invited arrived.'

Note that the intuition that IO resumption recovers inherent case is found in other case-related accounts of resumption (see Bianchi 2004, Broihier 1995, Daskalaki 2011, Pesetsky 1998, Salzmann 2006, and Spyropoulos 2007, among others). However, in these analyses recoverability is understood as a condition on the pronunciation/deletion of case at the PF. Thus, Pesetsky (1998), citing Broihier (1995), suggests that the inherent case ('oblique case', in his terms) of relativized arguments has to be pronounced because it is semantically contentful. However, this formulation raises a technical issue related to our understanding of the interfaces. That is, in a system where PF has no access to LF, it is not clear how and why

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  pu (ton)   epenesan   stin   akadhimía

  that (him)   praised-3Pl   in-the academy

 'Which of Irene's students did they introduce to you? They introduced to me Irene's student that they   praised in the Academy.' (Kotzoglou and Varlokosta 2005:33)

As we will suggest in the following section, the observed contrast between DO and IO (resumptive) clitics could be captured by assuming that these two types of clitics have a different featural content: whereas DO (resumptive) clitics are positively marked with respect to a topicality feature [+topicality], IO (resumptive) clitics are underspecified [+/- topicality].

pronunciation would be sensitive to the semantic content of cases. In Daskalaki's (2011) alternative formulation, the genitive case of the relativized IO resists deletion because it is morphologically more marked than the case of the antecedent. This account rests on two assumptions: (a) that cases can be decomposed in more primitive features (Alexiadou and Müller 2008), as in (32), and (b) that deletion of the lower copy of movement is licensed iff the features of the lower copy are a proper subset of the features of the higher copy.

(32)   Nom [-Governed, -Oblique]

Acc [+Governed, -Oblique]

Gen [+Governed, + Oblique]

Even though the reasoning is consistent with our understanding of the interfaces, it wrongly predicts that deletion of the lower accusative in examples such as (31) above will be ungrammatical.

2.3 Interim Summary

Summing up, in this section we established that IO resumption, like IO clitic doubling, is present in the narrow syntactic component of the grammar. Our evidence was based on its placement, on its sensitivity to the subcategorization properties of the selecting predicate, and on its interference with WCOs and intervention effects (Table 2):

Table 2: Narrow Syntactic properties of IO resumptives/doubling clitics in

Greek

	IO Resumption	IO Clitic Doubling
Proclitic	√	√
Sensitivity to the Selecting Predicate	√	√

Intervention Effects	√	√
Obviation of WCOs	√	√

Furthermore, we attributed its obligatory character to an LF principle that requires that inherent case survive at LF. Resumption, under this view, is the product of the relation between narrow syntax and LF. What is left for PF is the task of morphological realization.

In what follows, we will proceed to the implementation of these ideas.

3 The analysis

In view of the above evidence, we will develop a narrow syntactic account that reduces IO resumption to clitic doubling (along the lines of Boeckx 2001, 2003). More precisely, we will suggest that the IO resumptive is the spell-out of a D-head which Merges at the left periphery of the DP_{IO}, and eventually incorporates to vAPPL.[12] Whether the presence of the resumptive D is obligatory or not, is determined at the LF component of the derivation. Before proceeding to the details of our account, let us briefly motivate the assumptions that we make.

3.1 Assumptions

Our account is developed within Kayne's (1994) antisymmetric analysis of relativization, according to which the relative CP is the complement of an external D head (for Greek, see

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[12] Our account builds on Mavrogiorgos' (2010) analysis of IO cliticization/clitic doubling (based on Anagnostopoulou 2003). Note that any other account that captures the construction of an A-chain between the doubled DP and the clitic (such as that of Anagnostopoulou 2003, which involves movement of features to the cliticization position, or that of Roberts 2010 which does not involve movement at all but assumes the building of an Agreement chain) would be fine in principle, although there must be a device present ensuring that the deletion and re-specification of the case feature on the doubled DP is possible.

Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2000, Alexiadou and Varlokosta 2007, and Alexopoulou 2006b). Within this framework, we further make the following three assumptions.

3.1.1 The IO Object Moves to its Surface Position

First, we assume that the resumed IO Moves to its surface position. Movement is an integral part of any raising analysis of relative clause formation. Its application in Greek resumptive relatives is justified by the fact that resumptives in Greek, unlike resumptives in Semitic languages, are sensitive to strong islands (33-34) (Alexopoulou 2006a). The interference of IO resumptives with WCOs, and intervention effects (section 2.1), which, at first glance, poses a problem for an A' movement analysis, will be discussed in section 3.2.

(Adjunct Island)

(33) a. * Sinándisa ópjon   éfijes   afú   tu   édhoses   tin prosklisi.

met-1Sg   who-SgMAcc left-2Sg after cl-3SgMGen gave-2Sg the invitation-Acc

'*I met whoever you left after you gave them the invitation.'

b. * Sinándisa   ópjon   ghnorízo   ton típo   (Relative Clause Island)

met-1Sg   who-SgMAcc know-1Sg the guy-Acc

pu   tu   anéthese   tin erghasía.

that   cl-3SgMGen assigned-3Sg the task-Acc

'*I met whoever I know the guy that assigned him the task.'

(Adjunct Island)

(34)   a. * Sinándisa ton fitití   pu   éfijes

met-1Sg   the student-Acc that   left-2Sg

afú   tu   édhoses   tin prosklisi.

24

after cl-3SgMGen   gave-2Sg   the invitation-Acc

'*I met the student that you left after you gave them the invitation.'

(Relative Clause Island)

b. * Sinándisa ton mathití   pu   ghnorízo   ton típo

met-1Sg   the student   that   know-1Sg   the guy-Acc

pu   tu   anéthese   tin erghasía.

that   cl-3SgMGen   assigned-3Sg the task-Acc

'*I met the student that I know the guy that assigned him the task.'

3.1.2 The IO object moves from [Spec, vAPPL]

Second, we assume that the input to relativization is a double object construction (Daskalaki 2008), rather than a prepositional ditransitive (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2000). Our assumption is based on the observation that the relativized IO in Greek has to be animate (35), patterning in this respect with DP goals (36a), rather than with prepositional goals (36b) (for a detailed discussion of the two options, see Daskalaki 2008).

(35) a. * Episkéftika   ópja   chóra   tis   éstila   etísis.

visited-1Sg   which country cl-3SgFGen   sent-1Sg   applications

'*Litterally: I visited whichever country I sent it applications.'

b. *Episkéftika   ti   chóra   pu   tis   éstila   etísis.

visited-1Sg the country   that   cl-3SgFGen   sent-1Sg   applications

'*Litterally: I visited the country that I sent it applications.'

(36) a. *Estila   tis Aglías   etísis.

       sent-1Sg   the England-Gen   applications

      '*I sent England applications.'

   b. Estila   etísis   stin   Aglía.

      sent-1Sg   applications   to-the England

      'I sent applications to England.'

Further, following Anagnostopoulou (2003), Marantz (1993) and McGinnis (1998), we assume that DP goals are introduced by a semi functional *v*APPL head.

3.1.3 The relativized argument can have its case altered

Third, in order to account for the observation that relativized arguments always surface with the case required by the matrix predicate, we will assume that arguments may have their case altered in the course of the derivation (different implementations of case alternations can be found in Daskalaki (2008, 2011) for A' chains, in Bejar and Massam (1999), and Fuji (2005) for A chains, in Richards (2007) for case stacking phenomena, and in Merchant (2006) for a number of different phenomena). Specifically, we will assume that relativized arguments bearing structural case may have their case value deleted and re-specified under Agree/concord with the external D. Deletion of genitive, on the other hand, converges only when the matrix predicate is also sub-categorized for genitive (28), or when genitive is retained on a resumptive/doubling clitic (27a).[13] This is because, as discussed in section 2.2, genitive is

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[13] A question that arises at this point is why it is possible for genitive to delete from the lower copy of the IO, but not from its doubling/resumptive clitic. We believe this can be taken to follow from the fact that in our account the IO and its resumptive/doubling clitic constitute two

interpretable, and, consequently, relevant for the theta interpretation of the relativized argument at LF. [14]

3.2. Basic derivational steps

With these preliminaries in mind, we are now in the position to explain the main components of our analysis. For the sake of exposition, we will consider the derivation of a resumptive FR such as (37). However, *pu*-RRs can be shown to comprise similar derivational steps.

(37)   Ghnórisa ópjon   tu   édhosan   tin ipotrofía.

met-1Sg who-SgMAcc   cl-3SgMGen   gave-3Pl the scholarship-Acc

'I met whoever they gave the scholarship to.'

Step 1: At a first step, we argue, the IO clitic (D_2) is merged in the left periphery of the $D_1P_{IO,}$ as shown in (38) (specifiers are not included since they are irrelevant to the discussion, and the same applies to any possible functional projections between D_1 and NP). D_1

---

distinct syntactic objects. Alternatively, we could assume that case is assigned to the clitic, and that the IO moves before case percolation takes place.

[14] Regarding examples such as (28), a reviewer asks how the externally assigned genitive instructs LF to assign the relativized argument its internally required theta role. Under the view that the genitive of IOs and of objects of verbs of communication is associated with the same general theta role (GOAL), the interpretation of the relativized argument shouldn't be a problem.

encodes definiteness, whereas D_2 (i.e. the IO clitic) encodes topicality (following a

suggestion made by Alexiadou, Haegeman, and Stavrou 2007). [15]

(38)
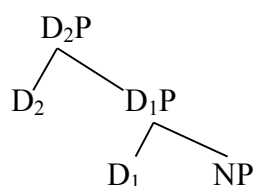
Step 2: Subsequently, the derived D_2P_{IO} is merged in [Spec, vAPPL] and it gets both case and

theta marked by the vAPPL head. The latter, we assume, has interpretable phi features

and genitive case. Assignment of genitive case does not render the D_2P_{IO} inactive (see

Anagnostopoulou 2003), which accounts for why it agrees with v* in phi-features.

Step 3: After case assignment, the IO clitic (i.e. D_2) incorporates into vAPPL. Following

Roberts (2010), we will be assuming that incorporation is a syntactic operation that is

subject to the subset principle, according to which the incorporee must contain a subset

of the features on the incorporator. In this particular case, if we assume that the clitic

pronoun contains phi-features, a D-feature, and case (*pace* Roberts 2010), the vAPPL

head must contain at least these features in order for incorporation to take place.

Although PCC effects might suggest that the phi-features that are found on the

resumptive clitic are distributed among the vAPPL head and the v*-head (see step 4

below), we could either assume that a token of a feature type (in this case number on

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[15] This particular proposal for clitic doubling could be related to the observed phenomenon that

clitics in Greek cannot double bare nouns, although they may double quantifiers (including

indefinites) under certain conditions (e.g. D-linking). This restriction on doubling would be

explained if bare nouns and (some) indefinites are not DPs (see Alexopoulou, Folli, and

Tsoulas, this volume), assuming that the D_2 head may only c-select a D-type complement.

vAPPL) would license incorporation of a constituent containing phi-features, or alternatively that the clitic incorporates into the v*-vAPPL complex (which contains all the tokens of the features found on the clitic). The latter alternative would be possible in Roberts's system, as incorporation is contingent on Agree, and according to our analysis the resumptive clitic agrees with both the vAPPL head and the v*-head.

Step 4: v* is merged. It probes the incorporated IO clitic and checks its person features (based on proposals by Anagnostopoulou 2003 for the PCC. For a discussion and alternatives see Michelioudakis 2011). The incorporated clitic moves along with vAPPL to v*, forming an A-chain between the clitic and the D_1P_{IO} in situ (see Anagnostopoulou 2003, and references therein).

Step 5: After T is merged, the IO clitic, which has incorporated into vAPPL, moves along with vAPPL to T. The head of the A-chain is now in T.
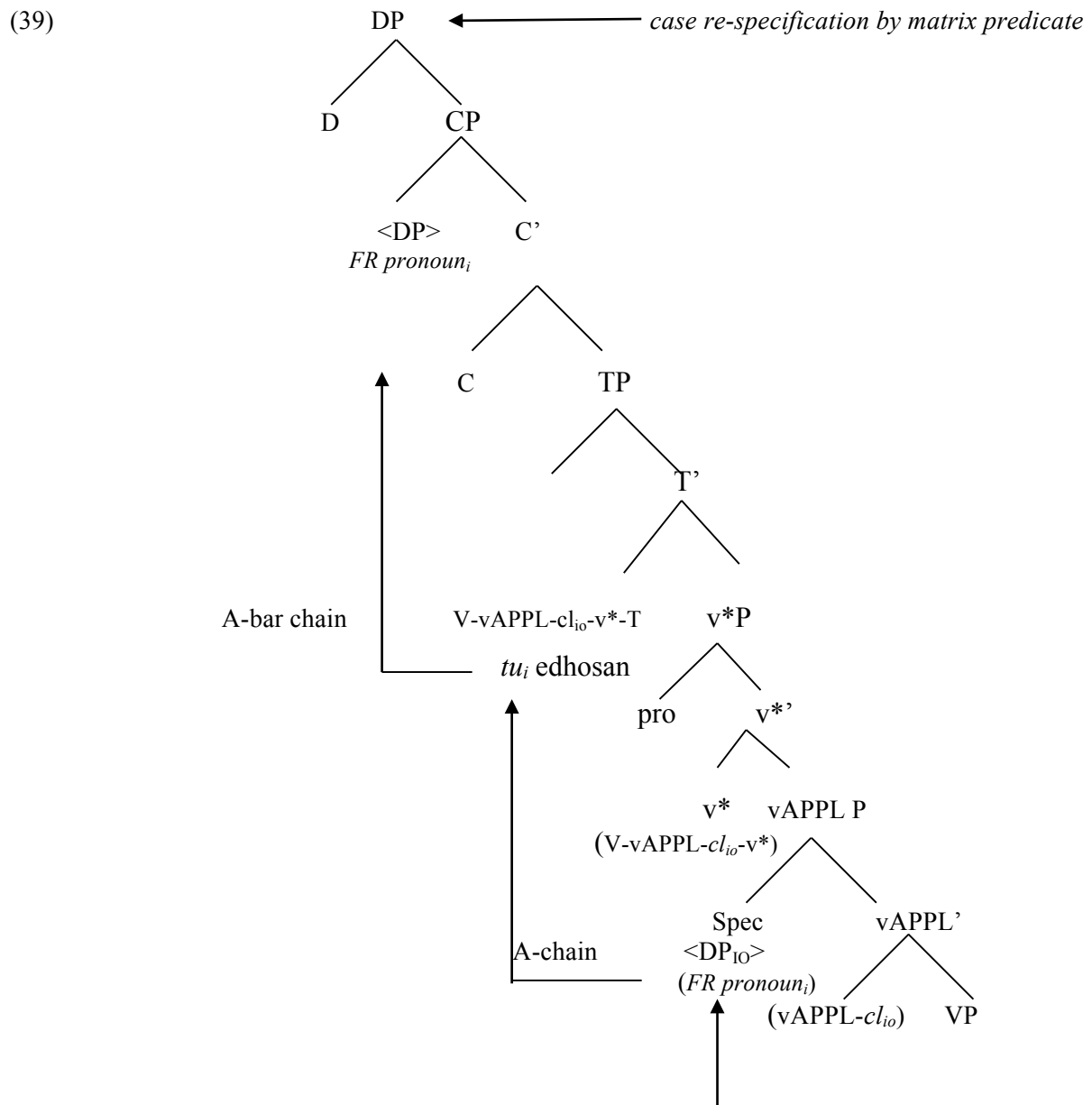
Step 6: The D_1P_{IO} is A-bar moved from the derived A-position in T to the Specifier of CP. Specifically, D_1P_{IO} is probed in the TP domain because it is linked to the clitic in T. Furthermore, it gets probed by the C-head because, being headed by a relative pronoun, it bears a *wh*-feature.[16]
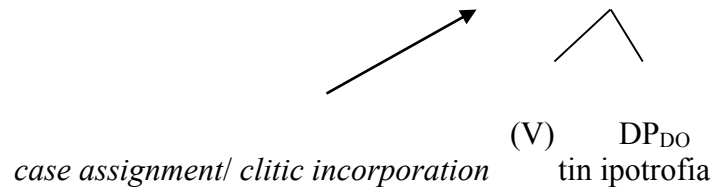
---

[16] An issue that arises at this point is why the C head probes the D_1P_{IO} substructure, rather than the higher D_2P. The latter option would result in both the clitic and the IO being attracted to C. In order to avoid this result, we can either assume that the *wh*-feature does not percolate to the higher D_2, or that movement takes place before feature percolation. We would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this problem to us.

Step 7: The relative CP Merges with an external D, which is eventually case marked by the

matrix predicate. The fronted D_1P_{IO} has its case re-specified through concord with the

external D.

Step 8: Finally, at LF the genitive marked IO clitic is interpreted as the goal argument of the

relative predicate, and so is the fronted D_1P through co-reference.

A schematic summary of the suggested derivation is provided in (39), below:

(39)

DP ← *case re-specification by matrix predicate*

D   CP

<DP>   C'
FR pronoun$_i$

C   TP

T'

A-bar chain   V-vAPPL-cl_{io}-v*-T   v*P

tu$_i$ edhosan

pro   v*'

v*   vAPPL P
(V-vAPPL-cl_{io}-v*)

Spec   vAPPL'

A-chain   <DP$_{IO}$>
(*FR pronoun$_i$*)   (vAPPL-cl_{io})   VP

(V)   DP~DO~

case assignment/ clitic incorporation   tin ipotrofia
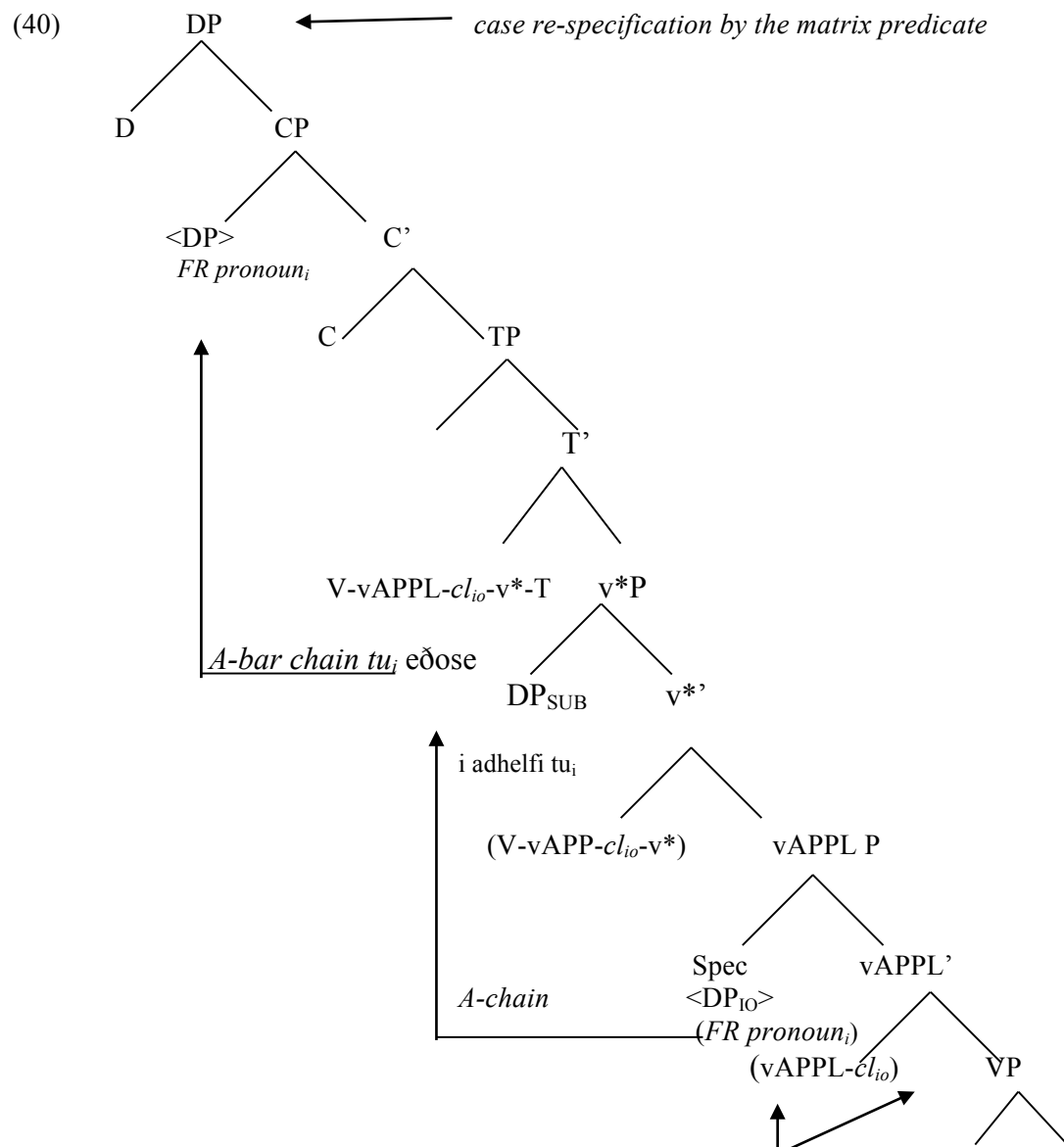
3.3 What our analysis captures and how

Significantly for our purposes, the above derivation captures in a straightforward manner the LF, and narrow syntactic properties of IO resumption that we discussed in section 2. Let us consider them in turn:

(i) Clitic Placement: the position of IO clitics with regard to their verbal host follows from the fact that after being incorporated to vAPPL, they move along with it to T (Step 6) (in Greek, as in other Null Subject Languages, the verb (parts) move(s) to T obligatorily – see Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998).

 (ii) Selection: the sensitivity of IO clitics to the selecting predicate can be explained if we assume that the verbs which do not allow for an IO resumptive/doubling clitic do not have a vAPPL head. Rather, they have a genitive DP that is licensed by a V-head by theta relation. We assume that both the theta role and the genitive case are assigned by such V-related parts such as prepositions: e.g. *iper* (cf. *ipertero* tinos/ *iperischio* tinos).

(iii) WCOs: the cancellation of WCOs in the presence of IO clitics follows from the fact that the IO clitic has moved to T, forming an A-chain with the D_IP_{IO} (see Anagnostopoulou 2003). As a result of this, the D_IP_{IO} is interpreted in the T position, which is higher than the subject position (assuming that the subject is reconstructed to the base Spec, vP position). A-bar movement of the D_IP_{IO} starts off from this higher, derived position, ensuring that no variable

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appears below the subject. By way of illustration, consider the derivation of an example such

as (17b), which we give in (40), below:

(40)   DP   ⟵————— *case re-specification by the matrix predicate*

```
         DP  ⟵—— case re-specification by the matrix predicate
        /  \
       D    CP
           /  \
       <DP>    C'
    FR pronoun_i  / \
                 C   TP
                      \
                       T'
                      /  \
   V-vAPPL-cl_io-v*-T    v*P
                        /   \
   A-bar chain tu_i eðose  DP_SUB  v*'
                          /       /  \
              i adhelfi tu_i    (V-vAPP-cl_io-v*)  vAPPL P
                                                  /    \
                                               Spec    vAPPL'
                                     A-chain  <DP_IO>   /  \
                                            (FR pronoun_i) (vAPPL-cl_io)  VP
```

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$$\text{Case assignment/clitic incorporation} \quad \overline{\text{(edhose)}} \text{ fajitó}$$

(iv) Intervention Effects: the cancellation of Intervention effects in the presence of IO clitics follows from the fact that the indirect object clitic (re)moves the DP_{IO} intervener to the minimal domain of the target (T), thus making Agree between T and the lower nominative DP_{DO} possible (see Anagnostopoulou 2003). A-bar movement of the D_1P_{IO} starts off from the derived position in T.

(v) D-Linking: the compatibility of IO clitics with non D-Linked antecedents could be taken to follow from the assumption that their D head is underspecified with respect to the feature of topicality. Hence, their contrast with DO clitics which are [+topicality].

(vi) Obligatory occurrence: Finally, the fact that IO resumption is obligatory is related to a principle that requires that interpretable case features be visible at LF.[17]

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[17] A reviewer asks whether our analysis may accommodate another type of obligatory resumption in Greek, namely the resumption of genitive possessors (i).

(i)   apozimiosan   opjon kaike   to spiti *(tu)

        compensated-3Pl who-Acc burned-3Sg the house *(cl-3SgMGenPoss)

Resumption of genitive possessors displays narrow syntactic properties (e.g. they may give rise to semantic effects based on their surface position –see Alexiadou and Stavrou 2000) so, ideally, we would like to maintain the claim that it is present in the narrow syntax in the form of a doubling clitic. This is not straightforward, because genitive possessors cannot be doubled

4 Conclusions and implications

To conclude, in this paper we looked into obligatory resumption of IOs in Greek free and restrictive relatives. Starting from the basic question whether resumption is a PF (Pesetsky 1998) or a narrow syntactic phenomenon (Boeckx 2001, 2003), we showed that, at least in Greek, IO resumption involves a syntactic clitic doubling input. Moreover, we proposed that the obligatory nature of the phenomenon is the result of the syntax-LF interface, with PF only playing the role of a realization component. In particular, we reduced the recoverability principle governing resumption to the requirement that LF-interpretable material present in the syntax must survive by LF. If our analysis is on the right track, then IO resumption in Greek is an interface phenomenon *par excellance*, as it involves narrow syntax, LF, but also PF. For this reason it allows us to look in the interrelation of these grammatical components and gain insight

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(ii).

(ii)   *to spiti   tu   tu Kosta

        the house cl-Gen the Kostas-GenPoss

One way to dispense with the need to invoke an ungrammatical clitic doubling input would be to suggest that the input to relativization is a right dislocation construction, and that the dislocated possessor can be probed by C and be relativized (iii). For other non-argumental genitive clitics see Michelioudakis & Kapogianni (this volume).

(iii)   ine poli meghalo to spiti   tu,   tu Kosta

        is   very big   the house-Gen cl-3SgMGenPoss   the Kostas-Gen

into the ways they interact, but also into the properties of a number of grammatical notions. For example, the treatment of inherent case in this paper suggests that case cannot be analysed as a purely PF phenomenon across all constructions, against what has been standardly assumed in the literature (e.g. Distributed Morphology). Moreover, the current model of the narrow syntactic component and its connection to the interfaces is put into test by the data of IO resumption: can the two interfaces communicate with each other or not, and why? In our analysis we kept the traditional grammar model intact and tried to derive the facts by positing the requirement that LF –related narrow syntactic features must survive until LF. However, other plausible grammar models could derive the same results in different ways. We think that our current knowledge of the interfaces and the evidence we have from obligatory resumption cannot distinguish between such grammar models, so further research is needed in order to decide which model is the right one.

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