

A new look at Clitic Doubling in Standard Modern Greek*

Axiotis Kechagias

Abstract

In this paper I deal with clitic doubling and address the general question of a syntactic treatment of this phenomenon. In a nutshell the idea I am putting forward is that clitic doubling at least in a language like Standard Modern Greek does not have to depend on any special syntactic schema or configuration. Rather—I argue—the clitic is a mere reflection of features of the DP node that is selected by a verbal head that have been copied and moved higher up in the structure. In this light I propose that Clitic Doubling should be seen as a parameterized version of the object A-movement/A-scrambling-to-the-TP-domain operation as found in a variety of languages.

Keywords: Pronouns, Copying, Multiple-exponence, Late Insertion, A-movement/A-scrambling.

1 Clitics and Cliticisation: An overview

Since the early stages of the generative grammar, pronominal clitics and their distribution in the clause have been in the epicentre of the linguistic research as elements of special interest. However, despite the large amount of work, certain properties of these elements still remain rather opaque, a situation that, to some extent at least, can be attributed to the fact that cross-linguistically, but even across the various dialects of the same language, clitics and their distribution within the clause seem to be subject to non-uniform and idiosyncratic conditions. But what are clitics or what qualifies as a clitic¹? Rather surprisingly—given the complications and the problems related to the overall theory of clitics and their distribution in the clause—at a descriptive level there is a general consensus that clitics are pronominal forms that show up attached onto a host, typically a verb, forming a phonological and syntactic unit. The examples below in (1) illustrate this for Spanish and Greek respectively:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----------------|--------------|----------------|---------|
| (1) | a. | Juan | [lo— | leyo] | Spanish |
| | | <i>Juan</i> | <i>it-CL</i> | <i>read.3s</i> | |
| | | ‘John read it’ | | | |
| | b. | o Yiannis | [to— | δjavase] | Greek |
| | | <i>Yiannis</i> | <i>it-CL</i> | <i>read.3s</i> | |
| | | ‘John read it’ | | | |

One of the core structural properties of clitics is that they behave both as phrasal (XPs) and non-phrasal elements (X⁰s) (see Chomsky 1995, Bošković 2002 and references therein). For instance, they seem to be visible to syntactic rules, which typically apply to words (e.g. they

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¹Note that clitics may essentially belong to any grammatical category (see Cinque 1990). However, in this paper I am dealing exclusively with pronominal clitics.

affect binding, and generally they are able to regulate the well-formedness of various syntactic configurations), but also to morpho-phonological rules which apply within word limits (e.g. stem + affix combinations). For a detailed discussion on this dual status and related issues I refer the reader to Kayne (1975), Edmonds (1985), Borer (1986), Anderson (1982, 1992), Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) and Roberts (2010) among many others.

A central issue in the theory of clitics has to do with the so-called *cliticisation* process, that is, the nature of the mechanism that ensures that the clitic surfaces attached onto a syntactic host, typically the verb, as related to the fact that while clitics seem to saturate part of a verb's thematic grid, naturally interpreted as internal complements, they systematically appear in the preverbal domain² contrary to what happens when the internal argument is a full (i.e. strong) pronoun or a lexical DP:

- (2) a. Hai risolto il problema/questo Italian
 have.2s solved the problem/that
 ‘Have you solved the problem/that?’
- b. Sì, I’ ho risolto
 Yes, it-CL have.1s solved
 ‘Yes, I’ve solved it’
- (3) a. Exis lisi to provlima Greek
 have.2s solved the problem
 ‘Have you solved the problem?’
- b. Ne, to exo lisi
 Yes, it-CL have.1s solved
 ‘Yes, I’ve solved it’

In principle and without going into details there are two different possible approaches to the cliticisation issue, namely (a) lexical approaches, and, (b) syntactic approaches. Lexical accounts became very popular in the generative tradition due to the strong resemblance of clitics to morphological affixes. Very generally, lexical analyses take clitics to be word-level affixes, that is, elements added to the constructed word in the pre-syntactic Lexicon. These analyses treat clitics as morphological parts of their host. Another characteristic of these analyses—that essentially stems from the fact that clitics are treated as affixes—is that clitics are assumed to modify the lexical entry of the predicate they appear attached on. In this sense, pronominal clitics are seen as ‘intransitivisers’ given that they saturate (part of) the thematic-grid of a given verb. Nonetheless, researchers like Kayne (1975) and Sportiche (1992/1996) among others have pointed out that there are serious counterarguments to the assumption that cliticisation is a lexical operation of the type described above. A problem for the lexical approach (essentially the hardest one to tackle, at least for those lexical approaches that assume a word-level affixation) is that clitics may attach to hosts to which they bear no lexical relation. This is illustrated below:

² This is what happens with finite verbs. Clitics tend to appear as enclitics, that is, post-verbally, when the verbal host is [-tensed]. For a detailed account on the enclitics-proclitics pattern and its relation to the features of the T head see Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), Manzini & Savoia (2002), Mavrogorgos (2010) and references in there.

- (4) a. Jean est semblable à sa mère French
 Jean is similar to his mother
 ‘Jean takes after his mother’
- b. Jean [lui est] semblable
 Jean her-CL is similar
 ‘John takes after her’

Similarly, constructions like the ones below in (5) and (6) where the clitic attaches onto the verb of the higher clause, although it belongs to the embedded clause in terms of argument structure, are even more problematic for the lexical approach. The example below illustrate the so-called ‘clitic climbing’³ in Romance:

- (5) Gianni la vuole trovare Italian
 Gianni her-CL want.3s find
 ‘John wants to find her’
- (6) Juan la quiere ver Spanish
 Juan her-CL want.3s see
 ‘John wants to see her’

Data like this above has led linguists like Kayne (1975) and Sportiche (1992/1996) to assume that cliticisation is then a syntactic process, and not a morphological one. However, researchers like Klavans (1985), Anderson (1992), Monachesi (1995), Spencer (2000), among others, have argued that most of the arguments that have been used in the literature against the lexical/affixal status of clitics do not really prove that clitics cannot be affixes under the view that cliticisation can still be accounted for via post-syntactic phrasal-level affixation. What practically this means is that clitics are added by morphological mechanisms to phrases (e.g. VP) post-syntactically rather than to stems/words pre-syntactically. Regarding this controversy, i.e. whether cliticisation is of morphological or of syntactic nature, at this point I would like to remain indifferent. As I will show later on in the discussion, for the alternative account of clitic doubling I will be pursuing, this question will prove to be rather trivial, in the sense that both syntax and morphology seem to play a role.

Before I proceed to the core of the paper, let me very briefly refer to how it is organised: In section 2 I first introduce clitic doubling as a phenomenon and then I shift attention to the core characteristics of the construction in Greek and the puzzles it poses for the theory of clitic doubling. In part 3, I account for the data putting forward an alternative analysis of the construction. In a nutshell, the main idea is that in CD the doubler, that is, the pronominal clitic, never enters the numeration as an independent DP/D item, but rather, what is spelt out as a clitic is a mere reflection (or a copy) of features already present in the

³ The configuration is absent in Greek since the language does not have infinitives, a prerequisite for climbing constructions. The functional burden of infinitives is in most of the cases undertaken by subjunctive *na*-clauses.

numeration. In part 4 I present and critically comment some of the major previous analyses on CD. Finally, part 5 summarizes the discussion

2 Clitic Doubling

2.1 The General Picture

If clitics are generated as syntactic units and their distribution is likewise regulated by syntactic mechanisms, how can this be implemented as a theory? Although there are many and, not infrequently, contradictory analyses, let me at this point introduce only one them, namely, the so-called ‘traditional movement’ analysis on cliticisation (Kayne 1975, 1989 *inter alia*), as it will help me transfer the discussion more directly from cliticisation to the core of this paper, that is, clitic doubling. The core idea of the movement analysis is that a clitic is merged as a verbal complement in the canonical/thematic position from where then it moves and attaches to a syntactic host higher in the clause; given this, the clitic is assumed to be linked to a trace in the VP domain. The movement analysis is successful in capturing the complementary distribution between clitics and overt lexical DPs in languages like French (7) and Italian (8):

- (7) a. Jean connaît Louis French
Jean know.3s Louis
 ‘John knows Louis’
- b. Jean le connaît
Jean himt-CL know.3s
 ‘John knows him’
- c. *Jean le connaît Louis
John him-CL know.3s Louis

- (8) a. Maria ha mangiato la mela Italian
Maria have.3s eaten the apple
 ‘Maria has eaten the apple’
- b. Maria l’ ha mangiata
Maria it-CL have.3s eaten
 ‘Maria has eaten it’
- c. *Maria l’ ha mangiata la mela
Maria it-CL have.3s eaten the apple

Jaegli (1982, 1986) treats this as evidence that cliticisation is a case-absorption mechanism whereby the clitic absorbs the structural accusative case by the verb. Thus, CD is in principle ungrammatical because the doubled DP cannot get Case and thus violates the so-called case filter. Evidence in favour of this idea comes from the observation that CD seems to be allowed just in case the doubled element is able to get case by a case assigner other than the

- (16) *den ta elise ta provlimata o Orestis* Greek cI VOS
not them-CL solved.3s the problems the Orestes
 ‘Orestes didn’t solve the problems’

The third piece of evidence against the right dislocated status of doubled DPs in Greek comes from the fact that CDed objects surface in positions where right dislocation is difficult—if not impossible—to occur (cf. Schneider-Zioga 1994, Anagnostopoulou 1994): ECM/control constructions (17) and secondary predication constructions/small clauses (18) constitute such environments:

- (17) *tha tin afiso ti Maria na erθi*
will her-CL let.1s the Maria sbjve come.3s
 ‘I will let Maria come’

- (18) *ton theori ton Oresti anikano*
him-CL consider.3s the Orestes incapable
 ‘S/he considers Orestes incapable’

In the same spirit, it seems that not only does not doubling block selection of a lower clausal complement by a matrix verb (19), but the doubled DP cannot even occur in a position where right dislocated material would be expected to be unproblematic with the appropriate intonational pattern (20):

- (19) a. *me rotise emena an ixa ksanapai* Wh-compl.
me-CL asked.3s me if had.1s again-go.1s
 ‘S/he asked me if I had been (there) before’
 b. *se diaveveosan esena oti to γrama estali?* That-compl.
you-CL assured.3p you that the letter been-sent
 ‘Did they ensure you that the letter was sent?’
 (20) a. **me rotise an ixa ksanaPAi # emena* Wh-compl.
me-CL asked.3s if had.1s again-go.1s me
 b. **se diaveveosan oti to γrama estAli # esena* That-compl.
you-CL assured.3p that the letter was-sent

Finally, if the doubled DP were a right dislocated constituent (i.e. had adjunct properties) we would expect that any extraction out of the doubled DP to the left-periphery would not be possible. However, it seems that this is not the case⁵:

⁵ Philippaki-Warbuton et al. (2004) argue that utterances like the one in (22) are ungrammatical. I have to make two points here: First, while I do recognize that the construction is rather marked, it can by no means be taken as ungrammatical as testing with native speakers has indicated to me. Second, if the complex DP ‘the comedies of Aristophanes’ occurred undoubled, extraction of the genitive DP out of the complex DP is even more problematic, if not ungrammatical as (i) below suggests:

- (i) **?tu Aristofani_i exo diavasi [(tis komoðies) t₁] oles*
the Aristophanes.Gen have-1s read the comedies all
 ‘Aristophanes’s I have read all the comedies’

- (21) Pote den exo diavasi Menandro...
'I have never read Menander...'
- (22) tu Aristofani pandos tis exo diavasi oles (tis komoðies)
the.gen Aristophanes.gen though them.CL have.Is read all (the comedies)
'Aristophanes' though I have read all (the comedies)'

To sum up, in this section I presented some formal characteristics of CD in Greek, insisting on differences this construction has compared to CD in various Romance languages. In what follows, I will come to the core of this chapter, that is, the syntactic representation of CD in Greek.

3 The Syntax of Clitic Doubling

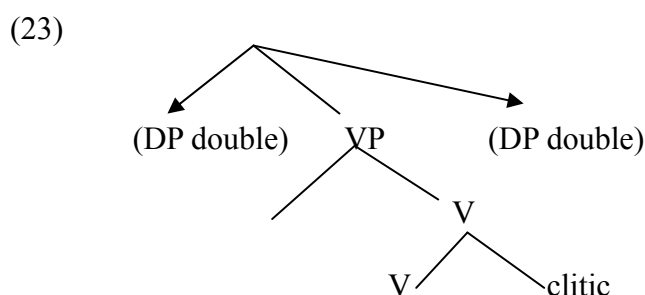
3.1 The existing schemata

Despite the abundance of approaches on doubling, and irrespective of the exact syntactic relation between the doubling clitic and the doubled DP, it seems that there is one assumption that all analyses share—either overtly or tacitly—which informally can be put as

Two agreeing elements, a pronominal 'doubler' and a lexical 'doublee', are generated in a given domain as two independent entities with the categorical feature +D. As such the numeration contains both a clitic and a full lexical DP.

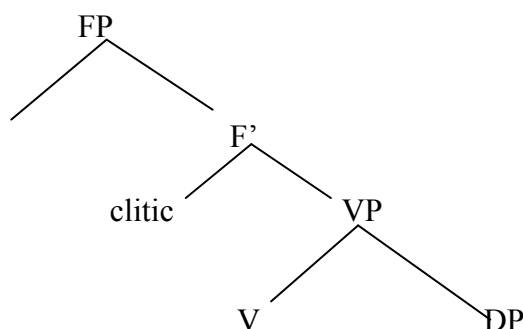
What all these analyses differ in, is the way they implement this relation. Despite the large number of proposals on CD that have been put forward in the last—at least—thirty years, it seems that they can be summarized by three main schemata, illustrated (in a rather rough fashion for the time being) in (23), (24) and (25) respectively:

The Adjunction Analyses

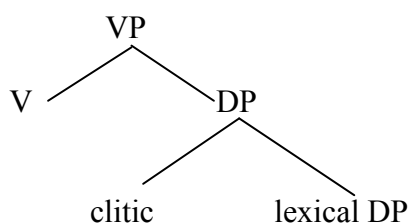


The Functional Analyses

(24)

*The Split DP /Big DP analyses*

(25)



In very rough lines—since I will come back to these analyses and the predictions they make in the last section of this paper—for the first type of analyses the clitic DP is generated as the verbal complement from where it moves higher up in the clause, whereas the lexical DP is an adjunct. On the other hand, for the functional analyses, the clitic is generated VP externally as the head of a some kind of functional phrase; then the lexical DP which is generated in the post-verbal domain as the verbal complement moves either overtly or covertly to the specifier of that phrase for agreement to be established in a Spec-Head fashion. Finally, the core idea for the ‘split’ DP analyses is that the two D elements, the clitic and the lexical DP are generated as two sub-parts of a ‘bigger’, or ‘complex’ DP that is merged as the verbal complement; then the clitic moves higher up stranding the lexical DP behind⁶. Now, given this, the question that arises is the following one: Does doubling really involve two distinct elements of the category D? Or, to put it differently, does the numeration and subsequently the operation merge involve two different nominal categories that have to somehow agree?

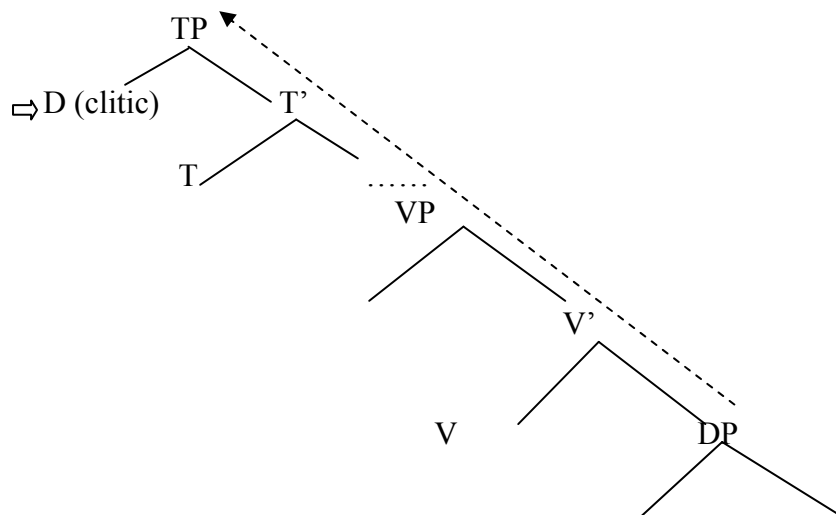
3.2 The alternative

In this section I would like to explore the possibility that in CD constructions, at least in a language like Greek, there is actually only one D element that enters the numeration—namely the DP which by external merge combines with a verbal head—and that the ‘doubler’, that is

⁶ Note here that the third type of analysis involves accounts that are quite different with respect to each other. For some of them the clitic is the head of the DP that is merged as the verbal complement, while the lexical DP sits in the specifier position of this projection; for other analyses it is the clitic which sits in the specifier position of the projection that is headed by the lexical DP; there is also a third sub-type of analyses for which the clitic is actually part of a functional layer that dominates the lexical associate DP-internally.

the pronominal clitic, is the spell-out of features that have been probed, copied and moved higher up in the clausal domain. The site where the clitic surfaces as a reflection of a DP node's features is the (external) specifier of the TP. The overall idea is illustrated in (26) below:

(26) *Clitic Doubling by feature copying and movement*



If we are right, then doubling in Greek does not have to depend on any ‘special’ syntactic schema such as a complex DP or a Functional Phrase (either within the TP domain or within the lexical DP itself). In this respect, CD is treated on a par with A-movement operations across languages (see also section 3.3). The idea is that Greek, instead of re-merging a full DP higher up in the clause for whatsoever structural requirement to be fulfilled (an object-oriented generalized EPP feature or edge feature of the T head along the lines of Chomsky (2001, 2005, 2006), remerges a set of features of that DP—eventually spelt-out as a clitic—allowing the DP itself to remain in-situ in the post verbal domain. The implementation is reminiscent of the spirit of *Distributed Morphology* (Halle & Marantz 1993). For this model the phonological content of syntactic terminals is provided in the mapping to the Phonological Form. In other words, syntactic categories are purely abstract, having no phonological content prior to delivery to the PF interface (‘late insertion’). Given this, syntax—morpho-phonology correspondence rules allow bundles of features to be spelt-out as various morphemes. Although the exact formulation of these rules is beyond the scope of the current work (and it much depends on the specific theory adopted) the schema in (27) below illustrates this tentatively:

(27) *Syntax—Morpho-Phonology Correspondence Rule*

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} [\text{feature } \alpha] \\ [\text{feature } \beta] \\ [\text{feature } \gamma] \\ [\text{feature } n] \end{array} \right) \rightarrow \text{/clitic } \omega \text{/}$$

So, if it is true that the clitic in CD constitutes a reflection of features associated to one non-terminal node (i.e. the complement DP) that have been copied and moved higher in the

clause, there are two questions that need to be tackled here: What features are we dealing with? And is there any evidence that there is eventually copying involved?

Let me first deal with the first question. If CD is due to feature copying and movement, this essentially means that we allow for certain features to occur twice in the derivation (overtly), once on the lexical DP, the doublee, and once at T (as the clitic), the doubler. Although such a step might look radical at first sight, nonetheless, such duplication is a wide-spread phenomenon across languages in word formation, usually referred to as ‘Multiple Exponence’ (Matthews 1974, Anderson 1992, 2001; see also Sells 2004, Müller 2006, 2009 for its relevance to syntax). Below I quote Anderson (2001, p.18):

‘[...] it is impossible to maintain the constraint of one category, one marker as a requirement on morphological theory in this way without completely trivializing it. [...] Despite the fact that morphological categories and markers line up in a one-to-one fashion in the vast majority of cases, this cannot be a requirement on morphological structures, because in at least some cases, it is violated without any evidence that the result is ill-formed or unstable. [...] A particularly robust system displaying such multiple exponence is that of the verbal agreement in the Kiranti languages of Nepal and neighboring areas (van Driem 1990, 1997). In a form such as Dumi *dza-ŋ-pə-tə* ‘I’m going to eat’ both the *-ŋ-* and the final *-ə* are markers of the first person subject. Such multiple marking of the categories of a verb’s arguments is very widespread in all of these languages—indeed, it is the exception, rather than the rule, that a given argument is marked only once in a language like Dumi’

For the hypothesis I have been sketching out the movement of features takes place from the DP node, assuming that features internal to that node have percolated to that position and are thus visible for operations external to it. (cf. Lieber 1980, Williams 1981, and Grimshaw 1991/2005). Put more schematically, the DP node functions as a ‘feature pool’ from where some features are copied and moved higher. The doubling clitic is ultimately inserted as the overt spell-out of these features. One possible complication of such an implementation relates to the underlying assumption that copying and movement of features occurs from a non-terminal node (i.e. the DP node), an idea that goes against—at least—standard generative assumptions. However, recent work on the field of morpho-syntax has actually offered good evidence towards the hypothesis that spell-out operations may indeed target non-terminal nodes. I refer the reader to Weerman & Evers-Vermeul (2002) and Neeleman & Szendrői (2007). Note here that it cannot be that all the material contained in the DP is copied: If that was the case, then the doubler would have to show up identical as the DP node, along the lines of the so-called copy theory of movement. In very rough terms, according to copy theory of movement after a syntactic object Σ (which is the accumulation of a given set of features) has been merged it can be then re-merged (i.e. moved) by copying these features in a target position higher in the clause. Then, it is a matter of the PF system to decide which copy is going to be spelled out and which not. While typically it is the higher copy that is going to be spelled-out, there have been pointed out cases where both copies are spelled-out. However, what this means is that the two copies are expected to be identical, that is, of the form $[\Sigma, \Sigma]$. Obviously, this cannot be the case with doubling. Now, given this, the question remains: What features are copied? For the line of argumentation I have been following the answer to this question follows quite naturally even solely on theoretical grounds: Those features that are necessary and sufficient in order to identify morpho-syntactically the probed DP node higher up in a given domain. Recall from the discussion in the previous sections that

the clitic and the lexical DP obligatorily agree in phi-features (person, number and gender⁷) and case. For instance, in (28) below, both the clitic and the DP object are marked as [third person⁸], [plural] and [feminine]. Furthermore, the clitic and the DP obligatorily match in case; in (28) both elements are obligatorily marked as [accusative]. What this means is that the two elements have to carry identical case specifications, as the ungrammaticality of (29) indicates, where the clitic is inflected for accusative while the doubled DP is marked as dative/genitive:

- (28) tis iðes **tis files** su sto parti?
them-CL saw.2s the the friends your at-the party
 ‘Did you see your friends at the party?’

- (29) *ton ipa **tu Oresti** tin aliθia
him-CL.acc said.1s the Orestes.gen the truth
 ‘I told the truth to Nikos’

Therefore, we can safely assume that the full grid of nominal ϕ -features and case present in the DP are amongst the features that are copied and moved higher up in the structure. In the same spirit, another feature that is necessarily copied is the categorical [D] feature of the DP complement node. That the clitic obligatorily spells out such a feature becomes evident from the following three observations: First, when the verbal complement is a category other than a DP, for instance a PP, there is no D feature on the PP node to be copied and as such doubling is infelicitous:

- (30) a. *tin efaya [PP apo tin pita]
it-CL ate.1s from the pie
 ‘I ate from the pie’
 b. *tu eðosa to ðoro [PP s(e)ton Ari]
you-CL assured.3p you to-the Ares
 ‘I gave the gift to Ares’

Given this, consider now the following thing: Despite the fact that Italian lacks CD, researchers like Cecchetto (2000) and Belletti (2004, 2005) have argued that CD is still the underlying configuration behind the construction known as Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD). Without going into details due to space limitations⁹, CLLD differs from CD in that the doubled DP occurs dislocated in a position above TP rather than in the postverbal domain as it happens in CD. The construction, which is very productive both in Greek and Romance among other languages, is illustrated below:

- (31) a. Gianni lo vedo Italian.
Gianni him-CL see.1s
 ‘JohnI see him’

⁷ Gender is relevant only for third person clitics. First and second person pronouns lack gender specifications.

⁸ In the sense that neither the clitic nor the DP can be substituted by a first or a second person clitic, and a first or a second person full pronoun respectively.

⁹ The reader is referred to Kechagias (2011) for a detailed analysis of the constructions and references.

- b. to Yianni ton vlepo Greek
the Yianni him-CL see.1s
 ‘John I see him’

Strikingly, Italian shows a different behaviour when compared to Greek, as far as what clitics can double is concerned, in the sense that, in Italian, PPs appear able to be doubled by clitics. For instance, in (32a) below the prepositional indirect object ‘to John’ is doubled by the clitic ‘gli’. Of course, any attempt to double such a prepositional object in Greek leads to ungrammaticality (32b):

- (32) a. [PP a Gianni] gli ho dato una mela Italian.
to Gianni him-CL.dat have.1s given an apple
 ‘John I have given him an apple’
- b. [PP s(e)-ton Yianni] (*tu) exo dosi ena milo Greek
to-the Yiannis him-CL.dat have.1s given an apple
 ‘John I have given him an apple’

One could argue that this is simply because Greek lacks clitics like ‘gli’ (or *ci*¹⁰), which is presumably specified as of ‘category P’ and as such it can double PPs (cf. Alexopoulou, Doron & Heycock 2004, Tsakali 2006 among others). However, this can only be partially true since in Italian even ‘regular’ third person clitics (i.e. clitics that double DPs) can double constituents that can hardly be seen as of category D (33 and 34)¹¹. (Note also the absence of gender agreement in 33)

- (33) [AP **Bella**] non lo e mai stata Italian
beautiful not it-CL have.3s ever been
 ‘Beautiful she has never been it’
- (34) [VP **Messo da parte**] non lo e mai stato
got off-the way not it-CL have.3s ever been
 ‘Been out of the way he has never been it’

(Examples from Cinque 1990)

- (35) [AP **Omorfi**] den (*to) exi iparksi pote Greek
beautiful not it-CL have.3s been ever
 ‘Beautiful she has never been it’
- (36) [VP **Vyalmenos apo to δromo**] den (*to) exi iparksi pote
got off-the way not it-CL have.3s been ever
 ‘Been out of the way he has never been it’

Thus, given these observations, I assume that the bundle of features that are copied and moved also contains a categorical D feature. If there is no feature to be copied, a clitic cannot

¹⁰ [PP In quella cita] non ci sono mai stato
to that city not there-CL have-1s ever been
 ‘In that city I have never been there’

¹¹ Spanish is on a par with Italian in this respect, as Luisa Marti has pointed out to me.

be spelt out (i.e. doubling is illicit). That feature copying and movement involve a D-feature, or subsequently—for the line of argumentation I have been following—that clitics spell out such a feature, becomes evident also by the fact that bare singulars and bare plurals cannot be doubled. Consider the following cases:

- (37) (*to) ayorasa aftokinito
it-CL bought.1sg
 ‘I bought a car’

- (38) (*ta) efaya portokalia
them-CL ate.1s oranges
 ‘I ate oranges’

The fact that such elements cannot be associated with a clitic straightforwardly follows from the observation that bare singulars and bare plurals (at least when used as complements) are NPs and not DPs, and as such there is no D feature to be copied and spell out of a clitic is not possible. Kallulli (2000) provides extensive argumentation towards this idea. In particular, she argues that bare singulars and bare existential plurals are not arguments but predicates, in which case they denote properties, not individuals. Note also here that analyses that assume the existence of two independent D elements in the numeration and rely in independent feature matching mechanisms cannot very easily account for the fact that [-definite] DPs can be presumed by clitics, which are [+definite] DPs/D⁰s¹². Consider for instance the following cases:

- (39) a. *de jinete na min to ayapas ena tetio skili*
not is.possible subj.mar. not it-CL love.2s a like-this dog
 ‘It is impossible to not love a dog like this’
- b. *diskola ton ikanopii o eafos tu enan efivo*
hardly him-CL satisfies.3s the self him.nom a teenager.acc
 ‘A teenager is hardly satisfied by himself’

The next piece of evidence that can justify an analysis of the sort of the one I am putting forward here comes from a closer consideration of certain syntactic properties of clitics in doubling environments. First, consider the following cases. In the examples in (40) below coindexation between a third person pronominal form and a following DP leads to ungrammaticality which is meant to be either due to a violation of Principle C which depends on the notion of c-command, or alternatively, due a violation of Williams’s (1997) ‘Generalized Principle of Anaphoric Dependency’ (GPAD), which is by-and-large based on precedence relations and linear order.

- (40) a. **pro₁ efrye jiati den enioθe i Maria₁ kala*
left.3s because not was-feeling.3s the Maria well
 ‘She left because Maria was not feeling well’

¹² The assumption that even indefinite DPs can be presumed by clitics goes against the ‘traditional’ view that indefinites cannot be doubled (presumably due to feature mismatch- cf. Anagnostopoulou 1994, 1999, Iatridou 1995). As the grammatical examples in (40) above show, this cannot be the case, despite the fact that doubling of indefinites is indeed more restricted than doubling of definites. For more details, see Kechagias 2011 and references therein.

b. *afti ₁	katiyorise	ti Maria ₁
<i>She</i>	<i>accused</i>	<i>the Maria</i>

However, coindexation between a clitic pronoun and a lexical DP in doubling constructions not only does not create any problem with respect to Principle C (or GPAD), but the two elements obligatorily share a referential index:

- (41) a. tin₁ katiyorise ti Maria_{1/*2}
her-CL accused.3s the Maria
 ‘S/he accused Maria’

Crucially, for the most analyses that assume that there are two independent D categories involved in the derivation, this behaviour cannot be accounted for naturally, or at best, they have to resort to the stipulation of some independent mechanism that would ensure that the clitic and the lexical DP share referential properties. On the other hand, for the analysis I have been sketching out this neither constitutes a problem nor does it require stipulation of any independent mechanism since essentially the clitic is a second spell-out of features of the lexical DP.

The final piece of evidence that could favour the analysis I have been sketching out comes from the field of doubling of strong pronouns. First consider the utterances in (42), (43) and (44):

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| (42) a. me | kseris | emena | kala | 1 st singular |
| <i>me-CL</i> | <i>know.2s</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>well</i> | |
| ‘You know me well’ | | | | |
| b. mas | kseris | emas | kala | 1 st plural |
| <i>us-CL</i> | <i>know.2s</i> | <i>us</i> | <i>well</i> | |
| ‘You know us well’ | | | | |
| (43) a. se | kseri | esena | kala | 2 nd singular |
| <i>you-CL</i> | <i>know.3s</i> | <i>you</i> | <i>well</i> | |
| ‘S/he knows you well’ | | | | |
| b. sas | kseri | esas | kala | 2 nd plural |
| <i>you-CL</i> | <i>know.3s</i> | <i>you</i> | <i>well</i> | |
| ‘S/he knows you well’ | | | | |
| (44) a. ton | kseri | afton | kala | 3 rd masc. sing. |
| <i>him-CL</i> | <i>know.3s</i> | <i>him</i> | <i>well</i> | |
| ‘S/he knows him well’ | | | | |
| b. tin | kseri | aftin | kala | 3 rd fem. sing. |
| <i>her-CL</i> | <i>know.3s</i> | <i>her</i> | <i>well</i> | |
| ‘S/he knows her well’ | | | | |
| c. to | ksero | afto | kala | 3 rd neur. sing. |
| <i>it-CL</i> | <i>know.1s</i> | <i>this/it</i> | <i>well</i> | |

'I know it well'

- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| d. | tus | ksero | aftus | kala | 3 rd masc. pl. |
| | <i>them-CL</i> | <i>know.1s</i> | <i>them</i> | <i>well</i> | |
| | 'I know them well' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| e. | tis | ksero | afes | kala | 3 rd fem.pl. |
| | <i>them-CL</i> | <i>know.1s</i> | <i>them</i> | <i>well</i> | |
| | 'I know them well' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| f. | ta | ksero | afta | kala | 3 rd neut.pl. |
| | <i>them-CL</i> | <i>know.1s</i> | <i>them</i> | <i>well</i> | |
| | 'I know them well' | | | | |

The examples above minimally differ from the cases examined so far in that the doubled category is not a noun but rather a full (strong) pronoun: in (42) it is the first person pronoun, in (43) it is the second person and in (44) it is the third person. The interesting thing about such cases is the striking resemblance between the full pronoun and the doubling clitic, in the sense that it is not only the case that clitics appear as the weak counterparts of the full pronouns, but systematically clitics in Greek seem to be uniformly derived by mere omission of the so-called support morphemes (af-, e-, -na) of the strong pronouns (see Neeleman & Szendroi 2007 for more details), as if the clitic is a realization of some of the features of the full pronoun in some other part of the a given domain. The table below in (45) illustrates the pronominal paradigm in Greek (for accusative case):

(45) **Greek Personal Pronouns (Accusative)**

	Strong Pronoun	Clitic Form
1SG	e- <u>me</u> -na	me
2SG	e- <u>se</u> -na	se
3SG M	af- <u>ton</u>	ton
3SG F	af- <u>tin</u>	tin
3SG N	af- <u>to</u>	to
1PL	e- <u>mas</u>	mas
2PL	e- <u>sas</u>	sas
3PL M	af- <u>tus</u>	tus
3PL F	af- <u>tes</u>	tis/tes
3PL N	af- <u>ta</u>	ta

Interestingly, the situation is different in other languages with clitics such as Italian and French: despite that the clitics are—no doubt—derivationally related to their strong counterparts in these languages, clitics do not appear to spell out a constant part of the morphology of the strong pronouns. This is shown below in (46)

(46)	Italian Personal Pronouns		French Personal Pronouns	
	Strong Pronoun	Clitic Form	Strong Pronoun	Clitic Form
1SG	me	mi	moi	me
2SG	te	ti	toi	te
3SG M	lui	lo	lui	le/en
3SG F	lei	la	elle	la/en
1PL	noi	ci	nous	nous
2PL	voi	vi	vous	vous
3PL M	loro	li	eux	les/en
3PL F	loro	li	elles	les/en

Regarding now the table in (45) and the examples (42), (43) and (44) above, there is one more thing I would like to point out: case, person, number and gender (for third person clitics) morphology is spelled-out on both elements, that is, both the clitic and the full pronoun. Because of that, I believe that one is entitled to assume that the clitic is actually a reflection of features of a given DP in the thematic postverbal position, doubling then being an operation driven by economy related reasons: the language, instead of re-emerging a full DP higher in the clause for the satisfaction of whatsoever requirement, copies and re-merges just a portion of it, allowing the DP argument to remain in situ (see also section 3.2.2).

Before I finish this section, let me briefly highlight something important about (pronominal) doubling and its rather limited occurrence across languages. It easily becomes evident that if a language lacks elements that spell-out the content of a DP-node (e.g. English) doubling would never surface. In the same spirit, doubling by items with richer morpho-phonological content (e.g. strong pronouns) would also be blocked since such items presumably spell-out more features than those that clitics do. On the other hand, the fact that in Greek clitics do show up has to do with the obvious explanation that the language has clitics in its lexical inventory, but also with the tentative conclusion that in this language the head of a chain should be spelt-out. This being so, let me now lead the discussion into something else.

3.3 A (brief) note on EPP, the T⁰ Probe and A-movement

According to the analysis I have been pursuing the clitic is spelt out at [SpecTP]¹³, where it forms a phonological unit with the raised verb after V-to-T movement, an idea that is in line with Anagnostopoulou (1994), Iatridou (1995), Philippaki-Warbuton et al. (2004) (but cf. Mavrogiorgos 2009 for a different view). The question that naturally arises and that I will try to tackle rather briefly in this section is the following one: Why does the bundle of the copied features end up in the T domain¹⁴? In order for this question to be given an answer, another—

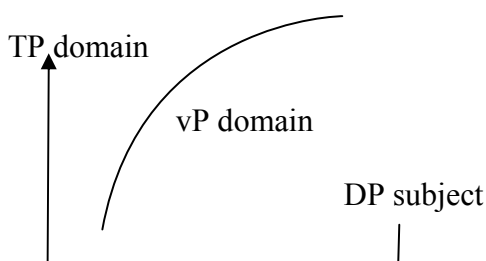
¹³ This implies that multiple specifiers are indeed a possibility in natural language. For an extensive argumentation on multiple specifiers, see, among others, Chomsky (1995), Sabel (2002), McGinnis (2000); and Heycock & Doron (2003) and Hiraiwa (2001). Although preverbal subjects in Greek arguably never occupy the specifier position of TP, the idea of a second specifier would allow us to generate cVOS orders in Greek (cf. Kechagias 2009, 2011: the clitic is spelled out on the external specifier, while the moved v' node—containing the verb and the DP complement—occupies the internal one: [TP clitic [T VO [T [vP]]]]). For more details see Kechagias 2009, 2011. (but see Mavrogiorgos 2010).

¹⁴ For Chomsky (2000, 2001) the syntactic structure is built in computational circles, or phases. Once such a circle is completed, the syntactic object is transferred to the C-I and S-M interfaces, where it is interpreted. Although for Chomsky the phases are v*P and CP, several researchers (cf. Fox & Pesetsky 2005 among others)

related—question should be answered: What purposes does doubling serve, or—in other words—what is the trigger for doubling?

To begin with, let me first briefly refer to how grammatical subjects are licensed across languages. Subjects are assumed to be generated in the [SpecvP] from where they obligatorily move to the T domain, and more particularly to [SpecTP] in order to—arguably—eliminate some nominal feature on the T head. Put into minimalist terms, some [+D] feature on the T head is meant to be a probe which attracts a goal, that is, the subject DP. This operation—which has been codified as ‘EPP’ and has been lately put forward as the trigger of all kinds of syntactic movement (as ‘generalized EPP features’ or ‘edge features’; see Chomsky 2001, 2005, 2006)—can be seen as an ‘externalization’ process in the sense that a lexical category which has been generated within vP leaves this domain for [SpecTP], a position from where it will scope over the verb and its complement(s) plus the functional domain with which the verb is tightly related (as it contains the relevant functional heads that the verb spells-out). Schematically this is shown in (47) below:

(47) **Subject EPP**

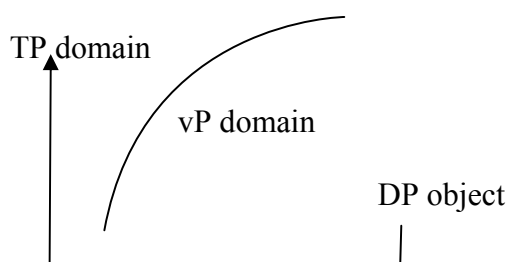


Despite the fact that EPP satisfaction is meant to be universal, it is not the case that all languages satisfy this structural requirement in a uniform way. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998, 2001) have convincingly argued that Null Subject Languages (like Greek) satisfy this structural requirement after V-to-T raising via the nominal features carried on the verbal morphology (i.e. subject agreement or a ‘subject clitic’)¹⁵. Furthermore, it is this property of NSL that allows a lexical DP subject to occur in its base position, that is post-verbally, as opposed to what happens in languages like English that have to move a full DP to [SpecTP] (or merge an expletive). Bearing this in mind, I would like to suggest that T can optionally host a DP object being attracted by some D feature that probes into objects. An object is re-merged to a position from where it scopes over the functional and thematic domain and is of similar nature as subject movement for EPP satisfaction, that is, movement of the A-type. The schema in (48) illustrates this:

have argued that VP can also have phase properties. Given this, I leave open the possibility that feature movement proceeds in two steps, that is, movement to some specifier of the VP phrase before it finally reaches the T domain.

¹⁵ For similar ideas see also Pesetsky & Torrego (2001) and Manzini & Savoia (2002) among others.

(48)

Object EPP

The structural outcome of this step in the derivation is that DP object merged as a complement within the V-bar node can be re-merged as external to the head it has been selected by and the functional domain that typically dominates DP objects. In this respect, McGinnis (2000) discusses several dislocation phenomena in languages like Georgian, Korean and Japanese, that arguably involve A-scrambling of a DP object to some external specifier position in the TP domain¹⁶ (lack of reconstruction, anaphoric and pronominal binding asymmetries). In the same spirit, Sabel (2002) argues that *wh*-objects in German move to [Spec,CP] via an intermediate A-step to [Spec,TP]. This is because (A-bar movement induced-) WCO effects are absent in German in contexts where they still appear in languages like English. As I have argued in Kechagias (2011) Greek is one of these languages, the only difference being that movement does not involve displacement of the full DP, but rather CD as feature copying and movement that allows the lexical DP to remain in-situ, on a par with the way that Greek satisfies traditional (i.e subject) EPP requirement, along the lines of Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998, 2001).

One could assume that CD serves language economy, since presumably re-merging a bigger chunk of structure (or a full set of features) is a more costly operation than re-merging a sub-set of features (that is, a clitic). In this respect our account is very similar to Poletto's (2006) analysis on subject doubling in substandard varieties of Italian. However, in other aspects the analysis I have been sketching out here is very different. In particular there are at least two important points of divergence. First, Poletto's account is build upon the idea of complex DPs (in a 'cartographic' fashion, where the lexical head is dominated by a series of functional layers) and 'feature-stripping': a DP that has more than one feature to check, say F1 and F2, can check F1 through a (clitic) piece of DP—the one carrying F1—and F2 through the other XP piece, which carries the F2 feature. What this analysis predicts is that the two (or more possibly) doubles are always different and that the features expressed by one are not expressed by the other part, as they have been stripped away. However, as we have seen earlier in Greek CD both the pronominal element and the DP associate are fully marked for ϕ -features. The second point of divergence from this analysis relates to the explicit assumption that CD is a case-related configuration¹⁷. The idea is that the clitic—which heads KP dominating the core DP—is a spell out of case that is stripped off from the rest of the whole DP and moves higher in the clause for the case to be licensed¹⁸. Yet again

¹⁶ Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1997) reach a similar conclusion through a different path: Clitic Doubling in languages like Greek is the equivalent of A-scrambling in German.

¹⁷ Tsakali (2006) and Tsakali & Anagnostopoulou (2008) make a similar but rather weaker linkage.

¹⁸ As Poletto (2006) argues 'if head movement does not exist and a clitic also moves as a remnant, the lower DP in [[KP [K⁰ cl] [DP]] moves to the specifier of a projection immediately above KP containing the clitic as in [[_{XP} DP [x⁰ [_{KP} k⁰ cl] [DP]]]. This process creates the remnant KP containing only the clitic which is then moved to the appropriate position in the IP layer.

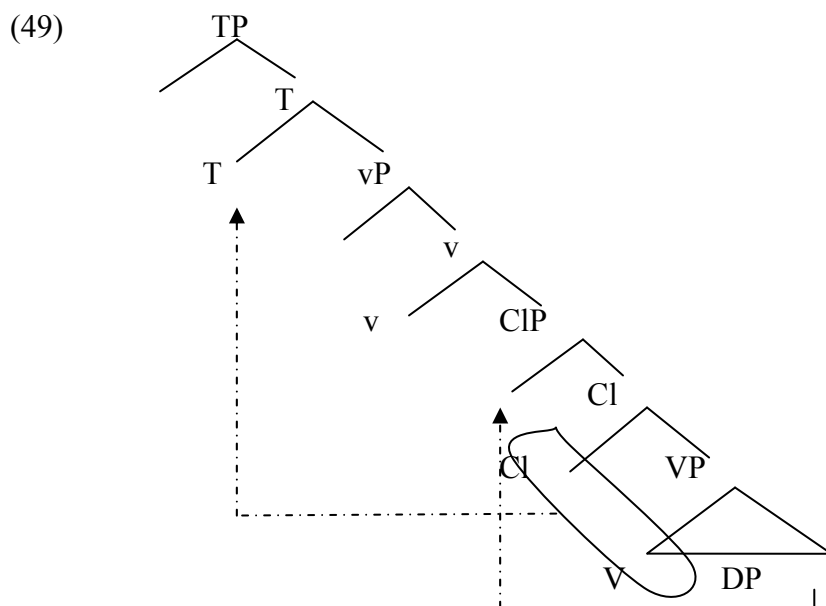
the problem with Greek is that case is overt on both the pronominal element and the lexical DP. For reasons like this, I would like to fully dissociate CD and case-assignment.

To summarize the discussion in this section, I have argued that clitic doubling at least in a language like Standard Modern Greek does not have to depend on any special syntactic schema. Rather, I argued that the clitic is a mere reflection of features of the DP complement that have been probed, copied and moved higher up. I also argued—although without going into details—that CD should be seen as a parameterized version of the A-movement/A-scrambling-to-the-TP-domain-operation found in a variety of languages.

4 Previous accounts and discussion

Going back to section 3.1, the first schema (cf. 23) reflects the early Kaynian (1975) view on cliticisation according to which clitics are generated as proper arguments in the postverbal domain from where they move higher up in the clause to incorporate onto a host due to their deficient phonological structure. While such analyses can potentially account for cases of mere cliticisation, they face quite severe problems in the light of data from doubling languages and especially Greek which does not comply with Kayne's generalisation. Philippaki-Warbuton et al. (2004), building on the Kaynian view on cliticization, gets to assume that while clitics are indeed generated as proper arguments, the doubled DPs in CD constructions have unavoidably a more peripheral status; in particular, after they first rule out the possibility that such DPs are right-dislocations, they argue that such doubled DPs are generated as typical adjuncts, the implication being that Greek has made a step towards polysynthesis/non-configurationality along the lines of Baker (1996): clitics (agreement morphemes) cannot co-occur with overt DPs in argument positions because clitics/agreement absorb Case. As a result, in polysynthetic languages overt DPs can only be licensed as adjuncts. However, things in Greek cannot be like this. As I have shown earlier in section 2, doubled DPs can be extracted from the pre-verbal to the post-verbal domain, an indication against their alleged adjunct status; In the same spirit, they can also show up in environments that adjuncts are hardly tolerated across languages. Additionally, CD in Greek constitutes an optional phenomenon in sharp contrast with what happens in languages that invariably realize their arguments via morphemes. Regarding this, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2000a) building on VP-constituency rules and binding, have convincingly argued that doubling in Greek does not lead to non-configurationality of the type described in the lines of Baker (1996).

Another way of analyzing CD would be to adopt Sportiche's (1992/1996) influential analysis or some version of it (cf. Anagnostopoulou 1994, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1997, 2001, Kallulli 2000, Tsakali 2006). According to these analyses the clitic never occupies an argument slot; rather, clitics are AGR-like functional heads which project their own maximal projection above VP within the functional clausal domain. Licensing between the clitic and the argument is established in a spec-head configuration after (covert) movement of the argument to the specifier of the functional projection headed by the clitic (a 'Clitic Voice' or 'Phrase' along the lines of Sportiche). The clitic attaches onto the verb and then they move as a unit (although Sportiche's analysis is quite opaque on this). The configuration is illustrated in (49):



The greatest advantage of this account is that it bypasses the problems of the Kaynian-styled analyses, while it also unifies clitic constructions: in doubling constructions the DP object undergoes covert movement to [Spec,CIP]: When no DP associate is present, that is, in mere cliticisation constructions, it is a *pro* that is generated in the object position and undergoes movement to [SpecCIP]. Moreover, it also unifies the mechanism that generates CD and object shift of the Germanic type; what minimally differentiates the two constructions is that in the latter case the clitic head is covert and the movement of the DP object is overt, whereas in the former case the clitic head is overt and the movement of the DP object is performed covertly. As for the question regarding the trigger of such movement, Sportiche assumes that it must be a feature [+F] of the clitic head; if this particular feature or property is to be licensed in the corresponding XP, the licensing can only take place through an appropriate agreement relation i.e. in a Spec-head agreement configuration at LF. ('the clitic criterion'). Thus, the combination of an overt clitic with a covert (*pro*) XP yields mere cliticisation pattern that can be found in various languages; the combination of an overt clitic head and an overt XP yields CD, if the overt XP moves covertly and if the head is covert and the XP overt and moves overtly, we get scrambling effects of the Dutch type.

Nonetheless, despite its appeal, this analysis runs into some serious shortcomings, on theoretical and empirical grounds. In what follows I will highlight some of them. To begin with, the first problem has to do with the position and the nature of Sportiche's CIP: a clitic is assumed to head a maximal projection in the TP domain, which is optionally realized, as opposed to any other feature of the core functional domain. On the other hand, even if this was the case, it is not clear why such a projection (which according to Sportiche licenses specificity) should be part of the core functional (TP/IP) domain alongside projections such as AspectP or TenseP, and how and why this projection with D-related features should select for a VP.

Another important aspect of this analysis is the implication that in the absence of a DP-double in clitic constructions the thematic properties of a verb and case are assigned to a *pro* in the canonical object position (which is expected to move to SpecCIP at LF). However, as it is convincingly shown by Papangeli (2000) there is no independent evidence that Greek can license *pro*-objects. All the tests that Rizzi (1986) applies in order to establish the idea that Italian allows for *pro*-objects turn out to be negative in Greek. In particular: An empty object cannot act as a controller in Greek:

- (50) a. *afto kani Ø na katalavun ti akoluθi
this make.3s Subj.mar. Understand.3p what follow.3s
 ‘This makes to understand what follows’
- b. afto kani tus anθropus na katalavun ti akoluθi
this make.3s the people subj.mar. understand.3p what follow.3s
 ‘This makes people understand what follows’
- c. afto tus kani na katalavun ti akoluθi
this them-CL make.3s subj.mar. understand.3p what follow.3s
 ‘This makes them understand what follows’

Also, in Italian, a phonologically empty object is a potential antecedent for a reflexive. This is not the case in Greek:

- (51) a. *i kali musiki simfilioni Ø me ton eafto su
the good music reconcile.3s with the self your
 ‘Good music reconciles – with yourself’
- b. i kali musiki se simfilioni me ton eafto su
the good music you-CL reconcile.3s with the self your
 ‘Good music reconciles you with yourself’

Finally, a phonologically null object cannot be the subject of a secondary predicate in Greek, contrary to what happens in Italian:

- (52) a. *afti i musiki kani eftixizmenus
this the music make.3s happy
 ‘This music renders/makes (i.e. one/people) happy’
- b. afti i musiki kani tus anθropus eftixizmenus
this the music make.3s the people happy
 ‘This music renders/makes people happy’
- c. afti i musiki tus kani tus anθropus eftixizmenus
this the music them-CL make.3s the people happy
 ‘This music makes/renders the people happy’

The strong ungrammaticality of the (a) examples above can be attributed to the fact that an internal complement of the verb remains unidentified. Sportiche-like analyses by generating a clitic within the TP domain can hardly account for such cases.

Another issue with Sportiche’s analysis, is that in order to account for the fact that a clitic and an XP never surface adjacent, he stipulates the ‘Doubly Filled Voice Filter’ in resemblance to the ‘doubly filled COMP filter’ that bans the existence of two overt elements in CIP (i.e. the clitic and the DP). For the analysis I am pursuing here this ban follows quite straightforwardly: the structural requirement for A-movement is fulfilled by copying and moving part of the DP higher up in the tree, and as such, the DP itself has to remain in situ, since the EF (or generalized EPP feature) has been eliminated, as it exactly happens with subject licensing along the lines of Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998, 2001) (that is, since

EPP is satisfied by the nominal morphology carried by the verb at T, subjects in Greek do not have to move at SpecTP).

Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1997) build an analysis which by-and-large reflects Sportiche's analysis. The main point of departure is that clitics in doubling constructions are overtly treated as nominal agreement morphemes, generated as part of the verbal morphology (or alternatively merged in AgrO). In this analysis, the clitic and the full DP form a non-trivial chain which is necessary for case checking of the DP. However, it is not exactly clear why clitics should be seen as agreement morphemes necessary for case reasons when Greek is not an Object Agreement language, and CD is by-and-large an optional phenomenon (see also previous section). Also, it is not exactly clear how agreement morphemes or an AgrO head can participate actively in syntactic dependencies: Why for instance a doubled object can heal or destroy a syntactic dependency between a subject and object? Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou in subsequent work point out that clitics cannot indeed be treated as agreement markers/morphemes:

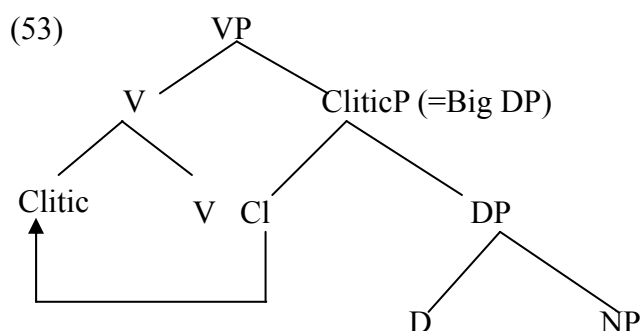
“Our proposal treats clitics/agreement markers as a non-uniform syntactic category. [...] their status is different from a Case-theoretic point of view”.

(Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2000:11)

For the analysis I have been sketching out, the aforementioned problems do not raise: First of all, the clitic is a formal reflection of features of an entity merged as a verb's complement, and therefore, it is enough to identify a pro object merged in the complement position, given that for—at least—the standard theory a pro is a grammatical category with null phonological content but with feature specification equal to that of overt categories. On the other hand, the analysis I put forward dispenses with the idea that doubling is a case-related configuration (contra Poletto 2006 and Tsakali 2006): for us, doubling is the equivalent of A-movement as a structural mechanism that ensures that a DP object is interpreted higher than the position it was initially merged.

The third possible way of analyzing CD is to assume that actually the clitic and the DP object originate in a single maximal projection, a ‘big DP’ (cf. Torrego 1992, Uriagereka 1995, Papangeli 2000, Cecchetto 2000, Belletti 2005, Alexiadou et al. 2007). The main advantage of the analyses that exploit this configuration is that they can capture rather straightforwardly the fact that two items share the same θ -role and case. Note here that such analyses either attribute a functional status to the clitic (so that it is part of the functional domain of the DP) or treat it as a DP generated in the specifier position of that DP or as the head of that DP the specifier position occupied by the lexical DP. Here I will discuss, Papangeli's (2000) and Cecchetto's (2000) accounts.

Papangeli (2000), applying the BigDP idea on Greek, argues that in CD the clitic and its double form a single constituent, a ClP where the clitic occupies the head of this constituent and the DP constitutes its complement. Crucially, in this analysis, the clitic subsequently head-moves to the left of V (by some sort of incorporation) in order to satisfy its morpho-phonological requirements and then as a unit with the verb to T due to overt V-to-T raising: This is shown in (53):



However, this account faces problems as well. Let me point out two of them. To begin with—as I have just shown—in CD constructions in Greek the clitic and its double are assumed to form a single constituent, a Clitic Phrase, where the clitic occupies the head of this constituent and the DP constitutes its complement. According to Papangeli, independent evidence favouring such a schema comes from the fact that in this language, full pronouns can select for DP complements; this is shown in (54):

- (54) *ðe θimame [aftin [tin kopela]]*
 not *remember.1s* *this* *the* *girl*
 ‘I don’t remember this girl’

In the utterance above the strong pronoun ‘aftin’ is the head, while the DP ‘tin kopela’ is its complement given that nothing can intervene between the two. Thus, according to Papangeli we should assume that the same relation holds between a clitic and its double, since weak pronouns are derivationally related to strong pronouns, despite the fact that this cannot be shown easily since the clitic never surfaces adjacent to its double¹⁹. However, things cannot be like this since even a constituent [strong pronoun+DP] can be further preceded by a doubling clitic undermining Papangeli’s suggestion. This is shown in (55) below:

- (55) **tin** *θimase* *aftin* *tin* *kopela*
her-CL *remember.2s* *this* *the* *girl*
 ‘Do you remember this girl?’

On the other hand, for an analysis where a clitic does not enter the numeration as an independent D category, but it rather constitutes a re-spell out of certain features of a DP higher up in a given domain, these doubling patterns can be captured irrespective of the complexity and the internal structure of this DP. Furthermore, there is good evidence to believe that the incorporation or adjunction step illustrated in schema (3.89) above does not actually take place, and that the clitic performs movement to [SpecTP] independently. Here, I will briefly mention two points highlighted by Philippaki-Warbuton et al. (2004). First, consider the utterance in (56) below which involves doubling and a verb inflected for perfect tense.

- (56) *to* *exo* *γrapsi* *to* *γrama*
it-CL *have.1s* *written* *the* *letter*
 ‘I have written the letter’

¹⁹ According to Papangeli the clitic head-adjoints to the Verb and then the complex cl+V head moves to T. However, as I will show shortly this cannot be the case; rather the clitic has to move to the T domain independently (in line with Philippaki-Warbuton et al. 2004).

If the clitic satisfies (part of) the thematic grid of a verbal head and then incorporates onto it, we would expect that perfect tenses would be formed with the clitic attached to the verbal participle (since it is the participial head which assigns a theta-role to the clitic and not the auxiliary), contrary to the fact (57a)²⁰. Rather, the clitic appears adjacent to whatever (verbal) element reaches the T domain (57b):

- (57) a. *exo to γrapsi to γrama
 have.Is it-CL written the letter
- b. to exo γrapsi to γrama
 it-CL have.Is written the letter
 ‘I have written the letter’

The second relevant point has to do with the fact that while in Greek²¹ clitics precede the verb in indicative and subjective, they follow the verb in the imperative mood and with gerundival forms:

- (58) a. pies **to!** Imperative
 drink.2s-imp. it-CL
 ‘Drink it!’
- b. pinondas **to** Gerund (Active Participle)
 drinking it-CL
 ‘Drinking it’

This asymmetry remains unaccounted if we assume that the clitic incorporates onto the verbal head, a process that should invariably result to a [clitic-V] linearization. On the other hand, Philippaki-Warbuton et al. shows that this asymmetry is not problematic if we assume that the clitic moves independently to the T domain provided that the verb seems to move even higher to a MoodP²² in order to check its imperative and gerundival morphology, thus leaving the clitic behind it.

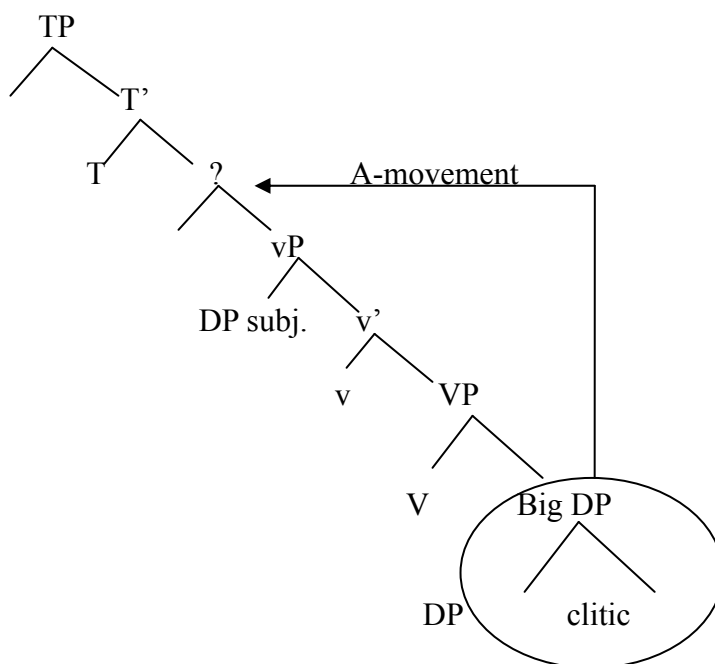
Before I finish this section, let me refer briefly to another related analysis. Cecchetto (2000) proposes that CLLD in Italian involves A-bar movement of a DP out of a BigDP phrase, despite the fact that Italian lacks CD linearizations (for reasons that are not totally clear, cf. also Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, Belletti 2004, Tsakali 2006 among others), after the BigDP has A-moved to a position below TP and above vP from where the clitic (somehow) incorporates onto the verb in T. This is shown in (59):

²⁰ Note that data like this is problematic even for Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1997) who take clitics to be agreement morphemes generated on the verb.

²¹ In certain South-Eastern dialects (Dodecanese, Cypriot) clitics follow the verb even with finite verbs. I leave this issue open for a future discussion.

²² It is unclear whether MoodP is part of the core functional domain or not. Philippaki-Warbuton & Spyropoulos (1999) opt for this option, while for Roussou (2000) it is part of the CP domain (adopting some version of Rizzi’s (1997) articulated CP domain hypothesis).

(59)



I assume that it cannot capture Greek CD properly for two main reasons. First, on the empirical side, the problem is that— even if we assume that the analysis I offered in Chapter 2 is not on the right track and that Greek VOS is due to mere shift of the DP object to a position higher than the subject, it would still not be able to account for [clVSO] linear orders, given that the BigDP containing the object would move to a position past the subject in [Spec.vP]:

- (60) a. *afu tin filise o Aris tin Maria me paθos* (clVSO)
after her-CL kissed.3s the Ares the Maria with passion
 ‘After Ares kissed Maria with passion’
- b. *den tin elise o Aris tin askisi akoma* (clVSO)
not her-CL solved.3s the Ares the exercise yet
 ‘Ares didn’t solve the exercise yet’

Another issue with such accounts has to do with the assumption that the clitic is the head of that BigDP, whereas the full DP is the specifier, the idea being that it ‘defines’ lexically the pronominal head. However, while this could in principle hold with doubling of lexical DPs, it is not exactly clear how this ‘specification’ applies in cases where the doubled DP is a full pronoun: For example, in what way would the first and second person clitic pronouns be specified or defined by the full first and second person pronouns respectively in (61) below?

- (61) a. *me kseris emena*
me-CL know.2s me
 ‘You know me’
- b. *sas ektimai esas poli*
you-CL.pl. appreciate.3s you much
 ‘S/he appreciates you a lot’

In addition to that—on a theoretical level this time—such an analysis contradicts the independently motivated observation that DPs in Greek CD occur in-situ (see Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou's 2000).

5 Summary

In this paper I re-examined aspects of direct object clitic doubling in Standard Modern Greek arguing that at least in this language clitic doubling does not have to rely on any 'special' or 'complex' syntactic schema that would require two [D] elements in the numeration, the clitic and lexical DP. Rather, I argued that what shows up as a clitic can be treated as a mere re-spell out of features of the DP complement node that have been probed, copied and moved higher up in the clausal domain. I also argued that clitic doubling can be treated on a par with the object A-movement/A-scrambling operation around the TP domain as found in a variety of languages.

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