

CLITIC LEFT DISLOCATION AS AGREEMENT – A MOVEMENT APPROACH

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1. Introduction

Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), as illustrated in (1) for Italian and Greek, is a species of dislocation where an accusative or dative DP is coindexed and doubled by a resumptive clitic item which agrees with the dislocated DP in ϕ -features and Case. The CLLDed DP does not bear focal stress nor is it prosodically separated from the rest of the clause:

- (1) a. Gianni_i ***(lo_i)** conosciamo (Italian, Cinque 1990)
Gianni CL we-know
b. ton Kósta[?] ***(ton)** agapá i Maria (Greek, accusative DO)
the Kostas.ACC CL loves the Maria.NOM
'Maria loves Kostas'
c. tu Kosta[?] ***(tu)** dóthike éna vivlíο (Greek, dative Goal)
the Kostas.DAT CL was-given a book.NOM
'Kostas was given a book'
d. tu Kosta[?] ***(tu)** arési i musikí (Greek, dative Experiencer)
the Kostas.DAT CL pleases the music.NOM
'Kostas likes the music' (lit. the music appeals to Kostas)

Although CLLD has been extensively discussed in the literature, especially for Romance (e.g. Rivero 1980, Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, Cinque 1990, Cecchetto 2000, De Cat 2007) and Modern Greek (e.g. Tsimpli 1990, Iatridou 1991, Agouraki 1992, Anagnostopoulou 1997; Alexopoulou & Kolliakou 2002, among others), the phenomenon is not yet fully understood. The recurring questions regarding CLLD fall into two categories, namely (i) its syntactic derivation, specifically whether the CLLDed item is base-generated in the left periphery (e.g. Cinque 1990, Iatridou 1991, Anagnostopoulou 1997) or related to it transformationally (e.g. Agouraki 1992, Cecchetto 2000, Valmala 2010) and (ii) the relation of CLLD to regular *clitic*

doubling where the coindexed clitic precedes the DP-associate. The latter question is relevant for languages like Greek where clitic doubling, as in (2), coexists with CLLD:

- (2) i Maria (ton_i) agapa ton Kosta_i
 the Maria CL loves the Kostas.ACC
 ‘Maria loves Kostas’

As the term itself implies, CLLD involves a clitic construction coupled with dislocation of the associate of the clitic. In the present paper, which revisits accusative CLLD in Modern Greek, I argue that these two hallmark-properties materialize in different modules of grammar – morphology and syntax respectively – and although contemporary syntactic theory allows for considerable interaction with morphology, a purely syntactic approach fails to capture the full essence of CLLD.

The present paper offers a new vista to CLLD as a morphological phenomenon. The accusative clitic in CLLD is not a regular clitic pronoun, but an agreement morpheme. It represents selective spellout of DO-agreement features which – predictably but confusingly – coincide morphologically with accusative clitic pronouns (a separate class of items). The spellout of these (by default covert) agreement features is a Doubly filled Comp Filter reflex, triggered by V-movement through a defective Agr-domain lacking a Specifier. The left dislocation associated with CLLD is not due to base-generation, but results from subsequent A-movement *cum* topicalization of the DO. The displacement is triggered if T is associated with an EPP-feature (following Miyagawa’s 2010 idea that Ts do not uniformly bear EPP-features) and it is facilitated by the preceding head movement of V (see also Chomsky 1995). The derivation of CLLD along these lines requires that the Subject remains VP-internal (see also Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2001).

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 revisits some of the well-known properties of CLLD. The discussion in this section illustrates that CLLD should be treated as distinct from clitic doubling and that – contrary to the dominant view – CLLD is compatible also with new/inaccessible information. The fact that CLLD is unrelated to clitic doubling does not implicate a base-generation analysis of CLLD, however. Section 3. provides evidence in favor of a movement approach; the analysis is executed in 3.1 where the relevance of VOS-orders for CLLD is also illustrated. Section 3.3.3 revisits topicalization and contrastive focus in Greek. Contrastive focus does not license CLLD and I argue that this is due to contrastive foci being base-generated as adjuncts. Greek does not provide evidence in favor of “focus movement”.

2. Accusative CLLD in Greek – Facts and Fiction

Many studies associate CLLD with properties like *givenness/topichood* (Tsimpli 1990, Cinque 1990, Anagnostopoulou 1997, De Cat 2007; cf. Arregi 2003), (sub)jective *D-linking* (Iatridou 1991, Alexopoulou & Kolliakou 2002) and *specificity* (Philippaki-Warbuton 1985, Zubizarreta 1998; cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1990). Notably, however, recent work on Spanish (Valmala 2010) refutes some of these special discourse-sensitive properties of CLLD. Valmala’s discussion is relevant also for the present purposes, because the data can be reproduced in Greek.

To begin with, examples like (4)-(6) make it clear that CLLD is not an exclusive property of topics/given information in Greek. The example in (4) illustrates CLLD as answer to an “out-of-the-blue” question (compare De Cat’s 2007:25 ungrammatical data in French):

- (4) Q: *ti sinévi?*
 what happened
 A: *ton Petros_i ton_i sinélave i astinómia*
 the Petros.ACC CL.ACC apprehend the police
 ‘the police apprehended Petros’

In (5), CLLD occurs internal to the informational focus of the utterance, reinforcing the impression that CLLD is compatible also with new/inaccessible information (see also Valmala 2010):

- (5) Q: *ti éjine?*
 what happened?
 A: *i Maria mu ípe [óti ton Pétro_i ton_i sinélave i astinómia]*
 the Maria.NOM me told that the Petros CL apprehend the police
 ‘Maria told me that the police apprehended Petros’

Examples like (5) also confirm the fact established earlier in Tsimpli (1990) and Anagnostopoulou (1997) that CLLD is not restricted to root clauses. In (5), the CLLDed item co-occurs with a complementizer in an embedded context. Hence, CLLDed items do not merge (internally or externally) to Spec,CP – at least in embedded contexts. This fact obviously does not entail that CLLDed items are barred from residing in the C-domain in root contexts (cf. selective V2 in root and embedded clauses in Swedish). Also, as is well-known, a split CP-approach to the left periphery (e.g. Rizzi 1997) makes a broader range of functional loci available internal to the C-domain; I return to this shortly.

Finally, the example in (6) illustrates a case where the CLLDed item is a pronoun and clearly inaccessible for the addressee:

- (6) Q: *ekínus_i tus_i thimáse?*
 them CL remember.2SG
 ‘do you remember them?’
 A: *pjus?* ‘whom?’

Regarding specificity, while CLLDed items *can* be specific, as pointed out in Philippaki-Warbuton (1985), Zubizarreta (1998) among others, and illustrated in (7a), they are not obligatorily specific. The examples in (7b-c) illustrate that even non-specific DPs, including indefinite Negative Polarity Items (NPI) like *kanenas* ‘nobody’ can occur as CLLDed items in Greek (cf. Alexopoulou 2008):

- (7) a. *[énan φίlo mu]_i ton_i psáhno apo keró*
 a friend my CL search from time
 ‘I’ve been looking for a friend of mine for some time’
 b. *[énan ipállilo pu den kséri agglíká]_i de tha ton_i proslávi poté i etería mas*
 a worker who NEG knows English NEG FUT CL employ never the company our
 ‘our company would never employ a worker who does not know English’
 c. *[kanénan]_i den ton_i simféri na íne ánergos aftin tin epohí*
 nobody NEG CL benefit SBJ be unemployed this the season
 ‘nobody benefits from being unemployed these days’

It has been observed in the literature on Greek that CLLD differs from regular clitic doubling in various ways. Only CLLDed items (as opposed to DP-associates of clitic doubling) can

function as (subsecutive) discourse links (Anagnostopoulou 1997, Alexopoulou & Kolliakou 2002):

- (8) o kathijitis tis glossolojías edose stus fitités vivliografía
 ‘the professor of linguistics gave literature references to the students’
 (i) #ton vríkan poli dískolo ton Chomsky (Clitic Doubling)
 CL found very difficult the Chomsky
 (ii) ton Chomsky ton vríkan poli dískolo (Clitic Left Dislocation)
 the Chomsky CL found very difficult

In addition, Iatridou (1991) shows that CLLD can operate in contexts where regular clitic doubling is disallowed. The data are not fully convincing, however, because the grammaticality of (9a) relies on the presence of *mono* ‘only’. When ‘only’ is omitted, even (9a) becomes degraded:

- (9) a. tria provlimata mono o Kostas ta elise
 three problems only the Kostas CL solved
 b. *mono o Kóstas ta elise tria provlímata
 only the Kostas CL solved three problems
 ‘only Kostas solved three problems’

The examples in (8)-(9) basically reiterate Cinque’s (1990) observation that CLLD can be attested independently of, and is unrelated to, clitic doubling. A natural conclusion to draw from Cinque’s (1990) conjecture, as do Iatridou (1991) and subsequently Anagnostopoulou (1997) for Greek, is that clitic doubling and CLLD are also syntactically unrelated. This brings us to the core of a highly controversial issue, namely the syntactic status of the CLLDed item. Is it base-generated or moved to the sentence-initial position?

3. Movement or base-generation?

In much earlier work (Cinque 1990, Iatridou 1991, Anagnostopoulou 1997), the apparent unrelatedness of CLLD from clitic doubling is viewed as favorable to a base-generation analysis. The tacit assumption underlying the rationale appears to have been that a movement analysis requires a derivational link between CLLD and clitic doubling. While an analysis along these lines has, in fact, been proposed for Greek (e.g. Agouraki 1992), I demonstrate in 3.2 that a movement analysis of CLLD can be implemented even if CLLD and clitic doubling were syntactically unrelated. In other words, I propose that CLLD is indeed derived via movement, but that it is not derivationally related to clitic doubling.

A major argument against a movement approach to CLLD in Greek is based on Iatridou’s (1991) observation that A-bar extraction from the position doubled by an accusative clitic appears to be impossible:

- (10) pjon (*ton) ídes?
 whom CL.ACC you-saw
 ‘who did you see’

Examples like (10) are problematic for two reasons. As observed in Iatridou (1991) in a footnote, clitic doubled *dative* arguments freely allow extraction from the doubled position:

- (11) *pianú tu édosan ena aftokínito*
 whom.DAT CL.DAT they-gave a car
 ‘to whom did they give a car’

In addition, naturalistic data give reason to question whether constructions like (10) are, in fact, ungrammatical in general. Consider the data in (12) which illustrate multiple cases of A-bar extraction from a position doubled by an accusative clitic:¹

- (12) a. *pion_i ton_i simféri* afto to modelo zois?
 whom CL.ACC benefit this the model life.GEN
 ‘who benefits from this type of life’
 b. *pius_i den tus_i thimate* ute i mana tus?
 whom NEG CL remember even the mom their
 ‘...whom doesn’t even his mom remember’
 c. *pii thelun piso tis fotografies tus i* *pius_i den tus_i endiaferun?*
 who wants back the photos his or whom NEG CL interest
 ‘...who wants his pictures back and whom they do not interest’

The examples in (13) furthermore illustrate that accusative CLLD exhibits reconstruction and a subsequent Condition C violation:

- (13) a. *[*ton ishirismó oti i Maria_i itan athoa*]_j ton pro_i ekane t_j telíos pepisméni
 the claim that Maria was innocent CL.ACC did totally convinced
 ‘the claim that Maria was innocent, she made it (this claim) fully convinced’
 b. *[*to vivlío tis Marias_i*]_j to pro_i diavase prosektiká t_j
 the book Maria.GEN CL.ACC read carefully
 ‘Maria’s book, she read it carefully’

Also, as illustrated in (7c), NPIs like *kanenas* can undergo CLLD (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998). As NPIs, these items should reconstruct to a position where they are c-commanded by negation (e.g. Chomsky 2001, Giannakidou 2009; for an alternative involving LF-raising of negation, see Mahajan 1990):

- (14) [*kanénan*]_i den ton_i simféri <kanenan> na íne ánergos aftin tin epohí
 nobody NEG CL benefit SBJ be unemployed this the season
 ‘nobody benefits from being unemployed these days’

It has also been observed that CLLD is sensitive to strong islands (Cinque 1990, Tsimpli 1990, Iatridou 1991, Anagnostopoulou 1997 and others):

- (15) **ton Kosta sinántisa* [*tin kopelá pu ton íde*] (Iatridou 1991)
 the Kostas I-met the girl who CL saw
 ‘Kostas I met the girl who saw (him)’

In Greek, however, the alleged island-sensitivity of CLLD can be disputed due to the existence of counterexamples like (16) from Tsimpli (1990):

¹ Observe that the context of (12b-c) does not allow the possibility of a “binding illusion” of generics of the sort discussed in Alexopoulou (2008). Furthermore, the examples in (12) are *wh*-questions, not rhetorical exclamations.

- (16) afto to vivlío, gnórisa [to sigrafea pu to égrapse] (Tsimpli 1990)
 this the book I-met the writer who CL wrote
 ‘this book, I met the writer who wrote it’

I return to the contradictory data in (15)-(16) in 3.3.3 where I argue that lack of island-sensitivity, as in (16), correlates with an intonational break. Because CLLD is not associated with an intonational break, Iatridou’s (1991) argument regarding island sensitivity of CLLD in Greek could, however, be maintained (but see the caveat in 3.3.3).

The discussion in the present section has provided good evidence in favor of a movement analysis of CLLD. The fact that CLLD is syntactically unrelated to clitic doubling does not support a base-generation analysis. Also, as illustrated in (12), positions doubled by accusative clitics do exhibit mobility (contra Iatridou 1991). I now proceed to illustrate how the movement approach can be implemented in syntax and why it should be regarded as an A-dependency combined with topicalization.

3.1 The relevance of VOS orders

As illustrated in (1b-c) for Greek, CLLD is associated with an obligatory pattern of clitic doubling: the clitic cannot be omitted in CLLD. On the other hand, regular clitic doubling is optional in this language; the example in (2) does not become ungrammatical if the clitic is omitted. This discrepancy alone would be sufficient to show that CLLD is unrelated to clitic doubling.

As it turns out, however, a closer examination of accusative cliticization patterns shows that clitic doubling is not always optional in Greek. Consider the following examples:

- (17) a. i María (ton) agapá ton Kósta
 the Maria.NOM CL loves the Kostas.ACC
 b. [?]* (ton) agapá ton Kósta i María
 CL loves the Kostas.ACC the Maria.NOM
 ‘Maria loves Kostas’
 c. [?]* (ton) ikanopoií ton Kosta aftí i ikóna
 CL satisfy the Kostas.ACC this the picture.NOM
 ‘this picture satisfies Kostas’
 d. [?]* (ton) pjáni ton Kosta i Maria apo to heri
 CL catch the Kostas.ACC the Maria.NOM from the hand
 ‘Maria takes hold of Kostas’s hand’

The data in (17) illustrate that the demand for the accusative clitic increases in V-initial environment when coupled with neutral intonation and present tense on the verb. This finding challenges Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou’s (2000) claim that only SOV, OVS and OSV require clitic doubling of the DO under neutral intonation. Given the remarkable clarity of speakers’ judgments regarding the data in (17), it is surprising that this fact has gone unnoticed in the existing work on V-initial orders in Greek (e.g. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2000, Roussou & Tsimpli 2006).² What has been observed in several studies is the obligatoriness of accusative cliticization in V-initial Subject-Verb *idioms* (e.g. Agouraki 1992, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999):

² A possible reason for this might be the exclusive use of the perfective past tense in the relevant examples. For reasons unclear to me at this point, VOS without DO-cliticization might be better tolerated in the past tense.

- (18) *(ton) pjani i kardia tu ton Kosta (kathe forá pu tu zitáo leftá) (Agouraki 1992)
 CL gets the chest his the Kostas every time that CL ask money
 ‘Kostas suffers every time I ask him to give me some money’

The examples in (17) illustrate that the scenario in (18) can be generalized to V-initial orders even outside idiomatic contexts (preferably when the verb is in the present tense). Also, examples like (19) show that the obligatory clitic doubling in idioms also applies to Verb-Object idioms:

- (19) [?]*(to) épiase to iponoúmeno i Maria
 CL caught the insinuation the Maria
 ‘Maria understood what you were implying!’

In sum, there exists a tension between CLLD and clitic doubling regarding the degree to which the presence of the accusative clitic is obligatory (the clitic is obligatory only in CLLD). Based on the evidence presented above, however, it can be concluded that this kind of tension is substantially alleviated in V-initial serializations where the requirement for the clitic increases. Therefore, it is plausible to treat V-initial strings like (17b-d) as the derivational source for CLLD. Observe that this assumption involves a typological prediction, namely that CLLD should be restricted to languages where V-initial word orders are legitimate outside interrogative contexts. A more comprehensive testing of the hypothesis must be left for future work, but languages like Italian, Greek, Romanian, Arabic, French, and Spanish, where CLLD has been extensively studied, clearly support it since each of these languages also allows non-interrogative V-initial word orders.

The question I address in the following section is whether the data in (17b-d) represent *bona fide* clitic doubling. I will argue that the answer is negative and that the accusative cliticization observed in (17b-d) instead represents the spellout of (by default covert) DO-agreement morphology.

3.2 CLLD as DO-agreement

3.2.1 Evidence for Agr

Following the well-established view that inflected verbs move overtly to T in Greek (e.g. Tsimpli 1990, Rivero 1990, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998), it can be assumed that V-to-T movement has taken place in (17)-(19). The purpose of this section is to illustrate that V-to-T movement proceeds through an intermediate functional domain, possibly similar (or related) to “Agr” (cf. Chomsky 1995). The presence of such intermediate A-position is required empirically if we assume, following e.g. Ordoñez (1998), Zubizarreta (1998) and Alexiadou (1999) that the derivation of VOS involves movement of V and O to some functional domain above VP. This kind of “scrambling” approach to VOS is plausible, because DOs can be shown to asymmetrically c-command the lower (by hypothesis: VP-internal) Subject in VOS orders:

- (20) a. aquí presentó (a) [cada niño]_i su_i madre? (Suñer 1998:319)
 here introduced each boy his mother

- b. sinántise to káthe koritsi_i o pateras tu_i <to kathe koritsi>
 meet the each girl the father her
 ‘her father met each girl’

The scrambling approach implicates a derivational relationship between (21a) and (b). The “XP” in (21b) represents the intermediate domain hosting the DO:

- (21) a. [?](ton) agapa [_{VP} i Maria [_v [_{VP} [**ton Kosta**]]]]
 CL loves the Maria.NOM the Kostas.ACC
 b. [?](ton) agapa [_{XP} **ton Kosta**_i [_{VP} i Maria [_v [_{VP} [_i]]]]] ← support for “Agr”
 CL loves the Kostas.ACC the Maria.NOM

In (21a), the DO is in its base-generated position; (21b) illustrates the scrambled variant where the DO has moved into the intervening functional domain. The binding data in (20) indicates that this position is an A-position.

The example in (22) represents full-blown CLLD which results from the DO undergoing an third step of movement from the intermediate Spec,Agr:

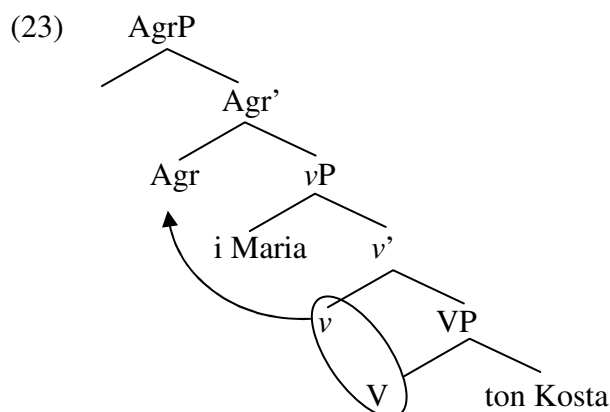
- (22) **ton Kosta**_i [?](ton) agapa t_i i Maria t_i
 the Kostas.ACC CL loves the Maria.NOM
 ‘Maria loves Kostas’

The movement illustrated in (22) only takes place if T is associated with an attracting EPP-feature (following Miyagawa’s 2010 idea that EPP-features are optional and discourse-sensitive). It is also plausible to assume (and required by the current analysis) that the CLLDed item undergoes further topicalization into the split CP-domain: given that verbs overtly raise to T, the phenomenon known as “generalized Doubly filled Comp Filter” (Sportiche 1992, Koopman 2000, Koopman & Szabolcsi 2001, Pearson 2005, Kupula 2010 among others) prohibits an overt realization of Spec,TP (cf. Rizzi 1997, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998). I return to this issue in greater detail in the following section.

CLLD, then, represents the result of an EPP-driven A-movement, similar in character with that associated with quirky dative and accusative Subjects (see also Anagnostopoulou 1999). More specifically, CLLD involves two cyclic steps of A-movement followed by topicalization into the split CP-domain (a standard procedure for overt Subjects in pro-drop languages; e.g. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998). As such, the proposal is fully compatible with earlier views like Leddon (2002) and Kechagias (2011) where CLLD is conceived as a combination of A- and A-bar movements. Here, the final A-bar step does not need to be stipulated; it follows as a consequence to the Doubly filled Comp Filter (see below).

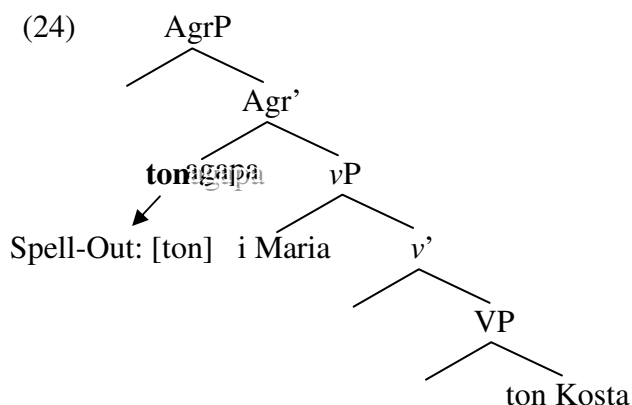
3.2.2 Deriving CLLD

An important fact regarding the movement operations discussed above is that V-movement precedes the scrambling of the DO. In fact, under the assumption that vP is a phase and the DO is located in the domain of the phase, V-movement might be required to mobilize the DO (Chomsky 1995, Den Dikken 2006, Boneh & Sichel 2010). In this section, I discuss the morphological consequences of this kind of “timing” of movement operations. Assuming that the verb is constructed by merging a category-neutral root with a verbalizer (v), V-to-Agr movement looks like (23):



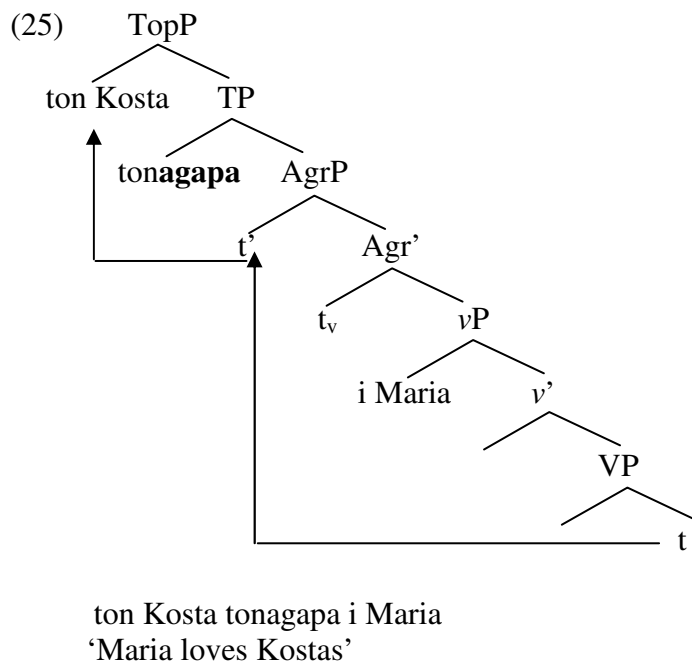
As is well-known, V is associated with Object agreement features (*v* checks the Case of the DO). It is equally well-known that these features typically remain covert in languages like English and Greek. However, I have shown in previous work based on Modern Greek (Kupula 2011) that zero morphemes of similar sort can be spelled out selectively. The selective spellout of these morphemes systematically occurs in defective domains lacking Specifier and I have treated the phenomenon as a reflex of the generalized Doubly filled Comp Filter which, as I mentioned above, prohibits simultaneous spellout of the head and the Specifier in the same domain.

In (24), the verb moves through the Agr-domain to which a Specifier has not been merged. Therefore, the generalized Doubly filled Comp Filter requires spellout of the verb (head). However, because the verb needs to raise to T in order to check its (person) agreement features, the verb cannot undergo a holistic spellout in (24). Only a morphological subset of the verb can – and must – be spelled out, namely the DO-agreement features. These features are realized as morphologically identical to an accusative clitic, providing the etiology for the presence of the clitic-like element in CLLD (see also Suñer 1988):³

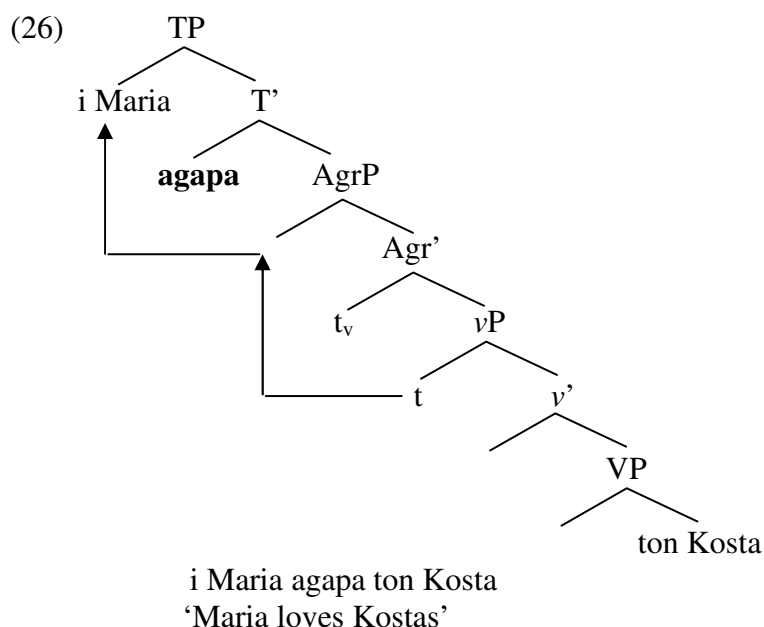


The partially spelled out complex terminal in (24) then moves further to T. Once it has vacated the Agr domain, the DO *ton Kosta* moves to Spec,Agr and advances further to Spec,TP. The final position of the CLLDed item is one of the subdomains of C (probably “TopP”), i.e. it ends up in the standard position for overt Subjects reside in pro drop languages. As I mentioned above, the Double filled Comp Filter precludes overt Subjects from remaining in Spec,TP if the verb overtly raises to T:

³ I have explored a similar solution for dative cliticization in Greek in previous work (Kupula 2010, 2011).



Following Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2001), either the Subject or the Object must remain VP-internal. As illustrated in (24), the Subject remains VP-internal in CLLD. The opposite scenario occurs when the Subject undergoes movement. Observe that the movement of the Subject also renders it impossible to spell out DO-agreement features, because the movement of the Subject – a phase edge – does not need to be preceded by V-movement. Therefore, the syntactic configuration required for the spellout of DO-agreement, illustrated in (24), fails to materialize:



The movement approach also captures the discourse link properties attributed to CLLDed items in Greek if D-linking properties are represented as features in C-domain and checked by movement of the D-linked DP (e.g. Haider 2010). In other words, the status of CLLDed items as D-linked does not necessarily imply a base-generation analysis for CLLD (see also Alexopoulou & Kolliakou 2002).

3.3.3 Consequences for focus and topicalization

As I mentioned above, the current analysis of CLLD requires Subjects to remain VP-internal (the morphosyntactic template for CLLD is “cLOVS”). The question now arises as to how the current view relates to previous studies, where also cOSV-serializations have been treated as CLLD (Iatridou 1991 and Anagnostopoulou 1997).

Observe that Iatridou and Anagnostopoulou both advocate a base-generation analysis for CLLD. In fact, I do believe in the accuracy of the base-generation analysis, but I do not believe that the construction examined in these studies represents CLLD. There is good evidence suggesting that the construction Iatridou and Anagnostopoulou examine as CLLD, in fact, represents a different species of dislocation known as “hanging topic” (e.g. Cinque 1990). For these constructions, a base-generation analysis has gained wide consensus. In the present section, I briefly revisit the issue and argue that base-generation is the optimal solution not only for hanging topics, but also contrastive foci. In particular, Modern Greek provides no convincing evidence for the Hungarian-style “focus movement”.

Returning to the differences between CLLD and hanging topics, consider (27) which represents the construction examined in detail in Iatridou (1991) as CLLD:

- (27) ton Kosta, i María ton agapá
 the Kostas the Maria him.CL loves
 ‘Kostas, Maria loves him’

The first thing to observe regarding (27) is that it involves an intonational break between the CLLDed item and the (here: preverbal) Subject. This intonational break is also represented with a comma in writing and, as is well-known, it is an atypical property for CLLD. Observe that the intonational break in (27) correlates with lack of Case connectivity, a typical property of hanging topics, but not CLLD (Tsimpli 1990, Cinque 1990):

- (28) a. o Kostas... i María ton agapa
 the Kostas.NOM the Maria.NOM CL.ACC loves
 ‘Kostas, Maria loves him’
 b. *o Kostas ton agapa i María
 the Kostas.NOM CL.ACC loves the Maria.NOM
 ‘Kostas, Maria loves him’

Observe furthermore that in the construction examined in Iatridou (1991) the coindexed clitic item can be replaced with a strong form of the corresponding pronoun. Replacement of this sort is not possible in the construction I have been treating as CLLD (see also Cinque 1983 and Anagnostopoulou 1997):

- (29) a. ton Kósta, i María AFTON agapá
 the Kostas the Maria HIM loves
 ‘Kostas, Maria it is HIM that Maria loves’
 b. *ton Kósta AFTON agapá i María
 the Kostas HIM loves the Maria

Assuming that the tonic *aftón* can be regarded as an argument (Cardinaletti 1998, Cardinaletti & Starke 1999), the left-dislocated *Kostas* cannot saturate an argument role. Hence, *Kostas*,

must be inserted/base-generated postsyntactically as an adjunct, a fact consistent with hanging topics being restricted to root clauses (Cinque 1990). The opposite scenario is illustrated in (29b): because the clitic cannot be replaced by the corresponding emphatic pronoun, the former cannot be a part of the argument structure of the verb. As I have argued, the clitic is instead part of the (morphologically complex) verb. Consequently, *Kostas* must be a part of the argument structure of the verb. Clearly, it cannot be an “adjunct” as proposed in Anagnostopoulou (1997).

As expected, island sensitivity is restricted to cases where the left-dislocated DP has argument status, i.e. (29b). The intonational break in (29a), consistently with the base-generation hypothesis, resolves the island-effects:

- (30) a. ton Kosta, i Maria sinantise [tin kopela pu ton íde]
 the Kostas the Maria met the girl who CL saw
 b. *ti Maria xtes gnorisa [ton andra pu tin pandreftike] (Anagnostopoulou 1997)
 the Maria yesterday I-met the the man who CL married

As a concluding remark, a note on focalized items is in order. The first observation to make regarding foci in Greek is that they are not necessarily quantificational. The Hungarian style overt “focus movement”, while seemingly attested with contrastive “cleft” foci, as in (31b), is not necessary, because contrastive foci also can remain *in situ* as in (31a):

- (31) a. ída ton YANNI
 I-saw the Yannis.ACC
 b. ton YANNI ída
 the Yannis.ACC I-saw
- (32) a. AZ ÚJSÁGOT dobtam el
 the newspaper threw I away
 b. *dobtamel AZ ÚJSÁGOT
 threw I away the newspaper

The example in (33) furthermore illustrates that “focus movement” would not respect islands at LF:

- (33) svísane ta fóta [ja na filísi o Yannis ti MARIA] (Alexopoulou & Kolliakou 2002)
 switched the lights that kiss Yannis the Maria
 ‘they switched off the lights so that Yannis could kiss Maria’

The relevance of “focus” for the topic of this paper lies in the fact that contrastive foci as in (31b) cannot undergo CLLD (see also Tsimpli 1990 and Agouraki 1992):

- (34) ton KOSTA (*ton) idha xtes
 the Kostas.ACC CL I-saw yesterday
 ‘Kostas I saw yesterday’

The data in (34) should be compared with (4)-(5) which illustrate that CLLD is nevertheless compatible with informational focus. Consequently, the reason for the ungrammaticality of CLLD in (34) must be due to the focus being *contrastive* in (34). The latter focus type can be regarded as “cleft focus” because it would be expressed with cleft-constructions in languages like English and French (e.g. De Cat 2007).

Given that overt “focus movement” is not obligatory in Greek and that there is no evidence of such movement at LF, focus could instead be addressed non-quantificationally in this language (cf. focus “in situ” in Rooth 1985 and Costa 2000).⁴ The implementation of this approach requires contrastive foci to be base-generated/adjoined to the left periphery just like hanging topics. This approach is problematic in light of the apparent island sensitivity of contrastive foci in many languages, including Greek:

- (35) *AFTO TO VIVLIO gnorisa [to sigrafea pu égrapse] (Tsimpli 1990)
 this the book I-met the writer who wrote
 ‘intended as: this is the book whose writer I met’

However, there are several reasons why data like (35) should be viewed with skepticism. One major concern has to do with the general phenomenon of pronoun resumption and the licensing of gaps in Greek. Of relevance for the present purposes is Chatsiou’s (2006) observation that pronominal resumption is obligatory in Complex NP Islands:

- (36) afti ine mia glossa pu tha sevomun [ekinon pu tha *(ti) miluse]
 this is a language which would respect him who would it speak
 ‘this is a language which I would respect the person who would speak it’

If gaps are disallowed in Complex NP Islands on independent grounds, the ungrammaticality of (35) does not necessarily indicate “focus movement”; its ungrammaticality could instead be due the presence of a disallowed gap in the Complex NP. In other words, the island test cannot be controlled against pronounless Complex NP Islands, which casts doubt on the appropriateness of the movement analysis in (35).

The concern is reinforced by contrastive foci being unable to bind anaphors, as in (37a). Restrictions of similar sort are not attested with regular A-bar movement, (37b):

- (37) a. enan ATHLITI_i den ikanopiise o eaftós tu_i (Kechagias 2011)
 some athlete NEG satisfy the self his.NOM
 ‘some ATHLETE was not satisfied by himself’
 b. pjon_i den ikanopiise o eaftós tu_i
 whom NEG satisfy the self his
 ‘who was not satisfied by himself’

Suppose that contrastive foci are instead base-generated to the sentence-initial position as adjuncts. Such assumption relates favorably to the (otherwise puzzling) data in (35), because the focalized item can now be regarded as external to the verb’s argument structure. Hence, the spellout of DO-agreement features on the verb is impossible.⁵

⁴ The non-quantificational approach is plausible also because judgments concerning Weak Crossover are not always robust in Greek (see Chomsky 1976). Also, as pointed out in Costa (2000), languages like Hungarian where overt focus movement might be attested do not exhibit WCO.

⁵ The view on contrastive foci as argument-theoretically VP/TP-external is also consistent with the well-known cases of ellipsis in cases like (38):

Q: pjon apélise i María?
 whom laid off the Maria.NOM
 A: ton YANNI (??apélise i María)
 Yannis.NOM laid off i Maria

As is well-known, it is pragmatically awkward to repeat the TP-string from the question (see also Vallduví 1992, Alexopoulou & Kolliakou 2002 and others). The observed ellipsis potentially provides additional support for the idea that preposed contrastive foci are external to the rest of the clause.

6. Summary and conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed Clitic Left Dislocation in Greek in new light as a combination of A-movement and selective spellout of DO-agreement features. The distribution of CLLDed items is not regulated by topichood, givenness, d-linking or specificity although each of these properties can be associated with CLLD. I have also argued that CLLD must be regarded as distinct from clitic doubling, but that this view does not implicate a base-generation analysis of CLLD, as previously assumed (e.g. Cinque 1990, Iatridou 1991).

The presence of a clitic item in CLLD is due to spellout of DO-agreement. As such, the clitic item is not a regular accusative clitic (although morphologically identical to accusative clitics), but an agreement morpheme. The spellout of (by default covert) DO-agreement is triggered by V-movement to a defective domain which lacks a Specifier. In such environment, incremental spellout of a complex terminal is triggered as a reflex of a generalized Doubly filled Comp filter.

The proposal outlined here is diametrically opposite to the one expressed in Tsimpli (1990) where the presence of resumptive clitics signals lack of movement (i.e. base-generation) and absence of resumptive clitics signals presence of (focus) movement. Instead, the current approach identifies a positive correlation with the presence of a resumptive clitics and movement. Focus movement itself does not exist in Greek; focus is interpreted in situ, and contrastively stressed sentence-initial focus is base-generated as an adjunct.

Regarding the basic ontology of clitics, the discussion in the paper reiterates my earlier argument (Kupula 2010, 2011) that clitics must be conceived as a highly heterogeneous class of items. Both accusative and dative clitics can be agreement markers in some contexts (see also Suñer 1988 among others). In light of these facts, it is too simplistic to assume that clitics and cliticization lend themselves for a “unified” analysis.

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