

Failed clitic doubling of plural indirect objects in Greek*

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1. Introduction

Greek allows Clitic Doubling (CD) of both direct objects (DOs) and indirect objects (IOs): as shown in (1), either argument can be optionally doubled by a clitic spelling out its phi-features.¹ CD in Greek is associated with semantic effects (familiarity/topicality for DOs, with the conditions less clear for IOs – see Anagnostopoulou 1994, 2003, 2017a).

- (1) **(Tis)** **(to)** edhos-a **tis** **Marias to**
 CL.F.SG.GEN CL.N.SG.ACC gave-1 SG D.F.SG.GEN M.GEN D.N.SG.ACC
 vivlio.
 book.N.ACC
 ‘I gave Maria the book.’

Even though CD in Greek has received a lot of attention in the literature (see Anagnostopoulou 2017a and Angelopoulos 2019 for recent overviews), the following puzzle has generally gone unnoticed: CD of indirect objects is significantly degraded (strongly ungrammatical for some speakers, mildly ungrammatical for others) in the 3rd-person plural (Anagnostopoulou 2017a:fn.18, 46, Souganidis 2017:32). This is illustrated with the minimal pair in (2), where a singular IO can be CD’ed in (2a) but a plural one cannot in (2b).

- (2) a. **(Tu)** edhiks-a **tu** **pedhiu** mia
 CL.N.SG.GEN showed-1 SG D.N.SG.GEN child.N.SG.GEN INDF.F.SG.ACC
 ikona.
 picture.F.SG.ACC

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¹Abbreviations follow the Leipzig Glossing rules with the following additions: CL = clitic, D = determiner, NACT = non-active.

‘I showed the child a picture.’

- b. (*??**Tus**) edhiks-a **ton** **pedhion** mia
 CL.N.PL.GEN showed-1 SG D.N.PL.GEN child.N.PL.GEN INDF.F.SG.ACC
 ikona.
 picture.F.ACC
 ‘I showed the children a picture.’

Crucially, (2b) is grammatical in the absence of the clitic; in other words, genitive plural IOs are possible.² Furthermore, a 3rd-person plural clitic alone (without a full DP object) is also grammatical, as shown in (3). Ungrammaticality thus only arises in contexts of CD.

- (3) **Tus** to edhos-a.
 CL.PL.GEN CL.N.SG.ACC give.PFV-PST.1 SG
 ‘I gave it to them.’

We show in Section 2 that the ungrammaticality of CD of 3rd-person plural IOs is due to a morphological case mismatch between the clitic *tus* (syncretic for accusative and genitive) and the article *ton* (only genitive) of the doubled DP. In Section 3, we argue that the data provide support for movement-based theories of CD in Greek, and in particular those which treat the clitic and doubled DP (or D) as part of a chain. In Section 4, we provide our analysis, and in Section 5 we discuss some exceptions; we conclude in Section 6.

2. CD of IOs is ungrammatical due to a morphological case mismatch

There are two broad types of analysis that could be entertained for the ungrammaticality of CD in 3rd-person plural contexts: either there is something special about the syntax of 3rd-person plural IOs (the syntactic analysis) or there is something special about the morphology of 3rd-person plural genitive clitics (the morphological analysis). In this section, we provide arguments in favor of the latter approach.

First, a short introduction to the Greek case system is needed. Greek DPs morphologically distinguish between four cases: nominative, genitive, accusative, and vocative. The Ancient Greek dative has been lost, and (morphological) genitive is used in dative contexts instead. The inflectional paradigm of clitics is generally identical to that of the definite article, with the only exception found in the genitive plural: there is a genitive-accusative syncretism for the clitic, but not for the article. This is illustrated in (4) below.

- (4) Inflectional paradigm of clitics and articles in Standard Greek

	M.Cl	M.Det	N.Cl	N.Det	F.Cl	F.Det
Sg.Gen	tu	tu	tu	tu	tis	tis
Sg.Acc	ton	ton	to	to	tin	tin
Pl.Gen	tus	ton	tus	ton	tus	ton
Pl.Acc	tus	tus	ta	ta	tis	tis

²However, genitive plural IOs are generally marked in Greek (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Mertyrís 2014).

Therefore, we find a morphological case mismatch between the clitic and the determiner in precisely the context where CD is ungrammatical. We now turn to arguments in favor of such a morphological explanation.

As shown in (5), objects of monotransitive verbs that assign genitive cannot be CD'ed. These data show that CD of 3rd-person plural genitive DPs is impossible irrespective of their grammatical function (IO vs. DO), pointing against a syntactic explanation.

- (5) ***Tus** telefonis-a **ton** **pedhion**.
 CL.PL.GEN/ACC telephoned-1 SG D.N.GEN.PL children.N.GEN
 'I called the children.'

The strongest piece of evidence in favor of a morphological account comes from dialectal variation in the morphological expression of dative. While the syntax of double object constructions (including the case assignment mechanism) is the same in Standard and Northern Greek (Anagnostopoulou and Sevdali 2020, but see Anagnostopoulou 2017b for some differences), dative is syncretic with accusative in the latter. A syntactic analysis predicts that CD of 3rd-person plural IOs should be ungrammatical in Northern Greek, while a morphological analysis predicts that it should be grammatical (because in Northern Greek IOs bear morphological accusative, where there is no morphological case mismatch between the clitic and the determiner). As shown in (6), CD of plural IOs is grammatical in Northern Greek, as predicted by the morphological analysis.

- (6) **Ta** edhos-a **ta** **pedhia** tis tsantes.
 CL.N.PL.ACC gave-1 SG D.N.PL.ACC children.N.ACC D.F.PL.ACC bags.F.ACC
 'I gave the children the bags.'
 (Souganidis 2017:33)

Furthermore, certain Greek dialects (e.g., Cypriot Greek) display plural genitive-accusative syncretism not only in the clitic paradigm, but also in (part of) nominal inflection. Mertyris (2014) traces the source of the syncretism to CD contexts: plural genitive IOs surfaced as accusative in the context of the syncretic *tus* clitic, as shown in (7).³

- (7) lalo **tus** ekin-on → lalo **tus**
 talk.1 SG CL.PL.GEN/ACC those-PL.GEN speak.1 SG CL.PL.GEN/ACC
 ekin-**us** → lalo ekin-**us**
 those-PL.ACC speak.1 SG those-PL.ACC
 'I talk to those' (adapted from Mertyris 2014: 145)

These diachronic data show that there was a pressure for the clitic and the determiner to bear the same morphological case, supporting our claim that a morphological case mis-

³Mertyris (2014) argues that first and second person pronouns (and clitics) lost their genitive forms in the 10th century, with 3rd person clitics following in the 12-13th century. Mertyris (2014) also notes that plural IOs exceptionally surface with accusative case in CD contexts with *tus* in other Greek dialects as well (see Mertyris 2014: 146-147 on Standard Greek and Mertyris 2014: 80, fn. 84 on the dialect of Zakynthos).

match leads to ungrammaticality in Standard Greek.⁴ Given that the clitic is syncretic for genitive and accusative, the Greek pattern constitutes the first documented case of syncretism causing an otherwise grammatical structure to crash.

Before closing this section, it is worth noting that there is no requirement for *phonological* identity between the determiner and the clitic. As shown in (8), Greek allows CD of certain indefinite DPs, in which case there is a mismatch between the clitic and the indefinite article. Examples like (8) indicate that ungrammaticality in CD of plural IOs is due to a mismatch in the *features* spelled out by the exponents, and not the form *per se*.

- (8) Tha to etrogh-a ena sokolataki.
 FUT CL.N.SG.ACC eat.PST-1SG INDF.N.SG.ACC chocolate.N.ACC
 ‘I would eat a chocolate.’

In the next section, we provide a very brief overview of previous theories of CD and show that the ungrammaticality of CD of 3rd-person plural IOs provides support for movement-based analyses of CD in Greek.

3. An argument for movement-based approaches to CD

Theories of CD can be divided into two major camps: movement-based analyses, in which the clitic and the doubled DP form a chain, and agreement-based analyses, where the clitic is an agreement marker spelling out the phi-features of the DP. Among the former camp, the following analyses have been proposed: A-movement of the object DP to Spec ν P with subsequent M-merger (Matushansky 2006 a.o.) of the raised DP and the functional head (e.g., Harizanov 2014, Kramer 2014), ‘big DP’-style of analyses where the clitic and the DP are base-generated as a big DP in object position (the clitic is thus similar to a floating quantifier), with the clitic subsequently moving out (e.g., Uriagereka 1995, Nevins 2011), long head movement analyses where the D head of a DP in object position undergoes long head movement to T (Preminger 2019 a.o.), and finally feature movement analyses, where the features of the DP object move to T (e.g., Anagnostopoulou 2003). Among the latter camp, there are analyses where the clitic is an agreement marker spelling out object agreement on ν (e.g., Paparounas and Salzmann 2021), but also analyses where the clitic spells out the head of a CliticPhrase in the middle field; the DP object agrees with this clitic head (Sportiche 1996, Angelopoulos 2019).⁵ Finally, it is worth noting that the above theories have been developed primarily for CD of DOs, with less attention given to CD of IOs. For Spanish, there seems to be a consensus that CD of IOs differs from CD of DOs, with the former usually analyzed as an agreement marker or an Appl head (e.g., Bleam

⁴We also note that there is inter- and intra-speaker variation regarding the ‘degree’ of ungrammaticality of CD of plural IOs. Similar judgments are often reported for cases in which syncretism ameliorates ill-formed syntactic structures (e.g., Sigurðsson and Holmberg 2008:fn. 27).

⁵The CliticPhrase family of approaches do involve movement of the CD’ed object, but usually treat the clitic itself as an agreement marker of sorts. However, in Angelopoulos and Sportiche (2021), there is also the possibility of the clitic spelling out the copy of the DP in the specifier position of the CliticPhrase.

1999, Cuervo 2003, 2010). Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2017a), however, argues that CD of IOs in Greek differs from Spanish, and should be analyzed in terms of movement.

It was established in the previous section that 3rd-person plural IOs cannot be CD'ed because the clitic is syncretic for genitive and accusative, while the determiner of the DP is not; it is this mismatch that leads to ungrammaticality. We argue that this constitutes evidence against (pure) Agree-based analyses, where the clitic simply spells out agreement features. The reasoning is the following: syncretism is widespread in agreement and, to our knowledge, syncretic agreement markers are never the cause for a crash. In fact, syncretism has been reported to ameliorate feature mismatches created by the syntax (Bjorkman 2021 and references therein). If, on the other hand, the clitic and the DP form a movement chain, there is a morphological case mismatch in the plural between the two copies of an A-chain, and there is cross-linguistic evidence that phenomena involving pronominal copies may allow person mismatches, but do not tolerate case and number mismatches (van Urk 2018). The crash caused by syncretism in the plural thus provides one more argument in favor of movement-based approaches, but only those that assume that the clitic and the DP (or its D head) form a movement chain.⁶ For Greek, this is added to evidence for movement from reconstruction and intervention effects (e.g., Anagnostopoulou 2003, Angelopoulos and Sportiche 2021, but see Paparounas and Salzmann 2021 for counterarguments).

Seen from a different perspective, the Greek data also provide a new diagnostic to distinguish between object agreement and clitic doubling (Preminger 2009, Nevins 2011, Yuan 2021, a.o.). If a morphological mismatch between the clitic and the doubled DP leads to ungrammaticality of the Greek type, then the phenomenon must be an instance of CD and not object agreement. However, the implication is not bidirectional: *grammatical* mismatches do not help distinguish between CD and object agreement. In fact, morphological case mismatches for phenomena analyzed as CD/in terms of movement have been reported for at least Choctaw, Yimas (Tyler and Yuan 2019) and some dialects of Basque (Arregi and Nevins 2012).

4. The analysis

In this section, we present our explanation for the impossibility of CD of 3rd-person plural IOs in Greek. We assume a movement-based account of CD coupled with a Distributed Morphology (DM) approach to morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993). The gist of the analysis is the following: there is an Impoverishment rule affecting clitics which applies at the higher end of the chain, but which fails to apply at the lower end of the chain.

We start with our assumptions about case in Greek. Following Michelioudakis (2014), among others, we assume that Greek has abstract dative case, despite lacking *morphological* dative. Syntactic dative is realized morphologically as accusative in Northern Greek and as genitive in other Greek varieties, including Standard Greek. We remain agnostic as

⁶As pointed out to us by Mark Baker (p.c.), the data do indeed support analyses in which the clitic and the doubled DP form a chain, but such a chain need not be formed via movement. This is indeed the case, and Baker and Kramer (2018) is an example of a theory where the clitic and the DP form a chain without a prior movement step. However, our analysis in Section 4 relies on the chain being created in the narrow syntax, while in Baker and Kramer (2018), the clitic is a pronoun inserted at LF.

to the mechanism of case assignment for dative (see Anagnostopoulou and Sevdali 2020 and references therein for discussion).

For the decomposition of syntactic case, we will use the following features proposed in Alexiadou and Müller (2008):⁷

- (9) a. NOM: [+sbj, -gov, -obl]
 b. ACC: [-sbj, +gov, -obl]
 c. GEN: [+sbj, +gov, +obl]
 d. DAT: [-sbj, +gov, +obl]

We assume the following vocabulary entries for the clitic *tus* and the article *ton*:⁸

- (10) a. *tus* ↔ [+gov, +pl]
 b. *ton* ↔ [+obl, +pl]

Since syntactic dative and genitive are identical morphologically, we propose that the feature [+gov] is regularly impoverished in dative contexts in Greek, as in (11a). For plural clitics, we assume that the more specific Impoverishment rule in (11b) applies instead, which deletes [+obl] and results in syncretism with accusative.⁹

- (11) a. [+gov] → Ø / [____ +obl]
 b. [+obl] → Ø / [____ +gov, +pl, +pron]

The analysis we propose crucially relies on the idea that the clitic and the doubled DP form a syntactic chain. We use Harizanov's (2014) approach to CD for illustration, but any theory in which the clitic and the DP (or D head) form a chain is compatible with the morphological analysis that we develop later in this section.¹⁰ The core structure for a ditransitive clause in which CD of the IO takes place is presented in the following example:

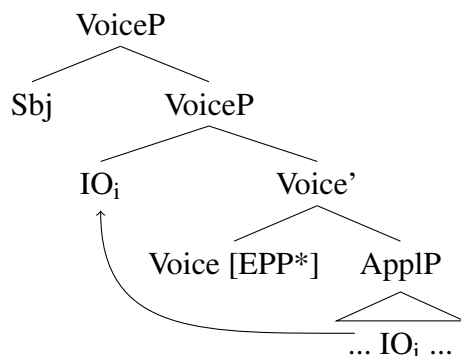
⁷Alexiadou and Müller (2008) propose these features for Russian, but do not use +/-sbj for Greek, since it is not essential to account for syncretism in their analysis. The feature is needed in our system, however, because dative is taken to be a distinct case from genitive and accusative.

⁸The article *ton* is used for all three genders, which is most likely the result of the application of a general Impoverishment rule targeting gender in oblique plural contexts. *Tus* is used for all three genders in oblique contexts, but only for masculine in accusative contexts. This can be captured if masculine is the unmarked gender in Greek (with *tus* thus not being specified for masculine).

⁹This would be the general rule in Northern Greek dialects where dative is syncretic with accusative.

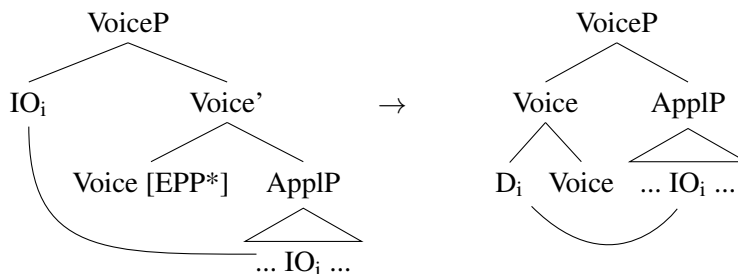
¹⁰Angelopoulos (2019) has recently argued that reconstruction data from Greek point towards the doubled object moving to the middle field (as in Harizanov's approach). Anagnostopoulou (2003), on the other hand, argues that the clitic has to move to T. Our morphological explanation is compatible with either choice.

(12) Object movement to SpecVoiceP



The functional head – Voice – has an EPP feature (Chomsky 1982, Harizanov 2014) that attracts the object to its specifier position for interpretive reasons. In (12), the two copies of the indirect object constitute an A-Chain. Under normal circumstances, the lower copy would be deleted at PF (Chain Reduction, Nunes 2004, a.o.). A DP may, however, escape Chain Reduction. In Harizanov (2014), the higher copy of the DP undergoes M-merger with the functional head, whereupon the DP is reduced to its highest projection label (including its features) and merged with the functional head, as shown in (13). Since the higher copy is now part of a complex head, it is invisible to the linearization algorithm and the lower copy is pronounced.¹¹

(13) M-Merger (before Chain Reduction):



Crucially, we assume that, after the application of M-Merger, the link between the two copies remains intact (even though the linearization algorithm treats them as non-identical). Once the syntactic derivation is complete, post-syntactic operations apply to the resulting structure. Our proposal is that, in the post-syntactic module, the operations take place in the following order in Greek:

(14) Chain Reduction < Impoverishment < Vocabulary Insertion

¹¹An alternative can be found in van Urk (2018): he proposes a special [PF+] feature, available on the functional head, that protects the DP from being deleted.

Additionally, there is a constraint on Impoverishment taking place within elements that are part of a movement chain:

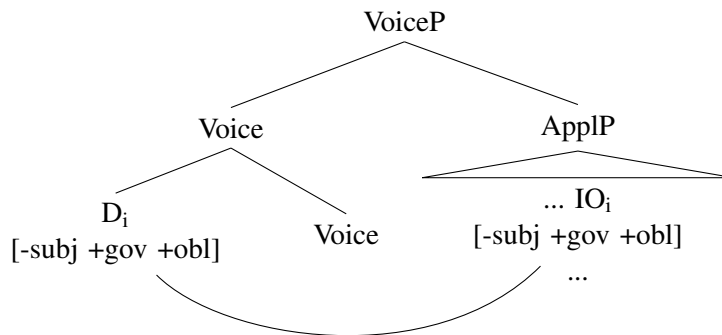
- (15) If Impoverishment affects a node (marked for spellout) of a chain, it has to take place in all copies (marked for spellout) of that chain.

We also assume that Impoverishment takes place bottom up and in cycles triggered by phases (in a similar fashion to how Vocabulary Insertion takes place; see Kalin and Weisser 2021 for a recent overview). These two assumptions together mean that Impoverishment at a lower node will not affect Impoverishment at a higher node, but Impoverishment at a higher node will have to apply in all lower copies of the chain. Recall the Impoverishment rules for Greek clitics mentioned above, repeated here as (16):

- (16) a. $[+gov] \rightarrow \emptyset / [___ +obl]$
 b. $[+obl] \rightarrow \emptyset / [___ +gov +pl +pron]$

As shown in (17), both copies of the IO are marked for spellout in CD configurations.

- (17) *CD configuration:*



The Impoverishment rule in (16a) applies to the lower copy, deleting $[+gov]$. Next, the Impoverishment rule in (16b) applies to the higher copy, deleting $[+obl]$. At this stage, this Impoverishment rule must also apply at the lower copy because of the constraint in (15). However, the context for the rule is not met, since $[+gov]$, $[+pron]$ are not present. The rule cannot apply and the derivation crashes.

In examples without CD (i.e., with just a clitic, as in 18), only the higher copy of the chain is marked for spellout. As a result, the constraint on Impoverishment in (15) does not apply. Thus, the Impoverishment rule in (16b) simply takes place at the higher copy, and *tus* is inserted.

- (18) Tus edhos-a ena vivlio.
 CL.PL.GEN/ACC gave-1 SG INDF.N.SG.ACC book.N.ACC
 ‘I gave them a book.’

5. Exceptions in Greek

This section goes over configurations where the restriction on CD of plural indirect objects does not seem to hold. These configurations involve sentences with Clitic Left Dislocation, configurations where the IO is a speech-act participant, and clauses with psych predicates.

5.1 Clitic Left Dislocation

Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) of plural IOs is grammatical, especially when there is an intonational break present:

- (19) **Ton pedhion,** *(tus) edhos-a ena vivlio.
D.PL.GEN children.N.GEN CL.PL.ACC gave-1SG INDF.N.SG.ACC book.N.ACC
'The children, I gave them a book.'

It is well-known that CLLD differs from CD in a number of ways (e.g., Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2017a). Even though there are multiple alternative analyses of the phenomenon (see Angelopoulos and Sportiche 2021 for an overview), all of them can potentially account for the grammaticality of examples like (19). In base-generation analyses (e.g., Anagnostopoulou 1994), the clitic and the DP do not form a movement chain and thus no problem should arise from the feature mismatch between the clitic and the DP. In movement-based analyses (e.g., Angelopoulos and Sportiche 2021), the DP moves to the left periphery (e.g., SpecCP). Since CP is a phase, the higher copy (full DP) and the lower copy of the chain (clitic) belong to different phases. This means that the two copies will be sent to spellout (and undergo Impoverishment) in different cycles. As a result, there should be no crash caused by the constraint on Impoverishment.

5.2 First and second person pronouns

In the plural, both 1st- and 2nd-person full pronouns and the corresponding clitics have syncretic genitive/accusative forms, and so there is no morphological case mismatch. CD is grammatical (and in fact strongly preferred or obligatory for some speakers). In terms of our analysis, the context for the Impoverishment rule in (16b) is met in both copies of the chain, so the derivation proceeds normally.

- (20) a. *(Mas) edhos-e emas ena vivlio.
CL.1PL.GEN/ACC gave-3SG 1PL.GEN/ACC INDF.N.ACC book.ACC
'(S)he gave us a book.'
- b. ?(Mas) idh-e emas.
CL.1PL.GEN/ACC saw-3SG 1PL.GEN/ACC
'(S)he saw us.'

What is perhaps unexpected is the grammaticality of CD in the singular, where the full pronoun is syncretic for genitive and accusative, but the clitic is not. An example is given in (21).

- (21) a. ***(Mu)** to edhos-e **emena**.
 CL.1SG.GEN CL.N.SG.ACC gave-3SG 1SG.GEN/ACC
 ‘(S)he gave it to me.’
- b. **?(Me)** idh-e **emena**.
 CL.1SG.ACC saw-3SG 1SG.GEN/ACC
 ‘(S)he saw me.’

It is not immediately clear why the morphological mismatch is tolerated in this case. In order to explain why this should be the case, we would like to point out Tsakali (2006), where it is shown that singular local person pronouns are the only pronouns in Greek where CD is obligatory (in the plural contexts above, is it strongly preferred). The obligatoriness of CD in these cases together with the grammaticality of the morphological mismatch may indicate that CD of these pronouns is different from CD of other DPs in the language (e.g., it may be best analyzed in terms of agreement and not movement). Even if CD of local person pronouns is analyzed in terms of movement, our analysis can account for the grammaticality if we assume VIs such as the one in (22) for the 1st-person singular full pronoun.

- (22) emena ↔ [+auth, -part, -pl, -sbj]

In contrast to the situation with *tus*, in singular local person contexts, it is the more general Impoverishment rule (the one in (16a)) that applies at the higher copy. Its context is thus met in the lower copy, which means that [+gov] would be deleted and the vocabulary item in (22) can be inserted.

5.3 Psych verbs

One type of psych verbs in Greek belong to Belletti & Rizzi’s (1988) *piacere*-class predicates. For these predicates, the experiencer appears in the genitive and CD is obligatory (Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003), as shown in (23).

- (23) To dhiavasma ***(tu)** ares-i **tu**
 D.N.SG.NOM reading.N.NOM CL.M.SG.GEN please-3SG D.M.SG.GEN
Jani.
 Janis.M.GEN
 ‘Janis likes reading.’

CD of plural genitive experiencers is judged grammatical (or at least, significantly improved) by most of the speakers that we consulted. A naturally-occurring example is given

in (24). There seems thus to be an asymmetry between CD of genitive IOs and genitive experiencers.

- (24) Dhen *(**tus**) ark-i **ton** **afentikon** na nik-un.
not CL.PL.GEN/ACC suffice-3SG D.PL.GEN bosses.M.GEN SBJV win-3PL
'The bosses are not content with just winning.'
<https://lefterisp.wordpress.com/author/lefterisp/page/4/> (accessed 05.03.21)

CD of experiencers differs from CD of IOs for a number of additional diagnostics, some of which will be briefly discussed here. First, while CD of IOs is optional, CD of experiencers is obligatory (Anagnostopoulou 2003, a.o.). Second, while CD is generally associated with semantic effects in Greek (it is subject to Heim's 1982 Prominence Condition and is incompatible with focus), no such effects arise with CD of experiencers (e.g., Anagnostopoulou 1999, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2019, Angelopoulos 2019).¹² Example (25) shows that CD'ed experiencers can indeed be focused.

- (25) Tha **tu** ares-e akoma ke **tu** **Jani** afto
FUT CL.M.SG.GEN please-3SG even D.M.SG.GEN Jani.M.GEN this.N.NOM
to arthro.
D.N.NOM article.N.NOM
'Even John would like this paper.'
(Angelopoulos 2019:19)

Finally, Anagnostopoulou (2003) shows that fronted experiencers of *piacere*-type psych verbs behave like quirky subjects for binding purposes, unlike fronted objects; she accounts for this by arguing that fronted experiencers are in an A-position, while fronted objects are in an A'-position.¹³

While these differences between experiencers and goals do not provide an answer to the puzzle (i.e., why the morphological mismatch in the plural is tolerated in the former, but not the latter), we believe that they at least indicate the possibility that the syntax of CD is different for experiencers. Interestingly, Baker and Kramer (2018) discuss similar effects in Amharic, where CD of experiencers is special in not displaying pronominal properties. They argue that the underlying syntax of experiencers is the same as that of goals, with the following difference: while goal IOs stay at the edge of Voice, experiencers further move to T. As was already mentioned, there is evidence that fronted experiencers are in an A position in Greek (Anagnostopoulou 2003), which makes it possible to adopt Baker and Kramer's (2018) analysis. Such a movement step would reverse the relative order of the two copies marked for spellout (the full DP would be the higher copy and the clitic would be the lower copy). This has implications for the Impoverishment rules that take place;

¹²However, it has to be noted that this has been better investigated for accusative objects/experiencers, and less so for their genitive counterparts.

¹³Another potential difference concerns genitive-nominative alternations in the passive voice, which are possible for (some) experiencers (Anagnostopoulou and Sevdali 2020), but not for goals in regular ditransitive configurations.

the clitic-specific rule deleting [+obl] takes place first, which is followed by the general rule deleting [+gov] on the higher copy. However, the constraint on Impoverishment in chains predicts that this rule should also apply on the lower copy, where the environment is met this time (unlike in contexts of regular CD of IOs). This unfortunately makes the wrong predictions, as deletion of both [+obl] and [+gov] on the lower copy would make *tus* (which is specified for [+gov]) unavailable for Vocabulary Insertion. We thus leave CD of experiencers as a topic for further research.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed the properties of a previously neglected puzzle in Greek CD: CD of 3rd-person plural IOs is ungrammatical. We have argued that the ungrammaticality is due to a morphological case mismatch between the clitic and the doubled DP, and we have formalized our solution in terms of constraints on Impoverishment targeting two copies of an A-chain. The data thus provide support for movement-based approaches to CD and give a new diagnostic for distinguishing between CD and object agreement. Furthermore, we have shown that CD of local person pronouns and genitive experiencers differ from CD of IOs in allowing CD of plural DPs. While a complete analysis of these constructions is left as a topic for further research, the data indicate a potential difference in the syntax of CD of different types of genitive DPs.

It is worth noting that even though CD in Greek has most often been analyzed in terms of movement (Anagnostopoulou 2003, a.o.), recent analyses of the phenomenon either use Agree (Paparounas and Salzmann 2021) or propose a hybrid analysis, where the doubled DP moves but does not necessarily form a chain with the clitic (Angelopoulos 2019). Our data (and analysis thereof) point against these analyses. However, Angelopoulos (2019) explicitly states that the reconstruction data that he examines are indeed compatible with a Harizanov-style analysis, and his analysis can be recast using a movement chain (this possibility is explored in Angelopoulos and Sportiche 2021). Paparounas and Salzmann (2021) argue more strongly in favor of Agree, on the basis of data from First Conjunct CD. It is a topic for further research to see how those data can be reconciled with ours.

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