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Clitic-Doubling and (Non-)Configurationality

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0. Introduction

Baker (1996:88) suggests that polysynthetic languages (Mohawk) and languages with optional clitics/agreement morphemes (Romance, Bantu) differ in that (1), which derives from the *Morphological Visibility Condition*,¹ holds in the former but not in the latter group:

- (1) All Case assigning heads must have agreement morphemes

Baker further proposes that clitics/agreement morphemes cannot co-occur with overt DPs in argument positions because clitics/agreement absorb Case, and argumental DPs cannot be licensed for Case violating the Case Filter. As a result, in polysynthetic languages overt DPs can only be licensed as adjuncts leading to non-configurationality.

In this paper we investigate Greek, an optional clitic doubling language not subject to *Kayne's generalization* (Jaeggli 1982), and we argue that in this language, doubled DPs are in A-positions. We propose that Greek clitics are formal features that move, permitting DPs in argument positions.

¹ Baker (1996) proposes that the Morphological Visibility Condition (MVC) is a Macroparameter which systematically distinguishes Polysynthetic, Head-Marking, Non-Configurational languages from all other language-types. According to his proposal, in languages where the MVC holds, phrases are visible for theta-role assignment only when they are coindexed with a morpheme on the theta-assigning head either via agreement or via movement (incorporation). For a precise formulation of the MVC see Baker (1996: 17).

This leads to a typology according to which there are two types of clitic/agreement languages -configurational and non-configurational ones-, depending upon whether clitics are instantiations of formal features or not.

1. Baker's Proposal

As mentioned in the introduction, Baker's proposal for Polysynthetic Languages is based on two claims. (i) In polysynthetic languages, the theta criterion is satisfied only if an argument theta-marked by a head is realized as a marker on that head (footnote 1, for a related though distinct approach cf. Jelinek 1984). This derives head-marking. (ii) Realization of agreement markers on heads is mediated through abstract Case. Overt NPs cannot be realized in argument positions because they cannot be assigned Case (the Case feature of the head has been absorbed by the agreement affix). This derives non-configurationality: NPs can only be realized in adjunct positions.

Both descriptions are very close to descriptions of Clitic Chains given in early GB literature. Condition (i) is reminiscent of the view that clitics, when present, are theta-marked by the V (Jaeggli 1982), and a special rule of theta-role transmission to the DP, which is not structurally dependent, has been formulated. Condition (ii) is the classical explanation given for "Kayne's Generalization" effects on Direct Object Clitic Doubling: clitics are assumed to "absorb" Structural Case and, hence, doubled NPs can surface only if they are licensed by a special preposition assigning Case to them (for various implementations of this idea, see Jaeggli 1982, Borer 1984, among many others).

Indeed both Jelinek (1984) and Baker (1996) assimilate head-marking constructions to agreement-NP pairs and/or clitic doubling constructions. The difference between the two types of phenomena is that the former is assumed to be much more general than the latter. Note that if we maintain Baker's proposal concerning non-configurationality in polysynthetic languages as well as the explanation for Kayne's Generalization as a pre-condition for clitic doubling, we are led to the prediction that languages like Spanish and Romanian where Kayne's Generalization holds should be configurational languages.

2. Greek Apparent Non-Configurational Effects

Greek is a clitic doubling language not subject to Kayne's Generalization (Anagnostopoulou 1994):

- (2) Ton idha ton Petro htes
 cl-acc saw-1sg the-Peter-acc yesterday
 'I saw him, Peter, yesterday'

Under Baker's reasoning, we would expect Greek to be non-configurational in the presence of clitic doubling. At first sight, there appears to be some evidence that this prediction is borne out. In the presence of clitics several effects emerge that have been viewed as diagnostics for "non-configurationality".

(i) *Freedom in Word Order*. As (3) shows, when no clitics are present, only SVO, VSO and VOS orders are possible with neutral intonation; but when a clitic is present all permutations become possible:

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- (3) a. O Jannis egrapse to vivlio SVO
 the-John-nom wrote the book-acc
 'John wrote the book'
 b. egrapse o Jannis to vivlio VSO
 c. egrapse to vivlio o Jannis VOS
 d. O Jannis to vivlio *(to) egrapse SOV
 e. To vivlio o Jannis *(to) egrapse OSV
 f. To vivlio *(to) egrapse o Jannis OVS

In the literature, freedom of word order is considered to be one central diagnostic for non-configurationality. Hence, one could claim that clitics make Greek non-configurational and, therefore, all word orders are possible only in the presence of clitics.

(ii) *Subject Idioms*. Subject Idioms excluding the object are possible only when the object is a clitic or is clitic-doubled (see also Agouraki 1993).

- (4) a. ton pire o diavolos ton Jani
 cl-acc took the devil the-John-acc
 'John went to hell'
 b. *pire o diavolos ton Jani
 took the devil the-John-acc

The fact that in Greek such idioms are possible only when the object is cliticized/doubled could also be seen as evidence for the view that non-configurationality arises in the presence of clitics. (4) can be taken to suggest that the verb may form a constituent with the subject excluding the object only when the object is a clitic/ doubled by a clitic.

(iii) *Binding: Obviation of WCO Effects*. Finally, evidence from quantifier-variable binding suggests that each argument c-commands the other in the presence of clitics. Thus, a subject QP can bind a pronominal variable inside the object whether the object is doubled or not (5a) while the object can bind into the subject only when it is clitic doubled, as shown in (5c). In the absence of a doubling clitic in (5b), the usual WCO effect arises (see Hornstein 1995 for wh-phrases).²

- (5) a. Kathe mitera (to) sinodepse to pedhi tis sto sholio
 Every mother (cl-acc) accompanied the child hers at school
 b. ?*I mitera tu sinodepse to kathe pedhi sto sholio
 The mother his accompanied the every child at school
 c. I mitera tu to sinodepse to kathe pedhi sto sholio
 the mother his cl-acc accompanied the every child at school
 'His mother accompanied each child at school'

² Note that Greek doubled NPs can receive a distributive interpretation when the distributor is in a higher clause:

- (i) Kathe gineka ipe oti to theori to pedhi tis omorfo
 every woman said that cl-acc considers the child hers beautiful

The fact that a quantificational phrase may always bind into a lower DP once it is doubled has been extensively discussed in Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998b). Examples (5a) and (5c) can be taken to suggest that in the presence of a doubling clitic, subjects and objects are in a mutual c-command relationship, as a flat-structure approach to non-configurationality would predict.

To summarize the discussion so far, by the diagnostics 'freedom of word order', 'subject-idioms', 'quantifier-variable/WCO', clitic-constructions in Greek seem to qualify as 'non-configurational'. One could therefore claim that Greek has a configurational-mode (without clitics) and a non-configurational one (with clitics), as suggested by Baker (1996:24) for Chichewa and by Jelinek (1984) for Spanish.

But, by other diagnostics, clitic doubling constructions still qualify as configurational.

3. Configurational Effects in Greek

In this section we present certain configurational properties of clitic constructions in Greek.

(i) *Rules referring to the VP-constituent.* Rules referring to VPs, such as VP-pronominalization and VP ellipsis are possible also in the presence of clitic doubling.³

- (6) I Maria diavase to vivlio htes ke o Jiannis ekane to idhio prohtes.
Mary read-3sg the book yesterday and John did the same the day before
'Mary read the book yesterday and John did so the day before'
- (7) I Maria to diavase to vivlio htes ke o Jiannis ekane to idio prohtes
Mary cl-acc read the book yesterday and John did the same the day before

(ii) *Absence of Discontinuous Expressions.* In non-configurational languages non-adjacent nominals may correspond to a single verbal argument resulting in discontinuous expressions (8). This is not possible in Greek. The presence of doubling clitics does not have an effect on the availability of discontinuous constituents, as the ungrammaticality of (9) shows. If anything, (9) is worse in the presence of the clitic than in its absence.

- (8) Kanikay[^] wa-hse-nut-e ne kweskes Mohawk
which FACT-2sS/ZsO-feed-PUNC NE pig
'Which pig did you feed'
- (9) *pjo (to) taises guruni
which cl-acc fed pig

(iii) *Binding: Principle C effects.* If clitic doubling patterns reflected non-configurationality, then it would be predicted either (a) or (b). (a) In a flat-structure approach to non-configurationality the object would c-command the subject, thus triggering Principle C effects with NPs contained within the subject. So we would expect

³ The construction in (6) and (7) seems to correspond to the "do-so" construction in English.

the facts in (10) [English is used here as a hypothetical non-configurational/flat language]:

- (10) a. Mary loves her father b. *Mary's father loves her
c. Her father loves Mary d. *She loves Mary's father

(b) Alternatively, we would expect that Principle C effects will not arise neither with subjects nor with objects, if full NPs are adjoined to IP, as Baker (1996) proposes for the Mohawk sentences in (11):⁴

- (11) a. Wa'-t-h'a-ya'k-e' ne thkΛ Sak raóa[a]'share'
fact-dup-1sS-break-punc ne that Sak MsP-knife
'He broke that knife of Sak's' (coreference OK)
b. Ro-ya'takéhnh-Λ thkΛ ne Sak raóa[a]'share'
MsO-help-stat that ne Sak MsP-knife
'That knife of Sak's is helping him' (coreference OK)

Neither of the above predictions are borne out. What we find is the following:

- (12) a. I Maria_i agapai ton patera tis_i poli *Without clitics*
Mary-nom loves the father hers very
'Mary loves her father a lot'
b. O pateras tis Marias_i tin_i agapai poli
the father-nom the-Mary-gen cl-acc loves very
'Mary's father loves her a lot'
c. *? O pateras tis_i agapai tin Maria_i poli
the father-nom cl-gen loves the Mary-acc very
'Her father loves Mary a lot'
d. *Agapai-pro_i ton patera tis Marias_i poli
loves the father-acc the-Mary-gen very
- (13) a. I Maria_i ton agapai ton patera tis_i poli *With clitics*
Mary-nom cl-acc loves the father hers very
b. O pateras tis Marias_i tin_i agapai poli
the father the Mary-gen cl-acc loves very

⁴ These examples necessarily include a demonstrative to guarantee that *Sak* forms a constituent with the demonstrative and the noun. Examples like the following are amenable to an alternative analysis.

- (i) a. Wa' -t-há-ya-k-e' Sak rao-[a]-share *Mohawk*
FACT-DUP-1sS-break-PUNC Sak-MsP-knife
'He broke Sak's knife' (coreference ok)

Baker (1996) for (ia): Mohawk NPs are unmarked for Case, *Sak* is not necessarily analysed as a constituent with *knife*. (ia) = (ib) and not (ic).

- b. he-it-broke Sak [_{NP} pro his knife]
c. pro he-it broke [_{NP} Sak his knife]

- c. O pateras tis; tin; agapai tin Maria; poli
 the father-nom cl-gen cl-acc loves the Mary-acc very
- d. *Ton agapai-pro; ton patera tis Marias; poli
 cl-acc loves the father-acc the-Mary-gen very

The crucial case is (13b). In a flat structure approach we would expect (b) to be out, on a par with (13d). But this is not the case. In a Baker style approach we would expect both to be in, again contrary to fact.

We conclude that the Principle C effects illustrated above clearly favor an analysis of clitic doubling constructions in terms of configurationality.

4. Doubling vs. Right-Dislocation: Why do we need the Argument-Adjunct Distinction?

In the previous section, we presented evidence that clitic constructions in Greek have properties of configurationality. In this section, we give two arguments for the view that clitic doubled DPs are arguments and not adjuncts (see also Anagnostopoulou 1994, 1999b).

(i) First, doubled phrases in Greek may occur in positions where adjuncts do not seem to be tolerated, in particular as subjects of small clauses and ECM complements (Sportiche 1992 citing Schneider-Zioga, Anagnostopoulou 1994):

- (14) a. O Janis tin perimeni ti Maria na paraponethi
 John-nom cl-acc expects the Mary-acc subj complain-3sg
 'John expects Mary to complain'
- b. O Janis de ti theori ti Maria eksipni
 John neg cl-acc considers Mary-acc intelligent
 'John does not consider Mary intelligent'

(ii) The second argument comes from a comparison between *clitic-doubling* and *right-dislocation* (see Anagnostopoulou 1999b for details). In Greek, objects can be doubled by clitics in VOS strings in which the object is deaccented and the subject bears the most prominent accent in the sentence.

- (15) a. Pjos efage tin turta? *Question*
 Who- nom ate-3sg the cake-acc?
 'Who ate the cake?'
- b. Tin efage tin turta o Jannis *Answer*
 Cl-acc ate-3sg the cake-acc the-John-nom
 'John ate the cake'

In languages with right dislocation of objects but no clitic doubling of objects, sequences like the above are ungrammatical. This is the case, for instance, in Peninsular Spanish and Catalan which lack clitic doubling of direct objects (data due to Josep Quer personal communication):

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- (16) a. *Lo hizo el pastel Juan *Spanish*
 Cl-acc made the cake-acc Juan-nom
 'Juan made the cake'
- b. *El va fer el pastis en Joan *Catalan*
 Cl-acc made the cake-acc Joan-nom
 'Joan made the cake'
- (17) a. *La saludo a la profesora Juan *Spanish*
 Cl-acc:fem greeted a the professor-acc:fem Juan-nom
 'Juan greeted the professor'
- b. *La va saludar la profesora en Joan *Catalan*
 Cl-acc:fem greeted the professor-acc:fem Joan-nom
 'Juan greeted the professor'

In Peninsular Spanish and Catalan, we only find VOS orders without clitic doubling or constructions in which the object is right dislocated, i.e. it is deaccented following the subject which bears focal accent (Zubizarreta 1998):

- (18) Lo destruyó un niño # el libro *Continuation*
 Cl-acc destroyed-3sg a boy-nom the book-acc
 'A boy destroyed this book'

In the recent literature, it has been argued that in Romance VOS orders, the subject remains in its base position VP-internally while the object undergoes leftward movement to a position across the subject (cf. Zubizarreta 1994, 1998 for Spanish, Ordoñez 1994, 1997 for Spanish and Catalan, Alexiadou 1999 for Greek).^{5,6}

If clitic doubling involves doubling of an object in argument position, then this object can move across the in-situ subject, resulting in a grammatical sentence. If, on the other hand, right dislocation involves right adjunction of an object to VP or a larger portion of structure in the extended projection of V, then it is impossible for a right dislocated object to occur to the left of an in-situ subject. It follows straightforwardly from this analysis that sentences in which a clitic doubles an object in a position preceding the subject are ungrammatical in languages where clitic doubling is impossible and grammatical in languages where clitic doubling is possible. Crucially, this argument

⁵ Ordoñez (1997) and Zubizarreta (1998) propose that VOS orders do not involve just object shift but rather remnant movement and massive-pied piping. The clitic doubling and right dislocation facts discussed in the main text, however, can be most straightforwardly accounted for under an analysis of VOS orders in terms of object shift (see Alexiadou 1999) coupled with an analysis of right dislocation in terms of right-adjunction.

⁶ Zubizarreta's (1994) argument is based on the fact that in VOS strings the subject is necessarily focused while the object may bind the subject. Zubizarreta (1998:125-127) offers a more elaborate version of the argument based on focus to show that the subject is in its base position. She argues that in VOS orders the main stress of the focused subject is generated by the Nuclear Stress Rule according to which the intonationally more prominent constituent is the one which is lower in the asymmetric c-command ordering among two nodes (Zubizarreta 1998: 124, (72)). More specifically, the fact that the VOS order is incompatible with a focus-neutral intonation is taken as evidence that the main stress on the focused subject is not due to the Emphatic Contrastive Stress Rule which is freely assigned and metagrammatical, but rather it is due to the Nuclear Stress Rule which depends on c-command.

rests on the fact that clitic doubled DPs are arguments while right dislocated DPs are adjuncts.⁷

5. Re-analysis of Apparent Non-Configurational Effects in Terms of Configurationality

In sections 3 and 4 we have argued that (a) Greek clitic constructions have configurational properties and (b) Greek clitic doubled DPs are in argument position. In this section, we will turn to the apparent non-configurational effects discussed in section 2 and we will show how these can be re-analyzed in terms of a configurational approach to clitic-constructions.

(a) *Variability in Word Order.* Recall that in Greek the following word order patterns are found: VSO which has been argued to be basic (see Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998a for discussion and references); SVO, arguably derived; and VOS, derived with 'short object shift' (cf. Alexiadou 1999) to a specifier position higher than the subject. In all these cases doubling is optional and not obligatory. On the other hand, the SOV, OSV and OVS orders are ungrammatical unless there is clitic doubling.

Note that all these cases involve fronting of the object to a position across V which is generally agreed upon to undergo raising to I in Greek. (possibly situated in T°). Thus the clitic is obligatory when the object raises above T. These are constructions involving CLLD of the object (and in the first example and arguably the second also of the subject). CLLD is a construction displaying properties of long-distance A' movement in which the clitic is obligatory, as discussed in detail in Cinque (1990), Iatridou (1991), Anagnostopoulou (1994) among many others. If we assume that CLLD involves movement of the left dislocated phrase,⁸ then CLLD could be analyzed as a case of long-distance scrambling of the type found in Japanese, Korean, Hindi, etc. as proposed by Agouraki (1993) for Greek (and see also Fanselow 1997). As argued by Mahajan (1991) and others, long-distance scrambling is always mediated through short-distance scrambling which has been argued to correspond to clitic doubling by Sportiche (1992), Anagnostopoulou (1994), Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1997) and others. The generalization then is that the clitic is obligatory only when the object raises across a certain boundary because CLLD necessarily requires a "doubling" stage much like long-distance scrambling necessarily requires a "short-distance" scrambling step. We conclude that the configurational approach captures better the distinction between the first three and the latter three patterns than a non-configurational approach.

(b) *Idioms.* The idioms discussed in section 2 always involve readings in which the object is interpreted as an experiencer and the subject as a non volitional causer. They are never agentive. As argued for in Marantz (1997), subject idioms never involve agentive subjects. If we assume that non-agentive subjects come from a position very low -close to the verb- as suggested by Pesetsky (1995) for causers, then these cases must be dealt with in a configurational approach. The fact that the clitic is obligatory follows from the following generalization established and discussed in Anagnostopoulou (1998, 1999b, c see section 6):

⁷ Note that right dislocated DPs are possibly VP-adjuncts because with respect to Principle C effects they behave like clitic doubled DPs (see Cecchetto 1996).

⁸ But see Cinque (1990), Iatridou (1991), Demirdache (1991) Anagnostopoulou (1994) for alternative analyses according to which the left dislocated phrase is base-generated.

- (19) In Greek, clitic doubling of the object is always obligatory when the subject undergoes NP movement across it.

(c) Finally, in order to account for the mutual c-command effects in doubling constructions, we need to appeal to: (i) A-movement of the object to a position higher than the subject evidenced by the clitic, as argued for in Anagnostopoulou (1998, 1999b) and (ii) optional reconstruction of the subject to a position lower than the raised object in a strictly configurational approach.

This account would assimilate the backward variable binding effects found in Greek clitic doubling constructions, to comparable effects found in English raising constructions (see Fox 1998):

- (20) a. *His* father seems to *every boy* [t to be a genius]
 b. *Every woman* seems to *her* son [t to be a genius]
- (21) a. ??*His* father wrote to *every boy* [PRO to be a genius]
 b. *Every father* wrote to *his* boy [PRO to be a genius]

This account has no difficulty with the Principle C cases, since Reconstruction is optional.

Note that there are cases where a subject cannot bind into an object:

- (22) ??*Kathe gineka tu aresti tu antra tis*
 Every woman-nom Cl-gen appeals [the husband hers]-gen
stin arhi
 in the beginning
 'Every woman appeals to her husband in the beginning'

These are cases of unaccusative experiencer object predicates and causative experiencer object predicates for which it has been argued in general (Belletti and Rizzi 1988, Pesetsky 1995) and for Greek in particular (Anagnostopoulou 1999a,b) that the subject moves from a position lower than the experiencer. In such constructions, optional reconstruction obtains in English as well (cf. Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Pesetsky 1995). For Greek, reconstruction in these cases is apparently obligatory. We expect now Principle C effects to arise when reconstruction is obligatory. The prediction is indeed borne out:

- (23) a. **O antras tis Marias tis aresti poli*
 the husband the Mary-gen cl-gen appeals much
 b. **To vivlio tis Marias tin apasxoli mera nixta*
 the book the Mary-gen cl-acc preoccupies day-night
 c. **I imperifora tis Marias tin fovizi poli*
 the behavior the Mary-gen cl-acc terrifies much

To conclude, apparent non-configurational effects found with clitics are reducible (in fact, they must be reduced) to an interaction of object movement and optional vs. obligatory reconstruction at LF.

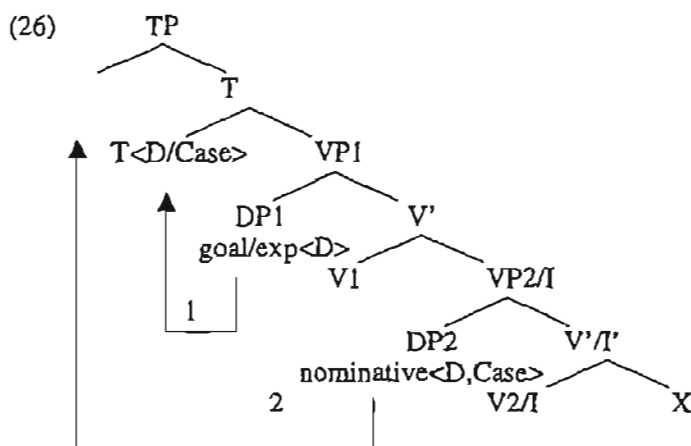
6. Clitics vs. Agreement Markers

We have argued on the basis of Greek that we cannot equate Agr-NP pairs of non-configurational languages and clitic-NP pairs of clitic doubling languages. The question that arises then is what the difference between agreement markers and clitics really amounts to. We sketch an account below.

Following Anagnostopoulou (1998, 1999b), we propose that clitics in Greek "spell out" formal features of their associate DPs that move to T. This analysis is based on the fact that the only contexts in which clitics/cliticization in Greek are obligatory are contexts in which a lower NP undergoes movement to T (Generalization 19) as in passives (24), raising constructions (25) and also unaccusatives. In other words, cliticization/ clitic doubling constitute an escape hatch for the double object construction in NP-movement contexts. This is accounted for in terms of the derivation in (26):

(24) To grama ?*(tu) tabidromithike tu Petru-gen htes
 The letter-nom Cl-gen mailed-NAct:3sg the Peter-gen yesterday
 'The letter was mailed to Peter yesterday'

(25) O Jannis *(tis) fenete tis Marias eksipnos
 The Jannis Cl-gen seems the Mary-gen intelligent
 'John seems to Mary to be intelligent'



In (26) the formal features of the higher DP move to T before the lower DP moves to T, and thus the higher DP does not count anymore as an intervener for the movement of the lower argument.

On this view, DPs are always merged in argument positions in doubling configurations in Greek. On the other hand, agreement markers in Mohawk fill an argument slot and hence they are always obligatory. Being obligatory the NP cannot occur in argument position. A natural way to link the A-status of agreement markers with

the A'-status of NPs in Mohawk is to assume that Case mediates theta-role assignment (Visibility).⁹

Our proposal treats clitics/agreement markers as a non-uniform syntactic category in the sense that they are either reflexes of formal features of DPs or sets of formal features filling argument slots. A number of further syntactic properties of a language with clitics/agreement markers such as (non-)configurationality or the interaction of cliticization with NP-movement can help us decide whether they fall under the former or the latter category. In both cases, clitics/agreement markers can be analyzed as reflecting movement from the position of merge to the target-position but their status is different from a Case-theoretic point of view. In a sense then, we are restating the classical "movement vs. base-generation" dilemma posed by the availability or not of the clitic doubling parameter as a dilemma that does not have to do with the derivation of cliticization per se but with the status of clitics directly. Among other things, this leads to the following question concerning Kayne's generalization languages. Are they Greek type languages and the clitic is just a referentiality marker (Sportiche 1992) or is this doubling reminiscent of Mohawk agreement markers in which case configurationality depends on the presence of the marker *a/pe* as is predicted by Baker's approach?

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⁹ Baker (1996) argues that traces of wh-phrases remain in an A-position because crucially they are covert (PF, Case Filter). If this is true, then the direct link between Case and theta-role assignment is less straightforward than suggested here.

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