A Different Type of Clitic Doubling Construction*

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Περίληψη

Το φαινόμενο του Κλιτικού Αναδιπλασιασμού έχει συγκεντρώσει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον απο τη μια πλευρά λόγω της παραμετροποίησης που επιδέχεται, και απο την άλλη, σε πιο θεωρητικό επίπεδο, λόγω του ότι αποτελεί παραβίαση του θ-κριτηρίου, αφού δύο στοιχεία της αυτής συντακτικής φράσεως φαίνονται να μοιράζονται την ίδια Πτώση και τον ίδιο Θεματικό Ρόλο. Στη δημοσίευση αυτή επικεντρώνομαι στις δομές με Κλιτικό Αναδιπλασιασμό προτάσεων σε θέση ορίσματος, δεδομένα που πιστεύω ότι μας διαφωτίζουν για τη φύση της σχέσεως ανάμεσα στο κλιτικό και στο συσχετιζόμενο στοιχείο. Οι δομές αυτές δεν αποτελούν περαιτέρω παράμετρο αναφορικά με τις δομές Κλιτικού Αναδιπλασιασμού· αντίθετα φαίνεται να συμπεριφέρονται όμοια με τις αναδιπλασιαζόμενες ονοματικές φράσεις σε θέση άμεσου αντικειμένου. Με βάση αυτά τα δεδομένα προτείνω ότι στις δομές Κλιτικού Αναδιπλασιασμού η παραβίαση της Θεματικής Θεωρίας είναι μόνο πλασματική και ο τρόπος επίλυσης της επιτυγχάνεται αν δεχτούμε ότι το κλιτικό λαμβάνει την Πτώση από το ρήμα και η ονοματική φράση το Θεματικό Ρόλο.

1.   Introduction

The objective of this paper is to discuss theoretical puzzles that Clitic Doubling poses for Case and Theta Theory and to illuminate further the options that the general framework provides. In doing so, I propose and defend a different type of Doubling Constructions, namely Clitic Doubling of complement clauses.

The term Clitic Doubling (as opposed to Clitic Right Dislocation, for example in French in (3)) is used to describe constructions where a clitic and a full NP/ DP refer to the same entity, belong to the same syntactic domain and hence "compete" for the same Case and theta role as shown in the examples (1)-(2) in Greek and Spanish versus (3) in French.

(1)   Tin   apofevgo   ti   Maria.   (Greek)
       Her-cl-acc   avoid-I   the   Maria.
       "I avoid her, Maria".

(2)   Lo   vimos   a   Juan.   (Spanish)
       Him-cl   saw-we   John
       "We saw John".

(3)   Je l' ai vu, l'assassin.   (French, from Jaeggli 1986)
       I saw him, the murderer.

On standard analyses of Clitic Doubling, it is assumed that the associate of the clitic receives Case, while the clitic itself is either treated as an exponent of agreement or as a specificity marker (see e.g. Kayne 2000, Sportiche 1996, Uriagereka 1995, Anagnostopoulou 1994). These studies have exclusively focused on Clitic Doubling of DPs, but have neglected

constructions in which the doubling clitic is associated with a CP. In exploring the phenomenon of Clitic Doubling of complement-clauses, I argue that this type of Clitic Doubling provides evidence for the claim that Case is assigned to the Clitic (cf. Borer 1981), and not to the associate. This argument challenges the standard view and further elucidates the nature of the relationship between the clitic and the co-referent element. The suggestion is that doubled CPs and accusative doubled DPs behave on a par, thus being amenable to the same syntactic analysis.

In Section 2, I lay the theoretical arguments supporting my proposal. In Section 3, I provide the empirical arguments regarding caseless DPs and doubled CPs, while Section 4 provides some answers regarding the nature of the CPs. In Section 5, I discuss the role of the clitic in Clitic Doubling constructions. In Section 6, I present the predictions that stem from this proposal and the possible implications.

2.   Theoretical framework

There have been several attempts to account for Clitic Doubling constructions. Summarizing them we could say they are divided into two main groups: the first group assumes that the clitic starts from the original object position and then moves to its surface position (for discussion see Kayne (1975, 2000), Aoun (1981), Philippaki-Warburton (1987), Drachman (1983), Rivero (1986)), while the second group assumes that both the clitic and the DP are generated in their surface position (Borer (1981), Jaeggli (1981), Sportiche (1996), Anagnostopoulou (1994)). The common assumption shared by these two different approaches is that the clitic and the DP have to identify their features somehow.

In the same spirit as Sportiche (1996), I assume that identification of features happens at LF (or narrow syntax) as long as both of the following conditions can be met:

a) Both the clitic and the doubled elements are base generated in distinct positions, that are legitimate for Case and Theta-role assignment respectively, and
b) The clitic properly c-commands the doubled element.

These two conditions are essential for forming a representational type of chain, where no concrete movement has taken place and where the theta-role and Case correspond to a unique chain, satisfying the Main Thematic Condition (as formulated by Brody 1995). Based on these two conditions I derive the following theorem:

(4)   DOUBLING THEOREM (DT):
(Clitic) Doubling may occur if and only if a well-formed chain between the two associated elements is established.

(5)   WELL-FORMED CHAIN CONDITION:
A well-formed chain can be established if and only if at least one of the two elements forming the chain is deficient.

The above theorem is based on the following assumptions:

A. The clitic and the associated DP/CP form a representational-type chain, i.e.

    i. both the clitic and the associate are base generated in distinct positions.

    ii. the identification of the features happens at LF (or narrow syntax).

B. Clitics are base generated in the specifier of AGR-O.

A and **B** result in the following claims:

I. The clitic, being the head of the chain, receives the case assigned by the verb, via spec-head agreement with the AGR-O, while the DP/CP, being the tail of the chain, receives the theta role.

II. The clitic plays the role of an expletive, that is, it is not associated with any theta role

III. The features that the clitic and the associate share obligatorily are the ones of gender and person, and not those of number and case as has been suggested traditionally.

The theorem in (4) finds theoretical support in both the notion of CHAIN (Chomsky 1986) and the Main Thematic Condition (MTC) (Brody 1995) which reads as follows:

    (6)   MAIN THEMATIC CONDITION (MTC):

        Only the root position of a chain can be theta-related (assigning or receiving a theta role), and

        Only the head of an A-chain can be in a Case position.

Assuming that it is viable to suggest that (Clitic) Doubling may occur as long as a well-formed chain between the two associated elements is formed, and as long as MTC is respected, I attempt to reduce redundancy in Grammar by unifying the representational apparatus for Clitic Doubling chains and expletive associate chains[i]. Consequently, although Clitic Doubling might appear to be problematic for the theta-criterion, the findings to be presented below indicate that the conditions on the clitic have to be analysed in terms of Case theory and not in terms of Theta theory.

3.   Empirical evidence
3.1.   Caseless DPs

The data in this section are divided into two different sets: a) verbs that assign genitive case to their direct object and, b) verbs that require genitive/ dative for their indirect object. In both sets the observation is the same, that is that the DPs in the presented examples cannot carry case.

3.1.1. Direct object in Genitive:

The data in (7)-(10) are of crucial importance as they illustrate morphological Case-mismatch between the clitic and the DP.

Case-mismatch in Clitic Doubling in Greek may occur when there is no appropriate morphological form available for the DP, i.e. the genitive form of the strong pronoun in (7) and (9). Dropping the clitic in these examples result in ungrammaticality as shown in examples (11) and (12), while it does not do so, when the DP is omitted.

(7)   *(Mu)   tilephonise   emena.
        Me-cl-gen   phoned-3sing-past   me-full pronoun-acc
        "He/ She called me".

(8)   Tilephonise   s'emena/ sto Giorgo/ tu Giorgu.
        Phoned-3sing-past   to me-full pronoun-dat/to George-dat/the George-gen.
        "He/ She called me/ George"

(9)   *(Mu)   chrostai   emena.
        Me-cl-gen   owe-3sing-pres   me-full pronoun-acc
        "He/ She owes me (money)".

(10)   Chrostai   s'emena/ sto Gianni/ tu Gianni.
        Owe-3sing-pres   to me-full pronoun-dat/to John-dat/the John-gen
        "He/ She owes me/ John".

(11)   *Tilephonise   emena.
        Phoned-3sing-past   me-full pronoun-acc
        "He/ She called me".

(12)   *Chrostai   emena.
        Owe-3sing-pres   me-full pronoun-acc
        "He/ She owes me (money)".

The verbs *tilephonise* (phoned) and *chrostai* (owes) in the examples above assign lexical genitive Case or select for a PP-complement. In (7) and (9) the clitic has the morphological realisation of genitive while the DP appears in accusative case, showing that the Case requirements of the verb are satisfied by the Case of the clitic. The Case sharing effects[ii] between the clitic and the DP disappear in these environments simply because genitive forms of the first and second person pronouns do not exist.

Here Clitic Doubling is obligatory because the verb assigns lexical genitive Case or selects for a PP-complement as shown in (8) and (9), whilst the strong pronoun cannot realise Case for morphological reasons. However, this is not the type of obligatory clitic doubling we observe in Spanish. The difference between Greek and Spanish lies on the fact that in Greek both the clitic and the DP show morphological realisation of Case, while in Spanish, Case is morphologically realised only in the clitic.

Note here that it could be argued that *emena* (me-acc) can express both accusative and genitive (due to syncretism), but the fact is that *emena* never appears independently in sentences expressing genitive without being doubled by the clitic. If former was the case, (11) and (12) should be grammatical, since Clitic Doubling in Greek is not obligatory. As illustrated above these structures are ruled out. Omitting the clitic the verb selects for a PP-argument which is the other form available in dative alternation[iii] constructions (see (8) and (10) above).

3.1.2. Passives of Double object constructions

The second piece of evidence with regard to caseless DPs comes from passives, unaccusatives, and raising constructions, where genitive DPs cannot be tolerated if they are not doubled with a genitive clitic, as shown in the examples (13) and (14).

(13) To grama   tu   tachidromithike   tu Petrou   chthes.
The letter-nom him-cl-gen was mailed-3rd sing   the Peter-gen   yesterday
"The letter was mailed to Peter yesterday."

(14) ?*To grama   tachidromithike   tu Petrou   chthes.
The letter-nom   was mailed-3rd sing   the Peter-gen   yesterday.
"The letter was mailed to Peter yesterday."

Anagnostopoulou (2003) argues that when a Nominative-argument undergoes NP-movement to T in the presence of a dative-DP-argument, the dative-DP is not allowed unless it is a clitic or doubled by a clitic. According to her, the distribution of dative arguments in NP-movement constructions is determined by Attract Closest. In Passives and Unaccusatives, DPs are ruled out because they are introduced by a higher (light applicative) head, thus blocking NP-movement of the lower theme argument to T. Prepositional Phrases on the other hand (example (15)) are licit because they are merged in the same minimal domain as themes.

(15) To grama   tachidromithike   ston Petro   chthes.
The letter-nom   was mailed-3rd sing   to Peter   yesterday.
"The letter was mailed to Peter yesterday."

Without turning to the details of her analysis, it is important to point out that since the genitive-DP in a Clitic Doubling construction does not function as a barrier for the movement of the subject, this DP (*tu Petru*) has not been assigned case.

Consequently the structural case in a Clitic Doubling construction is assigned to the clitic (which does not function as a barrier probably due to its "light" form) and not to the DP.

3.2. Doubled CPs

The second empirical argument for the proposal in Section 2 comes from Clitic Doubling of non-Case bearing arguments such as CPs (example (16)).

(16) (To)   apofevgo   (to)   na sinantiso   ta pedhia.
It-cl-acc   avoid-I   the-def   to meet-I   the kids-acc.
"I avoid it, meeting the kids".

This type of construction is a compelling argument in favour of the hypothesis that Case is assigned to the clitic and not to the CP, as CPs are subject to the Case Resistance Principle (Stowell 1981), which states that CPs cannot be assigned case since they contain AGR that functions as a Case-assigner itself.

Example (16) is a case of a verb which takes for complement a CP. This CP can also be nominalised , although it is not obligatory. The CP can be doubled with a clitic, which does not affect the optionality of the definite article in front of the CP. The question that arises pertains to the nature of the CP, namely, whether the CP is in an A-position and more specifically an argument of the verb and, secondly what kind of CP this is. The essential question concerns the syntactic-thematic position of the CP, that is, whether it is a proper argument of the verb or a right dislocated element and co-indexed with the clitic.

4.   The Status of the CP-arguments: Against Right Dislocation

As stated in Section 2, the position of the doubled element has been the subject of substantial debate. It has been argued on the one hand, that doubled DPs are adjuncts rather than complements of the verb (Rivero (1986) for Old Spanish, in the same spirit as Aoun (1981), Drachman (1983) and Philippaki-Warburton (1987) for Greek). On the other hand, Jaeggli (1986) argued against the Right Dislocation hypothesis for Spanish, pointing out that, while right dislocations are set off from the rest of the sentence with a sharp intonational break, sentences involving Clitic Doubling require no such pause. This holds for the status of the doubled CP as well; there is no intonational pause between the verb and the CP. Despite claims to the contrary, the intonational break seems to be a useful diagnostic test for Clitic Doubling constructions: we can observe that in Greek no pause is involved while in Spanish where Clitic Doubling of CPs is not possible, an intonational pause is required[iv].

The second argument in favour of my proposal is that the CP occurs in positions where an adjunct cannot be tolerated. This is the case in ECM constructions and small clauses as illustrated in the examples (17) and (18) respectively (see Anagnostopoulou (1994) for detailed discussion of the position of doubled DPs in Greek, and Sportiches' (1996) arguments against Clitic Doubling as Right Dislocation).

(17)   To   perimena   [to oti piges dhiakopes]   na se ananeosi.
        It-cl-acc   expected-I   the-def that went-you holidays   to-subj you-cl-
acc feel new.
        "I expected it to be good for you that you went on holiday".
(18)   To theoro   [to na petihis stis eksetasis]   simantiko.
        It-cl-acc consider-I   the-def to(subj) pass-you the exams   important.
        "I consider passing the exams important".

Further arguments come from the process of Nominalisation, that is, the insertion of the definite article in front of the CP. It has been argued (Roussou 1991) that Nominalisation is associated with clauses in argument position or clauses in peripheral position, but is not possible with adjunct clauses, as indicated by examples (19)-(21). Thus, Nominalisation is legitimate in cases where the clause is peripheral but coreferent to the DP-object, as exemplified in (19) and (20). On the other hand, an attempt of nominalising an adjunct leads to ungrammaticality, as in (21).

(19) To oti   o gamos   ine provlima, to exo   katalavi afto pja.
      The-def subjunctive   the marriage   is a problem, it-cl-acc have-I understood this-
      acc already.
      "That marriage is a problem, I have already understood".

(20) Su   to   zitisa ksana afto,   to   na min mu antimilas.
      You-cl-gen   it-cl-acc   asked-I again this-acc,   the-def subjunctive not me-cl-
      gen contradict-you
      "I have asked you again, not to contradict me"

(21) Tha   to   dhiavaso,   (*to)   an epimenis.
      Fut-prt   it-cl-acc   read-I,   the-def if insist-you
      "I will read it, if you insist".

Moreover, the obligatoriness of the definite article in examples (17) and (18) is strongly linked to the subject position (here the subject of the small clause) and indicates that the CP is the canonical argument of the Verb. This link between the obligatory definite article and the subject position is related to the fact that the verb does not subcategorise for its subject as it does for its objects. Therefore, the subject of a sentence is always a DP[v].

The final argument comes from structures involving extraction. It is generally argued that it is possible to extract from a complement but not from an adjunct or a complex NP. The following examples show that extraction from an argument-CP is possible, while it is impossible to extract from an overt nominalised clause or an adjunct-CP. Example (22) shows that extraction from the embedded clause is legitimate, as expected. The wh-word *pjus* (who) has been extracted from the CP *na hasis*, indicating that the clause is the argument of the matrix verb. On the other hand, example (23) is ruled out due to extraction from a complex XP, that is, the definite article with the CP.

(22) Pjus   tha   to   apefevges   na   hasis?
      Who-acc-pl   fut prt it-cl-acc   avoid   subjunctive lose
      "Who would you avoid losing?"

(23) *Pjus   tha   to   apefevges   to   na   hasis?
      Who-acc-pl fut prt it-cl-acc avoid-you   the-def subjunctive   lose-you
      "Who would you avoid losing?"

The possibility of extraction from an embedded clause can be demonstrated with respect to indirect objects, as shown in examples (24) and (25).

(24) Pjanu   dhen tha   to   itheles   na   tu   kanis
      ti hari?
      Who-gen-sing   NEG   would it-cl-acc want-you   to(subj prt)   him-cl-
      acc do-you   the favour
      "Who wouldn't you like to do the favour?"

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(25) *Pjanu   dhen tha   to   itheles   to   na   tu   kanis   ti hari?
      Who-gen-sing NEG   would it-cl-acc want-you the-def to(subj prt) him-cl-acc
      do-you the favour
      "Who wouldn't you like to do the favour?"

In (24) the wh-word has moved from the CP and is coreferential with the indirect object of the embedded clause "tu", while in (25) movement has taken place over the complex phrase D+CP.

5.   The role of the clitic in Clitic Doubling Constructions

It became apparent in the previous section that the problem with doubled CPs touches upon the issue of nominalisation. I argue that the process of nominalisation does not take place for Case requirements (contra Kayne (1982), Szabolcsi (1987) and Roussou (1991) for Greek), but it is driven by the different selectional properties of the verb, as shown by comparison between examples (16) (repeated here as (26)) and (27).

(26) (To)   apofevgo   (to)   na   sinantiso   ta pedhia.
      It-cl-acc   avoid-I   the-def   to   meet-I   the kids-acc.
      "I avoid it, meeting the kids".
(27) (*to) dhistazo   (*to)   na figo/*afto
      Hesitate-I   the-def   to go-I/this
      "I hesitate to go/ *this/ *it".

The difference between (26) and (27) suggests that a verb like *apofevgo* (avoid) assigns Case and therefore its CP-complement can be optionally nominalised while verbs like *dhistazo* (hesitate) do not assign Case, excluding the option of nominalising the CP-complement as a consequence. The pattern is presented in the schema (28):

(28) *(Clitic)   Verb   (Definite article) CP*

The clitic and the definite article, as stated earlier, are not in complementary distribution but seem to be in mutual exclusion. Thus whenever the appearance of the definite article is not possible, the clitic is not allowed as well. In other words, a verb which can take a nominalised CP (DCP) actually selects for a DP; when the verb selects for a plain CP, nominalisation cannot take place. That is, the CP in these structures cannot take a definite article, cannot be doubled with a clitic and cannot be replaced by a pronoun. Interestingly the same idiosyncratic properties of nominalised CPs apply to Hungarian and additionally the verb is not marked for definiteness (as normally is with DCP), illustrated in (29)-(32) below.

(29) Habozott hogy el menjen-e?
      Hesitate-3rd-sing-past-in def that prt go-subj-3rd-sing Qprt
      "He hesitated whether he would go?"

(30) Eroskodott hogy ide jon.
Stressed the point-3rd-sing-past-indef that prt come-3rd-sing-present
"He stressed the point that he would come".

(31) *Habozott +DP-object

(32) *Eroskodott +DP-object

The role of the clitic in these constructions remains to be explained. I shall argue that the clitic acts as an expletive in these constructions and probably in all cases of Clitic Doubling. This idea is supported by data like the following:

(33) To apofevgo to na sinantiso ta pedhia kai na tous miliso.
It-cl-acc avoid-I the-def to meet-I the kids-acc and to them-cl-acc talk-I
"I avoid it, meeting the kids and talking to them".

(34) *Ta apofevgo to na sinantiso ta pedhia kai na tous miliso.
Them-cl-acc-neut avoid-I the-def to meet-I the kids-acc and to them-cl-acc talk-I
"I avoid it, meeting the kids and talking to them".

In the above example if the clitic was strictly associated with the thematic role of the arguments of the verbs it should appear in the plural, accusative and neuter. However the number of the clitic does not seem to depend on the number of the arguments of the Verb. Thus the appropriate structure is the one in (35a) and not (35b):

(35)(a) VP / DP / D CP / CP & CP

(b) VP / DP / DP & DP / D CP / D CP
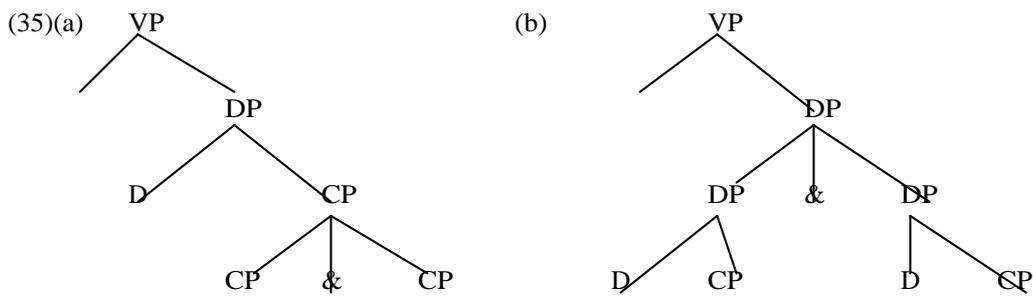
Moreover, on the assumption that Case and Agreement are closely linked (Chomsky 2001), the lack of plural in the clitic in example (34) further supports the hypothesis that CPs cannot receive Case.

6. Does the proposed analysis account for problems that previous analyses cannot?

The present account generates a number of interesting predictions with respect to the doubled element, which do not follow from earlier theories, borne out by the set of data presented in examples (36) –(41). Here Clitic Doubling of PP-arguments is banned, as the PP-argument does not receive its Case directly from the verb and therefore the clitic, which absorbs the Case, cannot be licit, meaning that no chain relation between the two elements can be established.

(36)   *Tu   edhosa   sto Giorgo   mia kukla.
        Cl-gen   gave-I   to the George   a doll-acc
        *"I gave him, to George, a doll".

(37)   Edhosa   sto Giorgo   mia kukla.
        Gave-I   to the George   a doll-acc
        "I gave a doll to George".

(38)   Tu   edhosa   tu Giorgu   mia kukla.
        Cl-gen   gave-I   the George-gen   a doll-acc
        "I gave George a doll".

(39)   Sizitisame   gia to provlima   tis Mesis Anatolis.
        Talked-we   about the problem   of the Middle East
        "We talked about the problem in the Middle East".

(40)   *To   sizitisame   gia to provlima   tis Mesis Anatolis.
        Cl-acc   talked-we   about the problem   of the Middle East
         "We talked about the problem in the Middle East".

(41)   To   sizitisame   to provlima   tis Mesis Anatolis.
        Cl-acc   talked-we   the problem-acc   of the Middle East
         "We talked about the problem in the Middle East".

As mentioned in Section 4, our prediction is that we should not be able to clitic-double an element, which cannot be assigned Case (pure CPs). The essential reason that Clitic Doubling would not be allowed in these structures (example (27)) is that first, the argument (CP) is purely propositional and cannot co-occur with clitics, which are (pro)nominal elements, and secondly because these CPs cannot be assigned Case and consequently cannot identify Case features with a clitic, which behaves as an agreement Case marker. This proposal sheds light on Kayne's Generalisation, which has been viewed as the strongest argument for movement-type analyses, namely that the doubled NP in Spanish and Romanian is obligatorily preceded by a "dummy" preposition that serves as a case-assigner and therefore licences the presence of the NP. According to my proposal the "dummy" preposition functions as case marker which is forced by the Case Filter (see also Cuervo (2003) for discussion on this issue). The difference between Greek on the one hand and Spanish and Romanian on the other is that in Greek the DP can show morphological realisation of case while this is not an option in Spanish and Romanian.

One further prediction generated by the proposal outlined here is that Clitics, if generated in the Specifier of Agr-O are not likely to appear in languages in which the DP-Object has to move to that position, i.e. in OV languages. As a tendency, it seems to be true that most OV languages do not have pronominal clitics of the Romance type (subject to further research).

7.   Conclusions

My proposal rests on two assumptions: a) both clitics and DPs/ CPs are base-generated in their surface position; and b) they form a syntactic chain. Unlike earlier analyses (Sportiche 1996) that assume that the clitic neither receives nor needs Case, my account treats clitics as agreement Case markers (cf. Baker 1996, for non-configurational languages), heading the chain formed with the doubled element. The clitic is base-generated in the spec of AGR-O. Thus the clitic receives the Case assigned by the verb, via spec-head agreement with the AGR-O, while the DP/CP, being the tail of the chain, receives the Theta-role. In order for the associate to be doubled it must appear in a possible Case position. This is the essential requirement to test the validity of the Doubling Theorem, that is, that Clitic Doubling is possible only when the formation of a chain between the two elements is possible.

Notes

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[i] For similarities and differences between Clitic Doubling and Expletive Associate Chains see Tsakali 2003.

[ii] In Greek the DP appears to have the same Case as the clitic, the reason being that DPs are subject to case Filter.
The case sharing effects that we can observe in other contexts with clitic doubling stems from the identification of features between the clitic and the DP. The identification of their semantic features happen at LF.

[iii] Following Anagnostopoulou 2003, I use the term dative alternation for arguments that can appear in genitive expressing dative.

[iv] Data given by Cristina Cuervo (p.c.)

[v] Koster (1978) suggests that what is assumed to be a subject-sentence is not a real subject but a topic (calling them "satellites"). This topic binds a phonologically empty NP in the subject position of the main clause. Although there are problems in accommodating such an analysis in the present Minimalist framework, the proposal behind these lines, that the subject can be identified with an NP/DP, conveys the idea that subject CPs are always nominal.

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