

*Clitic-Left-Dislocation and Clitic Doubling: A Unification**

YORYIA AGOURAKI

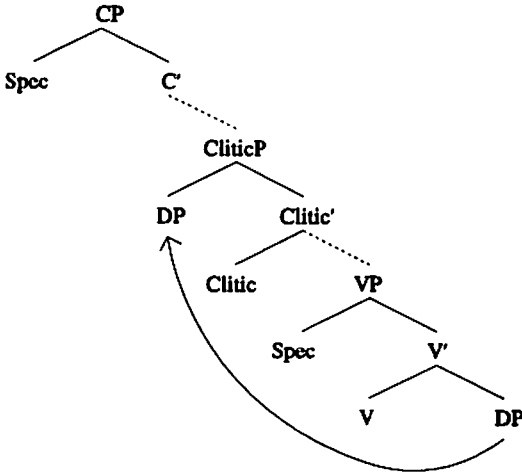
0 Introduction

In this paper I look at two constructions involving an object DP and a matching clitic, namely Clitic-Left-Dislocation (CLLD) and Clitic Doubling (CD). In CLLD the object DP precedes the matching clitic, while in CD the object DP follows the matching clitic.¹ The data used are primarily from MG. I will argue that the theory advanced applies to all languages with clitics. The main points of this paper are the following. CLLD is a Spec-head agreement configuration involving movement. The object DP moves from its canonical position to the Specifier of a CliticPhrase. The clitic matching the object DP in phi-features is the head of the CliticPhrase. The CliticPhrase is quite high in the clausal tree, immediately below the FocusPhrase and above IP. (1) below is the structure for CLLD.

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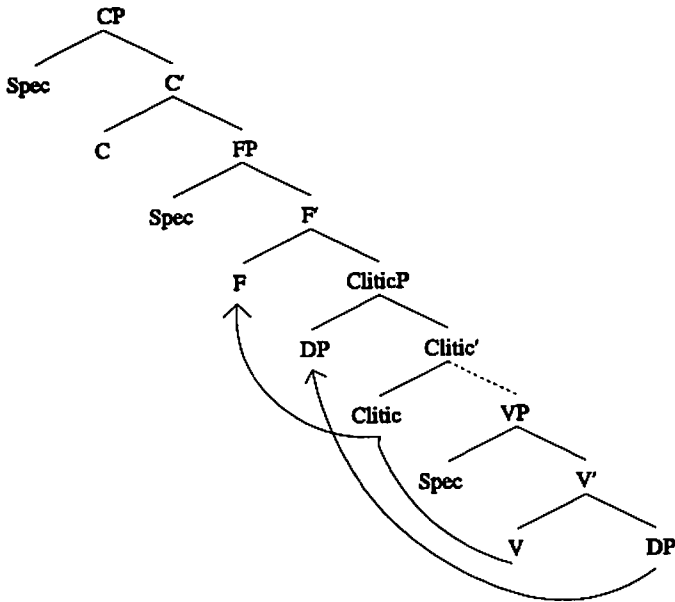
¹The terms CLLD and CD are used purely as descriptive terms. See also fn.2.

(1)



In CD the object DP is in the Specifier of a CliticPhrase, as in CLLD. The relevant difference between CD and CLLD is that in CD the verb raises to the head F of a FocusPhrase dominating the CliticPhrase. The syntactic movement of the verb captures the fact that in CD the verb is necessarily focussed. The present analysis reduces CLLD and CD to a single structure as far as the position of the object DP is concerned. CD is derived from CLLD in the sense that CD is CLLD plus syntactic verb focussing. (2) is the structure for CD.

(2)



So far I have claimed that, contrary to the general assumption that the object DP is hosted in two distinct positions in CLLD and CD, the position of the object DP is the same in both CLLD and CD. The term I use to refer to the construction where the object DP occupies the Spec of a CliticPhrase and the clitic is the head of that projection is the Clitic-Construction (CLC). The reason why there is movement of the object in the Clitic-Construction is because a Spec-head agreement configuration must be satisfied.

I next go on to investigate the properties of the Clitic-Construction. Satisfaction of the Spec-head agreement configuration in the Clitic-Construction has the effect on objects that they are externalised. If that is really the case, we would expect subject-object asymmetries to be cancelled in the Clitic-Construction. The prediction is borne out. I present evidence from binding facts, pseudo-relatives, quantifier interaction and the scope of Negation. In relevant respects object DP's in the Clitic-Construction behave like subjects in the above environments. Also, we would expect quirky

subjects to undergo the Clitic-Construction obligatorily. This is indeed the case.

The relation between the Clitic-Construction and Focussing is looked into next. There is a noted incompatibility between the two when the Clitic-Construction is optional in a language (cf. CLLD and CD in MG), but not when the Clitic-Construction is obligatory in a language, either in general or in specific circumstances (cf. River Plate Spanish and quirky subjects in MG, respectively). When the Clitic-Construction is optional, the Spec of the CliticPhrase is an A'-position. When the Clitic-Construction is obligatory, the Spec of the CliticPhrase is an A-position, because it is a theta position. The incompatibility vs. the compatibility of the Clitic-Construction and Focussing is derived from a principle stating that at LF all types of A'-Spec/head licensing must be visible. I justify this principle by showing how it can account for more data.

Not all languages with clitics have CLLD/CD. The relevant divide is MG vs. French. This question is looked into. If I am right in that the Clitic-Construction has the effect that the object is externalised, the fixed word order of French and the lack of the Clitic-Construction in French are both an illustration of the same condition, namely that in French only subjects can be externalised. Maybe this condition is one of the two values of a UG parameter. Then I discuss Complex Inversion in French and I argue that it is a subject Clitic-Construction.

On the basis of object and subject Clitic-Construction I finally show that movement of non-wh/nonfocal arguments in languages with clitics must be licensed in the Spec of a CliticPhrase.

The paper is organised as follows. In sections 1 and 2 I advance my analysis for CLLD and CD, respectively. In section 3.1 I present evidence for the claim that the Clitic-Construction has the effect on objects that they are externalised. In section 3.2 I discuss my analysis of the Clitic-Construction. In section 3.3 I offer an account for the incompatibility vs. compatibility of the Clitic-Construction and Focussing. In section 4 I offer an account for the presence vs. absence of CLLD/CD in languages with clitics. In section 5 I discuss subject clitics in French. Finally, in section 6, I examine the significance of the Clitic-Construction for Universal Grammar.

1 Clitic-Left-Dislocation²

In this section I present an analysis of CLLD according to which the clitic is the head of a CliticPhrase. The object DP occupies the specifier of that projection as an instance of A'-movement from the canonical object position.

CLLD involves an object DP and a matching clitic. The object DP is on the left of the verb. (3) and (4) below are examples of CLLD.

- (3) ta lulúdhia *(ta) éfere o Vassilis
the flowers them-cl brought-he the Vassilis
'Vassilis brought the flowers.'
- (4) tis Marías *(tis) stílane lulúdhia
the Maria-Gen her-cl sent-they flowers
'Maria was sent flowers.'

There are in principle two possible lines of analysis for CLLD. One advocates movement of the object DP, while the other advocates base-generation of the object DP in a clause-peripheral position.³ In the first line of analysis there are two possibilities. According to the first, CLLD is an instantiation of Clitic Doubling; what is 'doubled' is a moved phrase. An alternative would be to argue that what is 'doubled' is the variable. According to the second possibility the clitic is the spelling out of the pronominal features left on the variable itself.

Both lines of analysis have to justify the presence of the clitic. In the first, the justification for the presence of the clitic does not differ from the account of the clitic in Clitic Doubling. In the second analysis, the clitic is an overt variable. In the base generation analysis of CLLD the clitic is resumptive and is there to receive the theta role.

²The term is Cinque's (1990). The term (Clitic-)Right-Dislocation (CLRD) could be used to refer to CD. The term CD and the term CLRD make different assumptions about the position of the object. In CD the object is usually taken to fill its canonical position, while in CLRD the object is explicitly taken to be dislocated to the right. Also CD is more commonly used when the construction in question is obligatory in a language while the term CLRD is kept for when the structure is optional. Nonetheless, it seems to me that Clitic Doubling and (Clitic-)Right-Dislocation are essentially the same structure (see Agouraki (1992)).

³For head-first languages there is no question of base-generating the object DP in its canonical position.

In (3) the CLLDed constituent is a direct object while in (4) the CLLDed constituent is an indirect object.⁴ It should be stressed that examples (3) and (4) become ungrammatical, if the clitic is omitted. The clitic is obligatory. The fact that the position occupied by the CLLDed object is reserved for DP's, is significant for our purposes. We want to identify the position hosting the object DP in CLLD. The above fact suggests three things. First, that the position under examination does not seem to be the canonical object position. Indirect objects in MG can be either DP's or PP's. Only DP indirect objects can undergo CLLD. Second, that the position involved is unlikely to be an adjoined position. As far as I know adjoined positions do not differentiate between DP's and non-DP's. And third, that the position occupied by the object DP does not seem to be one of the known specifier positions, i.e. Spec of CP or Spec of FP, for the same reason that it could not be an adjoined position.

The unavailability of PP CLLD suggests that the position hosting the object DP in CLLD is the target of some movement. In fact Cinque (1990) has shown that CLLD exhibits two properties that are diagnostic of a (Wh-)Movement construction, namely sensitivity to strong islands and connectivity. I will not illustrate these facts here. I will take it for granted in my analysis that we have to do with a movement structure.

The matching in phi-features between the object DP and the clitic reminds one of licensing mechanisms in the form of Spec-head agreement configurations recently proposed in the literature (cf. Wh-Criterion, Neg-Criterion, F-Criterion). I will next present an analysis of CLLD which is in that spirit. I will argue that in CLLD the object DP is in the Spec of a functional maximal projection, a CliticPhrase, of which the clitic is the overt head.⁵ The Spec of Clitic Phrase is the target position of a movement, the

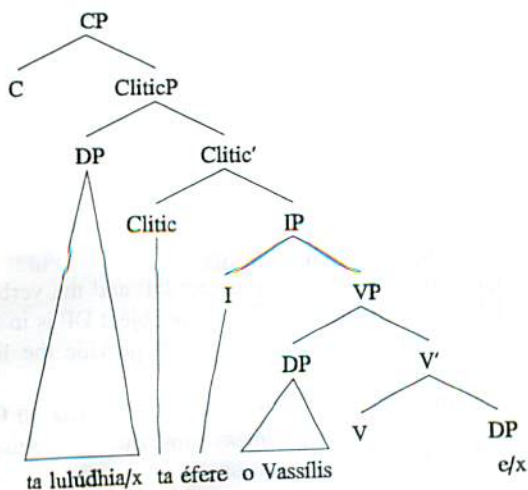
⁴Note that measure phrases can also undergo CLLD (cf. (1)). Measure phrases in MG are marked with Accusative.

- (1) ekató kilá tha *(ta) ziyízi
 a hundred kilos will them-cl weigh-he
 'He must weigh a hundred kilos.'

⁵The term CliticPhrase is Sportiche's (1992) (GLOW talk). My work was done independently of Sportiche's. We both assign CLLD the same structure. I borrow the term Clitic Phrase from Sportiche (1992), abandoning the term Object Agreement Phrase that I used until recently in order to avoid the connotations that the term Object Agreement Phrase has in the recent literature (cf., for instance, Chomsky 1992).

source position of which is the canonical, VP-internal, object position. Thus, consider the tree for (3), as in (5):

(5)



2 Clitic Doubling

In this section I present an analysis of CD that relates this construction to CLLD. CD is analysed as CLLD plus syntactic verb focussing, i.e. verb-raising to the head F of a FocusPhrase dominating the CliticPhrase.

Apart from CLLD there is another construction involving an object DP and a matching clitic, namely Clitic Doubling (CD). CD differs minimally from CLLD in that the object DP is on the right of the verb. CD seems, therefore, to be the mirror image of CLLD. (6) and (7) below are examples of CD.

- (6) ta éfere ta lulúdhia o Vassilis
 them-cl brought-he the flowers the Vassilis
 'Vassilis brought the flowers.'
- (7) tis stílane tis Marías lulúdhia
 her-cl sent-they the Maria-Gen flowers
 'Maria was sent flowers.'

There are in principle three possible analyses for CD, two involving base generation and one involving movement. So in CD the object DP could be in its canonical position or it could be base-generated on the right periphery of the clause. The third possibility would be that the object undergoes rightward movement (i.e. adjunction).⁶ By the same reasoning as the one I followed in discussing CLLD, the fact that only DP's can undergo CD suggests that the position occupied by the object DP in CD is not the canonical object position, an adjoined position, the Spec of CP or the Spec of FP.

Despite their common properties, CLLD and CD are treated separately in the literature. It is generally assumed and occasionally argued (cf. Cinque 1990, Iatridou 1990, among others) that there is no relation between the two constructions. In this section a unification of the two will be presented. I will argue that in CD, as in CLLD, the object DP is in Spec of a Clitic Phrase. I have yet to explain the relative order between the object DP and the verb in CD. Why does the object DP follow the verb in CD, if the object DP is in the Spec of Clitic Phrase? An examination of this issue will provide the link between CLLD and CD.

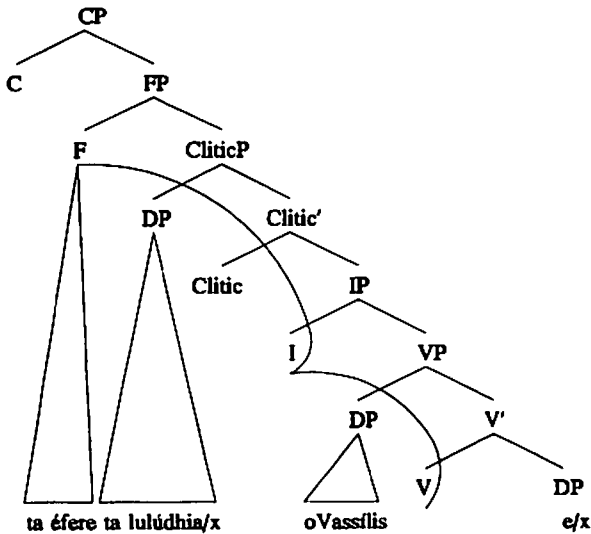
There is a crucial semantic difference between CD and CLLD. In CD the verb is obligatorily interpreted as focussed, unless some other constituent is focussed in the sentence. There is a condition in MG, and perhaps universally, which demands a single focussed item per clause. If I choose to focus some other constituent in the sentence, I can do so. If I do not choose to do so, however, the verb is necessarily focussed. This is not the case with MG sentences not involving CD. There is no principle in the language saying that each sentence must have a focussed constituent. Also there is no principle stating that in each sentence the verb is necessarily focussed. Let us contrast (6), repeated below with (8), as far as the interpretation of the verb is concerned. In (6) the verb is necessarily focussed. In (8) the verb is not focussed.

- (6) ta éfere ta lulúdhia o Vassflis
 them-cl brought-he the flowers the Vassilis
 'Vassilis brought the flowers.'
- (8) éfere ta lulúdhia o Vassflis
 brought-he the flowers the Vassilis
 'Vassilis brought the flowers.'

⁶Kayne argued in his 1992 GLOW talk for there being universally only leftward movement. If he is right, then the third possibility should be eliminated.

The semantic difference in question between CLLD and CD is not evidenced in MG only. I have also looked at Romance languages having CLLD and CD. The facts from these languages support my claim.

It will be argued that the difference between CD and CLLD concerning the interpretation of the verb correlates fully with a structural difference, namely the fact that in CD the verb precedes the object while in CLLD the verb follows the object. In CD the verb has raised and is under the head F of a Focus Phrase (for a theory of Focussing see Brody 1990). FP is higher than the CliticPhrase. The obligatoriness of verb-focussing in CD remains unexplained, unless we assume that the verb is under F. Constituents in their canonical positions can be optionally focussed as an instance of phonetic focussing. Constituents inside FP are obligatorily interpreted as foci. If the verb in CD is necessarily focussed, this means that it is syntactically focussed.⁷ (9) below is the tree-diagram for example (6). (9)



⁷Sportiche (1992) argues that in CD the object DP is in its canonical VP-internal position and that it moves to the Spec of the CliticPhrase by LF.

The present analysis of CD permits a unification of CLLD and CD. A prediction of my theory is that there are no languages with CD which lack CLLD. The prediction is borne out as far as I know.

3. The Clitic-Construction (CLC)

3.1 Movement Effects

In this section I will adduce data showing that: (i) the objects in the Clitic-Construction behave like subjects in Spec of IP and (ii) the Clitic-Construction cancels subject-object asymmetries. In section 3.2 I will argue on the basis of (i) and (ii) that the effect of the Clitic-Construction on objects is that they are externalised.

3.1.1 Subject-Object Asymmetries

In this section I will present data to illustrate the lack of subject-object asymmetries in the Clitic-Construction. Languages exhibit subject-object asymmetries, as a consequence of the subject being hierarchically higher than the object. I will show that in the Clitic-Construction the subject-object asymmetries cease to exist. I will next present five cases of suppression of subject-object asymmetries. What needs to be stressed is the obligatoriness of the Clitic-Construction whenever there is suppression of subject-object asymmetries.

A. Binding Facts

Objects undergoing the Clitic-Construction can serve as antecedents for binding. MG has the following asymmetry: while a possessive clitic inside an object can be coreferential with the subject of the clause (cf. (10)), a possessive clitic inside a subject cannot be coreferential with the object of the clause (cf. (11)).⁸

⁸An account for the subject-object asymmetry in the pair (10)-(11) is not crucial for current purposes.

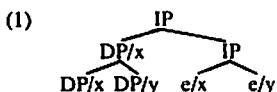
- (10) o Yánnis/x aghapái ti mitéra tu/x
 the Yannis loves the mother his/x
 'Yannis/x loves his/x mother.'
 (11) *i mitéra tu/x aghapái to Yánni/x
 the mother his loves the Yánnis
 'His/x mother loves Yannis/x.'

The Clitic-Construction has an interesting property, that of cancelling the asymmetry between examples (10) and (11). Crucially, a possessive clitic inside a subject DP can be coreferential with the object of the clause, if the object has undergone the Clitic-Construction. Consider (12) in that respect.

- (12) i mitéra-tu/x ton/x aghapá to Yánni/x
 the mother-his/x him-cl/x loves the Yannis/x
 'His/x mother loves Yannis/x.'

An important difference between scrambling and the Clitic-Construction is the following: while in scrambling the relative order between the subject and the object is crucial for binding possibilities (cf. Lee, Y.-S. and B. Santorini 1991), in the Clitic-Construction the relative order between the 'doubled' object DP and the subject does not seem to be relevant (cf., for instance, (12), where the subject precedes the verb as in (11)). For coreference to become possible in (11) what is required is that the object undergoes the Clitic-Construction. This reminds one of properties of A-positions as opposed to properties of A'-positions. More specifically, objects in the Clitic-Construction behave like subjects.⁹ In (12) the object is externalised.

⁹I have accounted for the fact that the relative word order between the subject and the 'doubled' object plays no role for binding possibilities by invoking the properties of the position occupied by the object DP in the Clitic-Construction. Such an account should be contrasted with accounts based on relative order between the subject and the object but providing structures eliminating the hierarchical difference between the subject and the object. A structure such as the one that May (1985) assigns to multiple quantification is in this spirit. This was pointed out to me by M. Brody. What we would have would be something like (1) below:



This is why coreference is possible. Disjoint reference is possible in the same way that disjoint reference is possible in (13) below.

- (13) ο Yánnis/x aghapái ti mitéra tu/x/y
 the Yannis loves the mother his
 'Yannis/x loves his/x/y mother.'

I assume that, (12) being a case of CD, Clitic+V+I is under F, while the subject is adjoined to either FP or CP.

B. Pseudo-Relatives

Pseudo-relatives display a subject-object asymmetry. Consider the contrast between (14) and (15) below.¹⁰

- (14) Je l'ai rencontré qui sortait du cinéma.
 'I met him (that was) leaving the movies.'
 (15) *Je l'ai rencontré que Marie embrassait.
 'I met him that Mary was kissing.'

Interestingly, in MG the asymmetry dissolves, if the object undergoes the Clitic-Construction. Consider example (16) below:¹¹

- (16) ídha tin kopéla pu tin filúse o nearós
 saw-I the girl that her was kissing the young man
 'I saw the girl that the young man was kissing.'

Even if this solution did work for the binding facts, it cannot explain the facts concerning pseudo-relatives, quantifier interaction, the scope of Negation and quirky subjects. On the contrary the analysis in terms of position that I presented schematically above accounts simultaneously for all the facts in section (3.1). For the above reasons I would not want to adopt a solution à la May to the binding facts puzzle.

¹⁰The examples are from Kayne (1984:95)

¹¹The observation that in MG pseudo-relatives the gap can be an object, as well as example (16) belongs to A. Roussou (p.c.).

C. Quantifier Interaction

No distributive readings are available with CLLDed/CDed existential quantifiers in the scope of universal quantifiers. Thus, a distributive reading is available in (17) but not in (18). The unavailability of distributive readings is characteristic of subjects (cf. (19)).

- (17) óli i fitités sibathún kápius kathiyítés
all the students like-they some professors
'Every student likes some professor.'
- (18) óli i fitités tus sibathún kápius kathiyítés
all the students them-cl like-they some professors
'Every student likes some professor.'
- (19) káppi kathiyítés sibathún ólus tus fitités
some professors like-they all the students
'Some professors like all the students.'

D. The Scope of Negation

Constituent in Clitic-Construction are outside the scope of Negation. Contrast examples (20) and (21), below.

- (20) dhen ídha polús fflus mu
not saw-I many friends-Acc my
'I did not see many of my friends.'
- (21) dhen tus ídha polús fflus mu
not them-cl saw-I many friends-Acc my
'Many of my friends are such that I did not see them.'

Objects in the Clitic-Construction behave like subjects in Spec of IP in this respect. Subjects in Spec of IP are outside the scope of Negation (cf. (22)).

- (22) polf fli mu dhen tilefónisan
many friends my not phoned-they
'Many of my friends did not phone.'

3.1.2 Quirky Subjects

In this section I will look at quirky subjects. Interestingly, all quirky subjects in MG must undergo the Clitic-Construction. Consider examples (23), (24), (25) and (26), below:

- (23) tu Yanni *(tu) lfpun dhéka vivlfa
the Yannis-Gen him-Gen miss-they ten books-Nom
'John is missing ten books.'
- (24) tis Yoryías *(tis) arkún dhio spítia
the Yoryia-Gen her-Gen suffice-they two houses-Nom
'Two houses is enough for Yoryia.'
- (25) tis Annas *(tis) arési to dhiávasma
the Anna-Gen her-Gen likes the studying-Nom
'Anna likes studying.'
- (26) *(ton) ponái to Yánni to kefáli tu
him-cl hurts the Yannis the head his
'Yannis has a headache.'

The obligatoriness of the Clitic-Construction for all quirky subjects is expected in my theory, according to which the effect of the Clitic-Construction on objects is that they become externalised.¹²

Related is the issue of Subject+V idioms. These are cases where the subject influences the theta role of the object. This is only possible when the object undergoes the Clitic-Construction. There are no non-Clitic-Construction versions of these sentences. All Subject+V idioms have obligatory Clitic-Construction. Consider (27) and (28) below.

- (27) *(ton) pjáni i kardhiá tu ton Cóstas (káthe forá pu tu zitáo leftá)
him-cl gets the chest his the Costas every time that him-cl ask-I money
'Costas suffers every time I ask him to give me some money.'
- (28) *(tu) tin édhose tu Yánni
him-cl her-cl gave-it the Yannis
'Yannis went berserk'

Interestingly, if there is an object in the Subject+V idioms, it has to be fixed (i.e. it cannot vary). This is expected given that the VP (which includes

¹²Belletti and Rizzi (1986) argue that dative experiencers in the order Experiencer V Theme of psyche verbs occupy in fact the subject position.

the verb, the Nominative DP and the Accusative DP) assigns a theta role to the quirky subject in Spec of the CliticPhrase. If the Accusative DP was not fixed, there would be problems with theta role assignment to the quirky subject of the Subject+V idiom.

- (29) tu Yánni *(tu) spásane ta névra ta pedhiá
the Yannis-Gen him-cl broke-they the nerves-Acc the children-Nom
'The children got on Yannis's nerves.'

In the case of quirky subjects and Subject+V idioms the Spec of the CliticPhrase is an A-position, since it is a theta-position. What goes on is that we have externalisation of the object plus theta role assignment. In all other cases of Clitic-Construction we have just externalisation of the object.

3.2 An Analysis

In this section I will discuss further the Clitic-Construction, my analysis of which has already been presented in sections (1) and (2). On the basis of the data presented in section (3.1) I argue that the Clitic-Construction has the effect on objects that they are externalised. I will also argue that the Clitic-Construction, irrespective of whether it involves object or subject clitics, is a mechanism for non-wh / non-focal movement.¹³

The reason why there is movement of the object to the Specifier of a CliticPhrase is because there must be a Spec-head agreement configuration. thus, consider Sportiche's (1992) Clitic-Criterion forces movement:

- (30) *Clitic Criterion*
A +F category must be in a spec/head configuration with an +F Xzero.
A +F Xzero must be in a spec/head configuration with +F NP.
+F accusative/dative: Accusative/Dative Voice

The Spec-head agreement between an object DP and a matching clitic is a literal case of Spec-head agreement, given that the Spec and the head are identically marked for phi-features.

¹³I also mention subject clitics in this respect because in section (5) I analyse Complex Inversion in French as non-wh / non-focal movement of the subject that must be licensed in the Spec of a CliticPhrase.

The question arises whether the Clitic Criterion in (30) is adequately motivated. There are general conditions holding for the Criteria posited so far in the literature. What we need to establish is whether the Clitic-Construction also satisfies these conditions. On the basis of the Wh-Criterion, the Neg-Criterion and the F-Criterion we can assume that the general conditions on Criteria are the following. There is the Spec-head agreement configuration. For some it is overtly expressed at S-structure. For others it is simply a c-command requirement at S-structure which translates into a Spec/head configuration at LF. With respect to the Clitic-Construction, the clitic constitutes indirect evidence that Spec-head agreement has taken place. Also, in the various Criteria there are syntactic effects of the constituent in Specifier position. For instance the constituent in the Specifier position cannot undergo A'-movement.¹⁴

In that respect consider the incompatibility between Focussing and the Clitic-Construction, which is discussed in section 3.3. In addition the constituent in the Specifier position is never in the scope of some sentential operator, e.g. Negation (cf. Agouraki 1992 for a discussion of the relation between foci and Negation). This has been shown for the Clitic Construction in 3.1.1.

Nowadays it is more or less established that all languages are configurational. The subject is higher than the object, either because it occupies the Spec of VP while the other arguments are V'-internal or because it is, alledgedly, the only argument that can be externalised, i.e. that can occupy the Spec of IP. It seems to me that the statement about the subject being the only argument that can be externalised is too strong. I argue that movement of an object to the Spec of a CliticPhrase, movement which is independently required by the Clitic Criterion (see Sportiche 1992), has the effect on objects that they are externalised. The data in section 3.1 showed that there are strong similarities in the relevant respect between subjects in Spec of IP and objects in the Clitic-Construction. Movement of subjects to the Specifier of a CliticPhrase does not have any effect on them because subjects are already externalised, or, to put it better, already predicated of. If subject-object asymmetries are explained by the subject being hierarchically higher than the object, the absence of subject-object asymmetries in the Clitic-Construction is accounted for by the theory of the Clitic-Construction I have advanced.

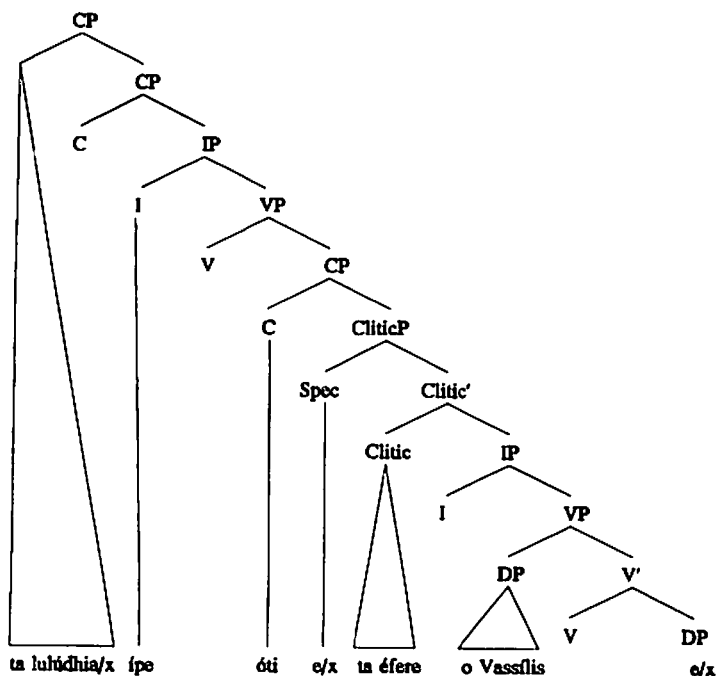
¹⁴In section 3.3 I discuss this property of the constituent in the Specifier position of projections obeying Criteria.

The Clitic-Construction involves local movement from an A-position to the Spec of a CliticPhrase. I take any higher movement that follows to be adjunction. Adjunction can be to VP, IP, FP or CP. Consider example (31).

- (31) *ta lulúdhia ípe óti *(ta) éfere o Vassflis*
the flowers said-he that them-cl brought-he the Vassilis
'He said that Vassilis brought the flowers.'

In (31) *ta lulúdhia* moves first from the embedded object position to the Spec of the CliticPhrase. Once the Spec-head agreement configuration is satisfied the object DP can move higher by adjunction. In (31) the object DP adjoins to CP. (32) below is the tree-diagram for (31).

(32)



The obligatoriness of the clitic in (31) shows that constraint (33) holds in languages with CliticPhrases.

- (33) All long movement of non-wh/non-focussed argument XP's must be licensed in the Spec of CliticPhrases.

To summarise, the main points of this section are the following:

- (i) There is a Clitic-Criterion.
- (ii) The effect of the Clitic-Construction on objects is that they are externalised.
- (iii) The Clitic-Construction is a licensing mechanism for long movement of non-wh/non-focussed argument DP's.

3.3 Focussing and the Clitic-Construction

An advantage of the theory of the Clitic-Construction put forward in this paper is that it provides an explanation for the noted incompatibility between the Clitic-Construction and Focussing, namely for the fact that objects in Clitic-Construction cannot undergo Focussing. Consider (34).

- (34) *tis MARIAS tis stílane lulúdhia
the MARIA-Gen her-cl sent-they flowers

I will claim that the incompatibility of Focussing and the Clitic-Construction is to be expected in a model where constituents in the Clitic-Construction and foci are licensed in the Specifier position of distinct maximal projections. I will go on to explain what excludes focussed 'doubled' constituents.

I argued that the Spec of the CliticPhrase is an A'-position. It has been noted that there is no LF movement originating from an A'-position (for a discussion of this constraint and the relevant literature, see Epstein 1992). The Clitic-Construction data show that the restriction is more general. It is not a restriction on LF movement only, but a restriction on movement in general. The constraint in its present form can account for the noted incompatibility when phonetic focussing is involved but not when syntactic focussing (cf. (34)) is involved. It seems that there is no movement from an A'-spec to an A'-spec at either S-structure or LF. There can be neither syntactic nor phonetic focussing of the DP in Clitic-Construction. I propose that the incompatibility between Focussing and the Clitic-Construction is derived from constraint (35) below.

- (35) At LF all types of A'-Spec/head licensing must be visible.¹⁵

If the constituent in Spec of the CliticPhrase moves, either at S-structure or at LF, to the Spec of FP, at LF the Spec/head licensing in the CliticPhrase will no longer be visible. For this reason (34) is out. Constituents in A'-Specifiers can only move further by adjunction (cf.(31)).

I will next discuss cases where the incompatibility between Focussing and the Clitic-Construction ceases to exist. I will show how these cases do not violate constraint (35). There is no incompatibility between Focussing and the Clitic-Construction when the Clitic-Construction is obligatory, namely in the

¹⁵ For a discussion of how constraint (35) applies to all the other cases the constraint against LF movement from an A'-position accounted for see Agouraki (1992).

cases of quirky subjects and subject-verb idioms. Consider example (36) in this respect.

- (36) tu YANNI *(tu) lfpun dhéka vivlíá
 the YANNI-Gen him-Gen miss-they ten books-Nom
 'JOHN is missing ten books.'

Constraint (35) is not violated in these cases because the Spec of the CliticPhrase is then an A-position because it is a theta position. There is the possibility of focussing, either syntactically or phonetically, an argument in an A-position. It seems to me that the (in)compatibility of CLLD with Focussing is related to a change from a CliticPhrase to an XP that has basically the 'status' of IP as far as the properties of its Specifier position are concerned.¹⁶

4. The Clitic-Construction and Parametrization

Not all languages have CLLD and CD. Consider MG, which has both, versus French, which has neither. However, as I will show in this section, it would be wrong to claim that the Clitic-Construction is parametrised. If we take subject clitics into account, we see that all languages with clitics have the Clitic-Construction. French has it with subjects. I will derive the presence of subject CliticPhrases vs. the absence of object CliticPhrases in French. I will claim that the presence vs. absence of CLLD/CD in a language with object clitics is explained, given an understanding of the effect that the Clitic-Construction has on objects.

In section 3 I showed that the Clitic-Construction has the effect on objects that they are externalised. I would predict, then, that a language with fixed word order will not have CLLD/CD. The prediction is confirmed, French being the obvious example. French does not have CLLD/CD. Syntactic focussing aside, the component of the fixed word order parameter I am interested in here is whether in a language there are Specifier positions for objects that have the properties of the Spec of IP. It could be that the subject-only externalisation specification is all that the fixed vs. free word

¹⁶Also, there is no incompatibility between Focussing and the Clitic-Construction in languages where the Clitic-Construction is obligatory, for instance River Plate Spanish. Again in this case the Spec of the CliticPhrase is an A-position. The Spec of the CliticPhrase is then the canonical object position. The CliticPhrase becomes in this case an AgrP in the sense of Chomsky (1992).

order parameter amounts to. What I will keep from the free vs. fixed word order parameter with respect to French is that in French only subjects may be externalised. This explains why CLLD/CD is absent in French.

5. Subject Clitics

There are languages with subject clitics (cf. northern Italian dialects and French). In the northern Italian dialects the subject CliticPhrase is obligatory, in the same way that the object CliticPhrase is obligatory in River Plate Spanish. Here I am interested in the case where the subject CliticPhrase is optional in a language. Such a language is French. Consider example (37), in this respect.

- (37) Jean (,) il n' a rien dit
John he not has anything said
'John did not say anything.'

All I want to do in this section is to take French as a further test case for claim (33), repeated below.

- (33) All long movement of non-wh/non-focussed argument XP's must be licensed in the Spec of CliticPhrases.

Subject Clitic-Construction becomes obligatory in French in certain cases. I will next look at those cases in order to establish whether they are in fact instances of long subject non-wh/non-focussed movement, as I would predict. Subject Clitic-Construction is obligatory in the following cases.¹⁷

(a) in wh-questions when some constituent other than the subject is being questioned

- (38) Jean qu' a-t-il fait?
John what has he done
'What did John do?'

¹⁷Obligatory subject Clitic-Construction is referred to in the literature as Complex Inversion.

(b) in yes-no questions

- (39) Jean est-il allé?
 John has he gone
 'Has John gone?'

In (38) and (39) the subject is not in its canonical position, given that it occupies a pre-CP position. I analyse (38) and (39) as instances of long non-wh/non-focussed subject movement that has to obey constraint (33). I argue that *a-t-il* and *est-il*, in (38) and (39), respectively, are under C. The verb raises first to I, then to the clitic head of a subject CliticPhrase and finally moves to C. All this parallels the case of object clitics.¹⁸

Examples like (40) below indicate that it is inadequate to argue that subject Clitic-Construction is obligatory in French under cases (a) and (b).

- (40) Qu' est la vérité?
 what is the truth
 'What is truth?'

What should be said instead is that subject Clitic-Construction is obligatory for long non-wh/non-focussed subject movement. The clitic in (38) and (39) is obligatory for the same reason it was obligatory in (31), repeated below. Long movement of subjects is possible in French (it does not alter the requirement in that language for only subjects can be externalised), but the movement must be licensed in the Specifier of the CliticPhrase first.

- (31) ta lulúdhia ípe óti *(ta) éfere o Vassílis
 the flowers said-he that them-cl brought-he the Vassilis
 'He said that Vassilis brought the flowers.'

My theory can also account for the ungrammaticality of (41) (see section 3.3).

- (41) *Qui amuse-t-il Marie?
 who amuses he Mary

The ungrammaticality of (41) reduces to a violation of constraint (35).

¹⁸Sportiche (1992) has the same analysis for the French Complex Inversion data.

6. The Clitic-Construction and UG

The Clitic-Construction cannot be part of UG. Clearly not all languages exhibit the Clitic-Construction. While the Clitic-Construction cannot be part of UG, what it makes use of, namely the Spec-head agreement configuration as a licensing mechanism is part of UG. We also find this licensing mechanism in wh-movement, Focussing and Polarity Item Licensing. Language specific structures are permissible in so far as they follow schemata permitted by UG. This is an interesting picture of language variation. Clitics, in terms of the function they perform, form part of a more general picture. Optional agreement markers in some languages perform the same function by means of the same configuration, i.e. Spec-head agreement (cf. Mahajan 1990).

If we consider wh-movement, Focussing and the Clitic-Construction, we see that arguments need to be licensed in Spec-head agreement configurations in order to be able to undergo movement. The Clitic-Construction, Wh-movement and Focussing are (the) three licensing mechanisms permitting movement. All argument A'-movement needs to be mediated via a specifier position.

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