

First conjunct clitic doubling

Implications for the theory of clitic doubling, the PCC, and the syntax of first conjunct agreement

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- broad topic: interaction of clitic doubling and coordination

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Maria] para sto parko
Mary together in.the park
'I saw you and Mary together in the park.' *Modern Greek*

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 - ▶ disclaimer: our claims apply to Greek

Overview

- 1 Data
 - Background
 - New data: FC CLD
- 2 Implications for theories of CLD
 - Theories of clitic doubling
 - Arguments in favor of an Agree-approach
- 3 FC CLD, the PCC and theories of FCA
 - FC CLD and the PCC
 - Implications for analyses of FCA/CCA
- 4 Outlook and conclusion
- 5 References

CLD vs. CLLD/CLRD

- We focus on (object) clitic doubling, (2a), where the doubled DP occupies an argument position, rather than clitic-left dislocation as in (2b):

(2) a. I Maria ðen **ton** ayapai **ton** **Joryo**.
 the Mary.NOM NEG 3SG.M.ACC love.3SG the.ACC George
 'Mary doesn't love George.' CLD

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 the.ACC George the.NOM Mary not 3SG.M.ACC love.3SG
 ‘George, Maria doesn’t love.’ CLLD

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- evidence for the in-situ position of doubled DPs in CLD
 - ▶ ECM-subjects can be doubled in Greek (DP should follow ECM-clause if dislocated, cf. Angelopoulos 2019:3)
 - ▶ DP occupies a clause-internal position: can occur before a post-verbal subject in Greek (VOS) (Angelopoulos 2019:3)
 - ▶ reconstruction effects discussed in Angelopoulos (2019) and below

First conjunct agreement in Modern Greek

- in MG, agreement on finite T can target the 1st CJ or the resolved features on &P but not the 2nd CJ

- (3) a. Xtes { **eftases** / ftasate / *eftase }
 yesterday arrive.**2SG** arrive.**2PL** arrive.**3SG**
 [**esi** ke i Maria] para
 you.NOM and the.NOM Mary together
 'Yesterday, you and Mary arrived together.' 2+3
- b. Xtes { ?**eftase** / ftasate / *eftases }
 yesterday arrive.**3SG** arrive.**2PL** arrive.**2SG**
 [**i** **Maria** ke esi] para
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- note: the SU can remain postverbal/within vP in MG
- only resolved agr if &P is preverbal, but prev. subjects may be dislocated, cf. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998)

New data: First conjunct clitic doubling

- CLD can target the 1st CJ or the resolved features on &P but not the 2nd CJ

- (4) a. { **se** / sas / *tin } iða [**esena** ke
2SG 2PL 3SG.F saw.1SG you.ACC and
ti Maria] parea sto parko
the.ACC Mary together in.the park
'I saw you and Mary together in the park.' 2+3
- b. { ?**tin** / sas / *se } iða [**ti** **Maria**
3SG.F 2PL 2SG saw.1SG the.ACC Mary.ACC
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- b. { ?**tin** / sas / *se } iða [**ti** **Maria**
3SG.F 2PL 2SG saw.1SG the.ACC Mary.ACC
ke esena] parea sto parko
and you.ACC together in.the park
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- cf. Craenenbroeck & Koppen (2008: 208) for 1st CJ pronoun doubling; Bošković (2020: 145), Angelopoulos & Sportiche (2021: 11.3)

New data: First conjunct clitic doubling 2

- coordination of 3+3 (with differing gender)

- (5) { **Ton** / tus / *tin } iða [ton
3SG.M.ACC 3PL.M.ACC 3SG.F.ACC saw.1SG the.ACC
Petro ke tin Artemi] parea sto parko.
 Peter.ACC and the.ACC Artemis.ACC together in.the park
 'I saw Peter and Artemis together in the park'
- (6) { **Tin** / tus / *ton } iða [tin
3SG.F.ACC 3PL.M.ACC 3SG.M.ACC saw.1SG the.ACC
Artemi ke ton Petro] parea sto parko.
 Artemis.ACC and the.ACC Peter.ACC together in.the park
 'I saw Artemis and Peter together in the park'

The challenge posed by clitic doubling

- 2 elements but only 1 argument slot/Case

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- 3 major approaches
 - ▶ Big-DP-approach: clitic and DP start out as a unit
 - ▶ Derivational approach: clitic arises as a by-product of the derivation, viz., spell-out of a D-head that has moved to the verb
 - ▶ Agree-approach: clitic results from Agree with a functional head

(7) I Maria **ton** ayapai **ton** **Joryo**.
 the Mary.NOM 3SG.M.ACC love.3SG the.ACC George
 'Mary loves George.'

Big-DP-approaches

- intuition: anaphoric dependencies are captured derivationally

Big-DP-approaches

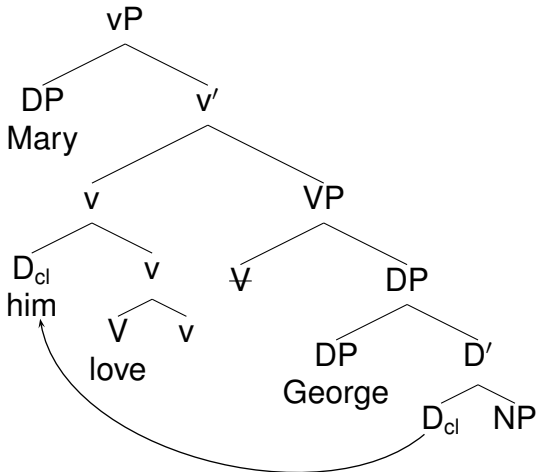
- intuition: anaphoric dependencies are captured derivationally
- different configurations between clitic and DP
 - ▶ clitic = head of DP; DP = specifier, see Uriagereka (1995:81)
 - ▶ clitic adjoined to DP (cf. floating quantifiers), see Nevins (2011)
 - ▶ clitics as specifiers within an FP that also hosts the DP, Arregi & Nevins (2012: 53ff.)

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- clitic strands the DP in the course of the derivation by moving to the verb → clitic = independent element

Big-DP-approaches 2

(8)



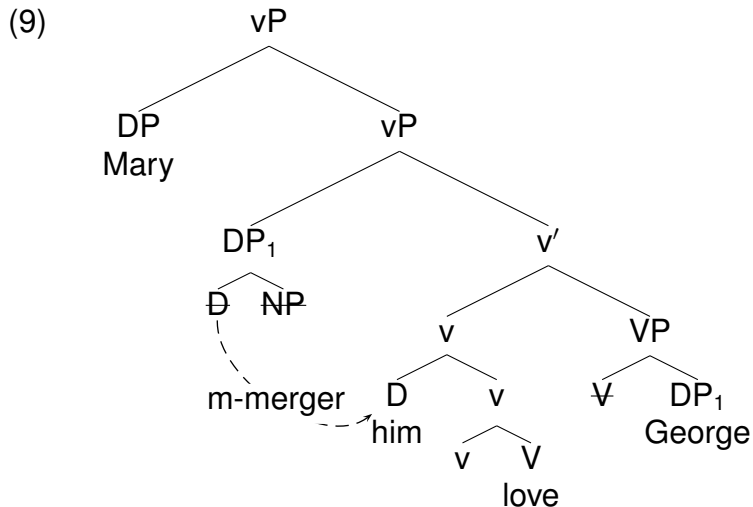
Clitics as by-product of the derivation 1

- clitic is not an independent syntactic element
- clitic is the double realization of a D-head

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- clitic is the double realization of a D-head
- implementation 1: A-movement + rebracketing (Kramer 2014, Harizanov 2014)
 - ▶ doubled DP undergoes (covert) object shift to Spec,vP
 - ▶ D-head undergoes rebracketing/M-Merger with v (Matushansky 2006)
 - ▶ only the lower copy of the DP and the rebracketed D are realized

Clitics as by-product of the derivation 2



Clitics as by-product of the derivation 3

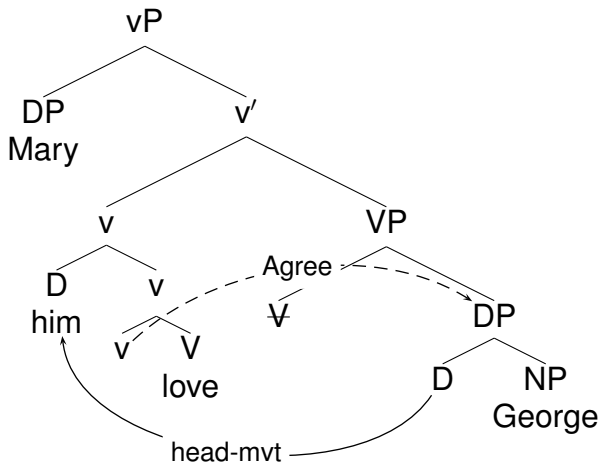
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Clitics as by-product of the derivation 3

- implementation 2: the clitic arises via long head-movement (e.g., Řezáč 2008, Preminger 2009, 2011, 2019)
 - ▶ Agree v-DP
 - ▶ triggers movement of the D-head of the DP to the verb
 - ▶ clitic is not the realization of the copied phi-features on v but of the moved D-head (only one set of features realized (Kramer 2014: 617f. and Preminger 2019: 31ff.))
 - ▶ both the moved D as well as the full DP are realized at PF (Preminger 2019: 20)

Clitics as by-product of derivation 4

(10)



Agreement approaches 1

- Clitic doubling = object agreement

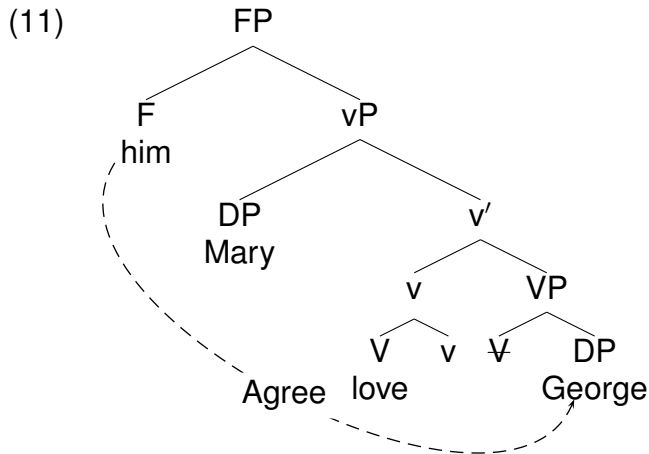
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- Sportiche (1996): clitics = independent functional heads in the extended projection of the verb
- licensing originally via Spec-head: doubled DP moves to Spec of the clitic-head
- more recently: Agree between clitic head and doubled DP, see Angelopoulos (2019)

Agreement approaches 2



Implications of First CJ CLD: CSC-violations

- First conjunct CLD leads to CSC violations in most of the approaches:
 - ▶ Big-DP: if clitic is only associated with first CJ, movement of CL to the verb violates CSC
 - ▶ A-movement: asymmetric A-movement of the first CJ, e.g., to Spec,vP, violates the CSC
 - ▶ head-movement: asymmetric head-movement of the D-head of the first CJ to the verb violates the CSC

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- the facts favor an Agree-based approach, which only involves feature-copying and is not subject to the CSC
- cf. Kalin & Weisser (2019) on coordination and DOM

The CSC in Greek 1: head-movement

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- the CSC may not be the typical locality constraint (semantic, cf., e.g., Fox 2000, + exceptions), but it clearly holds in MG
- head-movement: asymmetric movement of V-to-T fails (manner adverb marks vP-boundary):

(12)??An **ðjavase**₁ [ɣriyora o Janis ___₁ to perioðiko] ke
 if read.3SG quickly the.NOM John the.ACC magazine.ACC and
 [prosektika o Aleksis **meletise** tin efimeriða]
 carefully the.NOM Alexis.NOM studied.3SG the.ACC newspaper.ACC

(13) An **ðjavase**₁ [ɣriyora o Janis ___₁ to perioðiko] ke
 if read.3SG quickly the.NOM John the.ACC magazine.ACC and
 [prosektika o Aleksis ___₁ tin efimeriða]
 carefully the.NOM Alexis the.ACC newspaper.ACC
 ‘If John read the magazine quickly, and Alexis read the newspaper
 carefully...’

The CSC in Greek 2: A-movement

- A-movement: existence of A-mvt in Greek contested; to the extent it exists, it can be shown to obey the CSC

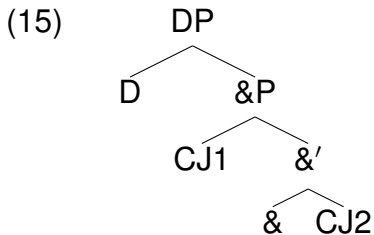
The CSC in Greek 2: A-movement

- A-movement: existence of A-mvt in Greek contested; to the extent it exists, it can be shown to obey the CSC
- (14) shows that asymmetric A-movement to Spec,TP is impossible (an ellipsis parse is ruled out):

- (14) a. Sinandiθikan [o **Janis** ke i Maria]
 met.3PL the.NOM John.NOM and the.NOM Mary.NOM
 sto parko.
 in.the park
 ‘John and Mary met in the park’
- b. ***[O Janis]**₁ sinandiθikan/sinandiθike [__₁ ke
 the.NOM John.NOM met.3PL/met.3SG and
 i Maria] sto parko.
 the.NOM Mary.NOM in.the park
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First CJ CLD and a refined Big-DP-analysis 1

- the CSC violation can be avoided under the Big-DP-analysis if D is generated outside of &P and undergoes Agree with either the 1st CJ or &P (K. Arregi, p.c):



→ no asymmetric extraction will be required

First CJ CLD and a refined Big-DP-analysis 2

- Bošković (2019, 2020): the CSC only holds for successive-cyclic movement out of &P; violable if extraction involves an element base-generated at the edge of CJ1/that can independently move to the edge

(16) Vistede=loj₁ [DP ___₁ [NP amigo de Xan]] e-mais [DP a Diego]
 (you)saw=the friend of Xan and Diego
 onte.

yesterday

'You saw Xan's friend and Diego yesterday.'

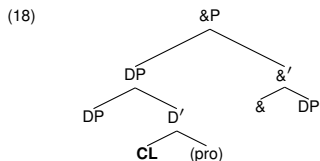
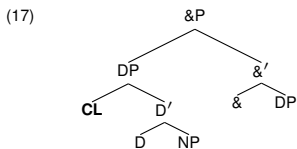
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 yesterday
 'You saw Xan's friend and Diego yesterday.' *Galician*

- Given the Big-DP-hypothesis, 1st CJ CLD is expected since extraction/clitic movement would take place from the edge of the first CJ (if clitic is either the head of DP or occupies its specifier)



Subextraction from &P

- The above-mentioned solutions to rule in restricted CSC-violations under clitic-doubling are not sufficient:
- coordinated ECM-clauses with asymmetric CLD of ECM-SU:

(19) Kanis ðen **tin/*ton** ekane
nobody.NOM NEG 3SG.ACC.F/3SG.ACC.M made.3SG
[avrio **ti** **Maria** na erθi] ke [tin
tomorrow the.ACC Mary.ACC COMP come and the
epomeni evðomaða to Jani na fiji].
next week the.ACC John.ACC COMP leave
'No-one made Mary come tomorrow and John leave
next week.'

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- the neg. quantifier rules out conjunction reduction
 - the adverbs ensure the ECM-SU is not at the edge
- would require clitic movement from a position that is not at the edge of the conjunct and thus violate the CSC

Another argument against A-movement: Condition C

- CLD fails to affect binding: doubled DP in base-position:
- Condition C: configuration 1

(20) cl_i V [_{DP1} R-Exp_j] [_{DP2} X of R-Exp_j]_i

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- if DP2 underwent A-movement across DP1 (to Spec,vP), it should *alleviate* Condition C, but doesn't; clitic has no effect:

(21) *Tin_i eðiksa [tu Jani_j] [ti fotografia
 3SG.F.ACC showed.1SG the.GEN John.GEN the picture.F.ACC
 tu Jani_j]_i.
 the.GEN John.GEN

'I showed John_j the picture of John_j'

(22) *Tis_i eðikse o Janis_j [tis manas
 3SG.GEN showed.3SG the.NOM John.NOM the.GEN mother.GEN
 tu Jani_j]_i to vivlio.
 the.GEN John.GEN the.ACC book.ACC

'John_j showed John_j's mother the book'

Evidence for and against A-mvt/head-movement

- CLD fails to affect (viz., shows no signs of A-movement)
 - ▶ reciprocal reconstructions
 - ▶ anaphor binding
- CLD seems to alleviate WCO (suggesting movement)
 - ▶ one can show that the covert A-movement analysis fails once the DP containing the bound pronoun is doubled
 - ▶ we entertain a reanalysis in terms of information structure
- CLD voids intervention effects (suggesting movement)
 - ▶ we believe that activity may be a possible explanation

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The PCC in Greek

- The PCC is strong in Greek and thus bars 1st/2nd as DO (*X>1/2), cf. Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005)

(23) *Tha tu se stilune.
 FUT 3SG.M.GEN 2SG.ACC send.3PL
 ‘They will send you to him.’

3>2

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- interaction of coordination with the PCC

- ▶ ungrammatical if DO = coordination of [2+3]: FC CLD (2sg) or resolved doubling (2pl)

(24) *Tis { se / sas / ton } sistisa
 3SG.F.GEN **2SG.ACC** **2PL.ACC** **3SG.M.ACC** introduced
 (tis Marias) [esena ke ton Petro].
 the.GEN Mary.GEN you.ACC and the.ACC Peter.ACC
 ‘I introduced you and Peter to Mary.’

3>[2+3]

First CJ CLD and the PCC

- if DO = [3+2], FC CLD is grammatical but resolved CLD is not:

(25) Tis { **ton** / *sas / *se } sistisa
 3SG.F.GEN **3SG.ACC** **2PL.ACC** **2SG.ACC** introduced
 (tis Marias) [**ton** **Petro** ke esena].
 the.GEN Mary.GEN the.ACC Peter.ACC and you.ACC
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 the.GEN Mary.GEN the.ACC Peter.ACC and you.ACC
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- the entire PCC-paradigm behaves as expected:
 - ▶ * if DO [1/2+3]
 - ▶ if DO [3+1/2], * if resolved Agr, ok if FC CLD
 - ▶ * if IO 1/2 and DO [1/2+3]
 - ▶ if IO 1/2 and DO [3+1/2], *if resolved Agr, ok if FC CLD

First CJ CLD and the PCC 2

- if the PCC is not at stake ([2>3]), there can be FC CLD or resolved CLD with the DO:

- (26) a. Su **ton** sistisa [**ton**
 2SG.GEN **3SG.M.ACC** introduced.1 SG the.ACC
Petro ke ti Maria].
 Peter.ACC and the.ACC Mary.ACC
 'I introduced Peter and Mary to you' 2>3/3
- b. Su tus sistisa [ton
 2SG.GEN **3PL.M.ACC** introduced.1 SG the.ACC
 Petro ke ti Maria]
 Peter.ACC and the.ACC Mary.ACC
 'I introduced Peter and Mary to you' 2>3/3

First CJ CLD and the PCC 3

- similarly, if the genitive clitic is omitted, both FC CLD and resolved doubling are possible in [3+2]:

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 the.ACC Peter.ACC and you.ACC
 ‘I introduced Peter and you (to Mary).’ [3+2]

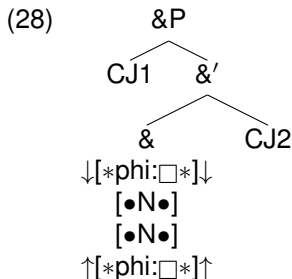
- (this example sounds better with a PP dative because of a garden path induced by the case-syncretic 2PL clitic; this is orthogonal to our point)

Analyses of FCA/CCA

- Equidistance (e.g., van Koppen 2005):
 - ▶ both the first CJ and &P are equidistant to the probe
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- rule ordering: Murphy & Puškar (2018):

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- rule ordering: Murphy & Puškar (2018):
 - ▶ only &P is targeted by outside probe
 - ▶ features on &P depend on the ordering between Merge of CJ1 and CJ2 and Agree between & and the CJs
 - ▶ resolved Agr obtains if both CJ are merged before Agree
 - ▶ FCA = an illusion; results if Agree with CJ2 is bled



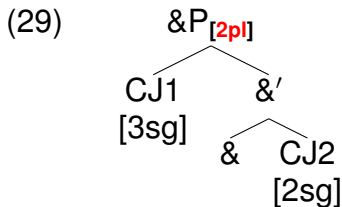
rule ordering for FCA

Relativized probing and agreement with coordination

- Accounts of the PCC often involve relativized probing for [participant], e.g., Béjar & Řezáč (2009), Coon & Keine (to appear), Deal (2020)
- this has different implications for approaches to agreement with coordination (no issue without relativized probing)

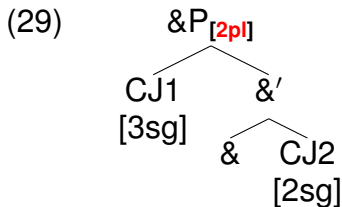
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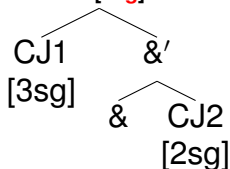


→ fails to capture the grammatical version in 3>[3+2] with FC CLD

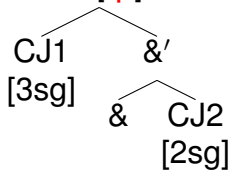
Relativized probing and agreement with coordination 2

B under **rule ordering**, the two agreement patterns imply different features on &P: a grammatical result obtains if only the features of the 1st CJ are on &P:

(30) a. &P_[3sg] ✓FC CLD



b. &P_[2pl] *resolved CLD



→ captures the grammatical version in 3>[3+2] with FC CLD

Outlook and conclusion

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Outlook and conclusion

- the possibility of 1st CJ CLD has far-reaching implications for the syntax of clitic doubling: argues against movement-based theories and in favor of pure Agree-based approaches
 - The optionality in PCC-contexts between 1st CJ CLD and resolved doubling favors approaches to agreement with coordination based on rule-ordering (rather than equidistance) if relativized probing is involved
 - while similar facts seem to hold for other languages (e.g., Albanian), 1st CJ CLD does not seem to be universally available; e.g, impossible in Bulgarian (Harizanov 2014: 1061, fn. 29)
- The syntax of CLD may differ significantly between languages despite the surface similarity

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