First Conjunct Clitic Doubling: Evidence for Agree-Based Approaches

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1. Introduction

Two phenomena that have separately received much attention in syntactic theory are clitic doubling (henceforth CLD) and coordination. For the former phenomenon, the rich literature on doubling furnishes a wide variety of competing analyses, with much debate focused on adducing empirical arguments for or against particular theories. In coordination, much attention has been devoted to elucidating the structure of coordinate phrases, sometimes through the lens of how their constituent parts may be targeted for agreement.

Clitic doubling and coordination have thus received much attention individually, but their intersection has been relatively underexplored; in this paper, we focus on the interaction of the two. Our starting point is a largely novel[1] observation, namely, the phenomenon of first conjunct clitic doubling (henceforth FC CLD) in standard Modern Greek (MG). FC CLD is exemplified in (1) below. Here, the coordinated object *you and Mary* can be doubled in two ways: firstly, the resolved features of the entire coordination can be targeted for doubling, yielding the second plural clitic *sas*. Interestingly, however, it is also possible to target just the first conjunct, giving rise to the second singular clitic *se*. Only the first conjunct can be targeted in this way: second conjunct doubling, here by means of the third singular feminine clitic *tin*, is ungrammatical.

(1) { se / sas / *tin } iða [esena ke ti Maria] parea sto parko.
2sg **2pl** **3sg.f** saw.1SG you.ACC and the.ACC Mary together in.the park
'I saw you and Mary together in the park.' *Modern Greek*[2]

In this paper, we explore the implications that FC CLD has for the syntax of clitic doubling in Greek more generally, and show that FC CLD provides crucial evidence in favor of a pure Agree-based analysis of clitic doubling in this language.

Since our crucial data comes from Greek, the scope of these main claims is circumscribed to this language, and do not necessarily extend to other doubling languages.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides the basic data to be accounted for; Section 3 then examines the implications of FC CLD for theories of clitic doubling. Section 4 discusses possible challenges faced by Agree-based accounts of the type we defend for Greek. Section 5 concludes.

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[1] The possibility of FC CLD has been noted briefly in Bošković (2020: 145) and Angelopoulos & Sportiche (2021); Craenenbroeck & Koppen (2008: 208) make a related observation for pronoun doubling.

[2] Judgments come from the first author, who is a native speaker, and have been confirmed with five more speakers of Greek. As is standard, we use diacritics like '*' to indicate relative contrasts in acceptability, rather than absolute judgments. For one group of speakers including the author, FC CLD is fully grammatical, although marked relative to resolved CLD, paralleling the judgments for FCA. A second group of speakers reports that FC CLD is degraded relative to resolved CLD – but even for these speakers, there is a clear contrast between FC CLD and *last* conjunct doubling, with the latter judged as significantly worse.

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2. Data

2.1. Background

Our focus throughout is on (object) clitic doubling as in (2-a), where the doubled DP *ton Joryo* occupies an argument position. This is to be distinguished from clitic-left dislocation (2-b), where the same DP occupies a higher, possibly left-peripheral position.

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

b. **Ton** **Joryo**, i Maria ðen **ton** aɣapai.
the.ACC George.ACC the.NOM Mary not 3SG.M.ACC love.3SG
'George, Mary doesn't love.' CLLD

We will take it that, in CLD, the doubled DP occupies the same position as it would if it were not doubled. There is much evidence to this end from Greek and beyond, based on the doubling of ECM subjects (Angelopoulos 2019: 3), word order and reconstruction effects (Angelopoulos 2019), case connectivity effects (Harizanov 2014: 1045ff.), and possessor extraction from doubled DPs (Harizanov 2014: 1045ff.). The Condition C data discussed in 3.3 below provide further evidence for the DP's *in situ* position.

Against these background points, consider firstly the fact that Modern Greek shows first conjunct agreement (FCA): agreement on the finite verb can index either the resolved features on a subject coordinate phrase, or the features of the first conjunct, but it cannot target the second conjunct. This is seen in (3-a), where a coordination of second and third singular can trigger either second singular or second plural agreement, but not third singular agreement. (3-b) illustrates that flipping the order of conjuncts affects the agreement possibilities: since the first conjunct is now third singular, third singular agreement on the finite verb becomes grammatical.

(3) a. Xtes { eftases / ftasate / *eftase } [esi ke i Maria] parea.
yesterday arrive.**2sg** arrive.**2pl** arrive.**3sg** you.NOM and the.NOM Mary.NOM together
'Yesterday, you and Mary arrived together.' *2+3*

b. Xtes { ?eftase / ftasate / *eftases } [i Maria ke esi] parea.
yesterday arrive.**3sg** arrive.**2pl** arrive.**2sg** the.NOM Mary.NOM and you.NOM together
'Yesterday, Mary and you arrived together.' *3+2*

In the above examples, the targets of agreement are postverbal subjects; note that VSO order is readily available in Greek clauses. In counterparts of (3) involving preverbal subjects, only resolved agreement is possible; as such, we focus on postverbal subjects here. Note that preverbal subjects in Greek are commonly taken to be dislocated elements (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998).

2.2. New data: FC CLD

The basic observation underlying this paper is that, alongside first conjunct agreement, Greek also allows first conjunct clitic doubling, as discussed with reference to (1) above, repeated here as (4-a). (4-b) shows that FC CLD is also possible if we switch the order of conjuncts, thus fully paralleling FCA.[3]

(4) a. { se / sas / *tin } iða [esena ke ti Maria] parea sto parko
2sg **2pl** **3sg.f** saw.1SG you.ACC and the.ACC Mary.ACC together in.the park
'I saw you and Mary together in the park.' *2+3*

b. { ?tin / sas / *se } iða [ti Maria ke esena] parea sto parko
3sg.f **2pl** **2sg** saw.1SG the.ACC Mary.ACC and you.ACC together in.the park
'I saw Mary and you together in the park.'[4] *3+2*

[3] Note that the element *ke* is a true coordinator, as opposed to, say, a comitative preposition; evidence to this end comes from the fact that *ke*+DP cannot undergo fronting, unlike comitative PPs.

In what follows, we argue that first conjunct agreement (3) and first conjunct clitic doubling (4) are two sides of the same coin: in Greek, first conjunct doubling is, like agreement, derived by means of the operation Agree. Crucially, FC CLD suggests that this Agree operation is not accompanied by movement.

3. Implications for theories of CLD

3.1. Theories of clitic doubling

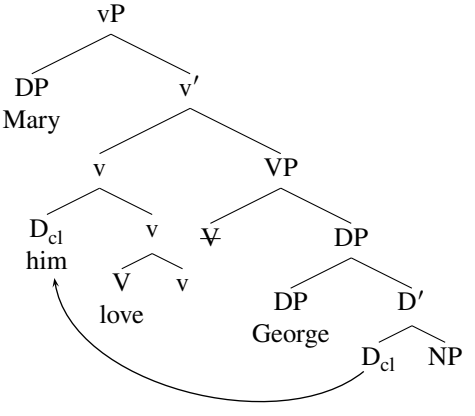
Clitic doubling poses a clear analytical challenge: the structure ostensibly contains two elements, namely the clitic and the doubled DP, but only one locus of thematic interpretation (and Case assignment). Of the two elements, then, only one must be the primary argument: since the doubled DP is usually not dislocated in doubling configurations (see above), the doubled DP is arguably the primary argument, and the clitic arises in a different way. Theories of clitic doubling are defined largely with respect to what they take this mechanism to be (see Anagnostopoulou 2017 for a recent overview).

In this section, we briefly summarize the three major classes of approaches to clitic doubling, before arguing that FC CLD is only compatible with one of them, namely, the family of pure Agree-based approaches. Throughout, we draw trees for the simple clitic doubling example in (5) to illustrate the different analyses.

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

In the so-called big DP approach, the clitic and the doubled DP are taken to form a constituent in the base: the underlying intuition is that anaphoric dependencies are captured derivationally, such that the clitic and the doubled DP are referentially linked because they originate in the same DP constituent. The details of the internal structure of the big DP vary between approaches: for example, some analyses take clitics to head the big DP (Uriagereka 1995: 81), others treat clitics as adjuncts to DP (Nevins 2011), and yet others embed clitics as specifiers within a functional projection that also hosts the DP (Arregi & Nevins 2012: 53ff.). In spite of these differences, these approaches uniformly postulate that the clitic strands the DP in the course of the derivation by moving to a verbal projection, as schematized in (6):

(6)



[4] We use sentence-final adverbs like *mazi* and *parea* 'together', and PPs like *sto parko* 'in the park', to rule out the possibility of conjunction reduction. For some speakers, the collective adverbs require syntactic plurality (see Munn 1999 for similar effects in varieties of Arabic). For these speakers, FCA and FC CLD is thus discernible in configurations with a plural first conjunct and second person second conjunct, or 3PL+1/2SG. (i) illustrates the former possibility for FCA (Luke Adamson and Elena Anagnostopoulou, p.c.).

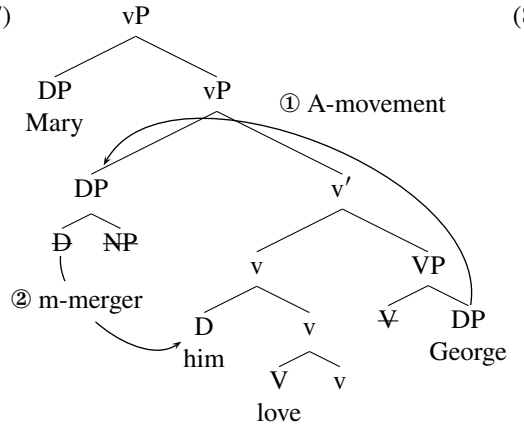
(i) Fiɣate [esis ke ego] mazi.
left.**2pl** 2PL and 1SG together
'Y'all and I left together.

In big DP approaches, then, the clitic is an independent syntactic element, projected within the big DP from the start of the derivation. In a different class of movement-based approaches, clitics are treated as double realizations of the D head introducing the doubled DP.

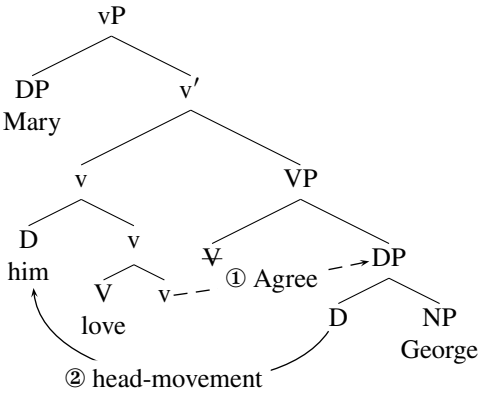
In one type of such an analysis, clitic doubling is derived by means of (covert) A-movement and rebracketing (Harizanov 2014, Kramer 2014). In these approaches, the doubled DP undergoes (covert) object shift to a peripheral position within the verbal shell; the D head subsequently amalgamates downward with the verbal head whose specifier hosts the doubled DP, via rebracketing/m-merger (Matushansky 2006). On this type of analysis, illustrated in (7) below, it is crucial that only the lower copy of the A-moved DP and the rebracketed D head are realized.

A second flavor of the movement-based approach to CLD takes the clitic to arise by means of long head movement (e.g., Řezáč 2008, Preminger 2009, 2011, 2019). On this approach, an Agree dependency between v and the object DP triggers movement of just the head of the DP to the probe v; the clitic is then the realization of the moved D head (Kramer 2014: 617f. Preminger 2019: 31ff.). Under this analysis, doubling arises because both the moved D and the DP are realized at PF (Preminger 2019: 20), cf. (8):

(7)



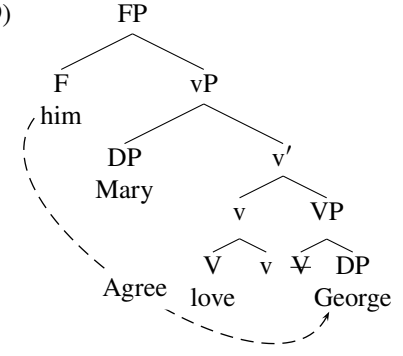
(8)



Despite important differences between them, the theories outlined thus far share *movement* as a crucial property: in big DP approaches, the independent D head strands the doubled DP by evacuating the big DP, while in derivational approaches the clitic spells out a D head that has become amalgamated with v, either due to A-movement plus rebracketing or due to head movement.

Consider now the family of theories of clitic doubling that do not involve movement, namely pure Agree approaches. These theories instantiate the intuition that clitic doubling is a type of object agreement. Since at least Sportiche (1996), clitics have been treated as independent functional heads in the extended projection of the verb, with the doubled DP moving to the specifier of the clitic head. In Agree-based approaches, this type of analysis has been recast to involve Agree between the functional clitic head and the doubled DP (Angelopoulos 2019). On this approach, sketched in (9) below, the clitic is the spellout of the doubled DP's ϕ features, which have ended up on a higher functional head (call it F) via Agree. Crucially, this approach involves only feature copying (or sharing), but no movement.

(9)



3.2. An Argument in favor of an Agree-approach

We will now explore the implications of FC CLD for the different theories of clitic doubling. Crucially, in most approaches, FC CLD will lead to a violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC, Ross 1967). Under the big DP analysis, where the clitic would be associated only with the first conjunct, movement of the clitic to the verb would involve subextraction from one conjunct and thus a CSC-violation. Similarly, under A-movement + rebracketing, there would be asymmetric A-movement of the entire first conjunct to, e.g., Spec,vP, again in violation of the CSC. Finally, under the head-movement approach, there would be asymmetric head-movement of the D-head of the first conjunct to the verb, also in violation of the CSC. Importantly, this issue does not arise under an Agree-based approach, which only involves feature-copying and therefore is not subject to the CSC. Thus, FC CLD favors an Agree-based approach to CLD since it is the only one compatible with the CSC (but see below for a refinement).

Note that our argument parallels that by Kalin & Weisser (2019) against movement approaches to differential object marking (DOM). They show that it is possible to coordinate both marked and unmarked objects. If DOM involved A-movement, such coordination would lead to a violation of the CSC.

One may object at this point that the CSC may not be the typical locality constraint, thereby potentially calling our argument into question. On the one hand, there is evidence that it is governed by semantic aspects, viz., requires some sort of semantic symmetry, see, e.g., Fox (2000), Salzmann (2012). On the other hand, there is also a class of (putative) exceptions, see, e.g., Postal (1998: chapter 3) for discussion. However, all that matters for our purposes is that asymmetric movement as it would be required under movement approaches to FC CLD is not independently available in the language, viz., the CSC holds in the relevant environments; whether the ultimate cause for this constraint is more semantic or syntactic in nature is immaterial to our argument. Thus, asymmetric head-movement as required under big DP- and head-movement-analyses, which corresponds to subextraction from a conjunct, is not possible in MG. As the following pair shows, asymmetric V-to-T-movement of the finite verb is not possible, (10-a) (note that the manner adverb marks the vP-boundary). If, however, there is ATB-movement of the same verb to T, the result is grammatical, (10-b):

(10) a. ??An **ðjavase**$_1$ [ɣriɣora o Janis $\_\__1$ to perioðiko] ke [prosektika
if read.3SG quickly the.NOM John.NOM the.ACC magazine.ACC and carefully
o Aleksis **meletise** tin efimeriða]
the.NOM Alexis.NOM studied.3SG the.ACC newspaper.ACC
'If John read the magazine quickly, and Alexis studied the newspaper carefully...'

b. An **ðjavase**$_1$ [ɣriɣora o Janis $\_\__1$ to perioðiko] ke [prosektika
if read.3SG quickly the.NOM John.NOM the.ACC magazine.ACC and carefully
o Aleksis $\_\__1$ tin efimeriða]
the.NOM Alexis the.ACC newspaper.ACC
'If John read the magazine quickly, and Alexis read the newspaper carefully...'

Asymmetric A-movement of an entire conjunct, which is what is required under A-movement approaches to CLD, is similarly impossible in MG. The following pair shows that a coordinated subject is fine in postverbal position, (11-a). Fronting the first conjunct to Spec,TP is impossible, though, (11-b), irrespective of the agreement on the verb. Note that the use of a collective verb ensures that a stripping/conjunct extraposition/conjunction reduction parse is unavailable in (11-b):

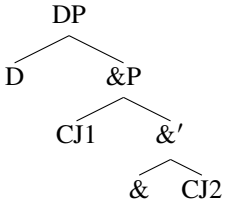
(11) a. Sinandiθikan [**o Janis** ke i Maria] sto parko.
met.3PL the.NOM John.NOM and the.NOM Mary.NOM in.the park
'John and Mary met in the park.'

b. ***[O Janis]**$_1$ sinandiθikan/sinandiθike [$\_\__1$ ke i Maria] sto parko.
the.NOM John.NOM met.3PL/met.3SG and the.NOM Mary.NOM in.the park
'John and Mary met in the park.'

Before concluding this subsection, we will refine our argument against movement-based approaches to CLD in the light of alternative structures for the big DP analysis and recent work on the nature of the

CSC. First, as suggested to us by Karlos Arregi (p.c.), the CSC violation can be avoided under the big DP analysis if D is generated outside of &P as in (12) and undergoes Agree with either the 1st CJ, leading to FC CLD, or &P, leading to resolved doubling:

(12)



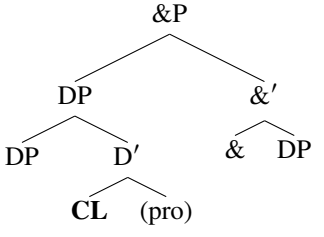
Subsequent movement of the clitic would not be asymmetric and a violation of the CSC would be avoided.

Furthermore, recent work by Bošković (2019, 2020) has argued that the CSC only holds for successive-cyclic movement out of &P. It is violable, though, if extraction involves an element base-generated at the edge of the first conjunct or that that can independently move to the edge (this asymmetry is eventually related to labeling). The following example from Galician is supposed to instantiate the former: the definite determiner associated with the first conjunct can asymmetrically cliticize onto the verb. Given that it is the head of the DP, it counts as being at the edge and can move without violating the CSC:

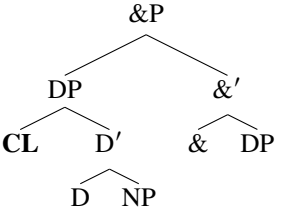
(13) Vistede=lo$_1$ [$_{DP}$ —$_1$ [$_{NP}$ amigo de Xan]] e-mais [$_{DP}$ a Diego] onte.
(you)saw=the friend of Xan and Diego yesterday
'You saw Xan's friend and Diego yesterday.' *Galician*

Given the big DP hypothesis, FC CLD is now expected to be possible since movement of the clitic would take place from the edge of the first conjunct as long as the clitic is either the head of DP, (14), or occupies its specifier, (15):

(14)



(15)



Consequently, given this theory of the CSC, FC CLD would no longer be ruled out if the big DP analysis or a head-movement approach is adopted (the derivation in the latter case would be essentially the same as in the Galician example above). What still remains ruled out under this theory of the CSC is the A-movement approach.

We will now show that the above-mentioned solutions to rule in restricted CSC-violations under clitic-doubling are not sufficient. FC CLD is still incompatible with movement approaches to CLD once different configurations are taken into account. Consider the following example involving coordinated ECM-clauses with asymmetric CLD of the first ECM-subject:

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

Note that the negative quantifier rules out a conjunction reduction parse (under the relevant reading where *no one* has scope over both events). The adverbs at the beginning of each conjunct ensure that the ECM-subjects are not at the edge of the conjunct. Consequently, under a big DP- or head-movement

approach, CLD would require movement from a position that is not at the edge of the conjunct and thus violate even the refined version of the CSC developed in Bošković (2019, 2020). What is crucially different in this type of example is that doubling can involve subparts of &P. We therefore conclude that our argument against movement-based approaches to CLD still stands.

3.3. Further arguments against movement in CLD: Binding

In this subsection, we will add an argument that only affects certain movement approaches to CLD. We will show that CLD fails to affect binding. The data very much suggest that the doubled DP occupies its base position (they thus provide additional evidence against those approaches to CLD which treat the doubled DP as dislocated). We will discuss Condition C in two configurations. The first configuration can be schematically depicted as in (17):

(17) cl_i V $[_{DP1}$ R-Exp$_j]$ $[_{DP2}$ X of R-Exp$_j]_i$

This configuration can be used to test the predictions of the A-movement approach: if DP2 underwent A-movement across DP1 (e.g., to Spec,vP), it should alleviate Condition C. However, this is not what we find; whether the clitic is present or not, examples of this type are strongly ungrammatical. In (18-a), this is shown for DP1 = IO and DP2 = DO, in (18-b), it is shown for DP1 = subject and DP2 = IO:

(18) a. *Tin$_i$ eðiksa [tu Jani]$_j$ [ti fotografia tu Jani$_j]_i$.
3SG.F.ACC showed.1SG the.GEN John.GEN the.ACC picture.F.ACC the.GEN John.GEN
'I showed John$_j$ the picture of John$_j$.'

b. *Tis$_i$ eðikse [o Janis]$_j$ [tis manas tu Jani$_j]_i$ to
3SG.GEN showed.3SG the.NOM John.NOM the.GEN mother.GEN the.GEN John.GEN the.ACC
vivlio.
book.ACC
'John$_j$ showed John$_j$'s mother the book.'

These data are thus incompatible with the A-movement approach. The second relevant configuration is schematically depicted in (19):

(19) cl_i V $[_{DP1}$ X of R-Exp$_j]$ $[_{DP2}$ R-Exp$_j]_i$

This configuration can be used to test the predictions of both the A-movement- and the head-movement approach: if DP2 underwent A-movement across DP1 (to Spec,vP), it should cause a Condition C effect.[5] The same is expected under a head-movement approach if the referential index is on the D-head of DP2 and this D-head moves across DP1. However, the prediction of these movement approaches is again not borne out: whether the clitic is present or not, such examples are well-formed. In (20-a), this is shown for DP1 = IO and DP2 = DO, while in (20-b), it is shown for DP1 = subject and DP2 = DO:

(20) a. (Ton$_i$) eðiksa [tis manas tu Joryaki$_i$] [ton
3SG.M.ACC showed.1SG the.GEN mother.GEN the.GEN little.George.GEN the.ACC
Joryaki]$_i$.
little.George.ACC
'I showed little George$_i$ to little George$_i$'s mother.' (context e.g. in a neonatal unit)

b. (Ton$_i$) koroiðepse [i mitera tu Petru$_i$] [ton Petro]$_i$.
3SG.M.ACC mocked.3SG the.NOM mother.NOM the.GEN Peter.GEN the.ACC Peter.ACC
'Peter$_i$'s mother made fun of Peter$_i$.'

[5] This argument presupposes that reconstruction of A-movement in CLD is not possible. This seems reasonable given that this A-movement operation is often linked to scrambling to the middle field in Germanic, which does not reconstruct for binding.

Note that the binding data do not argue against the big DP hypothesis since neither the doubled R-expression or its D-head are assumed to move.

The argument from binding is more general in that it can be shown that clitic doubling also fails to affect Principle A, viz., reciprocal constructions and anaphor binding in double object constructions (viz., fails to feed/bleed binding). But for reasons of space, we cannot include any examples.

4. Challenges for an Agree-based account

In this last section, we will briefly address two prominent arguments from the literature in favor of movement in CLD, viz., that CLD can alleviate Weak Crossover and intervention effects. Both support A-movement or head-movement approaches (while the big DP analysis has nothing to say about them as long as the doubled DP remains in-situ).

Starting with WCO Effects, as observed in Anagnostopoulou (2003: 207), a configuration that violates WCO on the surface (since the constituent containing the bound pronoun c-commands the quantified DP) becomes grammatical once the quantified DP is clitic-doubled:

(21) *(To$_i$) eðiksa [tis miteras tu$_i$] [to kaθe peði]$_i$ (ston kaθrefti).
3SG.N.ACC showed.1SG the.GEN mother.GEN his the.ACC every child.ACC in.the mirror
'I showed every child$_i$ to his$_i$ mother in the mirror.'

This follows if the doubled DP undergoes covert A-movement across the IO (e.g., to Spec,vP).[6] Under an Agree-account, however, this type of interaction is unexpected. Things are less straightforward, though: doubling of DPs containing a bound pronoun is not ruled out (*pace* Anagnostopoulou 2003: 20f. Baker & Kramer 2018: 1077):

(22) Tin$_j$ eðiksa [kaθe peðju]$_i$ [ti mitera tu$_i$]$_j$ (ston kaθrefti).
3SG.F.ACC showed.1SG every.GEN child.GEN the.ACC mother.ACC his in.the mirror
'I showed every child$_i$ his$_i$ mother in the mirror.'

Data like (22) clearly argue against against A-movement of the doubled DP since it would remove the bound pronoun from the c-command domain of the QP and thus bleed binding.[7] Thus, at the very least, the movement argument from WCO is inconsistent. We can think of an alternative to account for the influence of CLD on WCO that is compatible with an Agree approach: as observed in Eilam (2011: 150), WCO effects can be alleviated if the intended binder is interpreted as topical (and the pronoun as focal). A relevant example, from Zubizarreta (1998: 11), is given in (23):

(23) a. I would like to know who will accompany each/every boy the first day of school.
b. His MOTHER will accompany each/every boy the first day of school.

Given that clitic-doubled DPs are often topical/given (cf., e.g., Angelopoulos 2019), the alleviation observed in (21) may actually be rather similar to that in (23). A-movement/head-movement may therefore no longer be necessary to account for the effect.

The second challenge for an Agree-based account comes from intervention effects. As observed by Anagnostopoulou (2003: 45), agreement between T and a low passive/unaccusative subject in the presence of an IO is only possible if the IO is clitic-doubled:

(24) ***(tis$_i$)** xaristike [tis Marias]$_i$ to vivlio apo ton Petro.
CL.GEN gift.NACT.3SG the.GEN Mary.GEN the book.NOM from the.ACC Peter.ACC
'The book was gifted to Mary by Peter.'

[6] The facts potentially also follow under the head-movement approach if the relevant quantificational information is part of the D-head. The structure of MG QPs raises questions here, though, since they are headed by a definite determiner.

[7] Conversely, the facts are compatible with the head-movement approach given that the bound pronoun is not the head of the DP and thus would remain in-situ.

This interaction is, of course, reminiscent of experiencer intervention in other languages and suggests that the dative blocks Agree between T and the subject. The effect of CLD follows under a movement account if the genitive DP/the D-head of the IO moves 'out of the way' before T probes (and the trace of the IO is invisible). Under a pure Agree-account, it is not *a priori* clear how to account for this effect. Before discussing possible solutions under Agree, it must be pointed out that the intervention data are actually also potentially challenging for movement approaches: in big DP approaches, the doubled DP is still above the nominative, thus clitic movement will arguably not help here. A-movement approaches usually assimilate the covert movement step to object shift/scrambling to Spec,vP. However, to remove the genitive from the c-command domain of T, the IO would actually have to move to Spec,TP and thus require a movement step that is crucially different from object shift. Under a head-movement approach, the facts follow, but they crucially require the probe that generates the clitic and triggers head-movement to be on T as well, a potentially nontrivial complication.

A possible account of the interaction under Agree could look as follows: IO has phi-features and is a possible goal for T, but since T is case-discriminating (cf. Preminger 2014), Agree fails if there is no doubling.[8] Under doubling, there is an additional probe, e.g., on v or Appl. Phi-Agree with the IO deactivates IO for further phi-agree (for this to work, one probably has to assume that this probe can only see DPs bearing genitive/accusative, to avoid copying features from the nominative object). IOs would thus be special in that they can but need not Agree (note that IOs need not be doubled in a normal ditransitive clause). While the specifics of this proposal still need to be worked out, we would like to conclude by pointing out that we are not convinced that we are dealing with a proper intervention effect: crucially, examples like (24) can also be repaired by focus-fronting the IO as in (25).

(25) TIS MARIAS xaristike to vivlio apo ton Petro.
the.GEN Mary.GEN gifted.NACT.3SG the book.NOM from the.ACC Peter.ACC
'The book was gifted to MARY by Peter (not to John).'

Since Greek is not a quirky subject language, this fronting would arguably not proceed via Spec,TP but would involve direct A′-movement to the left periphery. If this can repair examples like (24), it is highly questionable whether they instantiate a proper intervention effect.

An Agree-based approach will have to address further challenges, some of which also arise for the other approaches to CLD. This includes the distribution of CLD (which is subject to semantic/pragmatic constraints), the morphological realization of the clitic (on T) and implications thereof resulting for the location of the Agree-probe as well as the frequent syncretism between determiners and clitics. Given space constraints, we have to defer discussion of these issues to another occasion.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed First Conjunct Clitic Doubling in Modern Greek. The possibility that clitic doubling could target individual conjuncts rather than just the entire coordination had hitherto not received much attention. We have shown that this phenomenon has far-reaching implications for the syntax of clitic doubling: it argues against movement approaches to CLD since FC CLD would lead to a violation of the CSC under these approaches. The phenomenon thus favors approaches where the clitic arises via Agree, where the CSC is not at stake. We would like to emphasize that our claim only applies to Modern Greek at this point (although we have been informed that other languages, including Albanian and Macedonian, also allow FC CLD). FC CLD does not seem to be universally available. For instance, it is impossible in Bulgarian (Harizanov 2014: 1061, fn. 29). Consequently, our argument against movement approaches to CLD does not apply to such languages. This confirms earlier observations that the syntax of CLD may differ significantly between languages despite the surface similarity.

[8] We have to leave open at this point the question of why the derivation crashes rather than leading to default agreement as, e.g., in Icelandic.

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