

ARHONTO TERZI

CLITIC COMBINATIONS, THEIR HOSTS AND THEIR ORDERING*

In this work we investigate the implications of Kayne's (1994) antisymmetry proposals for the position to which clitics adjoin in the sentence and the manner in which two (or more) clitics may combine. It is demonstrated that adjunction of clitics to Agr^0 is excluded by antisymmetry, leading to results in the spirit of Chomsky (1995), who dispenses with the notion of agreement as a functional head, hence as a potential adjunction site for clitics. Assuming that the Linear Correspondence Axiom does not apply after spell-out, we argue that T^0 serves as a host of clitics when Tense features are weak; as for the remaining contexts, we propose that clitics adjoin to heads that are placeholders, departing from the idea that there is a designated functional head and that clitics adjoin to it in all syntactic environments. We present evidence from Greek dialects which supports these claims and instantiates the different manner in which clitics combine in clusters. We extend our proposals to explain similar issues pertaining to the clitic system of the Standard Romance languages.

1. INTRODUCTION

A striking property of the clitic system of Greek, which has not been addressed from a theoretical perspective so far,¹ is that, while double object clitics precede the finite verb in the order dative-accusative only, (1a) vs. (1b), they follow imperatives and gerunds in either order, namely,

* Versions of this work were presented at the 8th Symposium on English-Greek comparative syntax, in Thessaloniki, the 'Configurations' conference at UQAM, Montreal, the University of Padova, the University of Leiden, the 1995 Winter LSA meeting in New Orleans, the New Jersey Syntax Circle, the CUNY Graduate Center, the University of Maryland at College Park and at Harvard University. I would like to thank the audiences of these events for their questions and comments and the following colleagues, who, with their comments and suggestions, have contributed enormously to the ideas expressed here: Elena Anagnostopoulou, Paola Benincà, Judy Bernstein, Viviane Déprez, Marcel den Dikken, Manuel Español-Echevarría, Scott Ferguson, Bob Fiengo, Jane Grimshaw, Eric Groat, Teun Hoekstra, Kumiko Murasugi, Cecilia Poletto, Angela Ralli, and María Luisa Rivero. I owe a particular debt to Richard Kayne, Francisco Ordóñez, Juan Uriagereka, Raffaella Zanuttini and the NLLT reviewers for generous contributions and to Kakia Petinou (CUNY/Speech and Hearing) and Stathis Hadjidemetriou (Columbia/Engineering) for their continuous supply of Cypriot Greek data.

¹ Warburton (1977: 261) and Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987: 213) mention these facts in passing, but do not analyze them.

in the order dative-accusative of (2a) and (3a) or in the accusative-dative order illustrated in (2b) and (3b).²

- (1)a. Mou to edoses.
me-cl it-cl gave-2s
- b. *To mou edoses.
it-cl me-cl gave-2s
You gave it to me.
- (2)a. Dos' mou to!
give-2s-IMP me it
- b. Dos' to mou!
give-2s-IMP it me
Give it to me!
- (3)a. Diavazondas mou to . . .
reading me it
- b. Diavazondas to mou . . .
reading it me
Reading it to me . . .

A central question raised, therefore, is whether the flexible order manifested by postverbal clitics is simply a result of their postverbal position or whether one also has to consider the nature of the verb with which clitics are associated as an additional factor somehow responsible for their flexible order.

Notice that in standard Romance languages, such as Spanish and Italian, whose clitics resemble those of Greek in very many respects (Anagnosto-

² Greek has only pronominal clitics, that is, it lacks the reflexive, locative, and auxiliary clitics of the Romance and Slavic languages.

The status of and precise relation between clitics and the associated argument DPs is the focus of ongoing research (see Sportiche 1995 for a thorough review). Taking into account the close resemblance between Greek and Romance pronominal clitics, however (see Anagnostopoulou 1994 for a detailed discussion), I will follow the line of reasoning that attributes crucial importance to the similarity between 3rd person clitics and determiners in deciding for the status of the former. In view of clitic doubling facts such as *Ton ida ton Yianni* 'him-cl saw-1s the-acc John-acc' in Greek, I will consider the doubled phrase to be the specifier of a determiner head, in the spirit of Torrego (1988), Uriagereka (1988, 1995) and, consequently, consider Greek clitics to be X⁰s. This view is also in agreement with Cardinaletti and Starke (1994).

poulou 1994), double object clitics also precede finite verbs and follow imperatives and gerunds (and infinitives, which are absent from Greek) but only the more common dat-acc order is possible in either position.³

(4)a. Dámelo! (Spanish)
give-2s-IMP-me-it

b. *Dálome!
give-2s-IMP-it-me
Give it to me!

(5)a. Dándomelo . . .
giving-me-it

b. *Dándolome . . .
giving-it-me
Giving it to me . . .

In the spirit of comparative syntax, one wonders what the source of this difference is and what microparametric variations and minimal contrasts such as the above have to contribute to what we know about clitics in general. We consider these questions within Kayne's (1994) Antisymmetry proposals and the Minimalist program (Chomsky 1995) and, drawing upon the ordering variations of double object clitics, we also investigate the nature of the functional heads to which clitics adjoin and the manner in which adjunction of multiple clitics occurs. We develop a syntactic account by utilizing a number of consequences on adjunction that follow from the Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) and provide empirical evidence to support their validity but also to support modifications we suggest for the LCA.

In brief, we argue that clitics may adjoin to T^0 in a number of syntactic environments but to empty placeholders in others, advocating a bipartition with respect to the type of functional heads which serve as adjunction sites for clitics. In combination with the options on adjunction of more than one clitic that are made available by antisymmetry we are in a position to explain the clitic ordering facts from Standard Greek and offer evidence from Cypriot Greek to further support our claims. We

³ See Morin (1979: 306), according to whom '... Romance languages have preserved clitic sequences (excluding those dialects where clitic sequences have been so morphological after being phonologically reduced that clitic sequences can no longer be recognized) so that the order of proclitics and the order of enclitics is identical. The only noticeable exception is French.' (We return to French later in the paper.)

demonstrate, moreover, that the above proposals hold once we make the assumption that the LCA does not hold in LF, unlike Kayne (1994), but in line with Chomsky (1995).

The paper is organized as follows. After the introduction, I outline in the second section the assumptions I adopt for the V-cl order manifested by gerunds, imperatives and infinitives in Greek and Spanish/Italian, and how it relates to the cl-V order of finite contexts in these languages. In the third section I focus on the nature of the functional heads to which clitics adjoin and propose a distinction between two types of such heads. The fourth section discusses the manner in which adjunction of double object clitics occurs and offers an account of the flexible ordering of postverbal clitics. In the last section I present the assumptions I adopt for the first position restrictions of Cypriot Greek clitics and focus on the adjunction sites and ordering options of double object clitics in this dialect. I also offer some tentative answers as to why double object clitics manifest the behavior they do in the dialects of Greek.

2. CLITICS IN POSTVERBAL POSITION

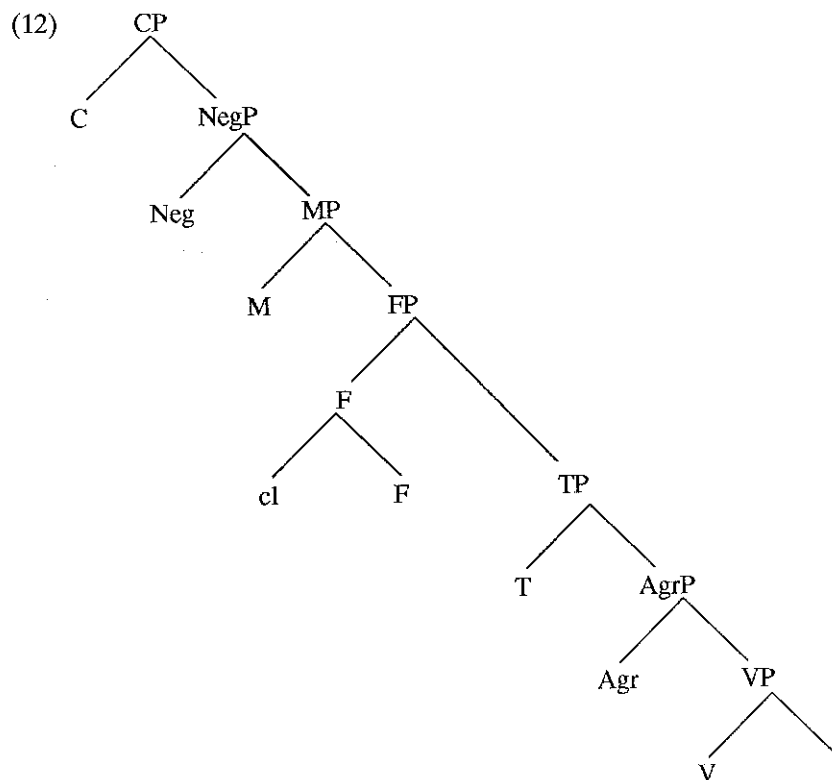
Whereas clitics precede finite verbs in (Standard) Greek, (6), they follow imperatives, (7), and gerunds, (8), patterning with their counterpart structures of Spanish, (9)–(11), and Italian. As to why clitics end up in preverbal position (which in imperatives and gerunds is inverted by subsequent verb movement past the clitics) see Corver and Delfitto's (1996) proposal of person feature licensing or Uriagereka's (1995) Restrictive Mapping Slogan. For Uriagereka only material assigned VP-external scope is interpreted as specific at Logical Form, a proposal that relies crucially on the specific, referential nature of clitics. The precise position in which clitics originate is not particularly relevant for our purposes, hence, is not discussed at length (but see footnote 2).

- (6)a. To diavasa. (Greek)
it read-1s
- b. *Diavasa to.
read-1s it
 I read it.

- (7)a. Diavase to!
read-2s-IMP it
- b. *To diavase!
it read-2s-IMP
Read it!
- (8)a. Diavazondas to . . .
reading it
- b. *To diavazondas . . .
it reading . . .
Reading it . . .
- (9)a. Lo leí. (Spanish)
- b. *Leílo.
I read it.
- (10)a. Léelo!
- b. *Lo lee!
Read it!
- (11)a. Leyéndolo . . .
- b. *Lo leyendo . . .
Reading it . . .

Following Rivero (1994), I will assume that the postverbal position of clitics associated with imperatives in Greek and the Romance languages is the result of V-to-C movement which is triggered by illocutionary features in C^0 (see also Rivero and Terzi 1995). As for the verb movement past the clitics in (8), I will follow Rivero's (1994) proposals according to which Greek gerunds move to M^0 in order to pick up the gerundive suffix, an idea easily transposed to the feature checking process of current syntactic theory. M^0 heads M(ood) P(hrase) and is located higher than I^0

but lower than C^0 – and presumably lower than Neg^0 , as seen in (12) below, (Rivero (1994), Terzi (1992)).⁴



⁴ An alternative is to associate movement of gerunds with the licensing of a PRO subject, as hinted in Kayne (1991) for Romance infinitives. The correlation across Romance languages with respect to the level at which verb raising and licensing of PRO occurs in infinitives and gerunds supports this idea. In Spanish and Italian, where infinitival verbs adjoin to I' in the overt syntax (Kayne 1991), gerunds also raise in the overt syntax, as indicated by the postverbal position of clitics. On the other hand, verb movement (and, therefore, licensing of PRO) takes place after spell-out in both infinitives and gerunds in French as is also manifested by the position of clitics, which surface preverbally in both structures.

This approach cannot account for verb raising when gerunds appear with overt subjects, however:

- (i) *Vlepondas ton i Maria, ...*
seeing him the Mary, ...

Uriagereka (1995) does not consider his analysis of postverbal clitics in Portuguese and Galician to account for the V-cl order of languages in which clitics are preverbal in finite contexts.

The V-to-C movement of true imperatives accounts for their incompatibility with negation, (13a). By contrast, since gerunds may be negated, (13b), they confirm the claim that the verb movement past the clitics we see in (8) (and in (13b)) has a position lower than C^0 as its landing site.^{5,6}

- (13)a. *Mi diavase!
 NEG read-2s-IMP
 Don't read!
- b. Mi diavazondas to . . .
 Not reading it . . .

To summarize, I have laid out so far the assumptions I adopt with respect to postverbal clitics in a number of syntactic contexts (a subset of which are those contexts associated with flexible clitic ordering in Greek): the fact that clitics follow imperatives and gerunds is considered to result from verb raising (past the clitics) to C^0 and M^0 , respectively, rather than to reflect right adjunction of clitics to the verb. As for finite clauses, since the verb raises only as high as T^0 , clitics surface to its left.⁷

⁵ The landing site of gerunds that I am assuming finds a close counterpart (that is, I'-adjoined verb rather than verb movement to M^0) in Kayne's (1991) proposals about Romance infinitives, which can also be negated and they leave clitics postverbally.

- (i) . . . no leerlo
 NEG read-INF-it
 To not read it.

By considering the infinitival verb to move to M^0 in the Romance languages, we are unable to explain the contrast *María no sabe si comer*/**Marie ne sait pas si manger* 'Mary doesn't know whether to eat', which is captured by Kayne's (1991) unorthodox V-adjunction to I'. But see Rooryck (1992) for an alternative account of the above Spanish/Italian vs. French contrast.

⁶ As to why imperatives may bypass clitics but not Negation, see Rivero and Terzi (1995) for an explanation based on the different A/A' status of the two. As will become clear in the section that follows, however, the current claim is that the verb does not actually bypass clitics but incorporates into them for reasons that do not apply, hence do not carry over to an X^0 such as Negation.

As to why Negation does not count as a minimality head in wh-questions, unlike in imperatives, see the claims in Suñer (1994) and Ordóñez (1997) for Spanish and Anagnostopoulou (1994) for Greek. According to them the verb does not raise to C before spell-out in wh-questions, but remains in I, unlike in Rizzi (1991).

⁷ Notice that I am adopting Pollock's (1989) order of inflectional heads, with TP higher than AgrP. The question of ordering between AgrP and TP becomes less important if the former phrase is not present, however (see next footnote as well as footnote 23 for more discussion).

3. TWO TYPES OF FUNCTIONAL HEADS AS HOSTS OF CLITICS

This section investigates the nature and the properties of the functional heads which serve as adjunction sites for clitics in the clausal structure. In the present discussion, this amounts to investigating the nature and properties of the functional head represented as F^0 in (12) of the previous section. The core of the proposal is that clitics cannot adjoin to an Infl head in all syntactic environments: while they do indeed do so in tense-defective contexts by adjoining to T^0 , they adjoin to a placeholder devoid of verb-related features in other environments.

3.1. *Clitics in Finite Contexts*

One of the consequences that Kayne's (1994) proposals have for clitic placement is that the long-entertained view which has considered clitics to adjoin to Agr^0 (or to the Infl of predating analyses) (Kayne 1989, 1991, Belletti 1990 among others) cannot stand as is, at least for finite clauses. In languages like Greek (or Spanish and Italian), since the finite verb raises as high as T^0 and Agr^0 in the overt syntax (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, Suñer 1994, Belletti 1990), adjunction of clitics to any of these functional heads creates a configuration of multiple adjunction which is excluded by the LCA since the total of the terminal nodes cannot be linearly ordered.⁸

One can imagine an alternative scenario to circumvent the above problem by considering clitics to adjoin to the verb instead. Adjunction of clitics to the verb can be manifested in two variants: either the clitic adjoins to the verb after the verb has already adjoined to Infl for feature checking, or it adjoins before; in the latter case subsequent movement of the $V + cl$ complex to Infl ensures checking of verbal features and is in line with antisymmetry. Nevertheless, both variants are ruled out from the outset, since adjunction of clitics to the verb is precluded as such.⁹

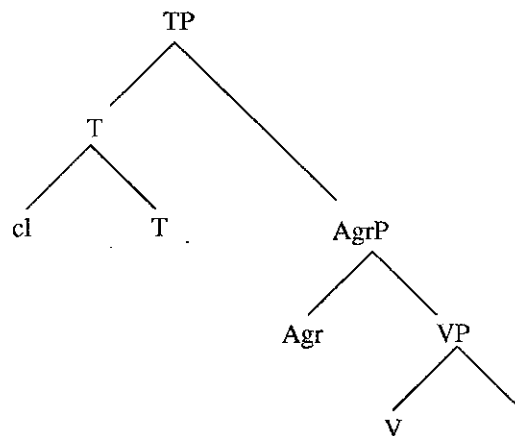
A further option to examine is the one according to which the clitic adjoins to T^0 with the complex $V + Agr$ adjoining to the clitic, an option disregarded on the basis of empirical grounds this time. Considering T^0

⁸ It is an interesting convergence that, by default, adjunction of clitics to Agr^0 is also excluded by the views which question the representation of agreement by means of a functional head (Iatridou 1990, Chomsky 1995, Collins 1996).

⁹ Clitics cannot adjoin to the verb, according to Kayne (1994: 42), as this involves second adjunction (of the verb) to the suffix. Moreover, adjunction of clitics to the verb stem is also unlikely, especially when combined with the fact that pronominal elements (of which clitics are a subset) are normally excluded from appearing within words (**it-lover*, etc.) to begin with.

it is a functional head to which the verb does not adjoin overtly for feature checking, thus does not create a configuration of multiple adjunction.¹³

(16)



It follows from the above that although multiple adjunction (to T^0 in this particular case) is not allowed before spell-out, it is licit in LF, since the

¹³ We do not wish to make concrete claims as to whether Tense has some intrinsic set of properties which attract clitics to it. This is not to say that we deny such a possibility (it actually seems to us as an interesting alternative to investigate once the long-standing relationship between Agr^0 as the adjunction site of clitics is to be reevaluated) but that it is beyond the scope of the present work to discover or establish it. The primary reason for considering T^0 a plausible adjunction site for clitics is because there is a relatively coherent and unifying notion of Tense behind the constructions we are investigating, which is compatible with the requirements of antisymmetry at the same time. If, as a reviewer questions, we were to discover that the Tense features of a finite verb were weak, we would also expect clitics to adjoin to T^0 . We would not necessarily expect facts such as the flexible order of clitics to also be manifested, however, as they depend on a number of additional factors, which may be absent.

As to whether defective Tense correlates with postverbal clitics, we are inclined to believe that this is not so. French infinitives and gerunds offer empirical support for the absence of an obvious correlation between nonfinite forms and postverbal clitics (see (20) and (21) in the main text) and so do languages, such as Serbo-Croatian in which clitics precede imperatives (see footnote 16). Related also is the fact that in Greek and the standard Romance languages, clitics do not follow the participle in compound forms but must appear before the auxiliary in what has often been considered a subcase of clitic climbing (see Kayne 1991, among others, for the Romance languages).

- (i) To echo *fai*.
 it have-1s eat-particle
 I have eaten it.

verb has to raise to T^0 ultimately in order to have its Tense features checked, and, as a result, we diverge in from Kayne (1994), who considers the LCA to apply at all levels of representation. Notice, however, that our assumption concerning the status of the LCA is consistent with Chomsky (1995), who considers LCA not to be relevant after spell-out, since it regulates morphological output only. If our analysis as a whole succeeds in explaining the facts we set off to explain, it will offer empirical evidence concerning the non-trivial issue of the LCA's level(s) of application, which has been motivated primarily on conceptual grounds until now.¹⁴

Returning to the specifics of the verb movement that gives rise to the postverbal clitics of gerunds and imperatives, it should be pointed out that, although verb adjunction to T^0 for feature checking is not required before spell-out (hence, adjunction of clitics to T^0 is licit), the overt V-to-C movement of imperatives (or the V-to-M movement of gerunds and infinitives) cannot skip T^0 either. Skipping T^0 violates the Shortest Move Requirement (SMR), as stated in (17) below (Ferguson and Groat 1995), or the Minimal Link Condition (MLC; Chomsky 1995) since T^0 is a functional head against which the verb checks its features.¹⁵

(17) *Shortest Move Requirement (SMR)*

A category moving to check feature(s) of a given type may not skip moving into an immediate relation with the closest c-commanding head which checks features of that type.

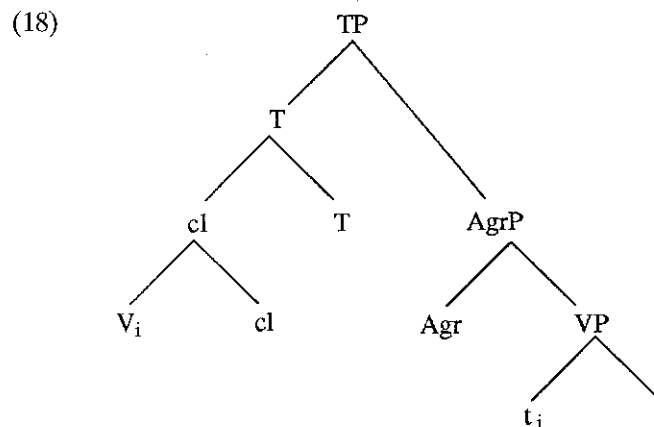
That is, despite the fact that verb movement via T^0 is not motivated by feature checking requirements in the overt syntax in (16) (and (18) below), the verb eventually proceeds via T^0 overtly as a 'byproduct' of its overt movement to a higher position in the clause (namely, to C^0 or M^0).

As for the precise manner in which the verb moves via T^0 (and past the clitics) in the above contexts, I will follow insights in Benincà and Cinque (1993) with respect to Italian infinitives, which also occur with postverbal clitics. Unlike them, however, I will not consider clitics to

¹⁴ According to Kayne (1994: 49), to declare LCA inapplicable at some level of representation amounts to declaring inapplicable the restrictions on phrase structure imposed by it, and there is no compelling evidence that one should do so for LF.

¹⁵ I refer to Ferguson and Groat (1995) in particular because they discuss the SMR explicitly within the context of X^0 movement.

incorporate into the verb in an instance of right incorporation but suggest that it is the verb that (left) incorporates into the clitic:¹⁶



By incorporating into the clitic, which itself adjoins to Tense, the verb checks its Tense features. If we consider verb incorporation into the clitic an instance of adjunction (Roberts 1991), feature checking is consistent with Chomsky's (1995) definition of checking domain (see also Collins

¹⁶ The verb incorporation approach advocated here, just like the clitic incorporation view of Benincà and Cinque, captures the fact that enclitics stand in a different relation with the verb than proclitics. While preverbal clitics can be omitted from the second conjunct, as seen in (ib), postverbal clitics cannot (iib).

- (i)a. Lo leggo e lo leggerò sempre con piacere.
 b. Lo leggo e leggerò sempre con piacere.
 I read it and reread it always with pleasure.
- (ii)a. Per leggerlo e rileggerlo.
 b. *Per leggerlo e rileggere.
 In order to read it and reread it.

Notice that in languages with second position restrictions counterparts of (iib) are grammatical, as illustrated by (iii), although their imperatives involve a similar type of T⁰ and verb movement proceeds in a similar manner. The following example is from Serbo-Croatian (Rivero and Terzi 1995):

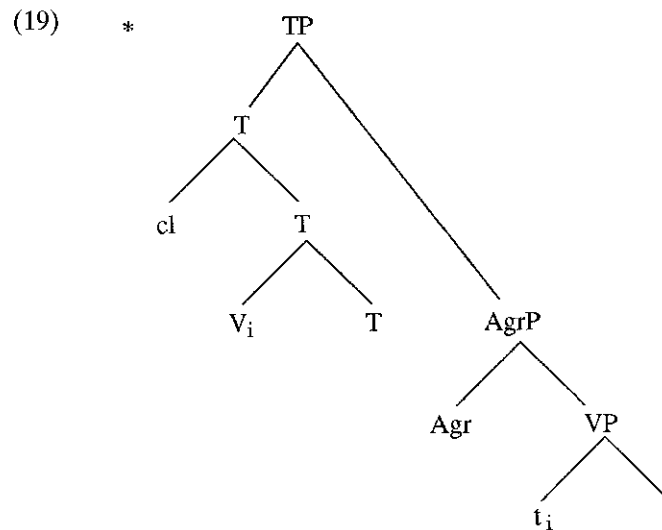
- (iii) Kupu je i čita!
buy it and read
 Buy it and read (it)!

In (iii), just like in (i), but unlike (ii), clitics and verb end up in different positions (although for different reasons). Clitics occupy the Spec(WP) position in Serbo-Croatian, (iv), and the verb does not incorporate into them since it moves via head positions.

- (iv) [c [WP cl [w' W . . . [T⁰ [Agr [v . . .]]]]]]

1996). What finally moves to C^0 in imperatives (or to M^0 in gerunds/infinitives) is the complex consisting of the imperative verb and the clitic that surfaces to its right.

This line of reasoning predicts that if in a language X the infinitival verb is associated with preverbal clitics, it should not be able to check its Tense features in the overt syntax, since the mechanism in (18), which is the mechanism compatible with antisymmetry, is consistent with V-cl orders only. Feature checking by means of verb adjunction to T^0 , as in (19), gives rise to the cl-V order, but is illicit since it creates a configuration of multiple adjunction before spell-out.



It is, thus, not surprising that, on independent grounds, Pollock (1989) and Kayne (1989) have concluded that in French, in which, unlike in the majority of the Romance languages, clitics precede the infinitival verb, (20), the latter does not raise as high as T^0 in the overt syntax, as the example in (21) suggests (Kayne 1989: 653):

(20) Lui parler serait une erreur.
*to-him speak-*INFN* would be an error.*

(21) ... en bien parler ...
*of-it well speak-*INFN* ...*

Thus, we have demonstrated so far that a consequence of the ban on multiple adjunction imposed by the LCA is that clitics cannot adjoin to Agr^0 in finite contexts, forcing a situation according to which some other

functional head, F^0 , is projected to serve this purpose. We suggested an escape hatch for contexts involving infinitives, gerunds and imperatives, hinging on their defective Tense (which we associated with weak features of T) and proposed specifically that clitics adjoin to T^0 in this case. The above bipartition is at odds with those views which take clitics to adjoin to the same functional head in all syntactic environments, this being either Agr^0 or F (Belletti 1990, Uriagereka 1995, among others) but is supported by empirical evidence, as we will see throughout the paper, and offers an attractive alternative within the current syntactic theory which abandons the idea that agreement is represented as a functional head (Iatridou 1990, Chomsky 1995).

4. DOUBLE OBJECT CLITIC CLUSTERS

This section addresses the simultaneous occurrence of more than one clitic, proposing that double object clitics may adjoin each to a different functional head in Greek. It is demonstrated how the verb movement that gives rise to postverbal clitics takes into account the (different) properties of the functional heads to which clitics adjoin, and is crucially involved in their flexible ordering.

4.1. *The Facts*

Like other pronominal clitics in Greek, double object clitics precede the finite verb (cf. (22)), and follow imperatives and gerunds (cf. (23)–(24)):

- (22) Mou to diavase.
me it read-3s
 S/he read it to me.
- (23) Diavase mou to!
read-2s-IMP me it
 Read it to me!
- (24) Diavazondas mou to . . .
reading me it
 Reading it to me . . .

Interestingly, however, while only the order dat-acc is obtained when the clitics are preverbal, (25a) vs. (25b), either order is possible when they follow the verb, as seen in (26) and (27).

- (25)a. Mou to diavase.
me it read-3s
- b. *To mou diavase.
it me read-3s
 S/he read it to me.
- (26)a. Diavase mou to!
read-2s-IMP me it
- b. Diavase to mou!
read-2s-IMP it me
 Read it to me!
- (27)a. Diavazondas mou to.
reading me it
- b. Diavazondas to mou.
reading it me
 Reading it to me.

The forms of clitics that precede the verb are identical to those following it (cf. (25a)–(26a)); thus, Greek differs in this respect from French, which manifests similar clitic ordering freedom when one of the two clitics is *moi*:

- (28)a. Donnez-moi-le!
Give-2s-IMP me it
- b. Donnez-le-moi!
give-2s-IMP it me
 Give it to me!

In French, the corresponding clitics are different in form when they precede the verb, as seen immediately below:

- (29)a. Vous me le donnez.
you me it give-3s
- b. *Vous le me donnez.
you it me give-3s
 You give it to me.

The flexible ordering manifested by (26) and (27) in Greek is not restricted to the specific combination of 1s-3s clitics as the following examples of two 3s clitics demonstrate:

- (30)a. Tis to diavasa.
her it read-1s
- b. *To tis diavasa.
it her read-1s
 I read it to her.
- (31)a. Diavase tis to!
read-2s-IMP her it
- b. Diavase to tis!
read-2s-IMP it her
 Read it to her!¹⁷

In other words, provided we obtain a legitimate dat-acc pair of clitics in preverbal position, the order acc-dat is always possible for postverbal clitics.¹⁸ I should perhaps stress here that our primary concern is not to account for the permissible combinations of clitics (see Perlmutter 1971, Bonet 1991, 1996, Laenzlinger 1993 for extensive discussion of these issues in the context of Romance languages and Warburton 1977 for Greek). The question we are posing instead is what are the factors responsible for the ordering freedom that clitics exhibit when they are postverbal, which is by no means matched by preverbal clitic combinations.

¹⁷ It should be pointed out that Greek does not have any of the opaque forms manifested by the clitic combinations of Romance languages (Bonet 1991, 1995, Laenzlinger 1993). Moreover, the order of preverbal clitics is always dat-acc in Greek unlike the Romance where, although dat-acc is the overwhelming tendency as well, there are often exceptions, such as those of French or Balearic Catalan.

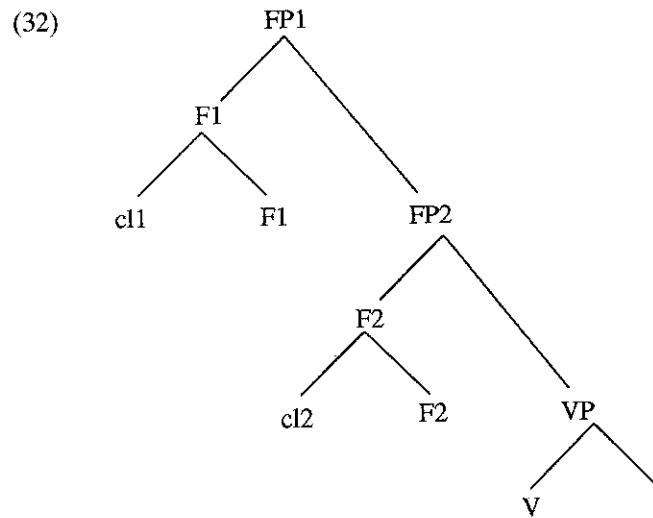
¹⁸ Not all combinations of two clitics are possible, as a reviewer points out:

- (i) *Me se sistise.
me-cl you-cl introduced-3s
- (ii) Se sistise se emena.
you-cl introduced-3s to me-full pronoun
 S/he introduced you to me.

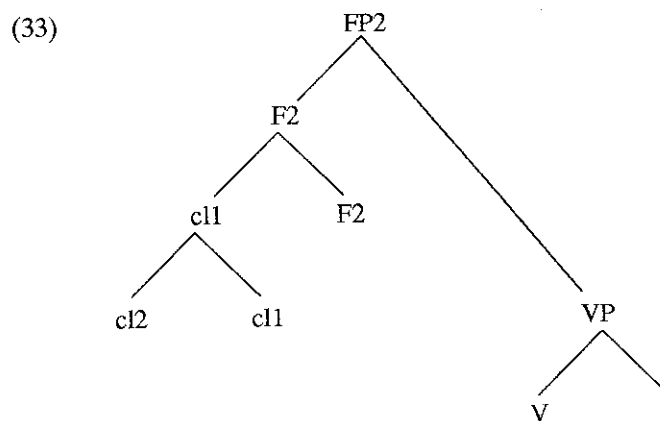
To the degree that a certain clitic combination is found in preverbal position, however, it is always the case that both orders of clitics can be obtained postverbally.

4.2. *Double Object Clitics and their Adjunction Sites in Greek*

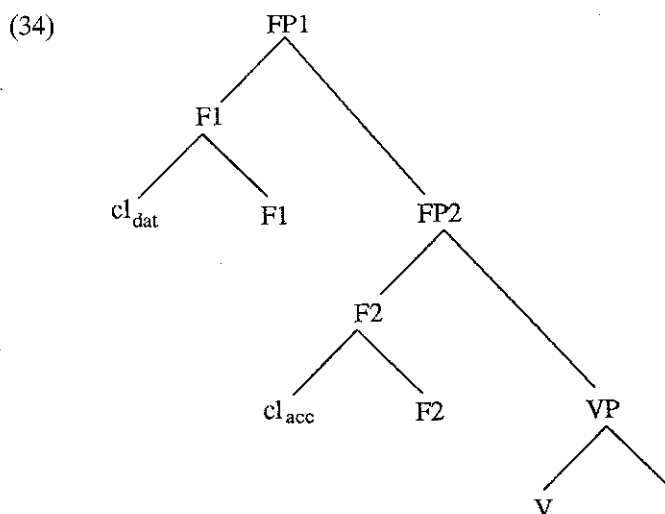
Once we proceed to multiple clitics, an additional issue we need to address is the manner in which they adjoin, an issue that did not arise while our discussion was limited to single clitics. The Linear Correspondence Axiom makes two options available for the manner in which more than one clitic adjoins in the clausal structure (Kayne 1994: 20). According to the first one each clitic adjoins to a different functional head, as illustrated in (32).



According to the second option, one clitic adjoins to the other, and their complex to a functional head, as in (33), immediately below:



I would like to propose that Greek double object clitics instantiate the option in (32), by adjoining each to a different functional head. Moreover, clitics adjoin in the order they surface when they are preverbal, namely, in the order dative-accusative.¹⁹ I am suggesting, in other words, that while the dative clitic adjoins to the higher functional head F1, the accusative clitic adjoins to F2 as in (34):



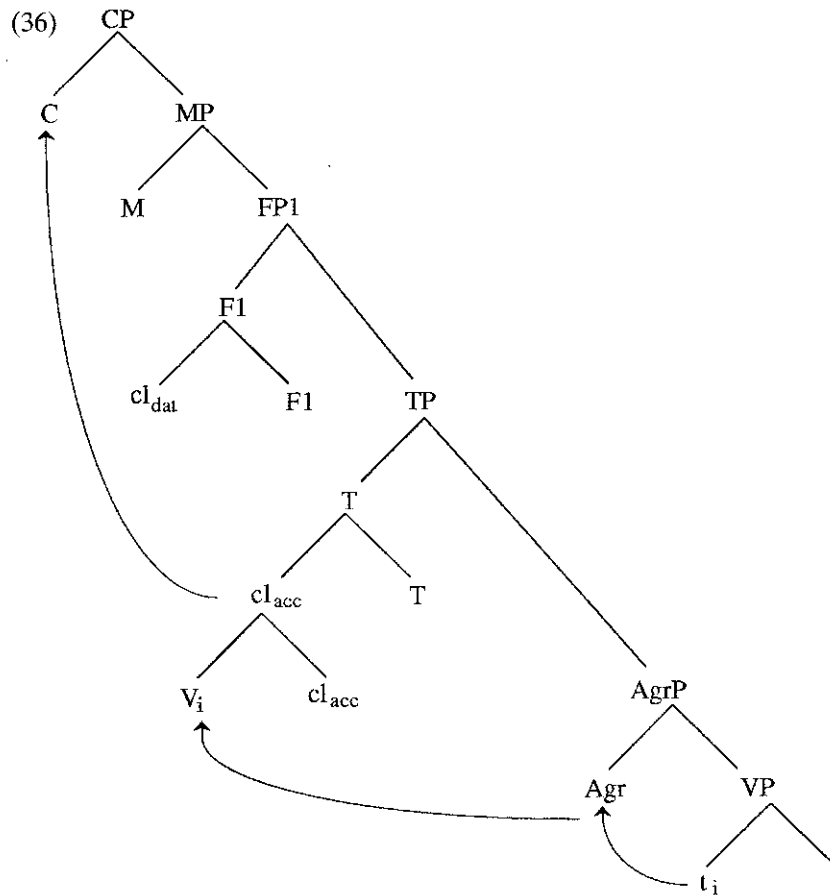
The claims we have made about the nature of the functional heads which serve as adjunction sites for clitics extend to the configurations of double object clitics as well. As a result, we will consider F2 to amount to T^0 in imperatives and gerunds but to a placeholder in finite structures, while F1 to always be a placeholder.

Moreover, we will consider the imperative verb to undergo V-to-C movement, which does not skip the functional head F2 since this amounts to T^0 in the context of imperatives, and crossing over it violates the Shortest Move Requirement, repeated below as (35):

¹⁹ See Warburton (1977) (the only study on Greek double object clitics until now), in which the order dat-acc is proposed as the basic order of clitics and each clitic constitutes a distinct adjunct (to V), for reasons that remain largely unclear, however. In considering dat-acc as the unmarked order of clitics we adopt Larson's (1988) order of double object constructions after dative shift has taken place, in association with Roberts's (1994) claims according to which clitics move first as XPs and then as X^0 s to their cliticized position. Empirical support for our decision to consider dat-acc as the unmarked order of double object clitics is that this is the order encountered in the overwhelming majority of syntactic contexts, in the sense that, in contexts where only one order of double object clitics is available, this is always the order dat-acc.

- (35) A category moving to check feature(s) of a given type may not skip moving into an immediate relation with the closest c-commanding head which checks features of that type.

Thus, the imperative verb checks its Tense features by incorporating into the clitic that adjoins to T^0 and the complex $V-cl_{acc}$ moves to C^0 , yielding the order $V-cl_{acc}-cl_{dat}$, in the process illustrated in detail in (36) below. Identical considerations hold for gerunds with the difference that the landing site of verb movement is now M^0 (we will omit the discussion of gerunds from the remainder of the paper as they replicate imperatives in all relevant respects). Verb movement does not proceed via the head F1 (although this has no consequences for the ordering of clitics) as this is not motivated by feature checking requirements and is excluded by the SMR (or the MLC when reinterpreting movement as attraction of features (Chomsky 1995: 297)).



In short, we have argued that the acc-dat order of double object clitics when they follow imperatives results from the fact that the imperative verb incorporates into the accusative clitic and the two move as a complex to C^0 reversing the basic order of clitics. This process is unavoidable because the accusative clitic adjoins to T^0 (a legitimate head for clitics to adjoin to in the context of imperatives) and the verb checks its Tense features by adjoining to the clitic. Moreover, movement of the $V + cl_{acc}$ complex to a higher position in the sentence becomes possible because the clitic adjoins to T^0 alone. It is easy to see why no parallel situation arises when clitics are preverbal, and, therefore, why their dat-acc order remains unaltered and the only one obtained in preverbal position.

Recall that double object clitics also appear in the order dat-acc when they follow imperatives in Greek, as seen in (2a) (which is the only order they are encountered preverbally). We would like to attribute this postverbal order to the fact that the option in (33) is also available for the adjunction of clitics in the language. It will become explicit in the discussion of Romance clitics in the following section that this adjunction option of multiple clitics accounts for those cases in which postverbal and preverbal clitic clusters do not differ with respect to their ordering.

4.3. *Double Object Clitics in the Standard Romance Languages*

We interpret the absence of the acc-dat order of postverbal clitics from Spanish and Italian, which is manifested by the ungrammaticality of (37b) and (38b) below, to suggest that (32) is not available for the adjunction of double object clitics in the Standard Romance languages. Instead, clitics instantiate the option in (33) (repeated below as (39)), according to which the dative clitic adjoins to the accusative and their complex to T^0 .²⁰

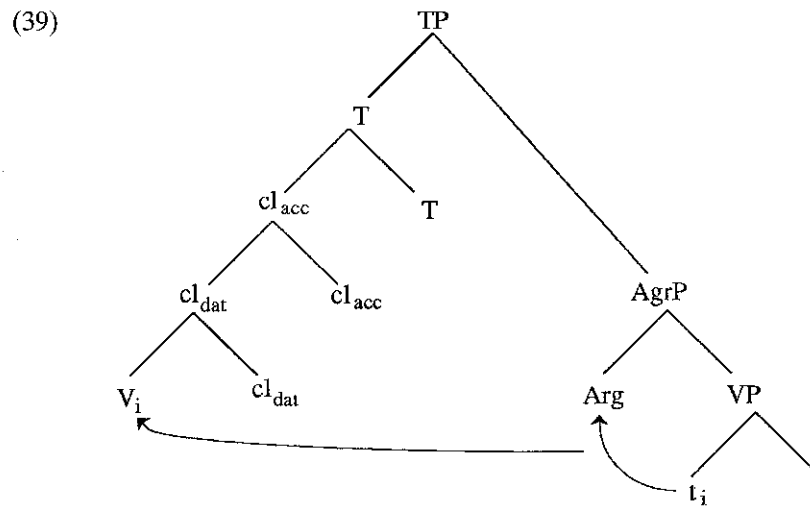
(37)a. Dámelo! (Spanish)
give-2s-IMP-me-it

b. *Dálome!
give-2s-IMP-it-me
Give it to me!

(38)a. Dándomelo . . .
giving-me-it

²⁰ For the adjunction of clitics (and their combinations) in various Spanish dialects, see Ordóñez and Terzi (1997).

- (38)b. *Dándolome . . .
giving-it-me
 Giving it to me . . .



Incorporation of the verb into the accusative clitic is not permissible in the above configuration since it results in multiple adjunction (of the verb and the dative clitic to the accusative clitic) and is banned by the LCA. As a result, movement of the $V\text{-cl}_{\text{acc}}$ complex to C^0 is not a possibility either, and hence, the dat-acc order of postverbal clitics remains unaltered. Similar considerations rule out adjunction of the verb to the clitic complex (it is essentially multiple adjunction to the accusative clitic again). The only viable possibility is for the verb to adjoin to the dative clitic (with subsequent movement of the $V + \text{cl}_{\text{dat}}$ complex to C^0). Adjunction of the verb to the dative clitic allows for its Tense feature checking in Chomsky's (1993) definition of checking domains and has no effect on the relative order of clitics.²¹

The idea that Romance double object clitics cluster under the same functional head is also supported by the fact that they 'climb' together in restructuring contexts, as the ungrammaticality of (40c) demonstrates, which cannot find a plausible explanation in terms of the thematic relation between clitics and embedded verb.

²¹ I would like to thank a reviewer for suggestions as how to clarify these points.

- (40)a. Quiero dártelo
want-1s give-1NFN-you-it
- b. Te lo quiero dar.
you it want-1s give-1NFN
- c. *Te quiero darlo.
you want-1s give-1NFN-it
 I want to give it to you.²²

French double object clitics, quite exceptionally among the Romance languages, look very similar to Greek in the context of imperatives, demonstrating the ordering flexibility in (41). It is tempting, therefore, to extend the analysis developed on the basis of Greek to the French facts as well.

- (41)a. Donnez-moi-le!
give-2s-IMP me it
- b. Donnez-le-moi!
give-2s-IMP it me
 Give it to me!

A closer look at the properties of *moi* among French clitics suggests that this is not the right direction, however. As (42b) shows, *moi* can stand on its own in French, an option never entertained by Greek clitics, (43b). *Moi* can also be conjoined with NPs, as in (44), unlike Greek *mou*, (45), or any other Greek clitic.

- (42)a. Qui a fait ça? (French)
 Who did this?

²² Laenzlinger (1993) also concludes that only one functional head is available for clitics to adjoin to in the Romance languages, based on independent grounds. He further claims that a consequence of this manner of adjunction are the morpho-phonological processes which convert the **gli lo* sequence of Italian double object clitics to *gli-e-lo* and the **le lo* of Spanish to *se lo*. By contrast, the manner in which clitics adjoin in Romance is not related to their opaque forms in the morphological account of Bonet's (1996) (Bonet, p.c.). One cannot help noticing, however, that no opaque forms are found in Greek, which, according to our claims, entertains the option of adjoining each clitic to a distinct functional head. A reviewer points out that one would also expect to find structures such as (40c) to be grammatical in Greek, if the phenomenon of clitic climbing was available in the language.

- (42)b. *Moi/Pas moi.*
Me/Not me.
- (43)a. *Tinos milises?* (Greek)
whom talked-2s
 Whom did you talk to?
- b. *Emena/*mou.*
me-full pronoun/me-cl
- (44) *Pierre et moi sommes allés.*
 Pierre and I left.
- (45) *Tou Petrou ki emena/*mou milises.*
the Peter-dat and me-full pronoun/me-cl talked-2s
 You talked to Peter and me.

Rather than extending my proposals to French, therefore, I will follow Laenzlinger (1994) in considering the order in (41a) to correlate with the status of *moi* as a clitic of the X^0 type, while taking *moi* to be a weak pronoun in (41b). The difference in register between (41a) and (41b) (also noticed by Morin (1979)), peculiarities of the stress pattern (see Laenzlinger (1994) for details), and the fact that *moi* appears only postverbally in French, provide additional evidence for the view that the flexible order of clitics in (41) is more likely to be related to the status of *moi* than to the adjunction possibilities of clitics. This is a reasonable conclusion, since, if French was like Greek, it would be difficult to see why the ordering freedom manifested by *moi* does not extend to other combinations of clitics as well.

5. CLITICS IN CYPRIOT GREEK

Our proposal that clitics may adjoin to T^0 when it is weak, combined with other consequences of antisymmetry, enabled us to provide an account of the flexible ordering of double object clitics in Greek which, as suggested, can extend to and explain similar facts in the standard Romance languages as well. In this section we will provide additional evidence to support and crosscheck our initial claims utilizing the opportunity provided by the dialect of Cypriot Greek. The latter differs from Standard Greek (to which we have referred as Greek so far) in minimal, but crucial respects: while clitics always precede the finite verb in Standard Greek they may follow

it in the Cypriot dialect, offering an optimal contrast to test whether the ordering options of clitics are only a result of their postverbal positioning or if the finiteness of the verb (as is reflected in the strength of Tense features) is indeed an additional relevant factor.²³

5.1. First Position Restrictions in Cypriot Greek

Cypriot Greek contrasts with Standard Greek in that clitics may be postverbal in a number of finite contexts, as illustrated by the following examples, in which clitics occur in both matrix and embedded sentences.

- (46)a. Ethkiavasa to.
read-1s it
- b. *To ethkiavasa.
it read-1s
I read it.
- (47)a. I Maria ethkiavasen to.
the Mary read-3s it
- b. *I Maria to ethkiavasen.
the Mary it read-3s
Maria read it.
- (48)a. Poli anthropi kamnoun to sosta.
many people do-3p it correctly
- b. *Poli anthropi to kamnoun sosta.
many people it do-3p correctly
Many people do it correctly.
- (49) Ksero oti i Maria ethkiavasen to.
know-1s that the Mary read-3s it
I know that Mary read it.

²³ The Cypriot Greek data, with clitics following the finite verb, will also test the order of functional heads we have assumed, with TP higher in the clause than AgrP (which, at first, looked custom made for the Standard Greek imperatives, as a reviewer pointed out). If the Cypriot Greek facts confirm our initial claims, it is most likely that the order TP, AgrP is not a biased order.

- (50) Ksero oti poli anthropi kannoun to sosta.
know-1s that many people do-3p it correctly.
 I know that many people do it correctly.

The postverbal position of clitics in these (and similar) examples is attributed to verb movement (with M^0 as its landing site) which is related to the Infl make-up of Cypriot Greek, in particular, to the feature composition of M^0 .²⁴ The position clitics occupy is the same as in Standard Greek (or Spanish and Italian), however, and contexts such as the following from Cypriot Greek, in which clitics must precede the finite verb (when they are preceded by Negation, the subjunctive particle or the Focus head), provide the empirical support (Terzi 1995, 1996):²⁵

- (51)a. En ton iksero.
NEG him know-1s
 I don't know him.
- b. *En iksero ton.
NEG know-1s him
 I don't know him.
- (52)a. Thelo na ton do.
want-1s M him see-1s
 I want to see him.
- b. *Thelo na do ton.
want-1s M see-1s him
 I want to see him.

²⁴ The Infl system of the two varieties of Greek is significantly different in a number of ways, as Terzi (1996) points out. Cypriot Greek lacks the future particle of Standard Greek (and the rest of the Balkan languages (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Rivero 1994, Terzi 1992)). Furthermore, unlike Standard Greek, Cypriot Greek lacks [-present] compound tenses. Juan Uriagereka (p.c.) reports that [-present] compound tenses are also absent from Galician, whose clitics are subject to similar positioning restrictions.

²⁵ The central claim in Terzi (1995, 1996) is that the position clitics occupy in the clausal structure is the same in both varieties of Greek. The difference in order with respect to the finite verb which is manifested in a number of environments is related to their different Infl composition (see previous footnote). A result of the Infl properties of Cypriot Greek is that when clitics are not preceded by a functional head with operator-like properties (such as M^0 , Neg or the Focus head), V-to-M movement takes place giving rise to the order V-clitic. When no V-to-M movement occurs in Cypriot Greek finite contexts (in those instances the aforementioned functional heads are present in the clausal structure), the order that surfaces is clitic-V, and is identical for both varieties of Greek.

- (53)a. Touto to vivlio sou edoken i Maria.
this the book you gave-3s the Mary
- b. *Touto to vivlio edoken sou i Maria.
this the book gave-3s you the Mary
 This book Mary gave you.

Considering the above claims to be essentially on the right track, namely, considering clitics to occupy the same position in the clausal structure in both varieties of Greek,²⁶ amounts to saying that the approach we have developed for the adjunction and ordering of double object clitics in Standard Greek will carry over to Cypriot Greek as well.

5.2. Double Object Clitics in Cypriot Greek

Double object clitics follow the imperative verb in Cypriot Greek and they manifest flexible ordering:

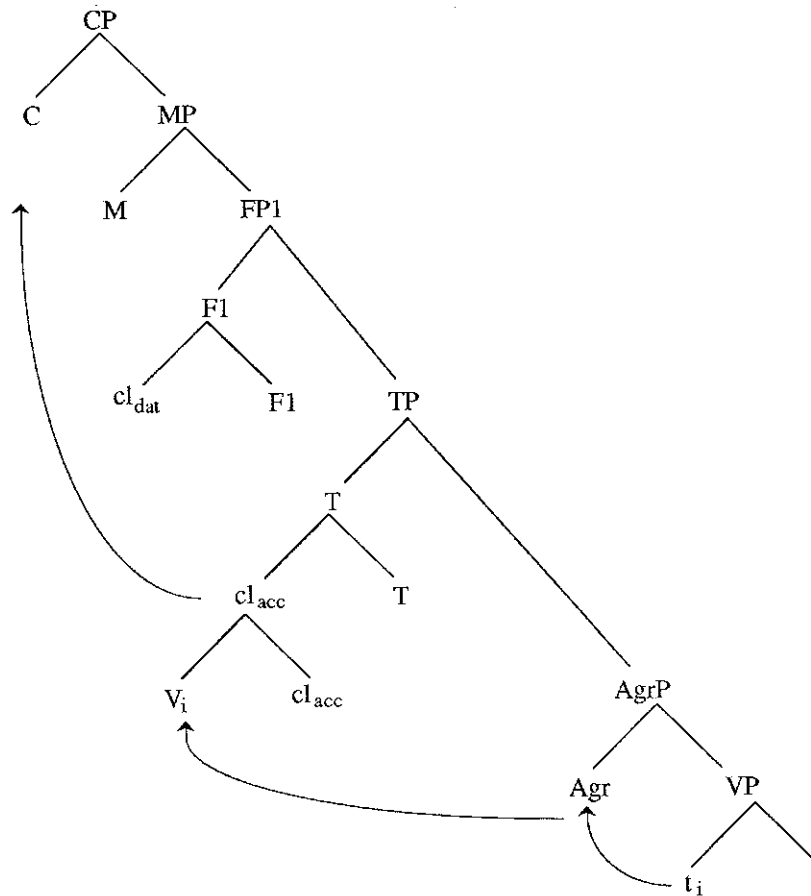
- (54)a. Dos' mou to!
give-2s-IMP me it
- b. Dos' to mou!
give-2s-IMP it me
 Give it to me!
- (55)a. Thkiavase mou to!
read-2s-IMP me it
- b. Thkiavase to mou!
read-2s-IMP it me
 Read it to me!

Just like in the case of Standard Greek imperatives, we will consider the ordering freedom of postverbal clitics to result from the interaction of the same factors. In particular, we will consider the order V-cl_{acc}-cl_{dat} of (54b) and (55b) to arise after the imperative verb incorporates into the

²⁶ The claim is hardly ground-breaking or controversial. The view that clitics occupy the same position in languages with first position restrictions, such as Portuguese and Galician, and others in which no such restrictions apply, such as Spanish, is also shared by Uriagereka (1988, 1995) and Martins (1994).

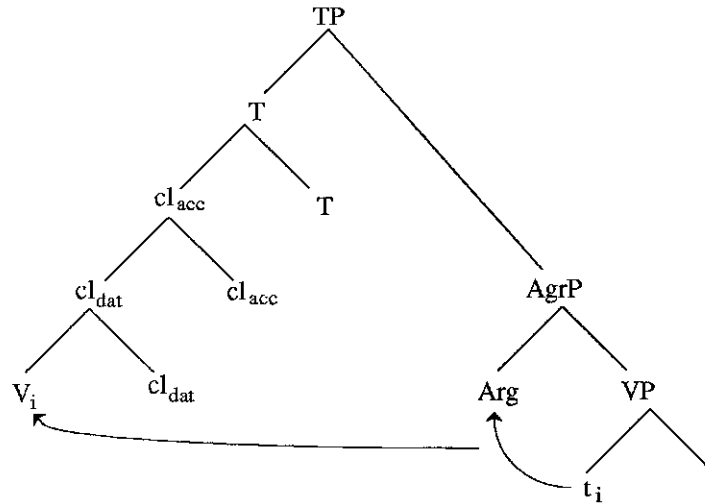
lower clitic, which adjoins to Tense, and they move to C^0 as a complex, skipping over the dative clitic:

(56)



As for the order V-cl_{dat}-cl_{acc}, which is also encountered when clitics are preverbal, I will assume the analysis in (39) (repeated below) developed for Standard Greek and the Standard Romance languages.

(39)



That is, I will consider the verb to adjoin to the dative clitic to have its Tense features checked, with subsequent movement of the V + cl_{dat} complex to C⁰.

Let us now proceed to the behavior of double object clitics in finite contexts. Cypriot Greek allows postverbal clitics even in finite contexts. Double object clitics do not form an exception and they also appear postverbally when no functional head precedes them:

(57)a. *Mou to ethkiavasen.

me it read

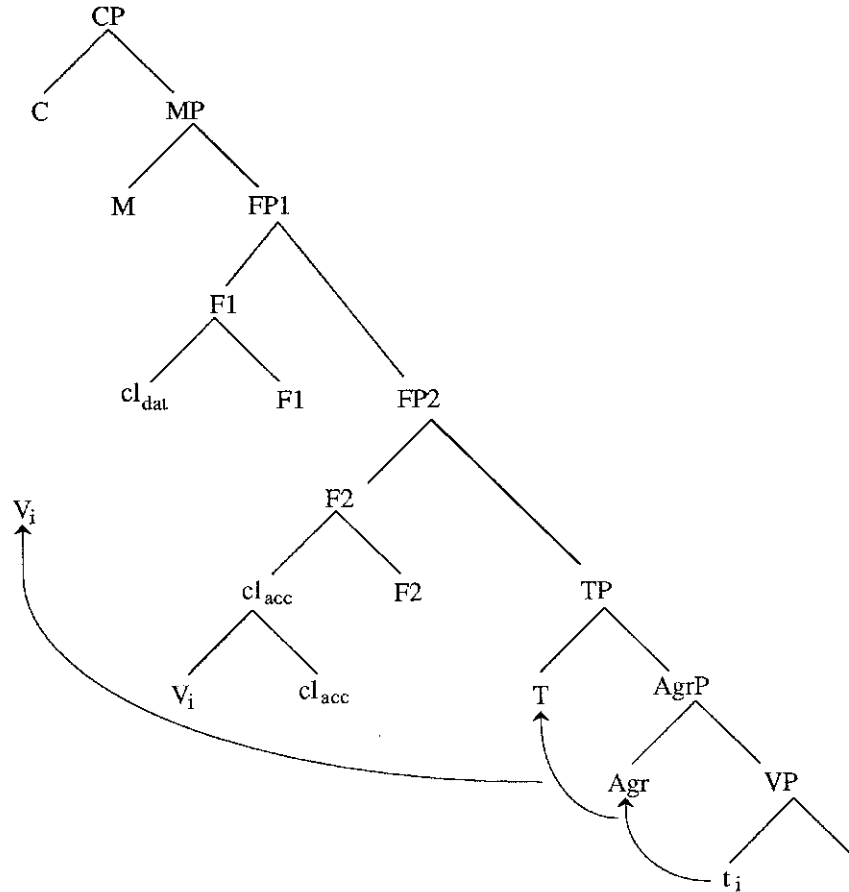
b. Ethkiavasen mou to.

read me it

S/he read it to me.

Based on the evidence from imperatives, we will assume that clitics may adjoin each to a different functional head in finite contexts as well, as illustrated in the schema immediately below:

(58)



Unlike with imperatives, however, whose T^0 is a functional head to which clitics adjoin, the accusative clitic (or any other clitic) cannot adjoin to T^0 in finite contexts because the finite verb also adjoins to T^0 overtly. We cannot appeal to verb movement to M^0 (which the finite verb undergoes in Cypriot Greek resulting in postverbal clitics, (57b)) as an alternative mechanism to avoid multiple adjunction to T^0 (as we argued to be the case with imperatives) because it is clear that no such verb movement takes place in a subset of finite contexts (see (51)–(53), in which clitics are preverbal when preceded by an X^0).

Therefore, the lower functional head, to which the accusative clitic

adjoins, is a placeholder in (58), in contrast with (56) in which it is T^0 . This difference leads us to predict that when V-to-M occurs in Cypriot Greek finite contexts, the verb does not proceed through the lower functional head and, as a result, the basic dative-accusative order of clitics is not altered. The prediction is borne out, as the contrast in (59) illustrates, and is particularly interesting when compared with the imperative in (60), in which double object clitics may follow the verb in either order.

(59)a. Ethkiavasen mou to.
read-3s me it

b. *Ethkiavasen to mou.
read-3s it me
 S/he read it to me.

(60)a. Thkiavase mou to!
read-2s-IMP me it

b. Thkiavase to mou!
read-2s-IMP it me
 Read it to me!²⁷

The contrast between (59b) vs. (60b) offers direct support to the claim that clitics do not always adjoin to the same functional head and that the nature of the associated verb, more precisely, its Tense properties, plays a determining role in this issue. Furthermore, it sheds light on the long-standing puzzle of the ordering freedom of Standard Greek clitics which would not have been explained adequately on the basis of Standard Greek alone since the two (potentially) interfering factors – the postverbal position of clitics and the nature of the verb when clitics follow it – cannot be teased apart. The facts from Cypriot Greek offer the possibility of separating these factors, to see how each one is involved and how they interact with each other. They confirm the claim that while the postverbal position of clitics is certainly responsible for ordering freedom, since order is affected by verb movement past the clitics, the nature of the functional heads to which clitics adjoin is also involved, with a different role in finite and nonfinite contexts.

²⁷ Gerunds are not productive in Cypriot Greek, and they are even more unnatural when followed by clitics, thus are omitted from the discussion.

5.3. *Adjunction of Clitics to Different Functional Heads: A First Answer*

Having proposed that each clitic may adjoin to a different functional head in Greek, in a configuration that is not shared by the Standard Romance languages, we raise the immediate question of whether this marked property is related to or is derivable from some other property of the language. The answer I can offer to this question is still partial and tentative.

It is conceivable to think at first that adjunction of clitics to different functional heads is somehow related to the rich Case morphology of Greek clitics. As the following examples illustrate, dative and accusative clitics are distinctively marked for Case, and, in particular, that while the 1s dative clitic is 'mou', (61), the accusative clitic is 'me', (62), with similar distinctions holding across all other persons.²⁸

- (61) Mou ipan ena mistiko.
me-dat told-3p a secret
 They told me a secret.

- (62) Me idan.
me-acc saw-3p
 They saw me.

We tend to believe that rich Case morphology is not a relevant factor for the manner multiple clitics adjoin, however. Macedonian Greek is a dialect in which pronominal clitics (but also full NPs) do not manifest Case distinctions as (63) and (64) demonstrate (compare with (61) and (62), respectively; see Dimitriadis 1995).²⁹

²⁸ With the exception of masculine clitics in the plural (see also Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton 1987):

- (i) Tous to ipa.
them it told-1s
 I told them this.
- (ii) Tous ida.
them saw-1s
 I saw them.

²⁹ As Dimitriadis points out, this cannot be a superficial characteristic of Macedonian Greek, as it has syntactic correlates. While a bare dative object is well-formed in Standard Greek (i), it is ungrammatical in Macedonian Greek (iia), in which indirect objects require clitic doubling (iib).

- (i) Edosa tou Giorgou ta vivlia.
gave-1s the George-dat the books-acc

(63) Me ipan ena mistiko.
me-accl/dat told-3p a secret
 They told me a secret.

(64) Me idan.
me-accl/dat saw-3p
 They saw me.

Yet, clitics may adjoin each to a different functional head in this variety as well, as reflected by the fact that their order is reversed by verb movement, with the consequence that both orders of clitics are available postverbally.³⁰

(65)a. Pes me to.
tell-2s-IMP me it

b. Pes to me.
tell-2s-IMP it me
 Tell me it.

We are inclined to believe, instead, that clitics may adjoin each to a different functional head in Greek by virtue of the fact that more such heads are available in the language. Androutsopoulou (1994, 1995) discusses the following phenomenon from Greek, which she calls Determiner Spreading:

(66) to megalo (to) kokino (to) vivlio.
the big the red the book
 the big red book.

(67) *(to) megalo kokino vivlio.
the big red book
 the big red book.

(ii)a. *Edosa to Giorgio ta vivlia.
gave-1s the George-accl/dat the books-acc

b. Ton edosa to Giorgio ta vivlia.
cl-accl/dat gave-1s the George-accl/dat the books-acc
 I gave George the books.

³⁰ I would like to thank Yiannis Tasioulas (NIS/Bethesda) for providing this crucial piece of data.

As the examples demonstrate, the determiner may be repeated several times, (66), but only its first occurrence is obligatory, (67). The additional determiners in (66) head the functional projections DEFP in Androutsopoulou (1995) and they are not lexically realized in (67). It is tempting to suggest that these functional heads provide the possibility of separate hosts for double object clitics in Greek. Although they are heads that are not empty placeholders (see Androutsopoulou 1995 for details concerning their properties), they are not associated with features of the verb, and, as a result, the contrast in (59) vs. (60) still obtains, since the verb, on its way to C^0 or M^0 , would skip any functional head with which it does not check features. The fact that determiners and clitics are morphologically identical (in all varieties of Greek) and that the phenomenon of Determiner Spreading is also present in Cypriot and Macedonian Greek offers additional corroborating evidence to this idea which, undoubtedly, requires further scrutiny.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In this article I have studied a number of consequences of Kayne's (1994) antisymmetry proposals for the position of clitics in the sentence, focusing primarily on the nature of the functional heads to which clitics adjoin and the adjunction possibilities of multiple clitics. Contrary to Kayne (1989, 1991) and an influential research line that has considered pronominal clitics to adjoin to Infl, the proposals in Kayne (1994) force us to partially abandon this view. In this spirit, I distinguish between two such types of functional heads arguing that they differ with respect to whether they check features of the verb, in particular, Tense, or they are placeholders, not associated with verbal features. Thus, I provide a viable alternative within the Minimalist program which dispenses with Agr^0 , an Infl head standardly held to host clitics

The Greek data discussed offer empirical support for the above claims. It is not obvious, for instance, how the contrast in ordering freedom between postverbal clitics of imperative and finite verbs in Cypriot Greek would be captured if clitics adjoined to the same functional head across all syntactic environments. Arguing for a non-homogeneous adjunction site for clitics amounts to arguing for a non-designated adjunction site, hence, challenging accounts that consider a specific functional head to always serve this purpose (Uriagereka's 1995 being the most recent one). The data discussed also instantiate the different ways in which more than one clitic may combine and illustrate how the manner in which they adjoin relates to their ordering. Finally, the Greek clitics, which present a highly

regular paradigm with respect to their positioning and ordering (no opaque forms exist, for instance, and the preverbal order is constantly dat-acc), and whose behavior can be accounted for by a purely syntactic approach, offer insights into which aspects of larger and more complex clitic systems (such as those of the Romance languages) can also be treated within syntax proper and for which aspects of clitics one might have to appeal to other components of the grammar, notably to morphology.

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Received 25 September 1994

Revised 16 June 1998

Department of Speech Therapy

TEI Patras

Meg. Alexandrou 1

Patras, 26334

Greece

E-mail: aterzi@morias.teipat.gr