

Clitic Doubling: a Syntactic Effect of Morphological Case
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The problem: a. Clitic doubling is not attested in all languages with pronominal clitics: morphological case seems to be a prerequisite. b. Clitic doubling seems to violate the theta criterion: one theta role seems to be assigned to two arguments.

The analysis: The clitic starts out in the extended projection of the double, so both the clitic and the double are interpreted as a single argument. The clitic then incorporates to the verb in order to satisfy its morphophonological requirements (clitics are affixes). The clitic-double complex is interpreted through feature sharing (Grimshaw 1991).

Moreover, the clitic-double complex must have case in order to be assigned a theta-role (visibility). If case itself is a functional head, attached lower than the clitic (forming a case shell on top of the DP), then clitic doubling is licensed only when the case shell is filled. That is, only when there is morphological case on DPs. In the absence of morphological case the head of the case shell would fail the ECP (Rizzi 1990, recently revived in Neeleman & Weerman 1999).

The clitic cannot be generated lower than the case shell, since the clitic would then have to attach to the case head rather than the verb (HMC). Moreover, clitics cannot be generated on the D position (Uriagereka 1995), since in Modern Greek both the clitic and the determiner may appear simultaneously in a construction. Also, in the case of coordination two or more DPs (in singular) may be the double of one pronominal clitic (in plural). This is only possible if the clitic starts out in a position outside the DP.

Predictions: a. genuine clitic doubling is only possible with DPs. A PP double of a clitic should be an adjunct, associated with the clitic argument through coreference. This prediction is borne out since we can extract from a DP double of a clitic (Modern Greek) but we cannot extract from a PP double of a clitic (Spanish and Italian).

b. Genuine clitic doubling is only possible when the clitic-double complex is not an island. Therefore, a subject double of a clitic should be an adjunct.

Conclusion: Clitic doubling is only attested in languages with morphological case because of the ECP. Clitic doubling does not violate the theta criterion because the clitic is a head in the double's extended projection.