"MOVE VS. AGREE": THE CASE OF CLITIC DOUBLING

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Abstract: This paper continues the long-standing discussion whether clitics in clitic doubling constructions should be regarded as being similar to affixes expressing subject-verb agreement or rather as reflexes of movement. A crosslinguistic comparison of clitics will show that although clitics come in different flavors either as phi-features or as determiners, they are all the result of an overt feature movement to repair violations of the Minimal Link Constraint (Anagnostopoulou 2005). Long Distance Agree constructions in Greek, Romanian and Spanish use clitic doubling as a strategy to avoid minimality effects. On the basis of a parallel between clitic doubling and Long Distance Agree, I conclude that they are the outcome of two different operations Move vs. Agree but both are sensitive to Minimal Link Constraint and are regulated by a phase-based locality condition (the Phase Impenetrability Condition).

Keywords: clitics, Minimal Link Constraint, Move, Agree

1. Overview

This paper discusses two syntactic phenomena found in Romanian, Spanish and Greek: clitic doubling (CD) and agreement and the relation between them.

(1) **Le** di el libro **a Juan**.
CL.DAT gave-1SG the book to Juan
'I gave John the book.'

Generally, the relation between CD and agreement has been regarded from two divergent perspectives. From one point of view, clitics are argued to be base generated in their surface position, similar to affixes expressing subject-verb agreement (Rivas 1977, Jaeggli 1982, 1986, Borer 1984, Suñer 1988). From the other perspective, clitics are generated in an argument position and undergoing movement to their surface position, (e.g. Kayne 1975, Torrego 1988, Uriagereka 1995, Sportiche 1992, 1998, Anagnostopoulou 2003).

In this paper, in line with Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) and Preminger (2008) among others, I regard CD and cliticization as a strategy to repair violations of the Minimal Link Constraint[1] (MLC): Thus I argue that the clitic in CD constructions removes the intervening features of the c-commanding indirect object, enabling the movement of the direct object or the Long Distance Agree (LDA) between the subject *in situ* and the matrix verb in CDs (RC). Nevertheless, this paper shows that MLC violations

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[1] Minimal Link Constraint: an XP can move across a c-commanding ZP if both arguments belong to the minimal domain of the same head or the features of c-commanding ZP has been removed. In our case the MLC constraint can be violated if the feature of the indirect object moves first and removes the intervening features.

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are subject to crosslinguistic variation in multiple cliticization (in Move environments) and in CDs (with (Long Distance) Agree).

First, with respect to the first environment, the crosslinguistic variation concerning the properties of clitics to obviate defective intervention can be explained by a defragmented analysis of clitics as phi markers (phi-clitics) and/or as determiners (D-clitics), as with Bleam (1999), Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002) and Anagnostopoulou (2005), a.o.

Second, the crosslinguistic variation of CD in CDs is related to the syntactic difference between Double Object Constructions (DOC) and Prepositional Constructions (PC) with ditransitives and the status of the embedded clause as a phase.

The theoretical overarching aim is to show that CD and LDA are the outcome of two different operations Move vs. Agree but both sensitive to MLC and regulated by a phase-based locality condition (the Phase Impenetrability Condition).

2. CD in Greek, Romanian and Spanish

Ditransitive predicates in a number of languages alternate between the DOC (2a) and the PC (2b). The two differ from one another in a systematic way, see Barss and Lasnik (1986), Larson (1988), Baker (1988), Marantz (1993), Pesetsky (1995), among many others.

(2) a. John gave Mary the book. (DOC)
b. John gave the book to Mary. (PC)

For languages that allow CD of objects, various scholars (see Demonte 1995, Bleam 1999, Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005, and Diaconescu and Rivero 2008) have put forth the generalization in (3):

(3) a. Sentences which contain clitic doubled indirect objects are DOCs and not PCs in Romanian and Spanish.
b. For Greek, Anagnostopoulou (2003) has argued that both clitic-doubled and non-clitic doubled genitives are DOCs while constructions where the indirect object is prepositional are PCs.

Diaconescu and Rivero (2005) and Marchis and Alexiadou (in preparation) show on the basis of several tests such as the binding test[2], frozen scope and weak crossover effects

[2] The evidence for this asymmetry is shown by the binding test (Diaconescu and Rivero 2005): in English DOCs the goal asymmetrically c-commands the theme: thus, the goal can bind an anaphor or a possessive in the theme while the theme cannot bind into the goal (Pesetsky 1995: 125).

(i) a. I showed John$_i$ himself$_i$ in the mirror.
b. *I showed himself$_i$ John$_i$ in the mirror.
c. I denied every worker$_i$ his$_i$ paycheck.
d. *I denied its $_i$ owner every paycheck.

Like English, Romanian and Spanish can have a possessive in the theme bound by a clitic doubled dative goal. However, when the possessive is in the goal, it cannot bind the theme (Diaconescu and Rivero 2005):

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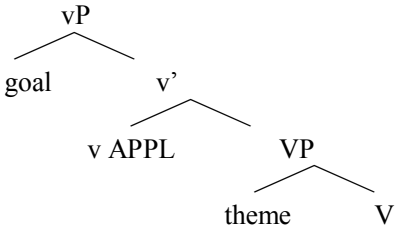
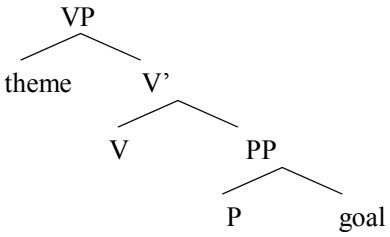
that only clitic doubled constructions in Romanian and Spanish are systematically DOCs while in Greek both clitic doubled constructions and non-clitic doubled genitives are DOCs[3]. In order to explain the binding and scopal effects, Anagnostopoulou (2005), Diaconescu and Rivero (2005) among others assume that the doubled DP/PP is introduced by an applicative head, v_{appl}, and c-commands the theme (4a), while the non-doubled DP/PP is contained within the same VP that also contains the theme argument (4b):

(4) a. DOCs



b. PCs



In what follows, I show that the structure of DOCs in (4a) triggers the obligatory emergence of clitics in order to obviate intervening effects in the case of direct object raising or LDA.

3. CD repairing defective intervention

Anagnostopoulou (2003) points out that in Greek, cliticization of IOs systematically licenses A-movement of themes, an operation that is blocked in the absence of clitics due to the MLC:

(ii) a. I- am dat muncitorului$_i$ / la muncitor$_i$ cecul său.
CL.DAT have.1SG given worker-the-DAT / to worker check-the his
'I have his check to the worker.'

b. ???Poliția i- a dat tatălui său$_i$ copilul pierdut$_i$.
Police.the CL.DAT has given father-the.DAT his child-the lost
'The police gave the lost child to his (respective) father.'

[3] In Greek a sentence is a double object construction (with a v-applicative head) only if the indirect object is realized as a genitive and regardless of whether the indirect object is clitic doubled.

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(5) [To vivlio]$_i$ *(tis) charistike tis Marias t_i apo ton Petro.
the book CL.GEN awarded the Mary-GEN from the Peter
'The book was awarded to Mary by Peter.'

In (5) when the indirect object clitic is realized in preverbal position, movement of the DP *to vivlio* is allowed as the intervening features of the dative have been removed through cliticization[4]. Nevertheless, Romanian and Spanish misbehave with respect to the properties of their clitics to obviate violations of the MLC: the raising of the theme is allowed also in the absence of the clitic.

(6) a. Cartea (le-)a fost dată copiilor de către Ion. (Rom.)
book-the CL.DAT has been given children-the-DAT by Ion
'The book was awarded to the children by Ion.'
b. El libro (les) fue dado a los niños por Juan. (Sp.)
the book CL.DAT was given to the children by Juan
'The book was awarded to the children by Juan.'

This paper shows that Greek, Spanish and Romanian CD behaves differently with respect to intervention effects in the case of Move and Agree.

3.1 Defective intervention for Move: Multiple cliticization

In line with Anagnostopoulou's view of cliticization as an overt feature movement construction with a PF reflex, I argue that cliticization is the outcome of Move.

For Greek, Anagnostopoulou (2003) shows that the co-occurrence of a direct object clitic *tin* with a non-doubled indirect object *tu adhelfu* 'the brother' leads to ungrammaticality in (7a) whereas the cliticization of the indirect object is grammatical in (7b) and, moreover, licenses DO clitics (7c):

(7) a. *Tin sistisa tu adhelfu mu.
CL-F.ACC introduced-1SG the brother-GEN my
'I introduced her to my brother.'
b. Tu sistisa tin fili mu tin Maria.
CL.M.GEN introduced-1SG the friend.ACC my the Maria.ACC
'I introduced him my friend Maria'

[4] Analogically, in Basque when dative agreement-morphemes are present, dative DP does not intervene in the Agree relation between the auxiliary and the absolutive noun phrase.
(i) Guraso -e -k **ni -ri** [belarritako ederr -a -k] erosi absihavezki da -datte
parent(s)-DEF.PL-ERG me-dat earring(s) beautiful-def.pl-abs bought PL-ABS 1SG.3PL-ERG
'(My) parents have bought me beautiful earrings.' (Laka 1996)
Preminger (2008) makes two important observations for Basque:
(i) the relation between the auxiliary and the absolutive noun-phrase is susceptible to intervention effects (as one would expect of an Agree relation);
(ii) the dative agreement-morpheme behaves in a way that is typical of clitic-doubling – in its absence creates a situation in which the dative noun-phrase counts as an intervener,while its presence suppresses the intervention of the dative.

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c. Tu tin sistisa.
CL.M.GEN CL-F.GEN introduced-1SG
'I introduced her to him.' (Anagnostopoulou 2003: 200)

Essentially, the behaviour of clitics in the context of multiple cliticization in Greek is predicted by the structure (4a) where the goal must be above the theme, in a c-commanding position and, hence, it can remove the intervening features of the indirect object through cliticization. In more explicit terms, (7a) is illicit in Greek since unlike in (7b) and (7c), the intervening features of the indirect object have not been removed by the indirect object clitic.

(8) a. ?(Se) la presenté a mi mamá. (Sp.)
CL.DAT CL.ACC presented to my mother .
'I introduced her to my mother.'
b. (I) l- am prezentat tatalui. (Rom.)
(CL.DAT) CL.ACC-have presented father-DAT
"I have presented him to my father"

The data in (6), (7) and (8) raise the puzzling question whether all types of clitics obviate locality effects in the same way.

3.1.1 Towards an analysis

In order to account for the different properties of clitics I propose, building on Bleam (2000) and Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002), that in CD clitics come in two guises: D-clitics and phi-clitics. On the basis of Marchis and Alexiadou (in preparation), I argue that while in Greek both accusative and genitive/dative clitics resemble determiners, in Romanian only direct object clitics[5] are similar to determiners (see Coene and Avram in press).

The discrepancy between Romanian and Greek with respect to the obviation of locality effects in examples (7) and (8) can be only accounted for by a defragmented analysis of clitics: (i) Greek clitics have a +D feature which triggers semantic effects; in the same spirit, Anagnostopoulou (2003) shows that Greek clitics have a +D feature, being [+Animate] and [+Gender]; this is additionally supported by their morphology; (ii) in Romanian, the dative clitics in (8b) are void of D-features, being mere agreement markers.

Interestingly, the movement of direct object clitics across undoubled indirect objects in Greek is licit only if the direct object clitics are void of animacy/gender D-features:

[5] The topic of clitic doubling in Romanian has been discussed in the literature by Gierling (1997), Cornilescu (2001, 2006), Isac (2003), Cornilescu and Dobrovie (2008), Hill and Tasmowki (2008), Avram and Coene (2009), Ciucivara (2009), Tigău (2010). The aim of this paper is not to provide an analysis for clitic doubling, but rather to see how the MLC operates in cases of cliticicization and LDA.

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(9) O Gianis to edhose tis Marias. (Anagnostopoulou 2003: 200) (Gk.)
the Gianis CL.N gave-3SG the Maria-GEN
"Gianis have introduced her to Maria."

Hence, on the basis of a defragmented analysis of clitics, I argue that the direct object clitic *to* in Greek, which is underspecified for animacy/gender, lacks a D feature and is a phi-marker on a par with indirect object clitics in Romanian. Crucially, the different syntax of the indirect objects clitics in Greek and of their counterparts in Romanian is triggered by the fact that in Greek CD of indirect objects is regulated by semantic effects (familiarity) while this is not the case in Romanian (see Anagnostopoulou 2005). Hence, indirect object clitics in Greek check and remove familiarity/specificity[6] being D elements while dative clitics in Romanian check only phi features, being mere phi-clitics.

But what about Spanish? As can be seen in table 1, in Spanish like in Romanian, dative clitics, unlike accusative clitics, are not similar to D(determiners). Evidence for this comes from the fact that there is no gender distinction in the third person. In Greek, on the other hand, genitive clitics are identical to determiners (Marchis and Alexiadou in preparation).

Table 1

	Determiner	DO clitics	IO clitics
Spanish	el, la, los, las	$le_{m.sg}$ la $o_{f.sg}$ los $_{m.pl}$ las $_{f.pl}$	le_{sg} les_{pl}
Romanian	-ul, -a, -i, -le, -lui, -ei, -lor, -lor	$l\text{-}_{m.sg}$ $\text{-}o_{f.sg}$ $i\text{-}_{m.pl}$ $le\text{-}_{f,pl}$	$i\text{-}_{sg}$ $le\text{-}_{pl}$
Greek	tu, tis, tu, ton, tin, ta, tus, ta	$ton_{n.sg}$ $tin_{f.sg}$ $to_{m.sg}$ $tus_{m.pl}$ $tis_{f.pl}$ $ta_{n.pl}$	$tu_{masc/neuter.sg}$, $tis_{fem.sg}$, tus_{pl}

Moreover, like in Romanian, CD of indirect objects is not triggered by semantic effects such as familiarity in Greek since a [–specific, –definite, +human, –pronominal] indirect object can be clitic doubled). The hypothesis for a defragmented analysis fo clitic is supported hence both by semantic and morphological arguments. With respect to the semantic effects triggered by clitic doubling in the languages under discussion, there is a clear discrepancy, on the one hand between the CDDO and CDIO in Romance and between the CDDO and CDIO in Romance and Greek, on the other hand (see Marchis and Alexiadou in preparation, and f.n. 6 and 7). More exactly,

[6] In contrast to Greek, in Romanian and Spanish, a [−specific, ·definite, +human, −pronominal] indirect object can be clitic doubled:
(i) Le-am oferit bani la săraci.
CL have offered money to poor.
'I have offered money to the poor ones'
(ii) Les dejaré todo mi dinero a los pobres.
CL give-FUT all my money to the poor.
'I will offer all my money to the poor.'

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in Romance only direct object clitics trigger specificity while in Greek both direct and indirect object clitics trigger familiarity. I link this semantic variation to a different syntax of clitics within these languages: unlike in Romance, both direct and indirect object clitics in Greek are determiners due to their rich semantic content[7].

If Spanish dative clitics are similar to Romanian ones, then why are they sensitive to minimality effects just like the Greek ones? The answer to this question seems to be provided by Demonte (1995) and Bleam (1999) who argue that in Spanish the direct object must be in a possessor-relation to the cliticized indirect object. The following example shows that the clitic can double a non-animate dative only when the dative is realized as a "possessor" of the theme:

(10) a. Le puse el mantel a la mesa.
CL.DAT put the tablecloth to the table.
'I put the tablecloth on the table.'
b. *Le puse los platos a la mesa.
CL.DAT put the dishes to the table.
'I put the dishes on the table.'

In contrast to Bleam (1999), I show that the possessor relation is not implicit with [+animate] and [+human] indirect objects:

(11) (Les) dejaré todo mi dinero a los pobres.
CL.DAT will leave all my money to the poor.
'I will leave all my money to the poor.'

In the above example there is no previous possessor relation between *my money* and *the poor,* hence the clitic is optional. Nevertheless, such a possessed-possessor reading seems to be obtained in all cases of multiple cliticization:

(12) a. *(Se) lo devolví (el dinero) (a mi mamá).
CL.DAT CL.ACC returned (the money) (to my mother
'I returned my mother her money.'
b. ?(Se) la presenté (mi novia) (a mi mamá).
CL.DAT CL.ACC introduced (my girlfriend) (to my mother)

[7] IO clitics behave similarly to DO clitics in that they suppress novel readings of definites and, therefore, the associated definite DPs in doubling constructions are identified as unambiguously familiar Marchis and Alexiadou (in preparation) adapt Anagnostopoulou's (1994) test for Greek CDDO to Greek CDIO):

(i) O Janis diavase [ena vivlio ja ton Arthur Miller$_i$]$_j$, ke apofasise na stili ena grama ston sigrafea$_k$
John read a book about Arthur Miller, and he decided to send a letter to the author
'John read a book about Arthur Miller, and he decided to send a letter to the author.'
the author: (i) Arthur Miller himself (k=i) (ii) the author of the book (k related to j)

(ii) O Janis diavase [ena vivlio ja ton Arthur Miller$_i$]$_j$, ke apofasise na tu$_i$ stili tu sigrafea$_i$ ena grama
John read a book about Arthur Miller, and he decided to CL.GEN send the author-GEN a letter.
the author: necessarily the already established member of discourse

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Native speakers argue that in (12a) the dative clitic must obligatorily be realized while the (12b) example sounds a bit better than (12a). This leads to the conclusion that the ungrammaticality of (12) without the dative clitic is not due to the same minimality reasons as in Greek. Bleam (1999) argues that in the case of a possessor relation, both the indirect object and the theme are contained within a DP-internal subject of an integral relation (Hornstein et al. 1994). From this position the indirect object moves to check dative Case and the feature (A) which is associated with affectedness (Bleam 1999: 129) The obligatory possessor raising analysis in Spanish explains why the indirect object clitic must be obligatorily realized when the direct object is cliticized.

The proposal for a defragmented analysis of clitics can be summarized in the table below:

Table 2

Types of clitics	**Semantic effects**	**Syntactic features**
DP1 - determiner	familiarity in Greek and possession in Spanish	phi-features and gender
DP2 - determiner	specificity in Romance	phi-features and gender
FP - agreement marker	no semantics in Romance	phi-features

The next section discusses CDs (with LDA) where the same minimality effects arise as in previously mentioned environment.

3.2. (Long Distance) Agree: CD in CDs

Alexiadou et al. (forthcoming) show that Greek, Romanian and Spanish have LDA in CDs whereby the higher verb obligatorily agrees with the lower subject (see also Alboiu 2006, 2007 for Romanian).

(13) *Agree*

a. [$_{TP}$ au încetat [$_{TP}$ să citească [$_{DP}$ copiii]]]
have stopped SUBJ read-3PL children-the
'The children stopped reading.'

b. stamatis**an** na diavaz**un** ta pedia vivlia tu Kazandzaki. (Gk.)
stopped-3PL SUBJ read-3PL the children books Kazandzakis
'The children stopped reading books by Kazandzakis.'

c. Acabó de leer Juan el libro. (Sp.)
finished-3SG of read-INF Juan the book
'John stopped reading the book.'

These examples show that the embedded subject *copiii* 'children' in Romanian, *ta pedia* in Greek, and *Juan* in Spanish agrees with the raising verb 'stopped' in the matrix clause. This is known as a LDA phenomenon.

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According to Anagnostopoulou (2003), in Greek CDs, CD alleviates MLC violations while this is apparently not the case in Romanian and Spanish:

(14) Polla dora *tus fenete na *(tus) edose Sara ton pedion (Artemis Alexiadou, p.c.)
many presents CL seems SUBJ CL gave Sara the children-GEN
'Many presents it seems to offer Sara to the children.'

(15) a. (Moşul) (*le-) pare să (le) ofere copiilor multe cadouri.
Santa Claus CL.DAT seems-SG SUBJ CL.DAT offer children-the-dat many presents
'Santa Claus seems to offer the children many presents.'

b. Multe cadouri pare să (le) ofere moşul copiilor. **LDA**
Many presents seems-SG SUBJ CL.DAT offer Santa children-the-DAT
'Many presents it seems to offer Santa Claus to the children.'

(16) (Santa) (les) parece ofrecer (les) a los niños muchos regalos. **LDA**
Santa Claus CL.DAT seems-SG offer CL.DAT to the children many presents.
'Santa Claus seems to offer the children many presents.

Note that unlike in Spanish and Romanian, Greek obligatory realizes the indirect object clitic in the embedded clause when there is an NP movement in the matrix clause[8]. In contrast, the indirect object clitics in Spanish and Romanian are optional in the embedded clause. Moreover, Spanish even allows clitic climbing in the matrix clause in CDs.

3.2.1 Towards an analysis

So far we have seen that we have a two way distinction among languages with respect to the realization of clitics in CDs (RCs): First, Greek obligatorily makes use of the indirect object clitics in the embedded clause in order to obviate locality effects in RCs (14) while Romanian and Spanish optionally realize CD and cliticization in the same embedded clauses in CDs (15) and (16). Second, in contrast to Romanian and Greek, Spanish allows the optional clitic climbing to the matrix clause in RCs (16).

How can the discrepancy between Greek and Spanish/Romanian be accounted for in Raising/LDA constructions? I propose that the crosslinguistic variation between Greek, Spanish and Romanian is related to three syntactic properties:

(i) the status of the ditransitive verbs in the languages under discussion: DOC vs. PC;
(ii) the availability of clitic climbing in defective clauses Spanish vs. Romanian and Greek;
(iii) the phase status of embedded clauses (subjunctives in Romanian and Greek) or the lack thereof (in Spanish)

(i) DOC vs. PC
The distinct realization of indirect object clitics in the embedded clause in Greek and Romanian and Spanish is related to the syntactic status of the embedded clause: DOC

[8] Polinksy and Potsdam (2008) and Alexiadou et al. (forthcoming) provide evidence on the basis of scope and negation tests that in Greek, Romanian and Spanish CDs there is no copy in the matrix clause and analyze them as instances of LDA.

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with a v-applicative head or a PC. More explicitly, in Greek a sentence is a DOC (with a v-applicative head) only if the indirect object is realized as a genitive and irrespectively whether the indirect object is clitic doubled. This is not the case in Romanian and Spanish where the raising of an NP above a c-commanding indirect object does not seem to lead to a MLC violation. In the first scenario, when the indirect object clitic is not realized in the embedded clause, there cannot be any kind of MLC violations as both arguments (the direct and indirect object) are in the same minimal domain. In the second scenario, when the indirect object clitic is realized, the indirect object is introduced by an v-applicative head and c-commands the direct object. Therefore, its features [+person] (Anagnostopoulou 2003) must be removed through cliticization before the direct object moves to the matrix clause.

(ii) Clitic climbing

Spanish optionally allows the climbing of the indirect object clitic in the matrix clause. This is illicit in Romanian and Greek. I argue that there are several possible explanations for this variation: A first explanation might have to do with the availability of clitic climbing in the language. Terzi (1992) shows that unlike Greek, Spanish allows clitic climbing:

(17) a. Quiero leerlo.
want-1SG read-CL.ACC
'I want to read it.'
b. Lo quiero leer.
CL.ACC want-1SG read
'I want to read it.'

(18) I Maria (*to) prospathise na to grapsi.
the Maria CL tried SUBJ CL writes
'Mary tried to write it.'

However, this explanation is contradicted by the fact that although Romanian does not allow clitic climbing in CDs such as in (15), clitic climbing is available in other constructions i.e. with infinitives[9] (see Dobrovie-Sorin 1994).

(19) Îl pot mânca.
CL.ACC can eat.
'I can eat it.'

(iii) Phase-based constraint

I argue that in Romanian and Greek the ungrammaticality of clitic climbing in CDs is triggered by the nature of the embedded clause. Alexiadou et al. (forthcoming) show that

[9] An anonymous reviewer points out that clitic climbing is marginally accepted with other verbs such as *a şti*:
i. ?O ştiu recita
it.FEM know recite.
'I knowhow to recite it'
This might have to do with the marginal usage of the infinitive in Romanian and not with clitic climbing. Note that the sentence is ungrammatical when the clitic climbing does not take place:
ii. *stiu recita-o
know recite-it.FEM

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Raising in Greek and Romanian is usually instantiated in subjunctive clauses. Subjunctive clauses are introduced by the subjunctive marker *na* in Greek and *să* in Romanian (Philippaki-Warburton and Veloudis 1984, Terzi 1992, Rivero 1994, Cornilescu 1997, Alboiu 2006). Moreover, in both languages, the embedded verb, similarly to the matrix verb, shows agreement in number and person with the matrix subject:

(20) [$_{TP}$ au încetat [$_{TP}$ să citească [$_{DP}$ copiii]]] (Alexiadou et al. forthcoming)
have stopped SUBJ read-3PL children-the
'The children stopped reading'

Hence, a second explanation for the distinction between Spanish and Greek and Romanian – in (14) and (15) vs. (16) – might be to assume that clitic climbing is possible only with infinitives as they involve a monoclausal restructuring configuration (Zagona 1982, Picallo 1990, Fischer 2010).

However, Alexiadou et al. (forthcoming) show on the basis of several tests such as adverbial modification and scope properties that like Greek and Romanian, Spanish CDs with infinitives do not behave like monoclausal sentences[10]. Moreover, Terzi (1992) shows that in Salentino, a Southern Italian dialect, clitic climbing can take place also when the embedded clause is a subjunctive clause with a missing subjunctive marker:

(21) Lu we *ku kkatti. (Salentino)
CL want SUBJ buy-2SG
'You want to buy it.'

(22) *Maria o încearcă *(să) scrie. (Rom.)
Maria CL-ACC try SUBJ write-3SG
'Maria tries to write it.'

Salentino and Romanian are similar in that they both have clitic climbing but only the former allows it in subjunctive clauses. According to Terzi (1992), this is related to the fact that clitic climbing in Salentino is licit when the subjunctive marker is not present. The drop of the subjunctive marker in Romanian is not permitted – see (22).

In line with Boeckx and Gallego (2008) and Gallego 2011), I consider the restructuring domains in Salentino where clitic climbing takes place to be defective as clitic climbing can occur only if the clitic is "active" (Chomsky 2000). This is so only if v cannot check its Case.

[10] In (i) the event adverbial modifies either the matrix or the embedded verb. In (ii) it clearly modifies the matrix verb only:
(i) Acabó de enjuagar Juan la camiseta cuatro veces.
stopped-3SG PREP rinse-INF John the shirt four times
Low interpretation: 'John stopped rinsing the shirt four times.'
High interpretation: 'It was four times the case that John stopped rinsing the shirt.'
(ii) Acabó cuatro veces de enjuagar Juan la camiseta.
stopped-3SG four timed PREP rinse-INF John the shirt
High interpretation: 'It was four times the case that John stopped rinsing the shirt.'

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(23) [v*[V[C_{def}[T[EA Cl v*[V t_{Cl}]]]]]] (Boeckx and Gallego 2008)

By virtue of the fact that cliticization is related to phi-feature movement and can only target phase heads, i.e. C and v* (Boeckx and Gallego 2008)), clitics should not be able to move out of inflected clauses. In the light of this I explain the distinction between Romanian and Salentino and Spanish, by arguing that in Romanian subjunctive clauses are TPs containing v*, deactivating the clitic for Case (freezing effects) while in Salentino and Spanish the clitic remains active as the v_{def} cannot check its Case. I link the absence of the subjunctive marker in Salentino with a deficient domain or the lack of v*. This hypothesis is discussed also by different scholars such as Iatridou (1990) Sportiche (1996), Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1997) among others, who argue that cliticization is subject to a clause mate locality condition.

On the basis of these observations, in the spirit of Boeckx and Gallego (2008), I add that the clause mate locality condition proposed in the literature is a v* constraint.

Properties of cliticization and CD
1. it voids the status of its target as an intervener (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1997)
2. locality condition: within a v*

4. Conclusions

Anagnostopoulou (2003) and Preminger (2008) on the basis of McGinnis (1998) and Chomsky (2000, 2001) provide evidence that CD and agreement behave differently with respect to defective intervention and locality conditions.

(i) Properties of Agree (McGinnis 1998, Chomsky 2000, 2001)
(a) Defective intervention: a noun phrase cannot intervene between a host and the target.
(b) A locality condition prevents it from operating across the boundaries of a tensed clause.

(ii) Properties of CD (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1997, Sportiche 1996, Iatridou 1990)
(a) it voids the status of its target as an intervener
(b) locality condition: clause-mate.

4.1 Defective intervention

We have seen that CD is used as a strategy to repair the agreement in the case in which an indirect object intervenes between a host and the target:

(24) Polla dora fenete na *(tus) edose Sara ton pedion. (Greek)
many presents seems subj cl-gave the Sara the children-gen
Many presents it seems to offer Sara to the children.' (Artemis Alexiadou, p.c.)

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Greek obligatorily realizes the indirect object clitic in the embedded clause when there is an NP movement in the matrix clause. From this one can conclude that both Agree and Move operations are sensitive to defective intervention[11]: the same minimality effects arise both in the cliticization in Greek (see 7b) and in CDs. However, as Chomsky (2000) and Preminger (2008) show, the defective intervention in agreement triggers default agreement in some languages (Icelandic languages see Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir (2003)) and CD in others (Greek and Basque) while in CD constructions the defective intervention cannot be repaired and leads to ungrammaticality (see (7a) multiple cliticization in Greek and Preminger (2008) for Basque examples).

4.2. Locality constraints

As previously shown on the basis of Romanian vs. Salentino and Spanish, CD is bound to v* and is not allowed to move across it.

According to Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2007), Agree is prevented by a locality constraint from operating across the boundaries of a tensed clause.

As predicted by Chomsky (2000, 2001), in both Greek and Romanian, LDA subjunctives are characterized by the absence of morphological and semantic Tense, i.e. absence of independent temporal reference in the embedded clause. As (25) shows, it is not possible to modify the embedded verb by a temporal adverb with independent reference:

(25) *Ion începe să a înotat. (Rom.)
Ion begins SĂ has.3SG swum

In the spirit of Alboiu (2006) and Alexiadou et al. (forthcoming), I argue that in LDA constructions, the subjunctive clause is not a phase, hence it lacks a CP layer. Positive evidence for the absence of C comes from Romanian where the subjunctive complementizer *ca* is always absent in LDA constructions[12] (see Alboiu 2007 for further arguments that the lower clause is not a CP).

Drawing a comparison between the locality constraints shown by LDA and clitic climbing, we can conclude that both are restricted by the Phase Impenetrability Condition

[11] This is also predicted by Chomsky (2000) and Anagnostopoulou (2003) who show that the defective intervention effects caused by the violations of the MLC in (Long Distance) Agree are similar to the ones which restrict Move. This is shown on the basis of Dative and Nominative constructions with Infinitive:

(i) Mér fannst / *fundust henna leiðast þeir.
1SG-DAT seem-3SG / *3PL she-DAT be bored they
'I thought she was bored with them' (Schütze 1997)

Chomsky (2000) argues that default agree in examples is the reflex of an MLC effect in long-distance agreement relations. As previously mentioned, the defective intervention in Agreement triggers default agreement in some languages while in CD constructions ungrammaticality (see Preminger 2008).

[12] Alexiadou et al. (2010) account for the fact that subjunctives allowing LDA lack both a CP layer and semantic Tense on the basis Chomsky's (2007) system where Tense features are a property of C inherited by T. Since C is missing, Tense and Case are also missing. A consequence of their analysis is that phi-features are not (necessarily) a property of C since they are present in Greek and Romanian embedded subjunctives allowing LDA. Alboiu (2006) also claims that nominative case valuation in Agree constructions in Romanian are based on phrasal domains (Alboiu 2006: 13)

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to operate above the boundaries of the C and v* respectively. However, if LDA and cliticization are possible, it implies that the subject in LDA constructions and the clitic doubled object must be active: they must have an unchecked Case feature and the embedded T and v, respectively lack Case. I formulate the locality condition for (LongDistance) Agree and CD as follows:

(i) (LongDistance) Agree is locality restricted to operate only within a CP.
(ii) CD/Cliticization is bound to operate only within a TP with a v*

In the spirit of Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1997, 2001), I argue that cliticization and (Long Distance) Agree are a reflex of a single property: "the extensive availability of clitic/agreement-associate relationships in a language which permit DPs to remain *in situ*" (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2001, Alexiadou et al. 2010). Note that in the following examples both the clitic and the full DP in LDA can remain in situ or move in different positions.

(26) a. Santa (les) parece poder(les) ofrecer(les) a los niños muchos regalos.
Santa cl-dat seems-sg can offer-cl-dat to the children many presents.
'Santa Claus seems to offer the children many presents.'
b. (Juan) parece leer (Juan) el libro (Juan)
(Juan) seem.-3SG. read (Juan) the book (Juan)
'Juan seem to read the book.'

However, in line with Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) I argue that that unlike LDA, cliticization as an overt feature movement construction[13].

Hence, I argue that CD and LDA are the outcome of two different operations Move vs. Agree but both are sensitive to the MLC and are regulated by a phase-based locality condition, i.e. the Phase Impenetrability Condition (see also Boeckx and Gallego 2008).

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[13] Moreover, cliticization in Greek, Romanian and Spanish systematically leads to the cancellation of WCO effects (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Diaconescu and Rivero 2005, Alexiadou and Marchis (2009).

(i) *[I mitera tu_i] edhose [tu kathe pediu]$_i$ fagito
The mother his gave the every child-GEN food
'His mother gave every child food.'

(ii) [I mitera tu_i] tu_i edhose [tu kathe pediu]$_i$ fagito
The mother his CL.GEN gave the every child-GEN food
'His mother gave every child food.'

Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1997) argue that this effect can be analysed as the result of object raising to the position of the clitic in combination with subject reconstruction to a position lower than the clitic position.

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