

# CLITIC DOUBLING AS DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING\*

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**Abstract:** *Taking my cue from clitic doubling constructions primarily in Balkan languages where this phenomenon is prevalent, my goals in this paper are to show that: (i) clitic doubling is a form of differential object marking; (ii) clitic doubling is the spell-out of agreement with a [+given] XP; (iii) clitic doubled indefinites are “non-novel” indefinites; (iv) the restrictor of ‘all’-quantifiers is always ‘given’; (v) generalized quantifiers are formed in two steps, crucially involving an intermediate DP-layer as the complement of the quantifier head; (vi) the XP in (ii) is invariably a DP; (vii) the person-case constraint is in effect differential object marking.*

**Keywords:** *clitic doubling, differential object marking, person case constraint*

## 1. Introduction

Taking my cue from clitic doubling constructions primarily in Balkan languages where this phenomenon is prevalent (see Kallulli and Tasmowski 2008), I put forward the following claims: (i) clitic doubling is a form of Differential Object Marking (DOM) (Bossong 1991); (ii) clitic doubling is the spell-out of agreement with a [+given] XP; (iii) clitic doubled indefinites are “non-novel” indefinites (Krifka 2001); (iv) the restrictor of ‘all’-quantifiers is always ‘given’; (v) generalized quantifiers are formed in two steps, crucially involving an intermediate DP-layer as the complement of the quantifier head (Matthewson 2001); (vi) the XP in (ii) is invariably a DP; (vii) the Person-Case Constraint (PCC) is in effect DOM.

In particular, inspired by Kiparsky (2008), I focus on the relation between generalizations drawn in previous work and a true universal grammar principle, namely the “D-hierarchy”. While clitic doubling is always the spell-out of agreement with a topic XP, a concern of the present paper is to show how this phenomenon can be brought in line with Givón’s (1975) idea that (verbal) agreement is always topic agreement, and with the vast typological literature on (other well-known cases of) differential object marking.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides some preliminaries and sets the stage for what is to follow. Then, in section 3 I revisit the Albanian and Greek clitic doubling patterns, which on top of violating Kayne’s Generalization (Jaeggli 1982), serve as a rather good illustration of syntactic micro-variation in this domain. Section 4 juxtaposes these to the patterns of the definite objective conjugation in Hungarian, which

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for all intents and purposes has the same function as clitic doubling, and which I contend reflects the workings of the same underlying universal, namely the “D-hierarchy” (Kiparsky 2008). Section 5 wraps the discussion up.

## 2. *Setting the stage*

Many clitic doubling languages (e.g. Albanian, Aromanian, Greek, Megleno-Romanian and varieties of Spanish) violate the so-called “Kayne’s Generalization” (Jaeggli 1982), which informally stated, says that clitic doubling is possible whenever the (doubled) noun phrase can get case by means of some non-verbal device that has case assigning properties, namely prepositions. Simplifying somewhat, the idea was that the doubling clitic absorbs Case, so unless a preposition (or some other case-assigning device) could be inserted, the DP-argument would remain caseless, and the Case Filter would cause the derivation to crash.<sup>1</sup> In contrast, Suñer (1988) argues that *a* in Spanish is an animacy marker, which is why in spite of clitic doubling it is missing in the examples in (1) that she provides.

- (1) a. Yo **lo** voy a comprar el diario justo antes de subir. (Porteño Spanish)  
‘I am going to buy it-the newspaper just before coming up.’  
b. Yo **la** tenía prevista esta muerte.  
‘I had foreseen it-this death’  
c. Ahora tiene que seguir usánd**olo** el apellido.  
‘Now she has to go on using it-the surname.’

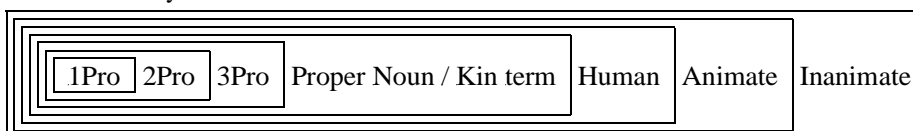
Across languages, clitic doubling affects interpretation in ways subject to various idiosyncratic constraints that make it hard to define its function in a unitary manner. Early generative studies described clitic doubling as sensitive to the feature *humanness* in Rumanian and *animacy* in Spanish, a view that was already untenable for particular varieties of Romance (see (1)). With the Balkan patterns coming into the focus of research on the topic, other semantic properties such as *prominence*, *specificity*, *presuppositionality*, *familiarity*, *definiteness* and *topicality* have increasingly been scrutinized as to their relevance for the phenomenon of clitic doubling (see Kallulli and Tasmowski 2008). Be it as it may, the mention of (each of) these notions enables one to see how a rather direct connection of this phenomenon to what Kiparsky (2008) refers to as the “D-hierarchy”, given in (2), can be established. Importantly, drawing on Wierzbicka (1981), Kiparsky remarks that the hierarchy involves neither “animacy” nor “agentivity”, which makes a

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<sup>1</sup> In an effort to account for the violation of Kayne’s Generalization with respect to indirect object clitic doubling in (Standard) Romanian, Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) appeals to the fact that indirect objects in this language bear morphological dative case, which in pre-minimalist Case theory was considered to be inherent, and as such, different from structural case that had to be assigned by a governing category. However, further research soon revealed that this phenomenon is quite extent in the Balkan languages: Albanian and Greek exhibit clitic doubling not only of inherently case marked indirect objects, but also of structurally governed direct objects bearing morphological accusative case but that nonetheless do not co-occur with a prepositional element. Moreover, Macedonian, Bulgarian, (and among the Romance languages) Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian can double a purely structurally governed direct object that bears no morphological case (see Kallulli and Tasmowski 2008).

direct functional explanation implausible, and that a category related to definiteness, such as individuation or “topic-worthiness” is a more likely candidate.<sup>2</sup>

(2) The D-hierarchy:



With these prerequisites in mind, I turn to clitic doubling in Albanian and Greek, which unlike standard Spanish and Romanian, violates Kayne’s Generalization.

### 3. Clitic doubling as DOM: the case of Albanian (and Greek)

Both Albanian and Greek only have object pronominal clitics. Only in Albanian but not in Greek dative/genitive objects and direct objects instantiated by local (i.e., 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person) full pronouns are invariably clitic doubled.<sup>3</sup> These facts alone point to clitic doubling as a DOM strategy, at least in Albanian, an issue that gains in significance when taking into account the nominative-accusative case syncretism for indefinites, illustrated in (4), versus the lack of such syncretism for definites, see (3).

- (3) a. Libri                      u botua.  
           book.the<sub>NOM</sub>            was published  
           ‘The book was published.’  
       b. Botoi                    librin.  
           published.3S        book.the<sub>ACC</sub>  
           ‘S/he published the book.’

- (4) a. Një        libër        u botua.  
           a        book        was published  
           ‘A book was published.’  
       b. Botoi                një        libër.  
           published.3S        a        book  
           ‘S/he published a book.’

A (pan-Balkan) aspect of clitic doubling as DOM is the fact that, as illustrated in (5) for Albanian, while both definites and indefinites with articles can be clitic doubled, bare indefinites cannot, a fact which directly relates to the D-hierarchy in (2).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> As an anonymous reviewer justly notes, the animacy hierarchy has been discussed extensively in the functionalist literature, which is why the Wierzbicka/Kiparsky conjecture on the re-interpretation of the D-hierarchy in terms of individuation, or topic-worthiness is particularly important for the purposes of the present paper.

<sup>3</sup> Albanian and Greek have identical case systems except for the fact that the Greek counterpart of the Albanian dative is the genitive, the Greek dative having been supplanted by the genitive.

<sup>4</sup> It also entails that dative objects in Albanian cannot be instantiated by bare nouns, as these are invariably doubled. This is especially clear in the case of bare singulars, which cannot occur as dative objects (and subjects). Matters are however slightly more complex with plural bare nouns; crucially, however, unlike direct objects, dative objects instantiated by plural bare nouns are always interchangeable (i.e. semantically equivalent) with their

- (5) a. (E) botoi **librin** më në fund.  
 CL,ACC,3S published.3S book.the<sub>ACC</sub> at long last  
 ‘S/he published the book.’  
 b. (E) botoi **një libër** më në fund.  
 CL,ACC,3S published.3S a book at long last  
 ‘S/he published a book (at long last).’  
 c. (\*E) botoi **libër** më në fund.  
 CL,ACC,3S published.3S book at long last  
 ‘S/he published a book (at long last).’

As I have argued in Kallulli (1999 et seq.), a clitic doubled object functions as a familiarity topic, i.e. it is [+given], as illustrated by the complementarity of felicity conditions between the ‘minimal pairs’ in (6B)/(7B), where a doubling clitic is impossible in the given contexts (i.e. when the VP, or the object DP is focused), versus (8B)/(9B), where a doubling clitic must be present in Albanian, and is strongly preferred in Greek.

- (6) A: What did Ana do? B: Ana (\*e) lexoi **librin**. (Albanian)  
 I Ana (\*to) dhiavase**to** vivlio. (Greek)  
 the Anna CL read **the** book  
 (7) A: What did Ana read? B: Ana (\*e) lexoi librin.  
 I Ana (\*to) dhiavaseto vivlio.  
 (8) A: Who read the book? B: Ana \*(e) lexoi librin.  
 I Ana ?(to) dhiavaseto vivlio.  
 (9) A: What did Ana do to/with B: Ana \*(e) lexoi librin.  
 the book? I Ana ?(to) dhiavaseto vivlio.  
 ‘Anna read the book’

Thus, it stands to reason that focused objects, among them *wh*-objects, cannot be doubled:

- (10) a. Al: Kë/çfarë (\*e) pe? (Kallulli 2000:220)  
 [who<sub>ACC</sub>/what] CL,ACC,3S saw-you  
 b. Gr: Pjon/ti (\*ton/\*to) idhes?  
 [who/what]<sub>ACC</sub> him/it<sub>CL,ACC</sub> saw-you  
 ‘Who/what did you see?’

In contrast, the object of a subject question, forming part of the presupposition, must be doubled in Albanian and is strongly preferred doubled in Greek, too:

- (11) a. Al: Kush \*(e) pa fëmijën? (Kallulli 2000:220)  
 b. Gr: Pios ?(to) idhe to pedhí?  
 who CL,ACC,3S saw the child  
 ‘Who has seen the child?’

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definite plural analogues, which suggests that dative bare plurals are only seemingly bare, in the sense that there is morphological determiner drop which is however structurally present, which would account for the semantics. The fact that definite plural dative objects have an archaic flavour (see Kallulli 1999) corroborates this idea.

The link to presupposition is further highlighted through (12)/(13), which show that even for a “non-factive” verb such as ‘believe’ (Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1970), factivity can in fact be triggered by clitic pronouns ‘doubling’ the clausal complement, though this ‘doubled’ CP, in turn, can be said to be the complement of an empty D-head corresponding to the pleonastic *it* in English or the so-called ‘correlate’ *es* in German, which likewise trigger factivity in these languages (for details, see Kallulli 2006). That is, factivity is the correlate of givenness, or topichood, in the propositional domain.

- (12) a. Besova se Beni shkoi (por në fakt ai nuk shkoi). (Kallulli 2006: 212)  
 believed.I that Ben left (but in fact he not left)  
 ‘I believed that Ben left (but in fact he didn’t).’  
 b. E besova se Beni shkoi (\*por në fakt ai nuk shkoi).  
 CL,ACC,3S believed.I that Ben left (but in fact he not left)  
 ‘I believed the fact that Ben left (\*but in fact he didn’t).’
- (13) a. Pistepsa oti o Janis efije (ala stin pragmatikotita den ejine kati tetio).  
 believed.I that the Janis left (but in.the reality neg happened a thing such)  
 ‘I believed that John left (but in fact he didn’t).’  
 b. **To** pistepsa oti o Janis efije (\*ala stin pragmatikotita den ejine kati tetio).  
 it<sub>cl</sub> believed.I that the Janis left (but in.the reality neg happened sth such)  
 ‘I believed the fact that John left (\*but in fact he didn’t).’

In sum, (at least direct object) clitic doubling is a topic-licensing operation. Clearly, however, as (8B)/(9B) highlight, the grammaticalization of this phenomenon across Albanian and Greek is at different stages. Greek clitic doubling has been claimed to be dependent on definiteness (Anagnostopoulou 1994), though this is a contentious issue given the existence of doubled indefinites, as in (14b), from Kazazis and Pentheroudakis (1976).<sup>5</sup>

- (14) a. Do ta pija me kënaqësi **një** uiski. (Albanian)  
 FUT SUBJ.CL<sub>3S,ACC</sub> drink.I with pleasure **a** whisky  
 b. **To** pino eukharistos **ena** ouiskaki. (Greek)  
 it I-drink with-pleasure one whisky  
 ‘I would gladly drink a whisky.’

Be it as it may, even if in Greek clitic doubling of indefinites is more restricted than in Albanian, it is certainly not the case that definite expressions can always be clitic doubled; recall the (Greek) examples in (6B) and (7B). Crucially, just like clitic doubled definites, clitic doubled indefinites are necessarily interpreted as [+given]/[+topic], i.e. they are ‘non-novel’ in the sense of Krifka (2001). That the doubled indefinites in (14) are non-novel is evidenced by several diagnostics. First, just like the ‘doubled’ CPs in (12b) and (13b), they are deaccented; that is, the nuclear pitch accent cannot be borne by the clitic doubled expression. Secondly, the indefinite picks up a discourse referent whose existence in the input context is obviously presupposed, as can be seen by the fact that the sentences in (14) can be uttered felicitously in either of the contexts in (15); while the clitic doubled indefinite in (14a,b) function as a kind of quotation in the context of (15a), it stands in a

<sup>5</sup> Anagnostopoulou (1994) does in fact acknowledge this example as a counterexample to her claim that Greek clitic doubling is contingent on definiteness.

part-whole relationship with the indefinite ‘a drink’ in (15b), and its referent is presupposed through accommodation in the context of (15c).

- (15) a. What about a whisky? / Would you like a whisky?  
 b. What about a drink? / Would you like a drink?  
 c. I have just stepped out of work.

Turning to the (other) differences between Albanian and Greek clitic doubling, given that datives in Albanian are invariably clitic doubled, as are direct objects instantiated by local pronouns, it seems sensible to describe the function of doubling clitics as mere object agreement markers in such configurations. But if the nature of agreement and topic markers is indeed substantially different, why are doubling clitics employed as means for fulfilling both functions? I suggest that these two seemingly different functions are not that different after all, and that crucially, clitic doubling is always agreement with a topic (object) DP, which is fully in line with Givón’s (1975) claim that (object) agreement is topic-verb agreement. Furthermore, I hypothesize that PCC effects (Perlmutter 1971, Bonet 1991) in Albanian and other languages arise due to the competition for topic-prominence. Note in this context that Albanian is a so-called “strong” PCC language, in which local (i.e. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>) person direct objects in double object constructions are banned. In other words, I hypothesize that PCC effects within and across languages are straightforwardly derived from the D-hierarchy given in (2), i.e. they arise due to competition for the first slot (occupied by local pronouns) in the D-hierarchy.

The corollary that I want to add to Givón’s (1975) claim that (object) agreement is topic-verb agreement is the one implicitly contained in the D-hierarchy. I contend that datives and (local) pronouns, just like subjects, are always DPs (i.e., they always contain a D-projection), which is however not invariably the case for (non-pronominal) direct objects. Indeed as already mentioned and illustrated in (5c) for Albanian, bare singulars can only occur as direct objects, not as indirect objects. And as also noted earlier, bare singulars cannot be clitic doubled either in Albanian or in Greek. The implication here is that bare singulars are truly bare, in the sense that there is no D-layer projected in their structure. Interestingly, as I have argued in Kallulli (2005), bare singulars just like their plural counterparts (i.e. existential bare plurals) cannot serve as topics, which in Kallulli (2005) I relate to their property-denoting (i.e. semantic <e,t> type) status.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, datives (and subjects) are presuppositional (or, in Kiparsky’s 2008 terminology “topic-worthy”/“individuated”) in a way that direct objects are not,<sup>7</sup> and this is precisely what their marking (via clitic doubling) relates to.<sup>8</sup> It is therefore not surprising to witness the effects that the phenomenon of clitic doubling produces also in languages with no canonical clitic doubling, such as Hungarian, which uses a particular conjugation, namely the so-called

<sup>6</sup> An anonymous reviewer notes that “in a language like Italian bare plurals and even bare singulars can appear in left topicalization”, doubled with *ne* ‘them/some’, as in: *Orsi, ne ho visti* ‘Bears, I have seen them/some’, or: *(Di) orso, ne aveva visto uno* ‘As for a bear, I have seen one’, and raises the question of how the semantics of Albanian bare nouns relates to these. Obviously the very fact that such differences exist between the two languages (bare nouns cannot be clitic left dislocated in Albanian) suggests that the relevant structures (and consequently their semantics) are different.

<sup>7</sup> It follows that datives (and subjects), when focused, can only be contrastive topics. The fact that quirky subjects across Balkan languages must be clitic doubled (see Krapova and Cinque 2008) is further evidence of the topic-worthiness of such quirky (i.e. dative and/or accusative) subjects.

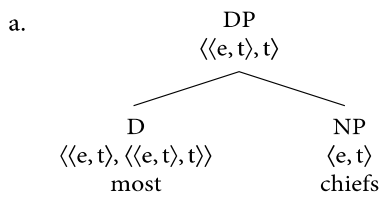
<sup>8</sup> While subjects are not clitic doubled in any of the Balkan languages, they invariably agree with the finite verb. That is, subject-verb agreement can be viewed as a further stage in this grammaticalization process.

“definite” (or “objective”) conjugation, which I turn to after discussing the following fact that further corroborates the analysis outlined so far and in particular the role of D in the structure. As discussed in Kallulli and Tasmowski (2008), across several clitic doubling languages, ‘all’-quantifiers are invariably clitic doubled:

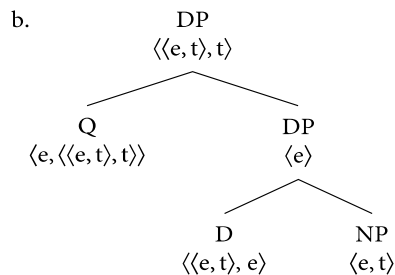
- |         |                        |        |                    |                       |
|---------|------------------------|--------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| (16) a. | * <i>(I)</i>           | pashë  | të gjithë.         | (Albanian)            |
| b.      | * <i>(Los)</i>         | vi     | todos.             | (Argentinian Spanish) |
| c.      | * <i>(Tus)</i>         | idha   | olus.              | (Greek)               |
| d.      | * <i>(I-am)</i>        | văzut  | pe toți.           | (Romanian)            |
|         | them <sub>CL,ACC</sub> | saw.1S | all <sub>ACC</sub> |                       |
|         | ‘I saw them all’       |        |                    |                       |

This fact can be straightforwardly derived by combining the view that the restrictor of ‘all’-quantifiers is always ‘given’ (i.e. non-novel) with the idea that doubling clitics trigger givenness of their associates (Kallulli 2006). In line with Matthewson’s (2001) analysis of quantification, (17b), which differs from the traditional one in Barwise and Cooper (1981), (17a), in that the generalized quantifier is formed in two steps, crucially involving an intermediate DP-layer as the complement of the quantifier head, I assume that the restrictor of ‘all’ is invariably a DP, both when it is phonetically overt or null. As such, the clitic does not double the quantifier (QP) but only its DP-complement, which being ‘given’, may be silent (Merchant 2001).<sup>9</sup>

(17)



(Matthewson 2001: 146)



(Matthewson 2001: 153)

<sup>9</sup> As both reviewers note, undoubtedly there is more to say on the interaction of clitic doubling with (other) quantifiers. Luckily, (part of) this work has already been done in Dočekal and Kallulli (2012), whose conclusions that: (i) the DP associated with the clitic (i.e. the ‘doubled’ DP) must be interpreted as generating admissible minimal witnesses, which in turn makes the DP topical; and that (ii) as a consequence of (i), clitic doubling systematically produces information structure effects in that the doubled DP is unequivocally interpreted as topical, are fully in line with my analysis here. Crucially, Dočekal and Kallulli (2012) also provide conclusive evidence from Albanian against an analysis of clitic doubling along the lines of Gutiérrez-Rexach (1999) for Spanish.

#### 4. Other guises of the D-hierarchy: the Hungarian ‘objective’ conjugation

Hungarian verbs have two subject agreement inflectional paradigms, the so-called “objective” (or “definite”) and “subjective” (or “indefinite”) conjugations, reflecting the presence or absence of a definite object, as in (18a,b,c), from Coppock (2013).<sup>10</sup>

- (18) a. *Lát-om*                    **a** *madar-at*.  
           see-1S,DEF            the bird-acc  
           ‘I see the bird.’
- b. *Lát-ok*                    **egy** *madar-at*.  
           see-1S,INDEF        a bird-acc  
           ‘I see a bird’
- c. *Vár-ok*.  
           wait-1S,INDEF  
           ‘I’m waiting’

*Person* also affects the choice of conjugation: the subjective conjugation is used with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person objects, despite their definiteness:<sup>11</sup>

- (19) *Lát-nak*                    *engem/téged/minket/...*  
       see-3PL,INDEF        *me<sub>ACC</sub>/you<sub>ACC</sub>/us<sub>ACC</sub>/...*  
       ‘They see me/you/us’

While the distribution of the definite conjugation is rather complex (see É. Kiss 2002, 2005, 2013, Coppock and Wechsler 2012, Coppock 2013 and references therein), (19) identifies an obvious gap, in that, as Coppock (2013) points out, first and second person non-reflexive, non-reciprocal pronouns are certainly definite, and under the hypothesis that the objective conjugation is governed by definiteness, they should trigger the objective conjugation. In spite of this, a dominant view on what conditions the use of the objective conjugation is what Coppock and Wechsler (2012) refer to as the “DP-hood hypothesis”, and which merely states that DP-hood is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the objective conjugation. In fact, Coppock (2013) relates the objective conjugation to *familiarity* (i.e. non-novelty), which she however connects to a morphological [+definiteness] feature as follows: if the referential argument of a phrase is lexically specified as *familiar*, then the phrase bears the feature [+def], and this feature governs the objective conjugation. (If, on the other hand, the referential argument of a phrase is specified as *new*, then the phrase bears the feature [-def], which governs the subjective conjugation.) Coppock defines the notion ‘referential argument’ as follows: “The referential argument of a phrase is the discourse referent *u* such that: when the phrase combines an expression denoting property *P*, *P* is predicated of *u*.” While this comes quite close to the

<sup>10</sup> According to É. Kiss (2013), the types of objects eliciting the definite conjugation include nouns with a definite article, possessive constructions, proper names, 3<sup>rd</sup> person personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns (which have the morphological make-up of possessive constructions of the type ‘my body’, ‘your body’), and demonstratives. Object clauses also trigger the definite conjugation, which É. Kiss ascribes to a presumable overt or covert pronominal head in their structure. On the other hand, the types of objects eliciting the indefinite conjugation include bare nouns, nouns with an indefinite determiner, and indefinite and universal pronouns.

<sup>11</sup> There are further qualifications, or exceptions, to this generalization, which I will however not go into as they are not important in the present context. For details on these exceptions, see Coppock (2013) and references therein.



trigger of clitic doubling in Albanian and Greek, it doesn't account for the gap in (19), since the parallelism with Albanian (though not with Greek) breaks down here. Coppock claims that the person effect (i.e. (19)) is explained on the grounds that local non-reflexive pronouns are not anaphoric but rather purely indexical, unlike third person pronouns and local reflexive and reciprocal pronouns. This is also the most problematic part of her account, since, even though she takes familiarity to be broader than anaphoricity, indexicals are obviously not given in the associated context for her, which is puzzling.

Interestingly, É. Kiss (2013) reports that although object noun phrases supplied with indefinite determiners require the indefinite conjugation according to all grammars of Modern Hungarian, examples are ample where speakers hesitate whether the indefinite or the definite conjugation is more appropriate, often accepting both, or preferring the definite conjugation. Furthermore, the examples in the case of which the unexpected definite conjugation is accepted, and even preferred by the majority of speakers (up to 85% of them) all involve a topicalized [+specific] indefinite object.

Taken together, these facts suggest that an account of the impossibility of the use of the objective conjugation in (19) along the lines of É. Kiss (2005, 2013), according to which this gap is a manifestation of the Inverse Agreement Constraint (Comrie 1980) which blocks object verb agreement if the object is higher ranked in the animacy hierarchy than the subject, seems more feasible, as it is more in tune both with phenomena known from other languages, including languages genetically related to Hungarian (e.g. Ostyak), and as it can be easily derived from the universal D-hierarchy in (2). In particular, relying on Nikolaeva's (2001) work on Ostyak, a sister language of Hungarian, which shows that agreeing objects function as secondary topics, É. Kiss (2013) suggests that the objective conjugation in Hungarian is fossilized topic-verb agreement. The object thus competes with the subject for the higher slot in (2), and the objective conjugation is ruled out in this case because of the Inverse Agreement Constraint, in a manner that is analogous to the PCC effects observed in Albanian and other languages (section 3). That is, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun objects which trigger the subjective conjugation in Hungarian (i.e. the data in (19)) are no less DPs than e.g. their Albanian (direct object) counterparts, which are invariably clitic doubled, and cannot partake in a clitic cluster given that dative objects, which asymmetrically c-command direct objects (Massey 1992), are invariably doubled, too, hence giving rise to PCC effects.<sup>12</sup>

## 5. Conclusions

Undoubtedly, clitic doubling is a form of DOM, which our faculty of language includes as a possible ingredient of a natural language, and which I have related to the D-hierarchy, a "true intrinsic universal" in the sense of Universal Grammar (Kiparsky 2008). Furthermore, I have contended that PCC effects arise as a result of competition for the same slot within the D-hierarchy, a conclusion that is corroborated by the distribution of the Hungarian objective conjugation. An outcome of this comparison is the idea that both PCC and the Inverse Agreement Constraint are direct consequences of the D-hierarchy.

In other words, the D-hierarchy that governs split case assignment, number marking, and agreement (for details, see Kiparsky 2008) also governs PCC and the Inverse Agreement

<sup>12</sup> The order within a clitic cluster is invariably dative > accusative in Albanian (and genitive > accusative in Greek).

Constraint. A precise formal implementation of this idea that covers the observed variation will have to await future research.

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