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THE POSITION OF CLITICS IN CYPRIOT GREEK[1]

Abstract

The paper examines clitic placement in Cypriot Greek, which has general enclisis but with complementizers, negation, modality markers, wh-phrases and syntactic XP-foci. Following earlier work of mine (cf. Agouraki 1992, but also Sportiche 1992), I assume that object clitics head clitic phrases situated between CP and IP. Clitic placement is analysed as an epiphenomenon of verb placement. The claim advanced to account for clitic placement in Cypriot Greek is that Cypriot Greek has a filled C^o requirement. The verb raises to C^o, yielding enclisis, unless that position is already filled. Clitics precede the verb only when the verb cannot raise to C^o because that position is already filled. It is proposed that the filled C^o requirement holds for clause-typing purposes. The relation between Cypriot Greek and standard V2 languages is also discussed.

1. Introduction

The paper examines clitic placement in Cypriot Greek. Cypriot Greek manifests one of only four patterns of clitic placement crosslinguistically (cf. (1)[2]).

(1)   a. Wackernagel pattern   (Classical Greek)
       b. Verb-enclisis pattern   (Cypriot Greek)
       c. Verb-proclisis pattern   (Standard Modern Greek)
       d. Morphological pattern   (Pontic Greek)

The verb-enclisis pattern and the verb-proclisis pattern are mixed patterns of clitic placement, with predominant enclisis and proclisis, respectively. I will refer to the first three patterns of clitic placement as "syntactic" patterns of clitic placement, the idea in this paper being that they have syntactic accounts. The "morphological" pattern of clitic placement, with consistent enclisis, is called so given the fixed position of clitics with respect to the verb; it could, at least prima facie, be argued that, for instance, object clitics in those languages have become definite object agreement markers.

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[2] The names in (1) are provisional but indicative.

Investigation of clitic placement in Cypriot Greek is embedded within the more general questions of language variation and language change in clitic placement[3]. In particular, the paper sets two criteria for a theory of clitic placement in Cypriot Greek. First, the theory must be general enough to possibly account for clitic placement in other languages. Second, the theory should also account for change(s) in clitic placement in the history of a language. The real question behind these two adequacy criteria is what determines the patern of clitic placement in a language. The general claim advanced for clitic placement appears in (2), while the particular claim advanced for clitic placement in Cypriot Greek appears in (3).

(2) General claim:
a. Clitics fill phrases situated between CP and IP.
b. Clitic placement depends on clause structure and involves no clitic-specific properties or properties of other elements triggered by clitics. In particular, clitic placement is an epiphenomenon of verb placement and/or of whether or not the language has a filled [Spec,CP] requirement.
c. Clitic placement does not involve syntactic cliticisation.

(3) Claim for Cypriot Greek:
a. Object clitics head CliticPhrases situated between CP and IP.
b. Cypriot Greek has a filled C^o requirement.

As far as changes in clitic placement are concerned, the prediction of claim (2) is that these occur whenever there is a change in verb placement and/or the ±requirement for a filled [Spec,CP].

2. Data

Cypriot Greek has general enclisis (cf. (4)) but with complementizers, negation, modality markers, wh-questions and syntactic XP-foci. Complementizers include *pos /oti* [finite], *na* [nonfinite], *pu* [strong factives, clefts and relatives], *perki* "lest" and subordinating conjunctions.

(4)   Enclisis
a.   lali   tu   o alos   <u>root clauses</u>
        says   him-cl   the other one
        "The other one said to him."
b.   pulis   mas   to   ?   <u>yes-no questions</u>
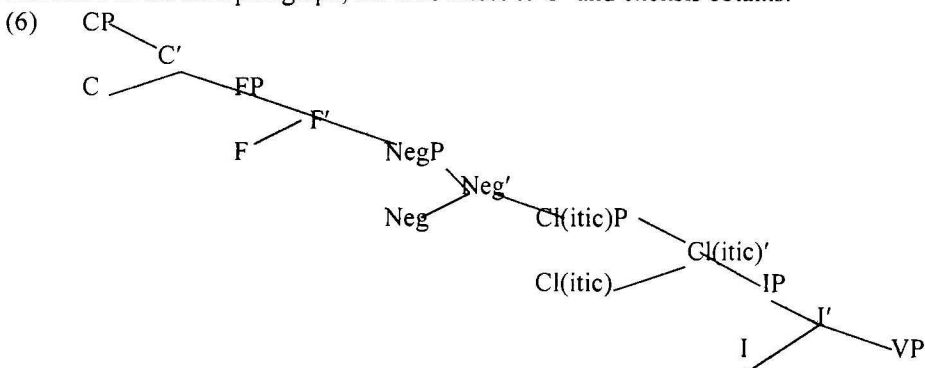   sell-you   us-cl   it-cl

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[3] Since there are only four patterns of clitic placement across languages, it is plausible to investigate whether the pattern of clitic placement in a language can be predicted. The question is partially addressed in section 7.

"Will you sell it to us?"

c. KSERO   to   verb-focus
    KNOW-I   it-cl
    "I do know it."

(5) Proclisis
  a. ipen   pos   ton   aghapa   complementizers
      Said-she   that   him-cl   loves
      "She said that she loves him."
  b. en   tin   perno   negation
      not   her-cl marry-I
      "I am not marrying her."
  c. perki   su   ton   dhoki   modality markers/complementizers
      maybe   to you-cl   it-cl   gives
      "She may let you have it."
  d. inda   mu   dhkiate   ?   wh-questions
      what   me-cl   give-you
      "What will you give me?"
  e. KALA   to   lalun ...   syntactic XP-foci
      RIGHTLY   it-cl   say-they
      "People are right when they say ... ."

3. The Raising to C° Approach
3.1 Agouraki (1997)

In Agouraki (1997) I argued that clitic placement in Cypriot Greek can be accounted for if we assume (a) that object clitics head clitic phrases situated between CP and IP (cf. 3(a)), and (b) that Cypriot Greek is a verb-second language. The clause structure proposed in that paper for Cypriot Greek appears in (6), where FP stands for Focus Phrase. When C° is filled by a complementizer proclisis obtains; otherwise, with some exceptions which are discussed in the next paragraph, the verb raises to C° and enclisis obtains.

(6) CP
        C'
     C   FP
          F   F'
              F   NegP
                  Neg   Neg'
                       Neg   Cl(itic)P
                            Cl(itic)   Cl(itic)'
                                     Cl(itic)'   IP
                                               I   I'
                                                  I   VP

It was noted, however, that Cypriot Greek differs from standard V2 languages in that [Spec,CP] is optionally filled. This is not necessarily problematic. We can assume that movement of V-to-C and the filled [Spec,CP] requirement are two distinct requirements, both of which are met by V2 languages. If two distinct requirements are involved, it is natural to expect that there are also languages (e.g. Cypriot Greek) with just the first, but not the second, requirement.

An apparent problem for the raising to C° approach is then noted. Namely, there are three instances[4] where C° is not filled, at least overtly, i.e. negation, wh-phrases and syntactic XP-foci, and yet the verb does not raise to C° but remains in I, yielding proclisis. It is argued, in this respect, that wh-questions and sentences with syntactic XP-foci should be analysed as wh-clefts and focus-clefts, respectively, with a null copula in the matrix clause and a null complementizer in the C° of the embedded clause. The null complementizer in the embedded C° blocks V-to-C movement, yielding proclisis. Finally, with respect to negation yielding proclisis, it is argued that negation in Cypriot Greek is placed in C°. As a result, the verb cannot raise to C°, which yields proclisis.

The present paper keeps the basic claim for the analysis of clitic placement in Cypriot Greek, namely that Cypriot Greek has a filled C° requirement, which forces the verb to raise to C° provided that position is not already filled, but offers a different account for proclisis with wh-questions and sentences with syntactic XP-foci. Also, the question why Cypriot Greek has a filled C° requirement was not addressed then but is addressed in this paper. In section 3.2 next I consider some of the implications of the raising to C° approach.
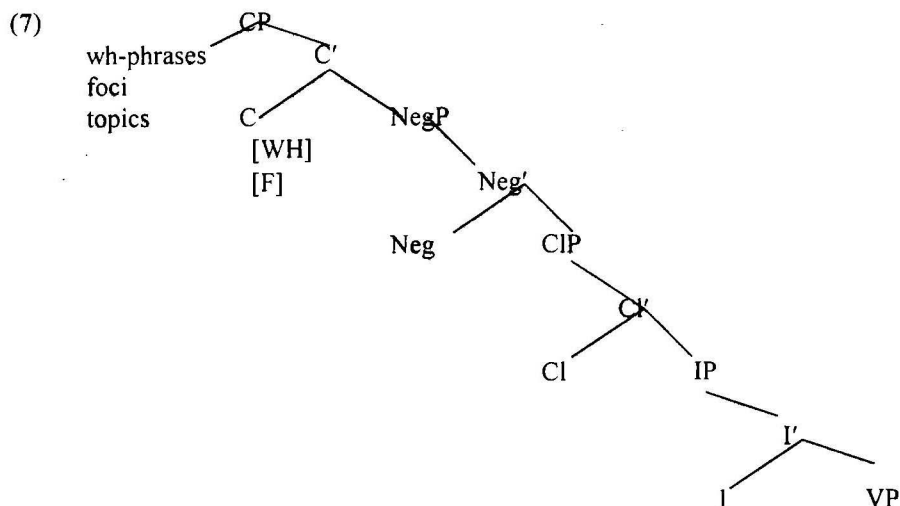
3.2 The proposal

For reasons that become clear in section 4 and have to do with the ban on V-to-C raising in negative clauses, wh-questions and sentences with syntactic XP-foci, I propose that we do away with the FP projection[5] as distinct from the CP projection (cf. the tree-diagram in (7), which replaces the tree-diagram in (6)).

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[4] Notably, as shown by 5(c), modality markers also block V raising to C. See, however, the discussion in section 4.1, where these modality markers are analysed as complementizers.

[5] We will perhaps have to assume that there is an FP distinct from CP in the case of syntactic XP-foci inside embedded clauses where the C° position is filled by a complementizer (cf. (1)).

(1)	pistefko	pos	KATI	tis	edhoke
	believe-I	that	SOMETHING	her-cl	gave-he

"I believe there is something he gave her."

(7)

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                    CP
wh-phrases         /  \
foci              /    C'
topics         C      /  \
             [WH]    /    NegP
             [F]    Neg    \
                           Neg'
                          /   \
                       Neg     ClP
                              /  \
                            Cl'
                           /   \
                         Cl      IP
                                  \
                                   I'
                                  /  \
                                 I    VP
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The [Spec,CP] position can be filled by wh-phrases, syntactic XP-foci and topics, in which case the optional filled [Spec,CP] requirement of Cypriot Greek is satisfied. I also assume that in complementizer-less clauses Neg is situated in $C°$ (cf. Agouraki 1997). Another possibility, is that in complementizer-less clauses Neg heads its own projection but there is Neg raising to C in the absence of a complementizer. For wh-questions and sentences with syntactic XP-foci, it is proposed (cf. also section 4.2) that the $C°$ position is filled by a null complementizer. With *WH* and *F* I mark the WH-complementizer, found in wh-questions, and the F-complementizer, found in sentences with syntactic XP-foci, respectively. Null complementizers WH and F type the sentences they are in as wh-questions and focal sentences, respectively. Like overt complementizers, null complementizers Wh and F block V-to-C raising. Unlike the null complementizers WH and F, the verb features [Interrogative] and [Emphatic], situated in $C°$ in yes-no questions and sentences with verb-focus[6], respectively, do not block V-to-C raising. The [+Interrogative]/ [+Emphatic] feature situated on the verb must check the [+Interrogative]/ [+Emphatic] feature; otherwise the derivation will crash.

Claiming that Cypriot Greek has a filled $C°$ requirement, which forces the verb to move to $C°$, raises the following question: What is the relation between verb second languages and Cypriot Greek? An important difference between Cypriot Greek and standard verb second languages is that in Cypriot Greek the first position in the sentence

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[6] The assumption that syntactic XP-focus is an instance of focus while verb-focus is an instance of emphasis is based on Zubizarreta (1998).

need not be filled. In this respect, contrast example (8), where the first position in the sentence is filled, with earlier examples 4(a)-(c), where the first position in the sentence is not filled. In (8) a clitic-left-dislocated object occupies the first position. In Agouraki (1997) I argued that we should view the V2 phenomenon as consisting of two distinct parts, i.e. V-to-C and filled [Spec,CP].

(8)   ti dhinami mu   afika tin   eso
       the strength-Acc my left-I it-cl   inside
       "I have left my strength inside."

The proposed dissociation between the two component parts of "verb second", i.e. verb movement to C° and XP movement to the first position, seems to be supported, not only by the Cypriot Greek data we are seeking to account for, but also by the fact that in standard verb second languages the filled [Spec,CP] requirement cannot be satisfied when the complementizer position is filled by a complementizer, and not the verb. The filled [Spec,CP] requirement in standard verb second languages appears to have something to do with verb raising to C°.

A dissociation of the two component parts of "verb second" is also proposed by Carnie, Harley and Pyatt (2000) in their examination of Old Irish, for which they claim that it has a filled C° requirement but no filled [Spec,CP] requirement. In particular, Carnie et al (2000:41) point out that "An obvious extension of this approach (i.e. the traditional analysis to verb second) is to posit a set of "verb first" (V1) languages where the requirement on filling the specifier of CP is not imposed, giving a VSO ordering. ... VSO order, under this approach, is thus like a "weak verb second effect", in the sense that it is triggered by whatever triggers V→C° movement in verb second languages, but lacks actual verb second order."

Given the dissociation between the filled C° requirement and the filled [Spec,CP] requirement, it becomes obvious that in the absence of an overt complementizer V-initial word orders across languages may in principle be attributable to two different structures. One possibility is that the language under consideration has no filled C° requirement; in which case the verb is in I and the D-features of AGR heads are checked after Spellout. The other possibility is that the language under consideration has a filled C° requirement, in which case the verb is in C, but no filled [Spec,CP] requirement; with respect to this latter possibility, it is irrelevant for current purposes whether the D-features of AGR heads are checked before or after Spellout, as the arguments would be postverbal in either case. In Agouraki (1997) I proposed clitic placement as a test for distinguishing between the two possibilities for V-initial word orders in languages with clitics. In a language like Cypriot Greek, where [Spec,CP] can but need not be filled, word orders SVO and OVS are also possible for complementizer-less clauses; in the above orders the verb is in C while S and O, respectively, are in [Spec,CP].

4. Verb raising to C^o, negation, modality markers, wh-phrases and foci

In subsections 4.1-4.2, I consider a number of open questions about the verb raising to C^o approach. Notably, why the verb does not move up to C^o in wh-questions, sentences with syntactic XP-foci, negative sentences and sentences with modality markers. The account offered for proclisis with wh-phrases and syntactic foci differs from that in Agouraki (1997), where it was assumed that wh-questions and sentences with syntactic XP-foci have a biclausal structure.

4.1 Negation and modality markers

Following Agouraki (1997), 1 propose to account for proclisis with negation in complementizer-less clauses (cf. 9(a)) by advancing the hypothesis that sentential negation in those clauses is generated in C^{o7}. As discussed in that paper, nonfinite negation *men* can appear as a complementizer in dubitative clauses (cf. (9)), which suggests that we could possible take it to fill C^o in the absence of a complementizer. An alternative approach is to claim that in the absence of a complementizer Negation can raise to satisfy the filled C^o requirement. Either approach yields the desired results. For embedded negative sentences where both a complementizer and a negative particle appear we will have to assume that there is a lower NegP[8].

(9) efountam   men   to   pi   kanenu
     were-they afraid lest it-cl tells anyone
     'They were afraid lest she told anyone.'

With respect to the modality marker *perki* , which marks epistemic modality (cf. 10(a) but also 10(b), with the particular 'wish' interpretation), we notice that, just like nonfinite negation *men* , it can appear as a complementizer in dubitative clauses (cf. (11)). As with negation particles, I will assume that *perki* fills the C^o position.

(10) a. perki   su   ton   dhoki
         maybe   to you-cl   it-cl   gives
         "She may let you have it."
     b. perki   to   kami
         I wish   it-cl   does-she
         "I wish she did it."
(11) paratira   perki ton   evris
     watch-you out   lest   him-cl   find-you
     "Watch out lest you find him."

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[7] For argumentation see Agouraki (1997).
[8] CP recursion is another possibility.

Next, I would like to draw attention to some interesting, if puzzling data. Namely, when negation is followed by the particle *dze* "and" proclisis is no longer possible, and we get enclisis instead (cf. the pair 12(a)-(b)). *Dze* has the same effect on a number of other particles/conjunctions, namely *men* [nonfinite negation], *memba(s)* "question marker", *perki* "perhaps, hopefully", *ama* "when", *andan* "when", *oti* "when" and *oson* "while", among others. Thus, *men* , *memba(s)* , *perki* , *ama* , *oti* and *oson* yield proclisis; *men dze* , *memba(s) dze* , *perki dze* , *aman dze* , *andan dze* , *oti dze* and *oson dze* , on the other hand, yield enclisis.

(12) a.   en   ton   idha
           not   him-cl   saw-I
           "I have not seen him."
      b.   en   dze   idha   ton
           not   and   saw-I   him-cl
   "I have not seen him."

Particle *dze* is a coordinating conjunction, which can sometimes function as a subordinating conjunction[9] (cf. (13)). Given this "ambiguity", I believe that we need to distinguish between hypothesis (a), according to which *dze* occupies two distinct positions depending on whether it is a coordinating conjunction or a subordinating conjunction, and hypothesis (b), according to which *dze* can only fill the position of coordinating conjunctions and does so even when it is interpreted as a subordinating conjunction. I adopt the second hypothesis as a minimal hypothesis, but also because it can provide an account for the fact that the particle+*dze* cluster yields enclisis.

(13) akui   tin   dze   lali
      hears   her-cl and   say-she
      "He heard her say ... ."

According to the raising to C^o approach to clitic placement in Cypriot Greek, for enclisis to arise with *en dze* , *men dze* and all the relevant conjunction+*dze* clusters, it must be the case that the verb is in C^o. If so, we should identify the positions filled by Neg/conjunction and *dze* , respectively. If *dze* were a subordinating conjunction in the data under examination it should occupy the C head of the lower clause, which would yield proclisis. This analysis cannot be maintained; enclisis indicates that it is the verb that fills the C^o position. An alternative analysis according to which the particle+*dze* complex is a lexicalized item does not seem plausible, either. If that were the case, the particle+*dze* complex would fill the C^o position, yielding proclisis, which again is not the pattern observed. The logical possibility which I am taking up is that *dze* functions as a coordinating conjunction, in which case the C^o position is empty and the verb can move up to it. If *dze* is a coordinating conjunction, it must conjoin two CPs, which can only be

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[9] The occurrence of *dze* as a subordinating conjunction is lexically determined.

maintained if the negation/conjunction on its own, without *dze* , constitutes an elliptical clause, perhaps with a missing predicate *en* "is". The structure in (14) is advanced to account for the above data.

(14)　　　　　　　　ConjunctionPhrase
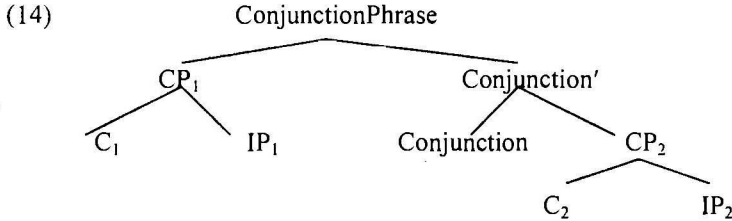
In (14) the negation/conjunction occupies the C_1 position, *dze* is under the conjunction head, and the verb fills the C_2 head. The schema in (14) is overt in some cases. Consider *memba(s) dze* "question marker", the first part of which is known to have originated from the negative particle *men* plus *pa(s)* , a present tense form of the verb *ipagho* "to go".

4.2 Wh-phrases and Foci

Wh-questions and sentences with syntactic XP-foci (cf. earlier examples 5(d) and 5(e), respectively) block V-to-C raising and yield proclisis. I am assuming that the verb cannot raise to C^o because that position is occupied by the null complementizers WH and F, respectively, which type their respective sentences as wh-questions and focal sentences. The situation where [Spec,CP] is filled by a wh-phrase and C^o by an overt interrogative complementizer is not unknown among languages (cf. the Serbian/Croatian example in (15), taken from Progovac 1996). My proposal is that Cypriot Greek has a null interrogative complementizer in wh-questions. The proposal is extended, mutatis mutandis, to sentences with syntactic XP foci, for which a null focal complementizer is postulated.

(15)　ko　li　je　koga　　predstavio ?
　　　who　Q　has　whom introduced
　　　"Who has introduced whom?"

　　　　We have seen that sentences with focused verbs yield enclisis. The question arises why sentences with focused verbs do not 'count as' focal sentences for the purposes of verb/clitic placement. In that respect, I follow Zubizarreta (1998), who distinguishes between focus and emphasis. For Zubizarreta, emphasis may negate the assertion introduced by the context statement of a sentence or it may reassert the assertion introduced by the context statement of a sentence. According to this definition, what we have so far called verb focus is a case of emphasis.

5. Parallel phenomena to clitic placement

This section presents an indirect argument for the raising to C^o analysis of clitic placement in Cypriot Greek. The argument is based on phenomena which are parallel to clitic

placement. The line of thinking is the following: If we could find phenomena where the placement of some head was sensitive to verb placement and the pattern of placement for this head had important similarities with clitic placement in Cypriot Greek, this could be indirect evidence that the pattern of clitic placement in Cypriot Greek is also due to verb placement. Next, I will briefly look at two such structures, which apparently have parallel placement properties to clitic placement in Cypriot Greek. These are complex predicates (a) in Hungarian and (b) in Dutch/ German.

Consider the Hungarian data in (16) first. Hungarian has remnant verb second in wh-questions and sentences with syntactic XP-foci, where the wh-phrase/focused XP raises to [Spec,CP] and the verb raises to C^o. Interestingly for our purposes, in complex predicates, consisting of a verb and a verbal modifier, which can be a particle or a noun, the position of the verbal modifier with respect to the verb is not fixed. There is general proclisis but with Neg, wh-clauses and syntactic foci. The Hungarian data are interesting, mainly for the variable order between the verb and the verbal modifier.

(16) a. Péter   be   ment   a hazba
          Peter   into   went   the house
          "Peter went into the house."

      b. Péter   a HAZBA   ment   be
          Peter   the HOUSE   went   into
          "It is into the house that Peter went."

      c. Péter   nem   ment   be   a hazba
          Peter   not   went   into   the house
          "Peter did not go into the house."

      d. Ki   ment   be   a hazba
          who   went   into   the house
          "Who went into the house?"

If we compare clitic placement in Cypriot Greek with verbal modifier placement in Hungarian we can observe one similarity and one difference. The similarity has to do with the triggering environments for the marked option, i.e. proclisis in Cypriot Greek and enclisis in Hungarian. These are partly the same, i.e. Neg, syntactic XP focusing and wh-questions. Note, however, that complementizers in Hungarian do not trigger the marked option, which needs to be explained. The difference is that the default order and the marked order have opposite values in Cypriot Greek clitic placement and Hungarian verbal modifier placement, which also needs to be explained. I will next try to account for both the similarity and the difference between the Hungarian structure and the Cypriot Greek structure. It is in fact easier to accommodate the difference between the two structures.

The difference between Cypriot Greek and Hungarian with respect to the default value for the clitic/ verbal modifier placement is not crucial for current purposes. What is interesting for us is the systematic variability in verbal modifier placement. The difference

in default order between Cypriot Greek and Hungarian is essentially due to the different processes by means of which the clitic/ verbal modifier and the verb come together in Cypriot Greek and Hungarian, respectively. For Hungarian (cf. Kiefer, F. and K. E. Kiss 1994) it is claimed that the verbal modifier attaches to the left of the verb via incorporation. For clitic placement in Cypriot Greek, I have claimed that it does not involve syntactic cliticisation (cf. 2(c)). As for the difference in the behaviour of complementizers, it is straightforwardly accounted for given that Hungarian, contrary to Cypriot Greek, does not have a filled C^o requirement. The marked order in Hungarian complex predicates is, therefore, derived through movement of the verb to a position higher than I, namely C^o. The different values Hungarian and Cypriot Greek have for the filled C^o requirement suffice to account for the difference in the default order for verbal modifier/ clitic placement. The fact that complementizers in Hungarian, contrary to the situation with clitic placement in Cypriot Greek, do not yield the marked order is also explained by the fact that Hungarian has no filled C^o requirement.

Verb movement to C^o, which is in fact responsible for the marked order between verb and verbal modifier, takes place for independent reasons, i.e. reasons that do not have to do with verbal modifier placement. Namely, the verb, normally under I, raises to C when some constituent (i.e. focused XP, wh-phrase, and perhaps also sentential negation) fills the [Spec,CP] position. And this is where we come to the noted similarity between Cypriot Greek and Hungarian in the triggering environments for the marked value, namely the fact that in both languages negation, wh-phrases and syntactic XP foci yield the marked word order. This similarity needs to be accounted for, especially given the different values the two languages have for the filled C^o requirement. In particular, if the only relevant difference between Hungarian and Cypriot Greek had to do with the filled C^o requirement, provided of course that clitic placement and verbal modifier placement are in fact comparable phenomena, there should be no similarity in the environments triggering the marked value. So, if (a) negation in Hungarian was in C, as I have taken it to be in Cypriot Greek and (b) wh-phrases and syntactic XP-foci in Hungarian had null matching complementizers in C, as I have proposed for Cypriot Greek, then Hungarian, having no filled C^o requirement, should have the default order with negation, wh-phrases and syntactic XP-foci, contrary to fact. Which means that a superficial similarity between Cypriot Greek and Hungarian, namely the fact that in both languages negation, wh-phrases and syntactic XP-foci yield the marked order, blurs some relevant differences between the two languages, besides their different values for the filled C^o requirement. One difference is that we will perhaps have to assume that negation in Hungarian fills the same position as wh-phrases and syntactic XP-foci. Another difference between Cypriot Greek and Hungarian, provided the analysis presented for Cypriot Greek is on the right track, is the requirement in Cypriot Greek that the verb cannot fill the C^o position with wh-phrases and syntactic XP-foci, and the reverse requirement in Hungarian. Namely, in Hungarian wh-questions and sentences with syntactic XP-foci the verb must fill the C position. This difference with respect to whether languages require or do not allow V-to-C when

[Spec,CP] is filled by a wh-phrase or focused XP needs to be properly understood, or else it could undermine the validity of the argument why Cypriot Greek does not allow V-to-C in those circumstances. Investigating this issue is outside the narrow scope of this paper. One of the questions that would have to be answered in such an enquiry is whether the ±requirement for V-to-C with wh-phrases/foci in [Spec,CP] correlates with whether the language has a filled C° requirement or not.

Despite the above differences between clitic placement in Cypriot Greek and verbal modifier placement in Hungarian, the Hungarian data have been useful in that they are a generally accepted case where verb placement determines the relevant order between the verb and its modifier. Thus, placement of verbal modifiers in Hungarian provides an indirect argument for the raising to C° approach to clitic placement in Cypriot Greek. The Hungarian data have also been useful in making us realise that verb placement with wh-phrases and foci is an area of parametrisation. The prediction is that there could be languages with clitics, which with respect to clitic placement are like Cypriot Greek with the only difference that they yield enclisis with wh-phrases and syntactic XP-foci.

Complex predicates in Dutch/ German provide the second parallel structure to clitic placement in Cypriot Greek. Dutch, like German and Hungarian, have a class of separable verbal prefixes. As Van Riemsdijk (1999:10) explains, they are separable in that, for example, they are not moved along with the verb under such processes as verb second (V-to-C movement). Consider in (17) complex predicates in Dutch.

(17) a.   dat   Jan   Marie aan   spreekt
           that   John   Mary   PREFIX   speaks
           "... that John speaks to Mary."
      b.   Jan   spreekt   Marie aan
           John   speaks   Mary   PREFIX
           "John speaks to Mary."

I have argued that clitic placement has, at least descriptive, parallels in verbal modifier placement, as the latter is attested in Hungarian, German and Dutch, among other languages. The verb placement approach to clitic placement seems to be favoured over other approaches.

6. What drives movement to C°?

Platzack (1995) proposes that what drives movement to C° in verb second is the finiteness feature [±F] situated in C°. Raising to C° is thus reduced to a parameter about whether or not [+F] is located in C°. According to Platzack, finiteness (distinct from Tense) is responsible for the assignment of Nominative Case; to assign Case, [+F] must be lexicalized (that is phonologically realised, or overtly checked). Hence, when the verb second parameter is active, C° must be lexicalized to permit the assignment of Nominative Case and thus to trigger the appearance of V-to-C movement. When the V2 parameter is

not activated, [+F] appears in Infl, and must be lexicalized there. Platzack does not discuss what drives movement of an XP to the specifier of CP in V2 languages. Carnie et al (2000) assume in this respect a feature-checking account of movement and posit strong D-features on C^o, requiring topicalization of an XP. Similarly, for languages where the requirement for the specifier of CP to be filled is not operative we would have to assume that C^o has weak D-features.

Platzack's (1995) account for the filled C^o requirement in the Germanic languages cannot be adopted for Cypriot Greek for a number of reasons. First, C^o is not always lexicalized (cf. the null WH and F complementizers). Second, the subject in Cypriot Greek need not appear in [Spec,IP] but can remain in [Spec,VP]. In such a case, how is Nominative case assigned to the subject in [Spec,VP]? Also, in embedded clauses with a filled C^o it is difficult to see how Platzack's proposal could be compatible with postverbal, i.e. [Spec,VP], subjects (cf. (18), where *ama* "when" fills the complementizer position). Would Nominative case be assigned after Spellout in those cases? I will not attempt to answer these questions and will present an alternative proposal below.

(18)　ama　　ton　　　　idhen　　　　o dhrakos
　　　 when　him-cl　　 saw-he　　　 the dragon-Nom
　　　 "When the dragon saw him."

Before advancing a proposal for what drives movement to C^o in Cypriot Greek, I will sum up which elements can fill the C^o position. Provided the analysis in sections 3.2 and 4 is on the right track, C is occupied by complementizers, overt or null (i.e. WH and F), negation and modality markers, where both are treated like complementizers in sentences lacking an overt complementizer, or the verb bearing one of three features, i.e. [Declarative], [Interrogative] or [Emphasis]. The morphological feature [Declarative], [Interrogative] or [Emphasis] is realised on C^o and is checked either by the verb, when the verb raises to C^o, or by a complementizer with the relevant morphological feature. Complementizers with the feature [Declarative] include finite complementizers *oti / pos* "that", strong factive *pu* , nonfinite *na* and a number of adverbial conjunctions. Complementizers with the feature [Interrogative] include *an / memba* "whether". As for complementizers with the feature [Emphasis], I do not know of any in Cypriot Greek. I have assumed that WH and F are complementizers, and not features, because they do not seem to be compatible with verb raising to C^o. On the contrary, I take [Declarative], [Interrogative] and [Emphasis] to be verb features, and not complementizers, because they are compatible with verb raising to C^o. The description that [Declarative], [Interrogative] and [Emphasis] are verb features, and not complementizers, because they are compatible with verb raising to C^o, while WH and F are complementizers, and not features, because they are not compatible with verb raising to C^o could provide the means for addressing the difference between Cypriot Greek and Hungarian with respect to whether V-to-C raising obtains with wh-questions and sentences with syntactic XP-foci. For languages with V-to-C raising in wh-questions and sentences with syntactic XP-foci, we could simply assume that

WH and F in those languages are features and not complementizers. Alternatively, in minimalist terms, what one would say is that in Cypriot Greek the features WH and F are weak, triggering movement of the verb after Spellout.

The picture that emerges is that $C°$ is always filled, and, most importantly, that the item which fills $C°$ informs us on the type of the clause. The proposal in (19) is advanced to account for the Cypriot Greek data. Proposal (19) could also be investigated as a working hypothesis for V-to-C in V2 languages, which is, however, outside the scope of this paper.

(19) The filled $C°$ requirement exists for clause-typing purposes.

A couple of questions need to be successfully addressed for the working hypothesis above to go through. One is parametrisation of languages with respect to whether they allow V-to-C raising in wh-questions and sentences with syntactic XP-foci. Namely, what distinguishes Hungarian or German from Cypriot Greek in that respect? The earlier suggestion that this could have to do with a complementizer/ feature distinction for WH and F needs to be further investigated. Another way to look at these data is to say that in some languages (e.g. Cypriot Greek) a verb raises to $C°$ to satisfy its own interpretational/ morphological requirements when $C°$ is not filled, while in other languages (e.g. Hungarian) the verb raises to $C°$ for predication or other reasons. I can only address these questions in future work. This issue turns out to be of particular interest in a discussion of clitic placement across languages.

7. Some consequences of the proposal

This section briefly considers the consequences of the raising to $C°$ approach for the research goals set in the Introduction. The first goal was that the theory must be general enough to possibly account for clitic placement in other languages. The second goal was that the theory should also account for change(s) in clitic placement in the history of a language. The main question behind both enquiries is what determines the pattern of clitic placement in a language.

7.1 Language variation

I will next look at the predictions claim (2), repeated below, makes for the Wackernagel pattern and the verb-proclisis pattern.

(2) General claim:
a. Clitics fill phrases situated between CP and IP[10].

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[10] The claim that clitic pronouns head their own projections, which are distinct from the respective object positions was defended in Agouraki (1992) and Sportiche (1992). What also needs to be examined, but has not to my knowledge, is the origin of clitic phrases. I intend to address this issue in future research.

b. Clitic placement depends on clause structure and involves no clitic-specific properties or properties of other elements triggered by clitics. In particular, clitic placement is an epiphenomenon of verb placement and/or of whether or not the language has a filled [Spec,CP] requirement.

c. Clitic placement does not involve syntactic cliticisation.

According to claim 2(c), the verb-enclisis pattern, the verb-proclisis pattern and the Wackernagel pattern of clitic placement do not involve raising of the clitic to some head or raising of some head to the clitic. The key factor which determines whether a language with "syntactic" clitics will have the verb-enclisis pattern, the verb-proclisis pattern or the Wackernagel pattern is verb placement. In general, a language manifests the verb-enclisis pattern if it has a filled C^o requirement (cf. Cypriot Greek but also European Portuguese, Galician, Leonese, Asturian Spanish and Old Spanish), and the verb-proclisis pattern (cf. Standard Modern Greek, but also French, Italian and Spanish) if it has no filled C^o requirement. As far as the Wackernagel pattern (cf. Classical Greek and Serbocroat) is concerned, the prediction is that it is manifested by languages with a filled COMP requirement, which does not, however, specify whether it is C^o or [Spec,CP] that is filled. In the Wackernagel pattern of clitic placement either [SPEC,CP] or C is necessarily filled, but, crucially, not both and the clitic follows in second position. So this is an either filled C^o requirement or filled [Spec,CP] requirement situation. What we find here reminds one, mutatis mutandis, of the old Doubly-filled-Comp filter, in the sense that the languages involved appear to have a filled Comp requirement, where *Comp* refers to either the [Spec,CP] position or the C^o position. It goes without saying that one of the targets of the proposed analysis for the Wackernagel pattern would be to "translate" the Doubly-filled Comp filter into current syntactic theory.

It should not be thought that languages belonging to each one of the three "syntactic" patterns of clitic placement form homogeneous blocks. The proposed analysis for clitic placement makes the following prediction in that respect. Except for the filled C^o requirement and the filled [Spec,CP] requirement, a number of other parametric differences affect clitic placement and this is where we find differences among languages belonging to the same clitic placement pattern. In each one of the three "syntactic" patterns of clitic placement we can observe internal differences, which are in turn explained given independent parametric options these languages make. Thus, if a Wackernagel pattern language allows for multiply filled [Spec,CP] (e.g. Polish), then the clitic will not appear in second surface position, although it does appear in the same structural position as in a Wackernagel language which does not allow for multiply filled [Spec,CP] (e.g. Serbocroat). Bulgarian offers another example of parametric variation. In particular, Bulgarian, a language with a filled C^o requirement, differs minimally from Cypriot Greek in that topics in [Spec,CP] also block V-to-C raising. In terms of word order, to the exception of sentences with topics, the position of clitics in Bulgarian is the same as the position of clitics in Cypriot Greek. However, the two languages differ in another respect, which would

make us classify Bulgarian clitics as Wackernagel clitics, rather than as verb-enclisis clitics. Namely, Bulgarian clitics systematically cliticize phonologically on the constituent/ head in CP. This phonological difference between Cypriot Greek clitics and Bulgarian clitics makes us classify them under distinct patterns of clitic placement even though syntactically clitic placement in the two languages is almost identical. This suggests that we should rethink the categorisation of patterns of clitic placement proposed in (1), in the sense that the verb-enclisis pattern and the Wackernagel pattern do not differ syntactically; they certainly differ in terms of the phonological host of the clitic but I should think that this can be kept as a separate issue. The terms verb-proclisis pattern, verb-enclisis pattern and Wackernagel pattern should be replaced by terms which do not, either exclusively or in part only, make reference to the phonological attachment property of clitics.

To sum up, clitic placement is affected by whether a language has a filled C^o requirement, a filled [Spec,CP] requirement or both. Also by the existence of "spec-head agreement well-formedness criteria", checking of agreement features before or after Spellout, whether or not the filled [Spec,CP] requirement or the criteria requirement includes topics and so on. Examination of a wide range of languages with clitics will show whether these predictions are borne out.

7.2 Language change

Finally, as far as changes in clitic placement are concerned, the prediction of the verb placement analysis for clitic placement is that these occur whenever there is a change in verb placement and/or the requirement for a filled [Spec,CP]. A question addressed within this type of enquiry is whether there is a particular directionality in language change with respect to the patterns of clitic placement. The directionality in language change seems to be from the Wackernagel pattern to the verb-enclisis pattern and from the verb-enclisis pattern to the verb-proclisis pattern (cf. Greek, Romance). In terms of the discussion in this paper, there seems to be a continuum from (1) languages with a filled Comp requirement (e.g. Classical Greek) to (2) languages with a filled C^o requirement but no filled [Spec,CP] requirement (e.g. Hellenistic Greek, Medieval Greek and Cypriot Greek) and from there to (3) languages with neither a filled C^o requirement nor a filled [Spec,CP] requirement (e.g. Standard Modern Greek)[11]. I cannot tell at this stage of my research where languages with

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[11] On the history of clitics in the Greek language I quote below two extracts from Horrocks(1997). I am interested in the description of facts and do not follow the author's account of the changes in the clitic system. According to Horrocks (1997:59), "Originally clitic pronouns typically collocated with sentence connectives in second position in a sentence. ... The frequently wide separation of clitic pronouns from their governors soon led to a tendency for them to appear instead immediately after the relevant head in a syntactic phrase. As we move into the hellenistic period, the tension between these two options began to be resolved by placing the verb initially before clitic pronouns in second position. The result was an increasingly standard V-clitic-S-O order, with VSO then

both a filled C° requirement .... a filled [Spec,CP] requirement (e.g. Germanic languages) fit in the above continuum.

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becoming routine even in the absence of a motivating (?) clitic. This distribution was typically disrupted when some clausal element was preposed as an emphatic/ contrastive 'focus', or when some sentential 'operator' (e.g. expressing negation, interrogation, or modality over the clause as a whole) occupied the initial slot. In these cases we find instead the order F(ocus)/ Op(erator)-clitic-V, i.e. with V as near to initial position as possible, but still adjacent to its dependent pronoun; all other constituents follow. Verb-final thus ceased to be a 'natural' order in popular Greek. The dual distribution of clitics (i.e. V-cl in most cases, cl-V in the presence of initial F/Op) continued into medieval Greek and some modern dialects (e.g. Cypriot)." Also from Horrocks (1997:209-210), "In Classical Greek there was a large set of enclitic sentence connectives and particles which appeared in second position in the clause (the so-called Wackernagel position). Enclitic pronouns were originally attracted to this slot, away from their governing verbs, though later there was a counter-tendency for them to appear to the right of verbs, away from the clitic group (as often in classical Attic prose). The verb could, however, also be drawn optionally to a clitic in second position, and appear initially if there was no complementizer (giving the order verb+clitic(s)+subject), or immediately to the right of the clitic if there was one (giving the order conjunction+clitic(s)+verb+subject). This solution was eventually standardised in the spoken forms of post-classical and medieval Greek. The modern conjunctions (i.e. na , pos , pu) were naturally associated with this living syntactic framework, and in medieval Greek the movement of the verb was generalised, even in the absence of motivating clitics, thus enforcing the order conjunction+V+S in virtually all subordinate clauses. This eventually led to VS becoming routine in main clauses too, always provided that neither the subject nor any other constituent had been preposed for discourse reasons.

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