

ON THE BOUNDARIES OF INFLECTION AND SYNTAX

Abstract

This paper examines the status of object clitic pronouns and preverbal particles in Greek. Evidence, both empirical and theoretical is presented, which shows that these elements exhibit two types of properties. In some ways they behave as independent syntactic units, but in others (both phonologically and syntactically) they seem attached as affixes to the grammatical word which they modify. We propose to capture this intermediate character of clitics and particles by treating them on the one hand as independent words in the Lexicon and, on the other, by having them undergo a merging operation, namely Move-Incorporate, within syntax. This rule brings them together with their host grammatical word, to form a new type of unit, which we call syntactic word, following Di Sciullo and Williams (1987).

1. Introduction

The precise definition of "word" becomes problematic when we consider the status of elements such as clitics and particles which behave like affixes in some ways but also like full words in others. We will try to show that the intermediate character of these elements is due to the fact that on the one hand they exist as full words stored in the lexicon, but on the other, during the derivation, they combine with other full *grammatical words* creating a new syntactic unit which we call *syntactic word* following Di Sciullo and Williams (1987). In other words we will argue that clitics and particles start as separate and independent lexical entries but end up as affixes in the syntactic component. We will try to support this position by focusing on the following specific questions:

a) What is the status of object clitic pronouns in Greek? Note that these elements cannot be hosted within a functional head since they do not have a grammatical function and yet in some ways behave like affixes (see Zwicky 1985).

b) What is the status of the preverbal particles in Greek which express grammatical information similar to that expressed by bound morphemes?

2. The functional categories of the Greek verb

Some significant facts about Greek verbs

i) Greek is a null-subject language with rich person/number subject agreement (e.g. see the present tense of the verb *γρᾶφο* 'I write' in (1):

- (1) sing. γ ραφ-ο(1st), γ ραφ-ις(2nd), γ ραφ-ι(3rd),
 plur. γ ραφ-ουμε(1st), γ ραφ-ετε(2nd), γ ραφ-ουν(3rd)

ii) There is no infinitive; the only non-finite forms are the *gerund* (2) and the invariable dependent form, namely the *non-finite* (3), which is only found preceded by the auxiliary *εχω* 'I have' (4):

- | | | |
|-----|-------------|------------------|
| (2) | γ rafondas | 'writing' |
| (3) | -γ rapsi | |
| (4) | exo γ rapsi | 'I have written' |

iii) The imperative, which has its own inflectional endings, divides the Greek linguists into those who interpret it as a finite form (Philippaki-Warburton 1994a, 1996) and those who consider it non-finite (Joseph 1985, Horrocks 1990). The imperative is like the non-finite gerund as far as the order of the object clitic pronouns is concerned: unlike the other verb forms, imperative and gerund precede the clitics.

Clauses may contain a monolectic verb (5) or a periphrastic one preceded by the auxiliary *exo* (6):

(5)	ACTIVE		MIDDLE/PASSIVE	
	<i>imperfective</i>	<i>perfective</i>	<i>imperfective</i>	
	<i>perfective</i>			
<i>non-past:</i>	γ rafo	γ rapso	γ rafome	γ rafto
<i>past:</i>	eγ rafa	eγ rapsa	γ rafomuna	γ raftika
(6)				<i>perfect</i>
<i>non-past:</i>	exo γ rapsi		exo γ rafti	
<i>past:</i>	ixa γ rapsi		ixa γ rafti	

The syntactic structure (the configuration of the functional categories involved in the derivation) of the monolectic verb forms is the one represented in (7) and of the periphrastic ones the one in (8). The derivation involves the operation of head movement of the V head to the relevant functional categories in order to check out the inflectional features which it carries as it enters the syntactic derivation fully inflected from the lexical/morphological component (Chomsky 1995). The order of the functional categories reflects the way the morphological exponenets are arranged. INFL represents the fused agreement and tense features.

(7)	INFL		VOICE	ASPECT	VP[...V...]
(8)	INFL	<i>exo</i>	VOICE	ASPECT	VP[...V...]

The auxiliary *exo* expresses perfect (Aspect/Tense) and thus in its content it is a verbal functional category. However, this functional role of *exo* cannot lead to an analysis which treats the periphrastic perfect constructions as single grammatical words, members of the verb paradigm, which would enter the Syntax from the Lexicon, because the two elements of the periphrasis often appear syntactically separate (9-10):

- (9)a. I Maria me exi **poles fores** stenoxorisi
 Mary me has many times upset
 'Mary has upset me many times'
- (10)a. Exi sinantisi o Nikos ton adelfo su?
 Has met Nick your brother 'Has Nick met your brother?'
- b. Exi **o Nikos** sinantisi ton adelfo su?
 Has Nick met your brother

Thus, *exo* is a separate lexical entry of the category V and of the subcategory Aux, selecting the *non-finite* main verb form, but as an auxiliary it is not a core representative of the lexical category verb because it does not get the full complement of grammatical properties in that it has no theta-grid. So, the syntactic representation consists of two lexical heads a higher V (the auxiliary) and a dependent lower V (the main uninflected verb) neither of which has the full complement of verb properties.

3. Object clitic pronouns

The non-imperative verb whether monolectic or periphrastic may be preceded by one or two object clitic pronouns (indirect (io) - direct (do)).

- (11)a. to eγ rapsa
it I-wrote 'I wrote it'
b. tu eγ rapsa
to-him I-wrote 'I wrote to him'
c. tu to eγ rapsa
to-him it I-wrote 'I wrote it to him'
- (12)a. to exo γ rapsi
it I-have written 'I have written it'
b. tu exo γ rapsi
to-him I-have written 'I have written to him'
c. tu to exo γ rapsi
to-him it I-have written 'I have written it to him'

Thus, the order is:

- (13) io.cl do.cl INFL *exo* VOICE ASPECT VP[...V...]

Such constructions present us with the question whether clitics are affixes (Joseph 1988), licensing a *pro* in the argument position, or independent syntactic units (Philippaki-Warbuton 1977, 1987), generated in the object argument position and moving to adjoin somewhere in the syntactic configuration, leaving a trace behind.

In what follows we will advance syntactic, morphological and phonological arguments, both empirical and theoretical, which support the analysis of object clitic pronouns in Greek as syntactically separate units. Furthermore, we propose that this analysis holds for both situations, i.e. when only the clitic pronouns are present in the construction but also when we have both clitic pronouns as well as lexical object DPs (clitic left dislocation and clitic doubling constructions). In these cases the clitic is still viewed as the argument proper, while the corresponding lexical DP is interpreted as an adjunct coindexed with the clitic and providing either a topic (clitic left dislocation) or some sort of apposition (clitic doubling constructions).

3.1. Syntactic evidence

i) Object clitics in Greek are not agreement markers because they are optional elements

ii) Object clitics when present constitute the object arguments as shown by the fact that lexical object DPs when co-occurring with the clitics are not arguments, since they cannot receive the main stress of the sentence (*14d).

- (14)a. Xθes aγ orasa to kenurjo vivlio tu Chomsky
 Yesterday I bought **the new book by Chomsky**
 b. Xθes to aγ orasa to kenurjo vivlio tu Chomsky
 It was **yesterday** that I bought the new book by Chomsky
 c. To vivlio tu Chomsky to aγ orasa xθes
 The book by Chomsky I bought it **yesterday**
 d. * Xθes to aγ orasa to kenurjo vivlio tu Chomsky

iii) Related to the above is the fact that in the presence of its clitic a lexical object DP cannot normally undergo wh-movement in a single clause. Compare (15a) with (15b):

- (15)a. Pjo vivlio aγ orases?
 Which book did you buy?
 b. * Pjo vivlio to aγ orases?

Given that wh-movement leaves a coindexed trace with which the moved wh-item forms a chain the irregularity of (15b) follows from the fact that under our analysis the trace following the verb is derived by the movement of the pronominal clitic, as shown in (16a):

- (16)a. toj aγ orases t_j pjo vivlio
 b. * pjo vivlio_j toj aγ orases t_j

In (*16b) the trace forms a chain with the clitic and for this reason it cannot also form a chain with the wh-element. Nor can we have two crossing chains with one included within the other.

We must note however that, although the constructions as in (15a) are the normal and most frequent ones, while (15b) are ungrammatical, the latter may become more acceptable if the sentence is extended with, for example, some adverbial as in (17).

- (17)a. ? Pjo vivlio to aγ orases xθes?
 b. pjo vilio_j toj aγ orases t_j xθes

Such evidence may seem to undermine our analysis. However, this evidence is rather weak because constructions as those in (17) are marked and rare and more significantly because the wh-constituent in such constructions is not straightforwardly questioned but has a topic reading. It is possible, therefore, to argue that (17b) is a construction where the wh-DP is a left dislocation construction analogous to:

- (18) To Jani ton iða xθes
 John him I-saw yesterday 'As for John, I saw him yesterday'

where the dislocated DP requires coindexation with the element [clitic ... t]. For more on this issue see Anagnostopoulou (1994), Androulakis (1997), Theofanopoulou-Kontou (1986-7).

iv) The affix analysis cannot capture the right choice of clitics according to the subcategorization frame of the main verb in the periphrastic constructions in which the clitic appears adjoined to the auxiliary, though constrained by the main verb:

- (19)a. εγ ραψα το γ ραμμα
I-wrote the letter
b. to εγ ραψα
it I-wrote
c. to εχο γ ραψι
it I-have written
- (20)a. * xamoy elasa to Niko
I-smiled Nick
b. * to xamoy elasa
it I-smiled
c. * to εχο xamoy elasi
it I-have smiled
- (21)a. εδωσα το βιβλιο του Νικου/στο Νικο
I-gave the book to-Nick
b. του to εδωσα
to-him it I-gave
c. του to εχο δωσι
to-him it I-have given

Similarly it cannot explain why in the perfect of the passive voice the clitic cannot appear with *εχο*.

- (22)a. * γ ραφικα το γ ραμμα
I-was-written the letter
b. * to γ ραφικα
it I-was written
c. * to εχο γ ραφι
it I-have written

An analysis according to which *εχο* is inflectionally bound to the main verb (23) may explain these subcategorization restrictions, but it cannot be entertained for the reasons presented above (see the discussion of examples 9-10).

- (23)a. to-εχο-δωσι
it I-have given
b. του-to-εχο-δωσι
to-him it I-have given

3.2. Morphological evidence

Clitics inflect for person, number, gender and case, a property of lexical items and not of affixes (recall the complexity test by Zwicky (1985: 288): "Words are frequently morphologically complex... affixal units rarely are"). The feature of case treats them in fact as the arguments proper of the verb. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the morphological variation of the clitics follows almost completely the regular morphological pattern also followed by the corresponding stronger pronominal forms. Compare the strong pronominal forms of *ekinos* 'that, he' (a), and *aftos* 'this, he' (b), and the strong forms of the first and second person pronominals *ego* 'I' and *esi* 'you' with the corresponding clitic forms (c):

(25)	Masc.Sg.gen.:	a. ekinu	b. aftu	c. tu
	acc.:	a. ekinon	b. afton	c. ton
	Masc.Pl.gen.:	a. ekinus	b. aftus	c. tus
	acc.:	a. ekinon	b. afton	c. tus (ton)
(26)	1st.Sg.acc.:	emena		c. me
	2nd.Sg.acc.:	esena		c. se
	1st.Pl.acc.:	emas		c. mas
	2nd.Pl.acc.:	esas		c. sas

3.3. The phonological evidence

i) Stress: In Greek each grammatical word (in the traditional narrow sense) carries one stress only. Furthermore each stress must occur on one of the last three syllables. This constraint is referred to as the *antepenultimate stress rule* or the *trisyllabic rule* (Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warbuton 1997). Derivationally and inflectionally (again in the narrow sense) related words may show differences in the position of the stress as shown in the following examples:

(27)a.	vunó			'mountain'	
b.	diminutive:	vunaláki		'little mountain'	
(28)a.	nom.:	máθima	b. gen.:	maθíma tos	'lesson'
(29)a.	Pres.Act. 1st.Sg.:	ðjavázo		'I read'	
b.	Past.Act. 1st.Sg.:	ðjaváza		'I was reading'	
c.	Past.Act. 1st.Pl.:	ðjavázame		'We were reading'	

In all the examples, both nouns and verbs, the assignment of stress is constrained by the trisyllabic rule but more importantly, from our point of view, the adjustment is achieved by shifting the stress (or reassigning the stress) in ways that will satisfy the constraint. Let us now examine what are the consequences for the position of stress when one or two clitics are attached to a grammatical word (as enclitic) increasing the length of the form and creating units which violate the trisyllabic rule, as is the case of imperatives.

(30)a.	ðjaváse	'Read'
b.	ðjavásé to	'Read it'
c.	ðóse	'Give'
d.	ðóse mu	'Give me'
e.	ðóse mú to	'Give it to me'

What we observe here is that there is no shift of the underlying stress (no reassignment of stress). Instead the trisyllabic rule is restored by the development of a secondary stress on the penultimate of the total string. This shows that cliticisation is a different process from inflection proper and that it operates after inflection has been completed. It takes place in a larger domain than a word domain, in the sense of the relevant tests in Zwicky (1985: 288). These phenomena are naturally handled within a theory that recognises that the effect of clitics on the stress takes place within the syntax after combining clitics with their hosts.

ii) Euphonic *-e*: In Greek there is a strong tendency for open syllables in word final position. When a word terminates in the licit final consonant *-n*, there is a tendency for an euphonic *-e* to be added after it:

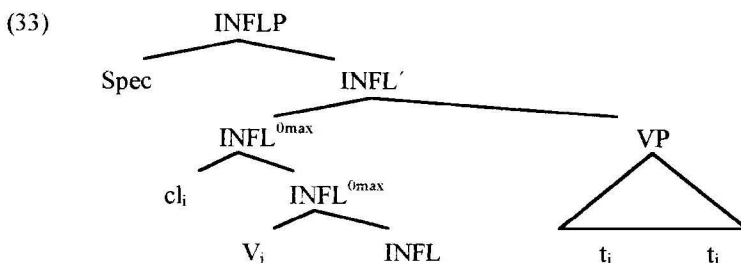
- (31)a. *irθan* → *irθane* 'They came'
 b. *ton pedjon* → *ton pedjone* 'of the children'

Affixes do not need and nor do they show such a tendency. And yet object clitic pronouns may appear with such final euphonic *-e*:

- (32)a. *tone θelume* 'We want him'
 b. *den tine fovate* 'He is not afraid of her'

3.4. The analysis of object clitic structures in Greek

The evidence presented above argues strongly that the object clitic pronouns in Greek are not affixes of the verb but constitute separate syntactic units and thus separate syntactic entries. The analysis we assume is the following (see also Kayne 1991, Chomsky 1995):



4. Particles

4.1. Their forms and their functions

In addition to clitic pronouns a verb may be preceded by one of the two negative morphemes and one of the two mood/tense particles. These are: *θα* whose prototypical use is to express futurity; *na* which marks the subjunctive mood; the negative particle for the indicative is *de(n)*, while for the subjunctive it is *mi(n)*. The possible combinations are shown below:

- (34)a. *den to egrapsa* 'I did not write it'
 not it I-wrote
 b. *den tha to grapso* 'I will not write it'
 not will it I-write
 c. *den tha to ixa γ rapsi* 'I will not have written'
 not will it I-have written
 d. *na min to γ rapsi* 'You should not write it'
 e. *na min to ixes γ rapsi* 'You should not have written it'

The analysis which will be assumed here is the following (Philippaki-Warburton 1994b, 1996): *na* is a subjunctive mood marker generated under a Mood (MD) functional

category. The particles *den* and *min* are generated under a NEG functional category. The particle *tha* is generated under a different functional category (lets call it FT, for futurity) from the one of *na* (35; Philippaki-Warbuton 1996). For a different analysis see Drachman (1994) and Rivero & Terzi (1995):

(35)	MD	NEG	FT	
a.	Ind. [0]	den	tha	to γ rapsis
b.	Sub. [na]	min		to γ rapsis

The full structure with all the possible combinations is the following:

(36)	MD	NEG	FT	INFL	<i>exo</i>	VOICE	ASPECT	V
a.	Ind. [0]	[den]	[tha]	io.cl	do.cl			
b.	Sub.[na]	[min]	---	io.cl	do.cl			

4.2. The intermediate status of particles

Irrespective of the specific details of the analysis of these particles we must now come to the question relevant to the issue of the interface between syntax and morphology, namely whether these particles should be analysed as affixes of the verb or as independent and separate syntactic elements.

4.2.1. Particles as affixes

i) The combination [particle+verb] constitutes a single phonological unit as far as stress is concerned:

(37)a.	[O Nikos] [tha feri] [ta lefta] [avrio]
	Nick will bring the money yesterday
b.	[θelo] [na min γ rapsis] [to γ ramma]
	I want not you-write the letter
	'I do not want you to write the letter'

ii) There are certain syntactic phenomena which apply to such strings (i.e. particle+clitic+verb) treating them as single syntactic units, larger than the grammatical word, in the narrow sense of this term, but smaller than the phrase (verb focalisation, which involves movement of the whole verb group to the sentence initial position leaving the object DP behind (38), deletion (39), and co-ordination (40)):

(38)a.	O Nikos tha δ osi ta lefta	
	Nick will give the money	
b.	[tha δ osi] o Nikos ta lefta	
	will give Nick the money	
c.	* tha o Nikos δ osi ta lefta	
d.	O Nikos de tha δ osi ta lefta	
	Nick not will give the money	'Nick will not give the money'
e.	de tha δ osi o Nikos ta lefta	
f.	* δ osi o Nikos ta lefta de tha	
(39)a.	Ti su ipe na min kanis?	'What did he tell you not to do?'
b.	Na min fiyo	'Not to leave'
c.	Fiyo	

- (40)a. * θa $\epsilon\theta o$ avrio ke $\text{fi}\gamma o$ $\text{me}\theta avrio$
 will I-come tomorrow and I-leave the day after tomorrow
 b. θa $\epsilon\theta o$ avrio ke θa $\text{fi}\gamma o$ $\text{me}\theta avrio$
 will I-come tomorrow and will I-leave the day after tomorrow
 'I will come tomorrow and leave the day after tomorrow'

The evidence presented above shows that the combination [particle+verb] forms a single unit both for phonological but also for syntactic reasons and this can be said to strengthen the proposal that particles are affixes. However this conclusion must be rejected because there is strong evidence against the affixal view, as we will argue below.

4.2.2. Particles as independent syntactic elements

i) If we accept all the arguments offered above that auxiliary *exo* is a separate lexical entry from that of main verb, we must reject the view that particles are affixes, because their treatment as affixes will entail that they should appear as affixes both on the monolectic verb forms but also on the auxiliary *exo* forms, as in (41). This duplication is both redundant and counterintuitive.

- (41)a. θa $\text{fi}\gamma o$ 'I will leave'
 b. na $\text{fi}\gamma o$ '... that I leave'
 c. [θa *exo*] $\text{fi}\gamma i$ 'I will have left'
 d. [na *exo*] $\text{fi}\gamma i$ '... that I have left'

ii) The clitic, which was argued before to be a separate lexical entry, intervenes between the particle and the verb form:

- (42)a. θa *to* grapso 'I will write it'
 b. θa *tu* grapso 'I will write to him'
 c. θa *tu to* grapso 'I will write it to him'
 d. θa *to* exo grapsi 'I will have written it'
 e. θa *tu* exo grapsi 'I will have written to him'
 f. θa *tu to* exo grapsi 'I will have written it to him'

iii) If particles are to be treated as affixes, we must also treat as affixes the negative morphemes *den* and especially *min*, because the particle *na* precedes negative *min*. Thus if *na* is an affix either *min* is also an affix or we end up with the same situation as with *exo* and the clitics discussed above.

From the above discussion we conclude that particles have also an independent syntactic status. Additional support for this conclusion derives from the fact that particles can be emphatically stressed e.g. *na MIN to dosis* 'you should NOT give it', and also can be nominalised by the use of the definite article, e.g. *Ta θa ke ta min* 'The wills and the nos'.

4.2.3. The paradox of the intermediate status of particles

We can now draw the conclusion that particles are separate independent syntactic items which enter the syntax as independent syntactic elements and not as affixes, but somehow they end up united with the verb form which they grammatically modify. Thus, the string [particle+verb], though it is not a unit in the Lexicon, but consists of two independent syntactic elements, nevertheless it can function as a unit in the syntactic component. The challenge is to find a formal account of this phenomenon.

5. The formal account of the intermediate status of clitics and particles

The whole of the verb group consists of a lexical entry for the verb plus a number of reduced grammatical elements which also constitute separate entries at the Morphology/Syntax interface. This conclusion, however, leaves unaccounted for the evidence that these verb groupings behave as single units for the purposes of some phonological and syntactic phenomena.

The solution, which we believe will satisfy both types of properties of these elements is one which formally recognises two different types of word (see also Di Sciullo & Williams 1987). *Primary words*, or *grammatical words* (the *morphological objects* or *syntactic atoms* in Di Sciullo and Williams' terms), are those which enter the syntax as separate entries. These are the units of the Morphology/Syntax interface. These are the inflectionally complete members of the narrowly defined verb paradigm, as well as those words which are either monomorphemic (particles, clitics). Another type of word, which we may call *secondary* or *syntactic word* is formed subsequently after the interface. This unit consists of such reduced lexical elements as particles and clitics in combination with the grammatical word that contains the head of the construction. The questions that are raised now are the following:

- i) How do particles and clitics combine into a single syntactic word with the verb?
- ii) Where precisely does this union take place?

Some theoretical details are in order here: In the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995) functional/grammatical information is projected on the syntactic structure by means of functional heads. These heads consist of certain grammatical features to be satisfied either by verb-movement (Operation Attract/Move) or by merging a functional word (Operation Merge), mostly a particle. In Greek Voice, Aspect, INFL and MD (when imperative) are satisfied by means of verb-movement; their morphophonological exponents are affixed on to the verb stem (verb head) in the Lexicon/Morphology component before syntax. This is what we refer to as grammatical word. On the other hand, NEG, FT and MD (subjunctive) are satisfied by means of merging a particle (the negative *den* and *min*, the future *tha*, and the subjunctive *na*). No verb movement is required, and actually it is banned as unmotivated. The theory thus predicts that there is no motivation for the unity of the verbal group. However, we presented evidence showing that the verbal group constitutes a unit for some syntactic operations (focalisation, ellipsis, co-ordination). In order to solve this problem we propose a merging operation, which unites all these elements in the syntactic component, in terms of the syntactic operation of *Move α* . We call this operation *Move-Incorporate*.

It may be argued that our proposal is facing a theoretical problem. According to the restricted theory of the MP, movement is constrained by the economy principle of *Last Resort* and it is thus restricted to take place only in order to satisfy certain functional features on morphologically empty functional heads. Our rule *Move-Incorporate*, however, involves full lexical items and not simply features on lexical heads and this may be undesirable. To overcome this problem we suggest that the grammatical affinity between the particles and the verb form which they modify can be formally captured by assuming that the particles carry the feature [+V] which needs to be satisfied in the syntax. Thus, particles are grammatical words that do not carry a categorial feature but a functional one, like any empty functional head. Given these assumptions we propose that derivation proceeds as follows:

All the functional information coming from the Lexicon is satisfied either by moving the verb all the way up to the functional heads attracted by their abstract features, or by

inserting a particle under the relevant functional head. If the derivation contains a clitic, at some point of the derivation, the clitic will move to adjoin to the INFL-V head creating an INFL^{0max}. If a structure contains particles these will be marked by [+V] feature. In fact all projections relevant to the grammatical modification of the verb will be marked by this feature. Thus a verb group structure will be as in (46):

(46)	MD ⁰	Neg ⁰	FT ⁰	INFL ^{0max}
	+V	+V	+V	+V
	na	min	θa	to γ rapso
		den		to γ rapso

A merging operation will now apply moving the unit containing the grammatical word for the verb (the head word) to the next F⁰ category until one single word unit is created. Thus INFL^{0max} will be attracted by θa and it will move to incorporate to it creating the node FT^{0max} (θa-to-γrapso). Then the negative particle den will attract the FT^{0max} which will move to incorporate to the NEG⁰ creating a NEG^{0max} consisting of the NEG⁰ plus FT^{0max} (den-θa-to-γrapso) and so on.

We have presented a merging operation *Move-Incorporate*, which acts in a syntactic way, subsumed in fact under the Operation *Move α*. However we must now clarify the differences between *Move-Incorporate*, relevant to the merging of independently existing lexical items, and the standard *Move α*, which operates in order to check functional information represented as features on the heads of affixal functional categories. The differences are as follows:

i) The features which motivate the *Move-Incorporate* are associated with independently existing lexical items and not with morphologically empty functional nodes.

ii) *Move-Incorporate* is relevant to X^{0max} and not to X⁰.

iii) *Move-Incorporate* results in right adjunction with the host grammatical word, whereas *Move α* results in left adjunction.

iv) The motivation for *Move-Incorporate* is not to eliminate the functional features of an empty head but, it is the result of the grammatical affinity of the particle to the head as well as its morphophonologically dependent status.

6. Conclusion

In our analysis, which draws a distinction between *grammatical* and *syntactic* word, the debate among various analyses revolving around the lexical vs affixal character of clitics and particles is reconciled. The phonological, morphological and syntactic facts which point to the lexical independence of these items are satisfied by their original lexical status. On the other hand their morphophonological dependence and their forming a single unit with their host, as if they were affixes, is satisfied by the cliticization and *Move-Incorporation* operations triggered by their functional role to grammatically modify their host and the fact that they are morphophonologically reduced. Thus their intermediate status is revealed to be the result of their history within the derivation and the paradox of their conflicting properties is thus resolved and explained.

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