(4) The prefix *pro-* assigns a particular thematic role to an NP or AdvP in the adjunct position and makes it an obligatory argument. At the same time it can make a transitive verb intransitive. Examples are *poloskat' bel'e* / * ø ' –> *propoloskat' bel'e* / ø *dva časa* / * ø 'to rinse the linen / * ø ' –> *propoloskat' bel'e* / ø *dva časa* / * ø 'to rinse the linen / ø for two hours' / * ø; *marinovat' ogurec* / * ø 'to pickle cucumber / * ø ' –> *promarinovat' ogurec* / ø *dva časa* / * ø 'to pickle cucumber / ø for two hours' / * ø.

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Overt and Covert Raising to [Spec, AGR_{DO}] and the Interpretation of Objects*

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It has been observed (Franco [19]) that the cooccurrence of a direct object clitic and a coreferential direct object NP in Spanish has certain effects in the interpretation of the latter.[1] Contrast, for instance (1a) with (1b) and (2a) with (2b).[2]

(1) a. Le$_i$ he visto a un marinero$_i$.
ACC-CL3sg have-1sg seen a sailor
'I have seen a sailor.'

(1) b. He visto a un marinero.
have-1sg seen a sailor
'I have seen a sailor.'

(2) a. Les$_i$ pilló a los marineros$_i$ borrachos.
ACC-CL3pl caught the sailors drunk
'He caught the sailors drunk.'

(2) b. Pilló a los marineros borrachos.
caught the sailors drunk
'He caught the drunk sailors.' or
'He caught the sailors drunk.'

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[1] The Spanish clitic system illustrated in this research is that of Basque Spanish, which has been attested in Landa [32. 33] and bears great resemblance to some semi-*leísta* varieties of Southern Cone Spanish. As its label indicates, the main feature of these dialects is that animate accusative clitics are rendered with the clitic form *le* instead of *lo*. Relevantly, the phenomenon under study takes place in equal manner in all clitic doubling Spanish dialects. Certain semantic restrictions apply on the cooccurrence of an object clitic and a direct object. Specifically, the direct object must be definite or animate.

[2] ACC=accusative, CL=clitic, sg=singular, pl=plural

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The indefinite object in (1a) must be interpreted as presuppositional, in Diesing's [12] sense, whereas the object in (1b) may be interpreted either as presuppositional or as existential non-presuppositional. In (2a), the complement of *pilló* is interpreted as a small clause, whereas the complement of *pilló* in (2b) may also be interpreted as an NP with a restrictive adjective. The two sets of data above illustrate two seemingly unrelated effects on the interpretation of a direct object, effects that are apparently caused by the presence of an object clitic. In this paper, we propose an analysis that explains these effects by claiming that:

i) the coreferential clitic indicates that overt movement of an NP to the [Spec, AGR_{DO}] position has taken place, whereas the absence of an object clitic indicates that movement to [Spec, AGR_{DO}] has taken place at LF;

ii) traces left by overt movement are qualitatively different from traces of covert movement. Specifically, we assume that traces left by covert movement, unlike those left by overt movement, retain all their lexical content features since, along the lines of Chomsky [8], covert movement is the result of the movement of ϕ– and Case features to satisfy proper checking of features in the relevant functional projections;

iii) traces originated by overt movement are fragile with respect to their categorial status and their licensing properties.

In this study, we also look at some cross-linguistic data and make the following observation. In those cases in which case or agreement morphology appears to be optional with indefinite objects, the appearance of overt object morphology will affect the interpretation of the object NP in a systematic way. We show that this effect of overt morphology on the interpretation of indefinite objects can be predicted by extending to these cases the analysis that we are proposing here to explain the Spanish data.

The data and analysis presented in this paper are theoretically interesting in that they point to another asymmetry between overt and covert syntax.[3] Rather than establishing conditions at different levels of representation (which would go against the spirit of the Minimalist program) to account for these asymmetries, we propose to treat traces of overt movement differently

[3] This asymmetry had been previously observed with respect to other phenomena such as subjacency (Huang [21]), parasitic gaps (Chomsky [5]), and superiority effects (May [38], Williams [50]).

from traces or launching sites of covert movement. The intuition that we want to capture is that traces of covert movement have somehow more "weight" in the interpretation of sentences, or have more "content" than traces left behind by overt movement.

The paper is organized as follows. In the first section, we present an outline of the main assumptions adopted in this research. In section 2, we propose an analysis of the data in (1a-b). The third section presents a minimalist account (Chomsky [8]) of the contrast illustrated in (2a-b). Section 4 presents some data from Turkish (Enç [14], Diesing [12]) and Chichewa (Bresnan and Mchombo [3]) that illustrate a contrast similar to that between (1a) and (1b). Concluding remarks are offered in section 5.

1. PRELIMINARY ASSUMPTIONS

Following Borer [2], Silva-Corvalán [41, 42] and Suñer [46], among others, we are assuming: i) that the object clitic in Spanish is an agreement morpheme; and, ii) following Fernández-Soriano [15] and Franco [17, 18, 19], that the clitic is the head of $AGRP_{DO}$.[4] That is to say, the overt presence of the agreeing clitic can be considered as the lexicalization of ϕ–features in the head of $AGRP_{DO}$, along the lines of Benedicto [1].

In addition, we are adopting Diesing's Mapping Hypothesis, which claims that the interpretation of an indefinite NP is determined by the structural position of that indefinite at LF. Before providing an account of the data under these assumptions, we will first present a brief sketch of Diesing's Mapping Hypothesis.

1.1. The Mapping Hypothesis.

Diesing [12] studies the mapping from syntactic structures onto tripartite logico-semantic representations of the Kamp/Heim type (Kamp [27], Heim [20]). These representations consist of three parts: a quantifier, a restrictive

[4] We are aware that AGR categories have been eliminated in recent developments of the Minimalist Program, notwithstanding, this move in the theory does not seem to pose a serious problem for our analysis. If we reduced this disagreement to a technical issue we could accomodate the AGR_{DO} features in the Aspectual head of an ASP phrase (see Laka [31] for a similar view with respect to Basque object government heads), in the same way that AGR_{SUBJ} assimilates with T, as suggested in Chomsky [8]. Moreover, in contrast to the dispensability of AGR_{SUBJ}, the supression of AGR_{DO} is not all that clear. In this regard, Chomsky [8:377] states that 'the agreement-based justification for Agr would therefore reduce to adjective and object-agreement.'

clause (that indicates the set over which the quantifier quantifies) and a nuclear scope. Also, in the Kamp/Heim system, indefinites do not have quantificational force of their own: they introduce only a variable in the logical representation. As an example, consider sentence (3) and its logical representation (3').

(3) Every llama ate a banana.

(3') $\underset{Q}{\text{Every}_x}$ $\underset{\text{Restrictive Clause}}{[x \text{ is a llama}]}$ $\underset{\text{Nuclear Scope}}{(\exists_y)\ y \text{ is a banana} \wedge x \text{ ate } y}$

In (3)-(3'), the phrase *every llama* introduces a quantifier and material in the restrictive clause. Consequently, the quantifier *every* quantifies only over the set of things that are llamas. The rest of the sentence constitutes the nuclear scope. The indefinite phrase *a banana* introduces a variable in the nuclear scope. The nuclear scope is subsequently closed by an implicit existential quantifier (this process is known as *Existential Closure*) and, as a result, the variable introduced by *a banana* is existentially bound.

Diesing's concern is to determine what part of the syntactic tree is mapped onto the restrictive clause and what part is mapped onto the nuclear scope. She proposes the following *Mapping Hypothesis*, assumed to hold at LF:

(4) Mapping Hypothesis
Material from VP is mapped into the nuclear scope
Material from IP is mapped into the restrictive clause

This hypothesis, together with the VP-internal subject hypothesis (see, among others, Kitagawa [28], Kuroda [30], Koopman and Sportiche [29]), accounts for the distribution of readings of bare plural subjects of stage and individual-level predicates in English and German. For instance, in English bare plural subjects of stage-level predicates may be interpreted as generic or existential, whereas bare plural subjects of individual-level predicates must be interpreted as generic. This is illustrated in (5) and (6) respectively.

(5) Firemen are available

(a) Existential: $\exists_x x$ is a fireman $\wedge$ x is available
(b) Generic: $\text{Gen}_{x,t}$ [x is a fireman $\wedge$ t is a time] x is available at t

(6) Violists are intelligent

(a) Generic: Gen_x [x is a violist] x is intelligent

Diesing proposes an analysis under which the bare plural subject of a stage-level predicate is generated within the VP and subsequently moves to [Spec, IP] in order to receive case, whereas the bare plural subject of an individual-level predicate is generated in [Spec, IP]. As a consequence, the NP subject of a stage-level predicate may introduce a variable either in the restrictive clause, (5b), or in the nuclear scope, (5a),[5] whereas the NP subject of an individual-level predicate always introduces a variable in the restrictive clause, (6a). In the absence of an overt quantifier, variables in the restrictive clause are bound by a default quantifier Gen (which provides the generic reading). Free variables within the nuclear scope are bound by an existential quantifier via Existential Closure, which results in the existential reading of the bare plural.

Notice that under this proposal, an indefinite that introduces a variable in the restrictive clause will always be interpreted, in the absence of an overt quantifier, as generic. This is so, because the default quantifier Gen will bound free variables in the restrictive clause. However, Diesing notices that on some occasions indefinites may introduce variables in the restrictive clause and still be interpreted as non-generic. This is the case, for instance, in the German sentence in (7).

(7) .... wiel zwei Kinder ja doch auf der Straße spielen.
'.... since two children indeed in the street play.'

The particle *ja doch* in (7) indicates, according to Diesing, that the indefinite *zwei Kinder* 'two children' is outside the VP. However, *zwei Kinder* is a non-generic indefinite, contrary to the predictions made by the analysis. Diesing distinguishes two types of indefinites, presuppositional and non-presuppositional. Presuppositional indefinites presuppose the existence of the entity(ies) they are applied to, whereas non-presuppositional indefinites assert the existence of the entity(ies)s they are applied to. Strong determiners (Milsark [39]) as *the*, *every*, etc. are always presuppositional: they always presuppose the existence of the entity(ies) they are being applied to. Weak determiners as *a*, *some*, *few*, etc., may be presuppositional or non-

[5] Following May [38], Diesing assumes that the raised subject NP of a stage-level predicate lowers to the Spec(V) position at LF. This results in the two different interpretations of the indefinite.

presuppositional.[6] Diesing notices that the indefinite in (7), although non-generic, is presuppositional. That is, in (7), the existence of a set of children is presupposed, and the speaker is claiming that two of them are playing in the street. Presuppositional indefinites, as opposed to non-presuppositional indefinites, do have quantificational force. That is, they introduce a quantifier in the representation and, consequently, they can appear outside the VP in the structural representation and still be interpreted as non-generic.

To summarize, with respect to the interpretation of indefinite NPs, Diesing's analysis makes two specific claims:

I. An indefinite outside the VP (at LF) will be interpreted as generic or presuppositional.

II. An indefinite within the VP (at LF) will be interpreted as non-presuppositional and non-generic.

1.2. Strong AGR_{DO} and overt NP movement in Spanish

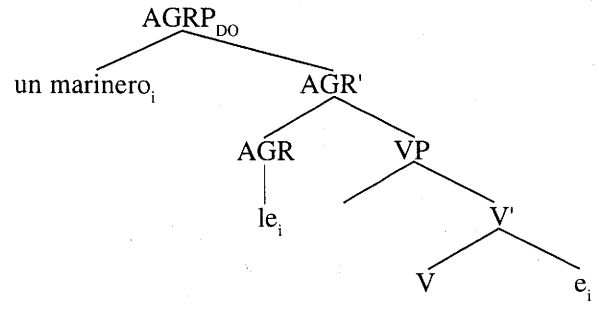
Following Chomsky [7], Sportiche [43, 44] and Lasnik [34], we regard agreement as the manifestation of a SPEC-head relation. We also assume Franco's [19] analysis of Spanish clitic doubling that claims that the presence of an overt clitic indicates that the NP-features of AGR_{DO} are strong. Therefore, the presence of an overt direct object clitic indicates that raising of the NP object to [Spec, AGR_{DO}] must occur in the overt syntax, before SPELL OUT (Chomsky [7]). This is the case in (1a). On the other hand, the absence of a direct object clitic indicates that the NP-features of AGR_{DO} are weak.[7] Consequently, raising of the object NP will not take place until LF (this follows from Chomsky's Procrastinate Principle [7]). Furthermore, covert movement only takes place partially, that is to say, only ϕ– and Case features would raise in LF to satisfy the proper matching of features, in accordance with Chomsky [8]. Still, the legitimation of the direct object

[6] Loebner [36] makes a similar distinction between quantificational and non-quantificational NPs.

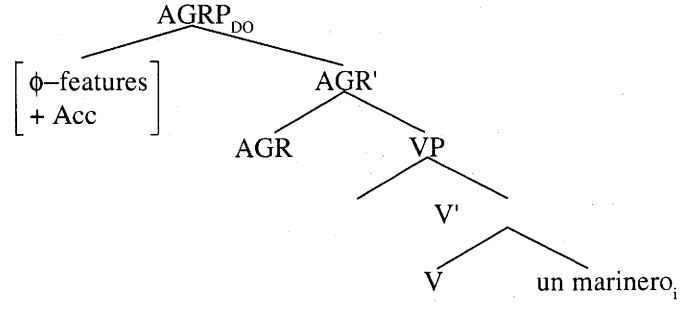
[7] The analysis we are presenting is relevant to explain the interpretation of indefinite NPs, since indefinite NPs are assumed to introduce a free variable in the representation. Definite NPs are inherently presuppositional; their interpretation as presuppositional NPs is not dependent on the structural position of the definite NP at LF.

in (1a) and (1b) is done in a uniform fashion, namely, by checking off Case and ϕ–features under a Spec-head configuration in $AGRP_{DO}$. Thus, the structure at LF for both (1a) and (1b) would in principle be as in (8a) and (8b) respectively:

(8) a.



(8) b.



1.3. Against the topic-dislocated analysis of clitic doubled constructions

Hurtado ([22], [23]) claims that clitic doubled objects in Spanish occupy a non-argument position and are, in fact, dislocated elements. Moreover, under this view, it is the clitic or a *pro* licensed by the clitic the true verbal argument. Subsequent literature on Spanish clitic doubling, namely, Jaeggli [26], Suñer [46], and Franco [18] [19] among others proved this account untenable. To mention some of their most outstanding arguments we may point out Suñer's remark that *wh*-elements can be extracted from a clitic-doubled position. Since variables left by argumental *wh*-words are consid-

ered to be in a case position, that is, an argumental position, the topic dislocated analysis would need an amendment for clitic doubled *wh*-elements. Additionally, Jaeggli [26] presents a clear cut contrast in terms of subjacency effects between regular left dislocated elements doubled by a clitic on the one hand, and clitic-doubled constituents dislocated to the right on the other, which can be seen in (9a) and (9b) ((32) in [26]):

(9) a. A Juan$_i$, que le$_i$/lo$_i$ hayan visto en la fiesta no me molesta.
To Juan, that ACC-CL have-3P. seen in the party not DAT-CL.1 bother
'To Juan, that they have seen him at the party does not bother me'

b. *Que lo$_i$ hayan visto en la fiesta no me molesta, a Juan$_i$.
that ACC-CL have-3P. seen in the party not DAT-CL.1 bother, to Juan
'That they have seen him at the party does not bother me, to Juan'

The difference between left dislocations like the one exemplified in (9a) and right dislocations like that of (9b) is that in the former, it is standardly assumed that there is no movement involved (cf. Cinque [11]) whereas in the latter it is logical to assume that the right dislocated structure does involve movement. Furthermore, this movement takes place from an argument position, hence, we can explain the subjacency effects in (9b) in which the right dislocated constituent would have incurred a violation of the Sentential Subject Constraint. Consequently, the contrast in (9) is borne out by the absence versus presence of movement of the object from a launching argument position which, in the case of (9b), is a clitic-doubled argumental position.

Moreover, Franco [18] [19] shows that clitic-doubled elements occupy typical argument positions such as subjects of small clauses (see example (2a)) and lower subjects of ECM constructions as illustrated in (10):

(10) Le$_i$/lo$_i$ dejó a Pedro$_i$ entrar.
ACC-CL let to Pedro enter
'He let Peter enter'

In (10) the Causee *a Pedro* is doubled by an Accusative clitic, and along the lines of Chung [10], we could hypothesize that the Causee would also move to Spec of AGR_{DO}. Hence the topic-dislocated position for the doubled constituent can be disregarded on solid grounds.

The relevant issue now is to show that the clitic-doubled constituent actually moves. Unfortunately, any test in this regard based on binding facts or NPI licensing would be deficient to falsify the hypothesis since we cannot determine whether it is the clitic/*pro* or the object that licenses anaphors and polarity items lower in the structure. However, there is a minimal contrast given by an interpolated adverb between the verb and the clitic-doubled object that indicates that the clitic-doubled object does move to Spec of AGR_{DO}:

(11) a. */?? Le$_i$ vimos desgraciadamente a un marinero$_i$.
ACC-CL saw.1Pl unfortunately to a sailor
'*We saw unfortunately a sailor'

b. Vimos desgraciadamente a un marinero.
saw.1Pl unfortunately to a sailor
'*We saw unfortunately a sailor'

c. Le vimos desgraciadamente en el bar.
ACC-CL saw.1Pl unfortunately in the bar
'We saw him unfortunately in the bar'

Under our hypothesis, the triple contrast in (11) follows with no special stipulations. The adverb *desgraciadamente* 'unfortunately' in (11a) somehow constitutes an obstacle for the checking of features of the object in Spec of AGR_{DO}. To put it in Chomsky's [8:331] minimalist terms, the object could not raise to Spec of AGR_{DO} to check its Case because the adverb, or better put, some feature of the adverb would count as a closer intervening element. Contrastively, since overt object raising is not obligatory in (11b), the 'intervening adverb does not jeopardize the derivation.[8] Finally, (11c) shows that, contra Uriagereka [49] and Torrego [48], the clitic is directly generated as the AGR_O head and, therefore, the adverb plays no role in the derivation.

Let us turn now to the dicussion of the phenomena under consideration. Our goal is to show how the data in (1) and (2) can be explained by adopting the Mapping Hypothesis and the analysis of clitic doubled objects sketched in section 1.2. We start by considering the data in (1a) and (1b).

[8] In fact, Spanish as well as other Romance languages are known to fail to observe Stowell's [45] adjacency condition between the verb and its object.

2. PRESUPPOSITIONAL INDEFINITES

We have seen that the interpretation of the indefinite object differs in (1a) (+ presuppositional) and (1b) (+/- presuppositional). Before proceeding, let us briefly rephrase the problem. A weakly quantified phrase is ambiguous between a presuppositional and a non-presuppositional reading. A weakly quantified object in Spanish is thus generally ambiguous. However, when a clitic appears, the weakly quantified phrase is disambiguated, and only the presuppositional reading is obtained. That is, a clitic doubled object must be either strongly quantified or contain a presuppositional weak determiner. We can call this the *Presuppositionality Condition on DO Clitic Doubled Objects in Spanish*. This is the first phenomenon that we are trying to explain. A simple account of this phenomenon would be to stipulate that DO clitics in Spanish select for an object that has the feature [+ presuppositional], and thus necessarily select either a strong or a weak presuppositional object. However, it would be desirable that the Presuppositionality Condition be derived from independent principles in the grammar. We claim that the Presuppositionality Condition can be made to follow from: i) the Mapping Hypothesis; ii) the correlation proposed (see section 1.2) between the presence of a clitic and overt movement; and iii) a condition on the qualitative differences between traces of covert movement and traces of overt movement, condition that gains independent support by the analysis of sentences (2a) and (2b) in section 3.

2.1. Traces

If we use tripartite logical representations of the Kamp/Heim type, the difference in the interpretation of (1a) and (1b) can be captured by positing that the variable associated with the indefinite is introduced in the Restrictive Clause in the case of (1a) but that it may be introduced either in the Restrictive Clause or in the Nuclear Scope in the case of (1b). According to the MH, the mapping onto logical representations is sensitive to LF structure. If we assume the MH as the source of explanation for the contrast between (1a) and (1b), then the mapping must be different for (1a) and (1b). Consequently, there must be something in the LF structure of (1a) that is different from the LF structure of (1b). This difference must be a consequence of the fact that raising of the object NP is overt and total in (1a) and covert and partial in (1b), since that is the only difference in the derivation

between these two sentences. It must be this difference that explains the different mapping possibilities.

We can now provide an informal characterization of the phenomenon under consideration. It seems that the NP raised covertly at LF can behave for the purposes of interpretation (mapping onto logical representation) as if it was still in an unraised position. The NP raised overtly, on the other hand, does not allow for this possibility. Now the task is to formally characterize this difference between overt NP raising and covert NP raising. Most importantly, we will attempt to account for the fact that the trace of overt movement in (1a) seems to be invisible at LF for the construction of the Nuclear Scope.

Our most immediate concern is then to determine what it is that makes launching sites in LF be fully operational for the mapping of sentences. The solution to this question does not involve any supplementary complex device and, actually, it has already been sketched out in sections 1.1 and 1.2. Remember that we assumed Chomsky's [8] claim that only features move at LF, and that the relevant trace retains its lexical content. Let us propose the following (preliminary) constraint on the mapping from LF:

> *Constraint 1*: Only traces that retain their lexical content can participate in the construction of logical representations.

Then it would follow that the object raised at LF occupies two positions for mapping purposes: one outside the VP (the features raised to [Spec, AGR_{DO}]) and one inside the VP (the featureless but contentful object). This explains the two possible interpretations of the indefinite object. Under one interpretation, it constructs a Restrictive Clause, under the other, it introduces a variable within the Nuclear Scope that is bound by Existential Closure. On the other hand, the empty trace left behind by overt movement, being devoid of lexical content, cannot serve as input for the mapping onto logical representations. Consequently, only the moved constituent (the object raised to [Spec, AGR_{DO}]) can participate in the mapping from LF to tripartite logical representations and only one (presuppositional) reading is obtained. As we mentioned above, the intuition behind this analysis is that traces left by covert movement have more "weight" for interpretation principles, or are "more closely linked" to the moved NP, than traces left by overt movement.

Yet this account as it is here turns out to be too powerful and untenable due to empirical reasons. Reconstruction effects (see Chomsky [4]) show

that there are some instances in which the trace left by overt movement participates in the syntactic mapping onto logical representations. Thus, along the lines of May [38] and much related work, apparent puzzling cases of scope ambiguities, NPI licensing, and even anaphoric binding can be easily explained by reconstructing, at LF, the moved element to its original position. Consequently, we need to revise the proposed constraint on mapping and make it weaker:

> *Constraint 1 (revised)*: Only traces that retain their lexical content can participate in the construction of logical representations. Traces that do not retain their lexical content can participate only via syntactic reconstruction.

Now, if we assume this constraint, we need to explain why reconstruction cannot occur in sentences such as (1a). We discuss this problem in the next section.

2.2. Antireconstruction Effects

The analysis proposed above forces us to deal with unexpected antireconstruction effects. Notice that plain scope facts show that the canonical position or launching site of the clitic-doubled object does not count for LF scope interactions. Suñer [47] noted that clitic-doubled direct objects always get wide-scope readings, whilst those direct objects that are not clitic-doubled yield ambiguous readings between both the narrow scope and the wide scope interpretation. This is illustrated in (12ab) ((11) and (13) in [47]):

(12) a. Todos los electores los$_i$ eligieron a algunos de los candidatos$_i$.
Every voter ACC-CL3pl elected-3pl some of the candidates
'Every voter elected some of the candidates'

b. Todos los electores eligieron a algunos de los candidatos.
Every voter elected-3pl some of the candidates
'Every voter elected some of the candidates.'

The crucial point here is that only the clitic doubling structure in (12a) yields an unambiguous sentence in which the direct object takes wide scope over the subject, which means that every voter chose the same set of candidates.

In contrast, the sentence in (12b) has an additional reading to that of (12a), that is, in the absence of clitic doubling, the quantified object receives narrow scope from the subject, which allows the possibility that every voter did not choose the same set of candidates.

Relevantly, the same scope effects as those illustrated in (12) are replicated by the data of clitic-doubled indefinites we are analyzing in this investigation. In this way, the clitic doubled indefinite has wide scope over the quantified subject, this being the only interpretation possible in (13a):

(13) a. Todos los técnicos le$_i$ eligieron a un jugador$_i$ (para la selección vasca).
Every coach ACC-CL3sg chose-3Pl. a player for the Basque National team.
'Every coach chose a player (for the Basque National team).'

The wide scope interpretation of (13a) can be translated as all the coaches coincided in their choice of one player, for instance, Julen Guerrero, for the draft for the Basque National team. Again, the narrow scope interpretation only becomes available if the direct object is not clitic doubled, as exemplified in (13b):

(13) b. Todos los técnicos eligieron a un jugador (para la selección vasca).
Every coach chose-3Pl. a player (for the Basque National team).
'Every coach chose a player (for the Basque National team).'

Under the extra narrow scope reading, one can also understand (13b) as meaning that every coach had the opportunity to pick their favorite player for the team, which may or may not be different in each case.

The contrast between (12a) and (12b) has been addressed and explained in Suñer [47] as the result of a specifity condition on clitic doubled direct objects. That is to say, according to Suñer, only specific direct objects can be clitic-doubled and specificity requires wide scope interpretation. Although this seems to be an accurate description of the phenomenon, we believe, as before, that it would be desirable to make these facts follow from independent principles.[9] In fact, we can regard these data as an illustration of the same phenomenon that we have in (1a) and (1b): the narrow scope reading absent in (12a) and (13a) would be the non-presuppositional reading

[9] There are other reasons that would advise not to follow this line of thought: first, as has been claimed in Dobrovie-Sorin [13] and Mahajan [37], specificity is not a language primitive; second, this condition still fails to explain why the trace of the clitic-doubled DO is unable to interact with other quantifiers for scope relations; and third, Ioup [24] has shown that the semantics of specificity is independent of the relative scope interpetation of an indefinite NP.

of the indefinite.[10] Consequently, (1a), (12a) and (13a) can be regarded as instances of the same phenomenon, a phenomenon which is similar to the blocking of scope reconstruction discussed, for instance, in Rizzi [40].

Usual cases of antireconstruction involve the presence of an intervening element between the moved phrase and the launching site. Thus, in the sentences in (14) (examples (54acd) in Rizzi [40:99]) below, reconstruction of the *wh*-phrase is blocked:

(14) a. Tell me what you don't think that everyone should give to Bill.
b. ?Tell me what you wonder why everyone gave to Bill.
c. ??Tell me what you heard rumors that everyone wanted to give to Bill.

In these three examples, the narrow scope interpretation in which different people should give or gave different presents to Bill is excluded. In (14a) negation intervenes between the wh-operator and the variable, in (14b) the wh-word *why* intervenes between the wh-element and its variable, and in (14c) the complex NP constitutes a barrier. If we assumed along the lines of Rizzi [40:99] that 'scope reconstruction is limited to those cases in which the operator is chain-connected to its variable,' no reconstruction of *what* into the embedded clause should be allowed in (14). Thus, we obtained the desired results: the only possible reading is one in which the *wh*-operator has wide scope over the universally quantified phrase.[11]

At this stage, it may be very tempting to establish a parallelism between the blocking effects of negation with respect to reconstruction in (14a), and the role of the clitic in the sentences under study. However, this proposal would face a new puzzle in the case of clitic-doubling constructions, namely, that the hypothetical intervening blocking element, the clitic, is coindexed

[10] Diesing [12] discusses a third possible reading in this type of sentences. Under this third reading, the indefinite is presuppositional and still the universal quantifier has wide scope. We leave aside the issue of whether this third reading is present in these sentences. What is clear, however, is that the non-presuppositional reading is absent.

[11] Reconstruction phenomena might seem to pose a problem for Diesing's Mapping Hypothesis. If it is true that material in the restrictive clause must appear outside the VP at LF, then the binding facts in the sentence 'who said he liked how many pictures that John took' constitute a problem, since 'many pictures that John took' are up in the structure and this configuration wrongly allows 'John' and 'he' to corefer. Under minimalist assumptions, incidentally, nothing forces us to add any ad-hoc device since operator movement, unlike A-movement, leaves the formal features of its trace intact and, therefore, these features are subject to binding theory. Another route to follow, also in the light of this framework, is that only the *wh*-feature moves in the covert operation, leaving 'pictures of John' in situ, Both hypotheses somehow complement one another, perhaps each corresponding to overt and covert movement, and actually offer the possibility to formally account for typical reconstruction facts.

with the unreconstructed trace. This approach does not seem to be on the right track since we would have to stipulate that agreeing heads break the downward chain connections of the XP sitting in their specifiers.

In any event, from the distribution of the data, one can safely conclude that the presence of the clitic is primarily responsible for the wide scope readings in (12a) and (13a) and the presuppositional interpretation of the objects in (1a). Bearing this in mind and after having explored a number of unsatisfactory solutions, we may approach the problem from a different angle. The crucial question we can ask ourselves here is in which way(s) the DO clitic affects the traces of the agreeing doubled NP. Interestingly, much of the generative research focused on Spanish clitic doubling such as Jaeggli [26], Franco [18] [19], and Suñer [47] have attributed to DO clitics the ability to endow coindexed variables with pronominal features. This allows these authors to account for a number of challenging clitic-doubling phenomena, for instance, apparent *wh*-islands violations, ill-formedness of clitic doubled *wh*-words, or the destruction of parasitic gap environments by the presence of the clitic, to mention some.[12]

Given the illuminating import that the analyses above have had, our next step is to exploit their main insight, and attempt to derive the consequent representations to finally check whether they can accomodate the distribution of the data we have seen so far.

With respect to the impossibility to have an active object trace/variable inside the VP in (1a), we only need to state that any derivational variable inside the VP that is coreferential with a strong clitic that c-commands it would acquire a pronominal/referential status by the time it reaches LF.

[12] To illustrate the phenomena and the analysis, let us take a look at some of the most representative sentences below:

(i) ¿A quién$_i$ (*lo$_i$) viste e_i?
To whom ACC-CL3sg saw-2sg
'Who did you see?'

(ii) ¿A cuál de tus profesores$_i$ (*lo$_i$) trajiste e_i sin invitar e_i?
Which of your teachers ACC-CL3sg brought-2sg without invite
'Which of your teachers did you bring without inviting?'

(iii) ¿A quién$_i$ no sabes dónde *(lo$_i$) tienes que recoger t_i e_i?
To whom not know where ACC-CL3sg have-2sg to pick up
*?'Who don't you know where you have to pick up?'

In rough, in the clitic-doubled wh-word construction in (i) and in the parasitic gap structure in (ii), the overt clitic identifies e_i as a pronominal, therefore, this empty pronominal incurs blunt binding violations. Conversely in (iii), the presence of the clitic saves the sentence by giving a pronominal status to the illicit ungoverned trace left in the wh-island.

Cinque [11] and Rizzi [40] argue that scope reconstruction cannot take place when the trace is referential. Thus, we have a principled account of the absence of scope reconstruction in clitic doubled constructions.

As elegant as this proposal may be, it might still be desirable to leave the present Pro Identification of Traces Hypothesis for wh- and operator movement in clitic doubling constructions, and in contrast, group the data in (1a) under complementary accounts of overt A-movement of clitic-doubled objects that keep the spirit of the typological split of traces. This line of thought is pursued in section 3.2.

For the sake of abstraction and to summarize our analysis in one sentence, here we have specifically argued for the vulnerabilty of traces that result from overt movement to a change of status within the set of empty categories, and the binding implications of this potential change. In the next section we consider data that can be regarded as illustrating the same basic insight and, as such, could be considered as independent evidence for the analysis proposed in this section. The data under scrutiny refer back to sentences (2a) and (2b) above.

3. SMALL CLAUSES

We have seen that when we have overt agreement morphology in Spanish, a small clause reading of the complement is strongly favored. Contrastively, when there is no overt agreement morpheme, the complement may also be interpreted as an NP with a restrictive adjective. We will call these two readings the SC (Small Clause) reading and the restrictive reading respectively. We want to claim that the asymmetry illustrated in (2a-b) is also the result of the different types of traces left behind by overt and covert movement of an NP to [Spec, AGR_{DO}] for feature checking. However, before providing an analysis, we will examine the data in more detail and slightly rephrase the problem.

3.1. Small Clauses and Stage and Individual-level Predicates

Notice, first, that the SC reading of the complement is not possible when the relevant adjective is individual-level. In this case, the complement is always interpreted as an NP with a restrictive adjective, regardless of whether there is a clitic or not. This is illustrated in (15)-(18).

(15) * Vi a Pedro irlandés.
'I saw Peter Irish.'

(16) Vi a Pedro enfermo.
'I saw Peter sick.'

(17) Les$_i$ pillé a los marineros irlandeses$_i$.
ACC-CL3pl caught-1sg sailors Irish
'I caught the Irish sailors.'

(18) Pillé a los marineros irlandeses.
caught-1sg sailors Irish
'I caught the Irish sailors.'

The data in (15) and (16) show that the SC reading is only possible with stage-level adjectives. The data in (17) and (18) show that it is not the case that a clitic disallows a restrictive reading of the complement, since the restrictive reading is the only possible reading of (17).

Not only are SC readings possible only with stage-level predicates, but a stage-level predicate seems to favor the SC reading over the restrictive reading (in those cases where the subcategorization frame of the verb allows for a SC):

(19) Vi a los estudiantes borrachos.
saw-1sg the students drunk
'I saw the students drunk.' (or 'I saw the drunk students.')

(20) Les$_i$ vi a los estudiantes$_i$ borrachos.
ACC-CL3sg saw-1sg the students drunk
'I saw the students drunk.'

The complement of both (19) and (20) is more naturally interpreted as a SC. This preferred predicative reading in (19) and (20) should be in principle derived from a default small clause representation that consists of ARG_{NP}+ADJ. This parsing is not hard to obtain if we standardly assume within the framework of the Minimalist Program that stage level adjectives project an AGR_A phrase whose head contains [-interpretable] ϕ-features and strong features that need to be checked before LF. These features would force the movement of the argument and the adjective to Spec of AGR_A

Phrase and to AGR_A respectively. It is precisely this structural configuration that yields the more welcome predicative reading of the verbal complement. However, the restrictive interpretation is available as an alternative for (19), but seems much harder to obtain in (20).[13] We can now rephrase the original problem in the light of these data. What needs to be explained is why the restrictive reading of a complement with a stage-level adjective is more difficult to obtain when there is overt object agreement morphology in the verb. We want to argue that this is also a consequence of the overt movement of an NP constituent to the [Spec, AGR_{DO}] position when there is agreement morphology, and that the trace left by such a movement is contentless at LF.

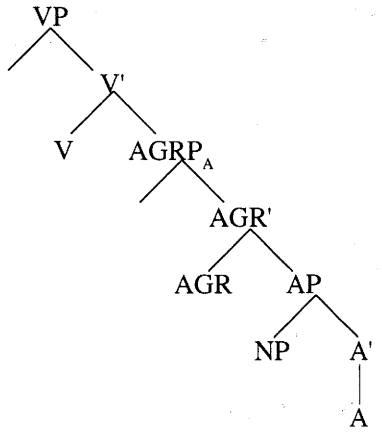
At this point a clarification of the constitution of traces is at issue. By contentless trace we mean a trace whose formal features —that is, Case, ϕ-features and its categorial feature— have been deleted in accord with the minimalist assumptions on argument traces put forth in Chomsky [8:301]. Moreover, within this framework we would like to point out a natural further differentiation between traces that result from overt movement and those of covert movement. Even though overt movement is triggered by one or a subset of features, it involves pied-piping of the whole constituent for convergence at PF, leaving a copy/trace. In this regard, Chomsky [8:303] claims that 'in A-movement the formal features of the trace are deleted and erased', thus, they become invisible at LF. However, under covert movement, there is no pied piping of the constituent; in fact, in principle, only those non-interpretable features that need to be checked off for convergence move, leaving the rest in situ. This means that the interpretable formal features of the XP constituent, that is, ϕ-features of DPs and categorial features, and possibly other semantic features, occupy the canonical position at LF, unless it is required by a target otherwise. Therefore, we conclude that under overt movement interpretable formal features are pied-piped and visible in a higher up position at LF, leaving a bare trace, whereas under covert operations, interpretable formal features can remain in situ at LF. This asymmetry would be responsible for the facts mentioned above and can be easily extended back to (1a). In this way, the absence of scope reconstruction of the object, that is, the lack of a non-presuppositional reading in (1a), is derived from the erasure of interpretable formal features on the trace left by the overt movement of the clitic-doubled object.

[13] We find some variations in native speakers' judgments on the possibility of a restrictive reading of (20): for some speakers it is easier to obtain than for others. However, even for those speakers that consider (20) acceptable under a restrictive reading, this reading is more naturally obtained in (19) than in (20). Thus, the relevant contrast still remains across speakers.

3.2. A Minimalist Approach to the Syntax of Small Clauses and Restrictive Interpretations

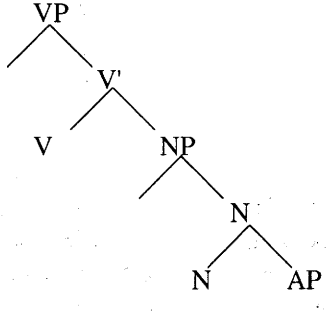
Given the intuitions regarding sentences such as (15) and (16), we can assume that the default parsing of the sequence [V + N + stage-level A], where V subcategorizes for a SC ($AGRP_A$ following Chomsky [7]), is as in (21), regardless of whether there is a clitic or not:

(21)



In (21), the complement of the verb is a Small Clause and the adjective the head of an AP whose Spec position is occupied by an NP. However, as the data considered above show, there must exist the option of reanalyzing (21) as in (22), if the context strongly favors a restrictive interpretation of the complement.

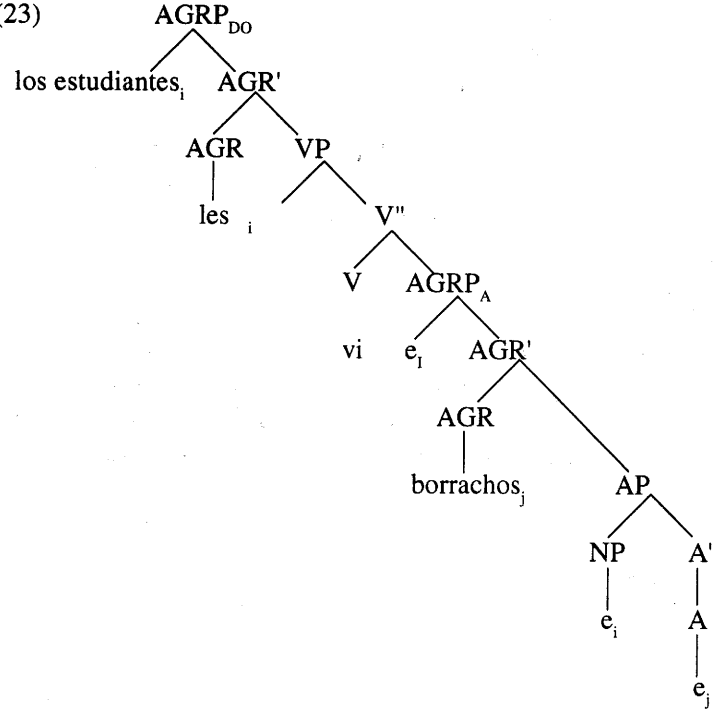
(22)



In (22), the complement of the verb is an NP whose head has an AP complement that restricts the denotation of the noun. We have seen that it is really more difficult to reanalyze (21) as (22) when an object agreement marker is present. We need to account for this difference in the possibilities of reanalysis. Since the only difference in the derivation between (2a) and (2b) is that in one case raising of the object NP is covert whereas in the other it is overt, it would be natural to think that this difference in movement motivates the difference regarding the possibilities of reanalysis.

Let us examine the relevant sentences in more detail. Consider the representation of sentence (20) in its default (SC) reading, illustrated in (23):[14]

(23)



In (23), the NP *los estudiantes* moves first to the Spec of $AGRP_A$ and then to the Spec of $AGRP_{DO}$. The presence of the clitic in (20) indicates that such a movement must have occurred in the overt syntax. Given our assumptions in the previous section, the trace left behind by this overt movement must

[14] Some irrelevant details are omitted from the representation.

then be a mere position holder empty of any lexical content, or more specifically, depleted of formal features. On the other hand, the trace in the structure corresponding to (19) retains the interpretable features of the object NP since by assumption, LF raising only involves movement of those features that need to be checked for convergence. Now, consider what must happen for (19) or (20) to have a restrictive reading reinterpretation: the phrasal complement of V must be reanalyzed as an NP, with the N *estudiantes* as its head. For such a restructuring to take place, the NP *los estudiantes* must be analyzed as part of the same phrasal constituent that is the complement of V and contains the adjective *borrachos*. Once the raising has been overt, as in (20), this reanalysis is more difficult to achieve than when it has been covert, as in (19). As before, we can first characterize the phenomenon in rough lines. The launching site of covert movement enables an easy reinterpretation of the NP and the adjective as being part of the same phrasal constituent, whereas the trace left by overt movement makes such a reinterpretation difficult. That is to say, in (19), reanalysis of the adjective with the NP object is feasible since at LF, only the Case and ϕ-features of the object have been raised to Spec of AGR_{DO}, or adjoined to AGR_{DO} for that matter, and the canonical object position retains, informally speaking, all the lexical material of the DO. Conversely, this adjective in (20) finds it difficult to reanalyze with an empty category, that is, the featurewise contentless trace left by the overt movement of the NP students to Spec of $AGRP_{DO}$.[15]

At this stage of the argumentation, taking advantage of some additional minimalist assumptions together with those outlined at the end of section 3.1, we are ready to implement a formal analysis upon the account of the phenomenon discussed so far. First, let us see how we can disregard the restrictive reading in the phrase marker in (23). We would like to propose that the restrictive adjectival interpretation hinges on the possibility of having a restructuring reading given by a categorial feature of the adjective *borrachos* 'drunk' adjoining to the N *estudiantes* 'students' at LF. In this scenario, the overt movement of the NP 'the students' leaving a trace eliminates this option, hence the restrictive reading is ousted in (23). The

[15] We are indebted to Luigi Rizzi for the clarification of this insight. Relevantly, this proposal does not enter in contradiction with our analysis in subsection 2.2. Even though the clitic would eventually identify the trace of the moved object as a quasi-pronominal, reanalysis does not occur with *pros* either. Thus, in the simple cases of null pronominal objects for which it is standardly assumed that the clitic licenses a *pro* (cf. Jaeggli [25] [26]), as illustrared in (i), the predicative interpretation is the only one available:

(i) Les$_i$ vi pro$_i$ borrachos.
ACC-CL3sg saw-1sg drunk
'I saw them drunk'

foundations of this conclusion lie in Chomsky's [8] work by which it is not only that formal features of traces of A-movement get deleted, but also that these traces cannot attract other features. In this way, nothing would be able to adjoin to the trace of overt NP movement.

Relevantly, the double reading in (19) comes out straightforwardly. The restrictive reading is available since the lexical material of the NP stays put and moreover, the interpretable features of the NP are visible in situ. Nonetheless, the small clause reading is preferred on economy conditions because the restrictive interpretation involves an extra operation, that is, the pertinent adjective feature has to adjoin to the noun at LF, therefore, the derivation is more costly.

It is worth noting that Spanish allows a word order alternative to the one exhibited by the sentence in (19), as shown in (24):

(24) Vi borrachos$_i$ a los estudiantes$_i$.
saw-1sg drunk the students
'I saw the students drunk'

In this case, it is the adjective *borrachos* 'drunk' that undergoes overt movement and adjoins to the verb,[17] which is highly reminiscent of the head to head movement in Romance causative constructions. Crucially, (24) is unambiguously interpreted with the small clause reading. Once again our insight seems to be on the right track. A'-movement aside, traces of overt movement fail to participate in subsequent operations of the computational-interpretative system at the logical component, whence, the overt movement of the adjective excludes a secondary restrictive reading. Let us see how our analysis would formally handle the data in (24). The adjective undergoes successive-cyclic raising, thus, it checks off its f-features in AGR_A and subsequently targets V. At any rate, the adjective on its way up pied-pipes all the remnant formal features and lexical material from AGR_A for PF convergence, leaving a formally emptied trace. Consequently, the restructuring reading responsible for the restrictive interpretation will never be obtained since nothing from the adjective trace – this being invisible at LF – can merge into the noun.[17]

[16] It might well be the case that this movement takes place covertly in languages like English.
[17] Even if there was some residual semantic feature on the trace, that would have no effect within the present framework, especially, if we adopt the idea that traces are frozen in situ ('immobile') and 'that traces of A-movement are inaccessible to Attract/Move' Chomsky [8:365].

To conclude and summarize this section on small clauses and clitic doubling, we could say that once again, we have been dealing with the same basic insight: the trace left by overt movement seems to hold a "weaker link" with the original NP than the trace of covert movement. The analysis proposed in section 2 for sentences (1a) and (1b) would provide us with a natural way of formalizing this insight. We saw that contentful LF traces allow that the NP be regarded as being in an unraised position for interpretation purposes. The data in (19) and (20) show that the same can be stated regarding reanalysis. Now the claim can be made slightly more general: there are certain constructions under which featureless traces are unable to make the source site of a moved NP syntactically visible for interpretation/reinterpretation purposes at LF.

4. SOME CROSS-LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

We have argued that overt syntactic movement to [Spec, AGR_{DO}] is motivated by overt agreement morphology in Spanish, and this movement has consequences for the interpretation of objects. In fact, there seems to be a cross-linguistic generalization regarding the effect of overt morphology in the interpretation of objects. Enç [14] mentions data from Turkish (also mentioned in Diesing [12]). In Turkish an indefinite direct object may appear with overt case morphology or not. However, if it has overt morphology, it must be interpreted as a presuppositional indefinite, as (1a) in Spanish. This is shown in (25) and (26) below (taken from [14], ex. 17 and 18):

(25) Iki kiz - i taniyordum.
two girl-ACC I-knew
'I knew two girls.'

(26) Iki kiz taniyordum.
two girl I-knew
'I knew two girls.'

The difference between (25) and (26) is that in (25) the phrase 'two girls' presupposes a set of individuals that must have been introduced earlier in discourse, whereas (26) does not. Thus, (25) may be paraphrased with a partitive. As Diesing points out, this can be taken as evidence that the indefinite in (25) is interpreted as presuppositional.

Somewhat similar data are presented by Bresnan and Mchombo [3] in their discussion of object marking in Chichewa. In Chichewa, a bare noun may be interpreted as definite or indefinite, depending on the context, since there is no morpheme that indicates (in)definiteness. Thus, a sentence like (27) is ambiguous.[18]

(27) Mw-a-bwerets-a bûku?
you-perf-bring-indic book
'Have you brought the book?' or 'Have you brought a book?'

However, it is generally the case that the presence of an object marker on the verb favors a definite interpretation of the object. Overt object agreement allows the object NP to be interpreted as indefinite, but only if the NP refers to a set of entities previously introduced in discourse, as in (28) (from [3:28], ex 44a-c).

(28) a. Katenje wa-ndí-úza kutí a-na-gúlá mabúkú
Katenje SM.perf-me-tell that he-rec.pst-buy books

ámbîri ndiyé nd-a-mú-úza kutí a-ti-bwérétsʲéré límôdzi.
many so I-perf-him-tell that he-us-bring one

'Katenje has told me that he brought a lot of books, so I have told him to bring us one.'

b. Chábwino, ndi-ká-mú-funsa. Katenje, mw-a-lí-bwéretsa bûku?
fine, I-go-him-ask Katenje, you-perf-OM-bring book
'OK, I'll go ask him. Katenje, have you brought us one, a book?'

The verb 'bring' in (28b) appears with an object marker, agreeing with the object 'book'. This object can be interpreted as indefinite, but it makes reference to a set of previously introduced entities, the books. Thus, it is interpreted as presuppositional.

On the basis of these limited data, a tentative generalization can be stated, restricted to those cases where overt object case/agreement morphology is optional with indefinite objects. Overt case/agreement morphology has a systematic effect on the interpretation of indefinite objects: it forces a presuppositional interpretation of the indefinite. This effect can be explained if we assume: i) Diesing's MH; ii) that overt morphology is the manifestation of overt movement to a Spec position; and, iii) that overt movement, as opposed to covert movement, leaves a vulnerable contentless trace that upon the activation of a functional head, namely, AGR_{DO}, cannot be used for interpretation purposes.

[18] perf=perfect, indic=indicative, SM=subject marker, OM=object marker

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we have offered an account of two seemingly unrelated effects that the presence of an object clitic has on the interpretation of objects in Spanish. First, it was noticed that the presence or absence of a clitic affects the interpretation of indefinite objects. Second, we pointed out that the presence/absence of a clitic affects whether the combination of a noun with a stage-level adjective is interpreted as a Small Clause or as a noun phrase that receives an intersective interpretation. We proposed an analysis that treated these two effects as the consequence of the overt movement of a noun phrase to the Spec(AGR_{DO}) position when a clitic was present. We also offer a working generalization, in those cases where case or agreement object morphology appears to be optional with indefinite objects, the presence of overt morphology will have a systematic and predictable effect on the interpretation of the object, which is the result of the overt syntactic movement of the NP to a position outside the VP. Such a movement targets [Spec, AGR_{DO}] thus activating the agreeing AGR_{DO} clitic head which precludes the object trace from participating in quantifying relations and, consequently, in the LF interpretation of the sentence.

This study also presents a deeper theoretical issue. We argue that there is a qualitative difference between overt and covert movement, and we claim that in order to accomodate this difference within the Minimalist Program, a consequent distinction must be made between launching sites of covert movement and launching sites of overt movement. We have proposed that such a distinction is manifested in the availability of the launching site of covert movement for the purposes of logical interpretation and syntactic reanalysis, whereas the trace of overt movement can be affected in the course of the derivation or is subject to become neutralized for either purpose. In fact, the fine grained distinction between A-traces of overt versus covert movement defended in this article is directy derived from the conceptual and technical implementation of both types of movements. On minimalist assumptions, overt movement is induced by the attraction of some formal feature that needs to be checked to a target in which this checking requirement can be satisfied. Crucially, this movement operation not only raises the

feature in question, but also the whole category containing this feature and the whole set of formal features. Covert movement, on the other hand, is bound to exclusive feature raising. In the former movement, the formal features of the trace left by the overt raising of an argument are deleted for economy conditions since there is no reason to have formal features occupying multiple positions. Notice in this regard, that the interpretable features pied-piped by the relevant feature are sufficient to form a legitimate object at LF, and satisfy full interpretation (FI) on the raised position. This is indeed the particular architecture of the system that motivates our claim that the launching site or trace of overt movement is inert for interpretation purposes. Contrastively, covert movement is somehow a more selective operation since it strictly involves those features that have to be checked for LF convergence. Specifically, categorial and ϕ-features of NP, that is, interpretable features need not be checked since they are always visible at LF in any case (cf. Chomsky [8:section 4.5.2] on checking theory). Thus, two conclusions can be drawn from this revision of checking theory: (i) Interpretable features are carried along under overt A-movement yielding an invisible trace at LF; and (ii) after Spell Out, interpretable features get checked only as free riders or to satisfy a non-interpretable feature of the target, otherwise, they remain in the base position making the trace or launching site of covert movement fully active for interpretation purposes, as we have attempted to show in this investigation.

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