

# INFORMATION-BASED “ISLAND EFFECTS” IN SPANISH CLAUSAL DOUBLING

Carlos Muñoz Pérez<sup>①</sup>    Matías Verdecchia<sup>②</sup>

Universidad Austral de Chile<sup>①</sup>  
IIF/SADAF/CONICET & Universidad de Buenos Aires<sup>②</sup>

*GLOW 45*  
Queen Mary University of London, April 26–29 2022

# THE PHENOMENON

Spanish exhibits a syntactic construction involving the repetition of a whole sentence in the left periphery. We dub it *clausal doubling*.

- (1) Que Eliana trabajó, Eliana trabajó.  
that Eliana worked.3SG Eliana worked.3SG  
'As for Eliana working, Eliana DID work.'
- (2) Que leyó el libro, leyó el libro.  
that read.3SG the book read.3SG the book  
'As for her reading the book, she DID read the book.'

For ease of presentation, we (pre-theoretically) refer to the left and the right duplicates as **CLAUSE 1** and **CLAUSE 2**, respectively.

- (3) Que Eliana trabajó, Eliana trabajó cf. (1)  
          CLAUSE 1                      CLAUSE 2

# THE PHENOMENON

The verbs within CLAUSE 1 and CLAUSE 2 must be *identical* for the pattern to be grammatical.

The *lexical-identity* requirement holds for verbs that are close in meaning.

- (4) \* Que Juan viajó a Lima, voló a Lima.  
that Juan traveled.3SG to Lima flew.3SG to Lima  
'As for Juan traveling to Lima, he DID fly to Lima.'

But also also applies to verbs that arguably have identical denotations.

- (5) \* Que Juan se enojó, se enfadó.  
that Juan SE got.mad.3SG SE got.mad.3SG  
'As for Juan getting mad<sub>1</sub>, he DID get mad<sub>2</sub>'

# THE PHENOMENON

CLAUSE 1 and CLAUSE 2 do not need to be adjacent to each other.

*Clausal doubling* can occur *long-distance*, i.e., the construction is acceptable if CLAUSE 2 functions as a complement clause.

- (6) Que trabajó, supongo [ que trabajó].  
that worked.3SG guess.1SG that worked.3SG  
'As for her working, I guess that she DID work.'
- (7) Que leyó el libro, sé [ que lo leyó].  
that read.3SG the book know.1SG that it read.3SG  
'As for reading the book, I know that she DID read it.'

# THE PHENOMENON

However, *clausal doubling* seems to be *island-sensitive*: the construction is ungrammatical if CLAUSE 2 is located within a syntactic island.

Sentence (8) exemplifies this with an *adjunct island*.

- (8) \* Que leyó el libro, vine [ después de que lo leyó ].  
that read.3SG the book came.1SG after of that it read.3SG  
'As for her reading the book, I came after she DID read it.'

In (9), CLAUSE 2 appears within a *relative island*.

- (9) \* Que compró el libro, vi a la mujer [ que lo  
that bought.3SG the book saw.1SG DOM the woman that it  
compró ].  
bought.3SG  
'As for buying the book, I saw the woman who DID buy it.'

# THE PHENOMENON

Sentence (10) offers an example in which CLAUSE 2 is within a *subject island*.

- (10) \* Que vino, [ que hayas dicho que vino] me sorprendió.  
that came.3SG that had.2SG said that came.3SG me surprised.3SG  
'As for her coming, that you had said that she came surprised me.'

In (11), CLAUSE 2 is itself a preverbal subject. Interestingly, the sentence is unacceptable even when there seems to be no sub-extraction in this case.

- (11) \* Que leyó el libro, [ que lo leyó] es obvio.  
that read.3SG the book that it read.3SG is.3SG obvio  
'As for her reading the book, that she read it is obvious.'

# A POTENTIAL ANALYSIS

Properties like these have led to analyze other doubling constructions as involving *movement* + *multiple copy pronunciation*. Among others:

- ✓ Russian predicate clefts (Abels 2001)
- ✓ Hebrew vP-fronting (Landau 2006)
- ✓ Spanish predicate doubling (Vicente 2007, 2009)

In principle, we could try to extend this approach to *clausal doubling*.

Thus, for instance, the sentence in (12) could be said to contain a movement chain  $C = \{\text{CLAUSE 1}, \text{CLAUSE 2}\}$  with two overt members.

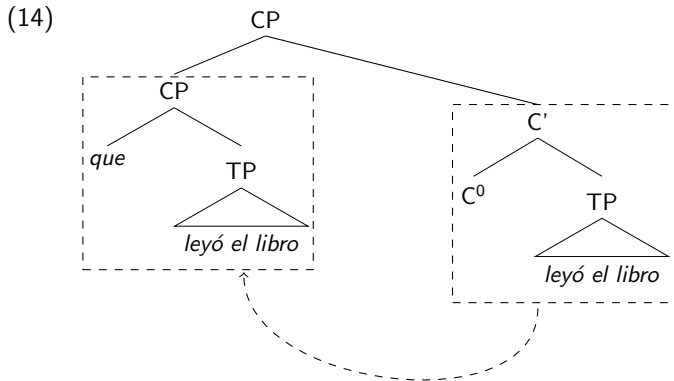
- (12) Qué leyó el libro, leyó el libro.  
that read.3SG the book read.3SG the book  
'For her reading the book, she DID read the book.'

- (13) Que leyó el libro, leyó el libro.  
          CLAUSE 1           CLAUSE 2

cf. (12)

# A POTENTIAL ANALYSIS

The first problem for this approach is that the relevant movement would have to be *extremely local*, since CLAUSE 1 seemingly includes the declarative C<sup>0</sup> *que*.



The movement depicted in (14) is not formulable within the *Agree* system (Chomsky 2000, 2001), i.e., there is no attracting head.



# A POTENTIAL ANALYSIS

One could argue that the instance of *que* heading CLAUSE 1 is perhaps the spell-out of a lower head in a “Rizzian” (1997) *left-periphery*.

Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2009) propose that Spanish exhibits two types of *que*, which realize Force<sup>0</sup> and Fin<sup>0</sup>, respectively.

(15) [ForceP *que*<sub>1</sub> [TopP ... [FocP ... [FinP *que*<sub>2</sub> [TP ...

There is evidence that CLAUSE 1 is headed by *que*<sub>1</sub>: CLAUSE 1 can host topics, which are typically assumed to occupy positions above Fin<sup>0</sup>.

In (16), both CLAUSE 1 and CLAUSE 2 exhibit CLLD. This suggests that *que* spells-out Force<sup>0</sup>, and therefore that CLAUSE 1 is a ForceP, i.e., a full CP.

(16) *Que* el libro lo leyó, el libro lo leyó.  
that the book it read.3SG the book it read.3SG  
'As for her reading the book, she DID read it.'

# A POTENTIAL ANALYSIS

Another argument against a movement analysis of *clausal doubling* comes from the fact that CLAUSE 1 and CLAUSE 2 do not behave like copies.

Nominals within both clauses are not required to be *identical*: the DPs in CLAUSE 1 can be doubled by anaphoric elements within CLAUSE 2.

- (17) Que Eliana<sub>i</sub> leyó el libro<sub>j</sub>, *pro*<sub>i</sub> lo<sub>j</sub> leyó.  
that Eliana read.3SG the book it read.3SG  
'As for reading the book, she DID read it.'
- (18) Que habló con Juan<sub>i</sub>, habló con él<sub>i</sub>.  
that talked.3SG with Juan talked.3SG with he  
'As for talking to Juan, she DID talk to him.'
- (19) Que habló con Juan<sub>i</sub>, habló con ese idiota<sub>i</sub>.  
that talked.3SG with Juan talked.3SG with that idiot  
'As for talking to Juan, she DID talk to that idiot.'

# A POTENTIAL ANALYSIS

Finally, *clausal doubling* can obviate *complex NP islands*. This undermines the hypothesis that CLAUSE 1 and CLAUSE 2 are copies generated through movement.

- (20) Que compró el auto, escuché el rumor de que lo compró.  
that bought.3SG the car heard.1SG the rumor of that it bought.3SG  
'As for her buying the car, I heard the rumor that she/he DID buy it.'

True A'-extraction from *complex NPs* in Spanish leads to deviant results, e.g., in cases of wh-movement.

- (21) \*¿Qué escuchaste el rumor de que compré?  
what heard.2SG the rumor of that bought.1SG  
'What did you hear the rumor that I bought?'

# OUR PROPOSAL

In Muñoz Pérez & Verdecchia (2022), we have rejected the hypothesis that Spanish *predicate doubling* involves *movement* + *multiple copy pronunciation*.

- (22)      Comprar, compré            un libro.  
          to.buy    bought.1SG a    book  
          ‘As for buying, I bought a book.’
- (23)    \* Comprar, Eliana fue            al            cine            después de comprar un libro.  
          to.buy    Eliana went.3SG to.the cinema after    of to.buy    a    book  
          ‘As for buying, Eliana went to the cinema after buying a book.’

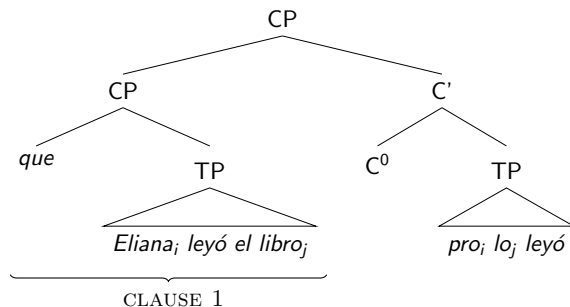
Instead, we defended an approach in the following lines:

- ✓ The occurrences of *comprar* in (22) are transformationally independent.
- ✓ Movement restrictions in *predicate doubling*, e.g., (23), are “illusory”; they follow from information structure (IS).
- ✓ Lexical identity between the verbs is explained in the same terms.

# OUR PROPOSAL

We contend that a similar line of analysis applies to *clausal doubling*. To begin with, we argue that CLAUSE 1 is a base-generated CP in matrix [Spec,CP].

(24)



As for island effects and lexical identity, we contend that they follow from the informational properties of *clausal doubling*.

➡ CLAUSE 1 is a *contrastive topic* in the sense of Büring (2003, 2016).

# CONTRASTIVE TOPICS

*Contrastive topics* introduce the reading that there are other topics (with their corresponding comments) that are relevant in context.

Consider the dialogue in (25).

- (25) A: What did you people eat?  
B: Well, [Fred]<sub>CT</sub> ate [the beans]<sub>F</sub>.

The answer (25B) suggests a continuation in which other people ate other stuff.

- ✓ *Mary ate the eggplant,*
- ✓ *George ate the tuna,*
- ✓ *Elaine ate the carrots, and so on...*

To capture this interpretation, we follow Büring (2003).

- ➡ Whereas *focus* relates a declarative sentence to a set of alternative propositions, i.e., the *f-value*,
- ➡ a *contrastive topic* relates a sentence to a set of alternative questions, i.e., the *CT-value*.

# CONTRASTIVE TOPICS

To retrieve the *CT-value*, Büring advances the following algorithm.

(26) CT-VALUE FORMATION (Büring 2003: 519)

- a. Replace the focus with a *wh*-word and front the latter; if focus marks the finite verb or negation, front the finite verb instead.
- b. Form a set of questions from the result of (39a) by replacing the contrastive topic with some alternative to it.

When applied to (25B), the subrule in (26a) yields its *immediate QUD* in (27), i.e., a question *Q* such that  $\llbracket Q \rrbracket \subseteq \llbracket (25B) \rrbracket$ .

(25B) [Fred]<sub>CT</sub> ate [the beans]<sub>F</sub>.

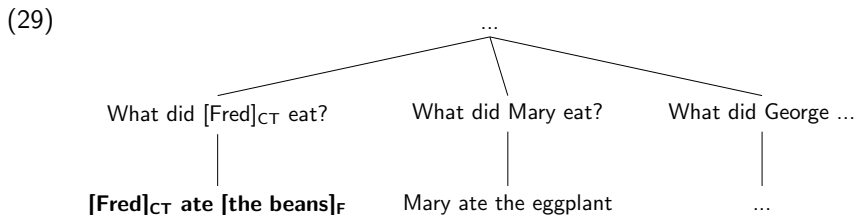
(27) What did [Fred]<sub>CT</sub> eat?

The subrule in (26b) retrieves the *CT-value* of (25B), i.e., a set of questions.

(28)  $\llbracket (25B) \rrbracket^{ct} = \{\text{What did Fred eat?}, \text{What did Mary eat?}, \text{What did George eat?}, \text{What did Elaine eat}, \dots\}$

# CONTRASTIVE TOPICS

This result can be summarized in a D(iscourse)-tree.



This representation shows that an utterance containing a *contrastive topic*:

- ➡ completely answers its *immediate QUD*,
- ➡ and also evokes a set of alternative questions that altogether address a “bigger” question, e.g., *who ate what?*

The need to address these alternative questions explains the “continuation effect” detected before.



# THE IS OF CLAUSAL DOUBLING

The *clausal doubling* construction triggers a similar “continuation effect”, which we argue stems from CLAUSE 1 being a *contrastive topic*.

For comparison, consider first how a sentence without *clausal doubling* is interpreted in the context of a question.

- (30) A: ¿Leyó el libro Juan?  
          read.3SG the book Juan  
          ‘Did Juan read the book?’  
      B: Lo leyó.  
          it read.3SG  
          ‘He read it.’

The reply in (30B) confirms that Juan did study, and settles the issue.

- ➡ The answer in (30B) fully answers the QUD.

# THE IS OF CLAUSAL DOUBLING

On the contrary, a sentence with *clausal doubling* suggests (and even requires) a continuation contrasting with the proposition expressed by CLAUSE 1.

(31) A: ¿Leyó el libro Juan?

read.3SG the book Juan

‘Did Juan read the book?’

B: Que Juan leyó el libro, lo leyó.

that Juan read.3SG the book it read.3SG

‘As for Juan reading the book, he DID read it.’

A: ¿Pero?

but

‘But?’

Potential follow-ups for (31B) go in the following lines.

- ✓ ... *but he didn't like it.*
- ✓ ... *but he misunderstood the plot.*
- ✓ ... *but he never wrote the report, and so on...*

This “continuation effect” reveals that there are alternative questions at play.

# THE IS OF CLAUSAL DOUBLING

In order to retrieve the *CT-value* of (31B) through *CT Value Formation*, we need to identify the *focus* of the sentence.

*Clausal doubling* does not admit *narrow focus* within CLAUSE 1 or CLAUSE 2.

- (32) a. \*Que leyó, leyó EL LIBRO (no la revista).  
that read.3SG read.3SG the book not the magazine  
'As for reading, she/he read THE BOOK (not the magazine).'
- b. \*Que estudié, estudié YO (no Pedro).  
that studied.1SG studied.1SG I not Pedro  
'As for studying, I studied (not Pedro).'
- (33) a. \*Que leyó EL LIBRO, lo leyó (no la revista).  
that read.3SG the book it read.3SG not the magazine  
'As for reading THE BOOK, she read it (not the magazine).'
- b. \*Que YO estudié, estudié (no Pedro).  
that I studied.1SG studied.1SG not Pedro  
'As for ME studying, I studied (not Pedro).'

# THE IS OF CLAUSAL DOUBLING

The construction only admits *focus* on elements above the propositional level.

*Clausal doubling* typically expresses *verum focus*, i.e., an emphasis in the positive polarity of a proposition. This fits the examples discussed so far.

- (34) A: María no leyó el libro  
María not read.3SG the book  
'María did not read the book.'
- B: Que leyó el libro, lo LEYÓ.  
that read.3SG the book it read.3SG  
'As for reading the book, she DID read it.'
- (35) A: ¿María realmente leyó el libro?  
María really read.3SG the book  
'Did María really read the book?'
- B: Que leyó el libro, lo LEYÓ.  
that read.3SG the book it read.3SG  
'As for reading the book, she DID read it.'

# THE IS OF CLAUSAL DOUBLING

*Modal elements* scoping over CLAUSE 2 can also be *focused*.

- (36) Que leyó el libro, SEGURO que lo leyó.  
that read.3SG the book sure that it read.3SG  
'As for her reading the book, she read it FOR SURE.'
- (37) Que leyó el libro, CAPAZ (que) lo leyó.  
that read.3SG the book able that it read.3SG  
'As for her reading the book, MAYBE she read it.'
- (38) Que leyó el libro, PROBABLEMENTE lo leyó.  
that read.3SG the book probably it read.3SG  
'As for her reading the book, PROBABLY she read it.'

In this presentation, we will focus on examples exhibiting *verum focus*. We take that a similar treatment applies for these cases.

# THE IS OF CLAUSAL DOUBLING

Let's go back to calculate the *CT-value* of (31B).

- (31B) Que Juan leyó el libro, lo leyó.  
that Juan read.3SG the book it read.3SG  
'As for Juan reading the book, he DID read it.'

To do so, we need to identify its (i) *contrastive topic* and (ii) *focus*.

- ✓ By hypothesis, CLAUSE 1 is a *contrastive topic*.
- ✓ We follow Goodhue (2018) and Samko (2016) in assuming that *verum focus* involves F-marking on a polarity head  $\Sigma^0$  (Laka 1990).

This leads to the following analysis.

- (39) [Que Juan leyó el libro]<sub>CT</sub>,  $\Sigma_F$  lo leyó.

If this is correct, the discourse structure for (31B) should be retrievable from applying *CT-Value Formation* to the constituents marked as F and CT.

# THE IS OF CLAUSAL DOUBLING

A technical problem arises when attempting to apply (26a) to *clausal doubling*.

(26) CT-VALUE FORMATION (Büring 2003: 519)

- a. Replace the focus with a *wh*-word and front the latter; if focus marks the finite verb or negation, front the finite verb instead.
- b. Form a set of questions from the result of (39a) by replacing the contrastive topic with some alternative to it.

These rules are quite schematic: they do not take into consideration *dislocated CTs* or languages that do not form polar questions through *T to C movement*.

In Muñoz Pérez & Verdecchia (2022) we proposed an addendum in the following lines.

- (40) If the CT-marked constituent is dislocated, replace with it its correlate within the main clause in order to form the QUD.

# THE IS OF CLAUSAL DOUBLING

Consider the English example in (41).

- (41) [As for John]<sub>CT</sub>, he did<sub>F</sub> eat the beans.

The process we assume to derive the *CT-Value* of (41) goes as follows.

- (42) a. *Original sentence with dislocation*  
[As for John]<sub>CT</sub>, he did<sub>F</sub> eat the beans
- b. *Sentence without dislocation*  
John<sub>CT</sub> did<sub>F</sub> eat the beans *by (40)*
- c. *Immediate QUD*  
Did John<sub>CT</sub> eat the beans? *by (26a)*
- d. *CT-Value*  
{Did John eat the beans?, Did Mary eat the beans?, Did George eat the beans?, Did Elaine eat the beans, ... } *by (26b)*



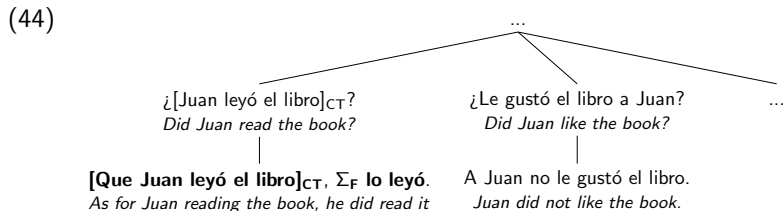
# THE IS OF CLAUSAL DOUBLING

The same type of process holds for *clausal doubling*.

- (43) a. *Original sentence with dislocation*  
[Que Juan leyó el libro]<sub>CT</sub>,  $\Sigma_F$  lo leyó.  
[As for Juan reading the book]<sub>CT</sub>,  $\Sigma_F$  he read it.
- b. *Sentence without dislocation*  
 $\Sigma_F$  [Juan leyó el libro]<sub>CT</sub>. by (40)  
 $\Sigma_F$  [Juan read the book]<sub>CT</sub>.
- c. *Immediate QUD*  
 $\text{¿[Juan leyó el libro]}_{CT}?$  by (26a)  
[Did Juan read the book]<sub>CT</sub>?
- d. *CT-Value*  
{ $\text{¿Juan leyó el libro?}, \text{¿Le gustó el libro a Juan?}, \text{¿Entendió el libro Juan?}, \text{¿Escribió el informe Juan?}, \dots$ } by (26b)  
{Did Juan read the book?, Did Juan like the book?, Did Juan understand the book?, Did Juan write the report?,...}

# THE IS OF CLAUSAL DOUBLING

Once again, the result can be schematized in a discourse tree.

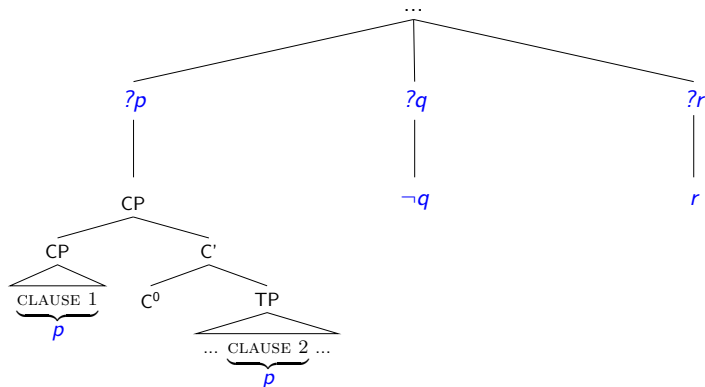


This successfully derives the “continuation effect” described before: the follow-ups to (31B) are answers to these alternative questions.

# THE IS OF CLAUSAL DOUBLING

In sum, *clausal doubling* (i) expresses a proposition  $p$  twice, (ii) answers an *immediate QUD* about  $p$ , and (iii) evokes questions about other propositions.

(45)



This discourse tree fits a *clausal doubling* sentence expressing *verum focus*. If a modal is focused, the questions are meant to be distinct, e.g., *how likely is  $p$ ?*

# CONGRUENCE

From this characterization, we can derive a core condition of good formation for Spanish *clausal doubling*.

By virtue of being a *contrastive topic*, CLAUSE 1 maintains a transparent relation with the *immediate QUD* of the whole sentence.

➡ If CLAUSE 1 expresses a proposition  $p$ , then the *immediate QUD* must be about  $p$ .

Under the analysis that CLAUSE 1 occupies matrix [Spec,CP], and the projection C' is the rest of the sentence, we can posit the congruence condition in (46).

## (46) CONGRUENCE CONDITION FOR CLAUSAL DOUBLING

Given a clausal doubling sentence, if CLAUSE 1 expresses a proposition  $p$ , there must be a question  $Q$  about  $p$  such that  $\llbracket Q \rrbracket \subseteq \llbracket C' \rrbracket^f$ .

In more general terms, this is to say that a dislocated *contrastive topic* must be *relevant* to the rest of its utterance.

# CONGRUENCE

To illustrate, consider once again the doubling sentence in (47).

- (47) Que Juan leyó el libro,  $\Sigma_F$  lo leyó.  
that Juan read.3SG the book it read.3SG  
'As for Juan reading the book, he DID read it.'

In this example, *CLAUSE* 1 expresses the proposition  $p = \text{Juan read the book}$ . A question about  $p$  is  $?p$ .

- (48)  $\llbracket ?p \rrbracket = \{\text{Juan read the book, Juan did not read the book}\}$

We also know the *f-value* of the rest of the sentence.

- (49)  $\llbracket C' \rrbracket^f = \llbracket \Sigma_F \text{ pro lo leyó} \rrbracket^f = \{\text{Juan read the book, Juan did not read the book}\}$

These objects comply with the congruence condition in (46).

- (50)  $\llbracket ?p \rrbracket \subseteq \llbracket C' \rrbracket^f$

A way of corroborating this result is by constructing a dialogue in which the proposed **QUD** is addressed by the non-dislocated material in the original sentence.

- (51) A: ¿Juan leyó el libro?  
          Juan read.3SG the book  
          'Did Juan read the book?'
- B: Lo leyó.  
          it read.3SG  
          'He read it.'

# WHEN CONGRUENCE FAILS: “ISLAND EFFECTS”

We argue that “island effects” in *clausal doubling* are violations of the congruence condition in (46).

- ✓ These are cases in which CLAUSE 1 does not fit the rest of the sentence.

# WHEN CONGRUENCE FAILS: “ISLAND EFFECTS”

Consider again example (8), in which CLAUSE 2 occurs within an *adjunct*.

- (8) \* Que leyó el libro, vine [ después de que lo leyó ].  
that read.3SG the book came.1SG after of that it read.3SG  
'As for her reading the book, I came after she DID read it.'

As before, CLAUSE 1 expresses the proposition  $p = \textit{she read the book}$ ; a question about  $p$  is  $?p$ .

- (52)  $\llbracket ?p \rrbracket = \{ \textit{she read the book, she did not read the book} \}$

We can assume the following *f-value* for the rest of the sentence.

- (53)  $\llbracket C' \rrbracket^f = \llbracket \textit{vine después de que } \Sigma_F \textit{ lo leyó} \rrbracket^f = \{ \textit{I came after she read the book, I came after she didn't read the book} \}$

These objects do not comply with the congruence condition in (46).

- (54)  $\llbracket ?p \rrbracket \not\subseteq \llbracket C' \rrbracket^f$



# WHEN CONGRUENCE FAILS: “ISLAND EFFECTS”

As expected, the non-dislocated material in this example does not function as a proper answer to the proposed polar **QUD**:

- (55) A: ¿Eliana leyó el libro?  
          Juan read.3SG the book  
          ‘Did Eliana read the book?’  
      B: # Vine después de que lo leyó.  
          came.1SG after of that it read.3SG  
          ‘I came after she read it.’

There is a mismatch between the *contrastive topic* and the rest of the sentence.

- ➡ CLAUSE 1 addresses an *immediate QUD* that is irrelevant to the rest of the sentence.
- ➡ Roughly speaking, they are “talking about different things”.

# WHEN CONGRUENCE FAILS: “ISLAND EFFECTS”

The same explanation holds for other island domains. Consider the following case containing a *relative clause island*:

- (9) \*Que compró el libro, vi a la mujer [ que lo compró].  
that bought.3SG the book saw DOM the woman that it bought.3SG  
'As for buying the book, I saw the woman who DID buy it.'

CLAUSE 1 expresses the proposition  $p = \text{the woman bought the book}$ ; a question about  $p$  is  $?p$ .

- (56)  $\llbracket ?p \rrbracket = \{\text{the woman bought the book, the woman did not buy the book}\}$

We may assume the following *f-value* for the rest of the sentence.

- (57)  $\llbracket C' \rrbracket^f = \llbracket \text{vi a la mujer que } \Sigma_F \text{ lo compró} \rrbracket^f = \{\text{I saw the woman who bought the book, I saw the woman who didn't buy the book}\}$

These objects do not comply with the congruence condition in (46).

- (58)  $\llbracket ?p \rrbracket \not\subseteq \llbracket C' \rrbracket^f$

# WHEN CONGRUENCE FAILS: “ISLAND EFFECTS”

As seen, this can be corroborated by the fact that the non-dislocated material cannot be considered a proper answer for the proposed QUD:

- (59) A: ¿La mujer compró el libro?  
the woman bought.3SG the book  
'Did the woman buy the book?'
- B: # Vi a la mujer que lo compró.  
saw.1SG DOM the woman that it bought.3SG  
'I saw the woman who bought it.'

Once again, the doubling pattern triggers a mismatch between the *contrastive topic* and the rest of the sentence.

# WHEN CONGRUENCE FAILS: “ISLAND EFFECTS”

The explanation for *subject islands* follows the same line of reasoning.

- (10) \* Que vino, [ que hayas dicho que vino ] me sorprendió.  
that came.3SG that had.2SG said that came.3SG me surprised.3SG  
'As for her coming, that you had said that she came surprised me.'

CLAUSE 1 expresses the proposition  $p = \textit{she came}$ ; a question about  $p$  is  $?p$ .

- (60)  $\llbracket ?p \rrbracket = \{\textit{she came, she didn't come}\}$

We can assume the following *f-value* for the rest of the sentence.

- (61)  $\llbracket C' \rrbracket^f = \llbracket \textit{que hayas dicho que } \Sigma_F \textit{ pro vino me sorprendió} \rrbracket^f = \{\textit{that you had said that she came surprised me, that you had said that she didn't come surprised me.}\}$

These objects do not comply with the congruence condition in (46).

- (62)  $\llbracket ?p \rrbracket \not\subseteq \llbracket C' \rrbracket^f$

# WHEN CONGRUENCE FAILS: “ISLAND EFFECTS”

As the following dialogue shows, the non-dislocated material of the previous example does not address the proposed polar QUD:

(63) A: ¿Vino Eliana?  
came.3SG Eliana  
'Did Eliana come?'

B: # Que Jorge haya dicho que vino me sorprendió.  
that Jorge had said.3SG that came.3SG me surprised.3SG  
'That George had said that she came surprised me.'

# WHEN CONGRUENCE FAILS: “ISLAND EFFECTS”

This analysis captures cases in which there is seemingly no subextraction from within the subject position.

- (11) \*Que leyó el libro, [ que lo leyó ] es obvio.  
that read.3SG the book that it read.3SG is.3SG obvio  
'As for her reading the book, that she read it is obvious.'

CLAUSE 1 expresses the proposition  $p = \textit{she came}$ ; a question about  $p$  is  $?p$ .

- (64)  $\llbracket ?p \rrbracket = \{\textit{she read the book, she didn't read the book}\}$

We can assume the following  $f$ -value for the rest of the sentence.

- (65)  $\llbracket C' \rrbracket^f = \llbracket \textit{que } \Sigma_F \textit{ pro lo leyó es obvio} \rrbracket^f = \{\textit{that she read the book is obvious, that she didn't read the book is obvious.}\}$

These objects do not comply with the congruence condition in (46).

- (66)  $\llbracket ?p \rrbracket \not\subseteq \llbracket C' \rrbracket^f$

# WHEN CONGRUENCE FAILS: “ISLAND EFFECTS”

Once again, we can test this analysis by constructing a dialogue.

(67) A: ¿Leyó el libro Eliana?  
read.3SG the book Eliana  
‘Did Eliana read the book?’

B: # Que lo leyó es obvio.  
that Eliana it read.3SG is.3SG obvious  
‘That Eliana read the book is obvious.’

# STILL CONGRUENT: APPARENT “ISLAND VIOLATIONS”

Now, as pointed out before, *clausal doubling* is not sensitive to all island domains: it can occur if CLAUSE 2 appears within a *complex NP island*.

- (20) Que compró el auto, escuché el rumor de que lo compró.  
that bought.3SG the car heard.1SG the rumor of that it bought.3SG  
'As for buying the car, I heard the rumor that she/he DID buy it.'

We claim that our proposal can straightforwardly account for these cases.



# STILL CONGRUENT: APPARENT “ISLAND VIOLATIONS”

Certain embedding predicates can received a *parenthetical reading*.

- ➡ The *asserted content* of the utterance can be expressed in the *embedded clause* rather than in the matrix domain (Urmson 1952, Hooper & Thompson 1973, Simons 2007).

Consider the following dialogue.

(68) A: Who was Louise with last night?

B: I heard that she was with Bill.  
*parenthetical*      *“main point”*

In these cases the main predicate functions as an evidential of sorts (Simons 2007).

- ➡ It signals the source and reliability of the information contained in the embedded clause.

# STILL CONGRUENT: APPARENT “ISLAND VIOLATIONS”

The phrase *escuché el rumor de que* ‘I heard the rumor that’ can be interpreted parenthetically.

(69) A: ¿Qué compró Juan?  
          what bought.3SG Juan  
          ‘What did Juan buy?’

B: Escuché el rumor de que compró un auto.  
     heard.1SG the rumor of that bought.3SG a car  
     ‘I heard the rumor that he bought a car.’

# STILL CONGRUENT: APPARENT “ISLAND VIOLATIONS”

Let's consider again (20)

- (20) Que compró el auto, escuché el rumor de que lo compró.  
that bought.3SG the car heard.1SG the rumor of that it bought.3SG  
'As for her buying the car, I heard the rumor that she DID buy it.'

CLAUSE 1 expresses  $p = \textit{she bought the car}$ .

- (70)  $\llbracket ?p \rrbracket = \{\textit{she bought the car, she didn't buy the car}\}$

We take that *parenthetical predicates* are omitted from the computation of alternatives, i.e., they are not taken into consideration for the *f-value*.

- (71)  $\llbracket C' \rrbracket^f = \llbracket \textit{escuché el rumor de que } \Sigma_F \textit{ pro lo compró} \rrbracket^f = \{(\textit{I heard the rumor that}) \textit{ she bought the car, (I heard the rumor that) she didn't buy the car}\}$

Thus, the congruence condition is satisfied.

- (72)  $\llbracket ?p \rrbracket \subseteq \llbracket C' \rrbracket^f$

# STILL CONGRUENT: APPARENT “ISLAND VIOLATIONS”

Some elements cannot be interpreted *parenthetically*. Consider the following example.

- (73) A: ¿María compró un auto?  
María bought.3SG a car  
'Did María buy a car?'
- B: # Juan apoyó la propuesta de que lo comprara.  
Juan supported.3SG the proposal of that it bought.3SG  
'Juan supported the proposal that she bought it.'

According to our account, *clausal doubling* must be unacceptable if CLAUSE 2 is part of the *complex NP* depicted in (73B).

# STILL CONGRUENT: APPARENT “ISLAND VIOLATIONS”

This prediction is borne out.

- (74) \* Que comprara el auto, Juan apoyó la propuesta de que lo  
that buy.3SG the car Juan supported.3SG the proposal of that it  
comprara.  
buy.3SG  
'As for buying the car, Juan supported the proposal that she bought it.'

In (74), CLAUSE 1 expresses  $p = \textit{she bought the car}$ .

- (75)  $\llbracket ?p \rrbracket = \{\textit{she bought the car, she didn't buy the car}\}$

Given that the main predicate does not receive a *parenthetical interpretation*, it must be considered for the *f-value*.

- (76)  $\llbracket C' \rrbracket^f = \{\textit{Juan supported the proposal that she bought the car, Juan supported the proposal that she didn't buy the car}\}$

Therefore, the congruence condition is not satisfied.

- (77)  $\llbracket ?p \rrbracket \not\subseteq \llbracket C' \rrbracket^f$

# ON LEXICAL IDENTITY

As mentioned before, *clausal doubling* requires *lexical identity* between the verbs appearing in CLAUSE 1 and CLAUSE 2.

- (4) \* Que Juan viajó a Lima, voló a Lima.  
that Juan traveled.3SG to Lima flew.3SG to Lima  
'As for Juan traveling to Lima, he DID fly to Lima.'

We account for this restriction in the same way we dealt with “islands”.

➡ Sentences like (4) violate the congruence condition for *clausal doubling*.

It's easy to see why (4) does not comply with the congruence condition.

- (78)  $\llbracket \text{Did Juan travel to Lima?} \rrbracket \not\subseteq \llbracket \Sigma_F \text{ Juan flew to Lima} \rrbracket^f$

# ON LEXICAL IDENTITY

*Propositional synonyms* (Cruse 2004: 158) offer a more problematic case.

Take the Spanish pair *enojarse*/*enfadarse* ‘to get angry’, which are truth-conditionally equivalent.

- (79) \* Que Juan se enojo,                    se enfadó.  
         that Juan SE got.mad.3SG SE got.mad.3SG  
         ‘As for Juan getting mad, he DID get mad’

Given that *enojarse* and *enfadarse* are propositionally the same, our account predicts that (79) should be acceptable.

- ➡ The Congruence condition should be trivially satisfied, as both verbs are supposed to be equivalent for the calculus of alternatives.

# ON LEXICAL IDENTITY

Strict *lexical identity* is a requirement attested in several Spanish constructions not involving movement.

Consider for instance the case of *informative tautologies*.

- (80) a. Si me enojo, me enojo.  
if CL.1SG get.angry.1SG CL.1SG get.angry.1SG
- b. # Si me enojo, me enfado.  
if CL.1SG get.angry.1SG CL.1SG get.angry.1SG  
'When I get angry, I really get angry.'

This kind of conditionals triggers an emphasis on the positive polarity of the predicate occurring in the apodosis.

As Saab (2019) notices, the verbs in the construction must be the same.

- ➡ Replacing the second verb with a *propositional synonym* leads to a deviant sentence and the intended meaning is lost.



# ON LEXICAL IDENTITY

*Verb doubling unconditionals* display a similar lexical identity requirement (Quer & Vicente 2009, Šimík 2020).

As shown in the following example, the verbs in the construction cannot be distinct, even if they are *propositional synonyms*.

- (81) a. Voy a ir, se enoje quien se enoje.  
go.1SG to to.go CL.3SG get.angry.3SG who CL.3SG get.angry.3SG
- b. \*Voy a ir, se enoje quien se enfade.  
go.1SG to to.go CL.3SG get.angry.3SG who CL.3SG get.angry.3SG  
'I will go, no matter who gets angry'.

As Quer & Vicente argue, this constraint cannot be explained in terms of movement because the rightmost verb is within a *syntactic island*.

# ON LEXICAL IDENTITY

We contend that the unacceptability of *clausal doubling* involving *propositional synonyms* arises as a consequence of *synonymy avoidance*.

- ➡ This is a principle that demands that all contrasts in form also introduce a contrast in meaning (Clark 1987, 1990, Murphy 2003, Cann 2011).

This effect seems to be particularly strong when two synonyms appear in the same discourse context.

# ON LEXICAL IDENTITY

Pullum & Rawlins (2007: 284) exploit exactly the same intuition to account for the behavior of the construction  $X_1$  or no  $X_2$ , e.g., *argument or no argument*.

- (82)      Enojado o no enojado, vas      a ir.  
             angry or not angry,      go.2SG to go  
             'Angry or not angry, you are going.'

According to them,  $X_1$  and  $X_2$  must have *the same denotation* for the construction to be acceptable.

This raises the question of why *propositional synonyms* cannot participate in the construction.

- (83)      \*Enojado<sub>1</sub> o no enfadado<sub>2</sub>, vas      a ir.  
             angry or not angry,      go.2SG to go  
             'Angry<sub>1</sub> or not angry<sub>2</sub>, you are going.'

They argue that this follows from the speaker's tendency to distinguish the meaning of two different forms in proximity.

# ON LEXICAL IDENTITY

*Synonymy avoidance* surfaces in several *focus*-related patterns.

As can be seen in (84) and (85), the verbs *enojarse* and *enfadarse* contrast in meaning when used together.

(84) No me enojé,            nada    más   me [enfadé]<sub>F</sub>.  
not I    get.angry.1SG nothing more I    get.angry.1SG  
'I didn't get mad, I just got angry.'

(85) No me enfadé,            nada    más   me [enojé]<sub>F</sub>.  
not I    get.angry.1SG nothing more I    get.angry.1SG  
'I didn't get mad, I just got angry.'

# ON LEXICAL IDENTITY

Consider the dialogue in (86). The answer expresses *verum focus*.

- (86) A:    ¿Te        enojaste?  
            CL.2SG got.angry.2SG  
            'Did you get angry<sub>1</sub>?'  
      B:    Me        ENOJÉ.  
            CL.1SG got.angry.1SG  
            'I did get angry<sub>1</sub>.'

A dialogue in which *enojarse* and *enfadarse* replace each other can only be interpreted as involving *contrastive focus*.

- (87) A:    ¿Te        enojaste?  
            CL.2SG got.angry.2SG  
            'Did you get angry?'  
      B':    Me        ENFADÉ.  
            CL.1SG got.angry.1SG  
            '(No,) I got angry<sub>2</sub>.'

The interpretation in (87B) does not seem to be *metalinguistic*.

# ON LEXICAL IDENTITY

Now, consider again the doubling sentence involving two propositional synonyms:

- (88) \* Que Juan se enojo,                      se enfadó.  
          that Juan SE got.mad.3SG SE got.mad.3SG  
          ‘As for Juan getting mad<sub>1</sub>, he DID get mad<sub>2</sub>.’

We contend that any pair of synonym verbs in the clausal doubling construction prompts the speaker/hearer to posit a **distinction between their denotations**.

- (89)  $\llbracket \text{¿Juan se enojó?} \rrbracket \not\subseteq \llbracket \Sigma_F \text{ Juan se enfadó} \rrbracket^f$   
       $\llbracket \text{Did Juan get angry}_1? \rrbracket \not\subseteq \llbracket \Sigma_F \text{ Juan got angry}_2 \rrbracket^f$

Under this assumption, the sentence in (79) does not comply with the Congruence Condition.

- ➡ The clause that “announces” the immediate QUD is taken to be semantically distinct from the predicate within the clause.

# CONCLUSIONS

In this presentation...

- ✓ We described a **novel doubling pattern** in Spanish, i.e., clausal doubling.
- ✓ We proposed that **CLAUSE 1** functions as a **contrastive topic** in Büring's (2003) sense.
- ✓ We advanced that the discourse relation between **CLAUSE 1** and the rest of the sentence can be captured as a **congruence condition**, i.e.,  $[[Q]] \subseteq [[C']]^f$ .
- ✓ We derived **“island effects”** and **lexical identity requirement** as a violation of this congruence condition.

From a broader perspective, clausal doubling in Spanish shows that **certain “island effects” are illusory**, that is, they are just a byproduct of a systematic mismatch at the discourse level.

As a corollary, this shows that...

- ➡ Island-sensitivity cannot be considered an infallible diagnosis for movement.
- ➡ Syntactic copying cannot be the only linguistic mechanism responsible for reduplication patterns.

# REFERENCES I

- Abels, Klaus. 2001. The predicate cleft construction in Russian. In Steven Franks & Michael Yadroff (eds.), *Proceedings of formal approaches to Slavic linguistics*, vol. 9. 1–19. Bloomington, Indiana: Michigan Slavic Publications.
- Büring, Daniel. 2003. On D-trees, beans, and B-accent. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 26. 511–545. doi:10.1023/a:1025887707652.
- Büring, Daniel. 2016. (Contrastive) Topic. In Caroline Féry & Shinichiro Ishihara (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of information structure*, 64–85. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199642670.013.002.
- Cann, Ronnie. 2011. Sense relations. In Claudia Maienborn, Klaus von Heusinger & Paul Portner (eds.), *Semantics: An international handbook of natural language meaning. Volume 1*, 456–479. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: the framework. In Roger Martin, David Michaels, Juan Uriagereka & Samuel Jay Keyser (eds.), *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, 89–155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In Michael Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: a life in language*, 1–52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Clark, Eve V. 1987. The principle of contrast: a constraint on language acquisition. In Brian MacWhinney (ed.), *Mechanisms of language acquisition*, 1–33. London: Routledge.
- Clark, Eve V. 1990. On the pragmatics of contrast. *Journal of Child Language* 17(2). 417–431. doi:10.1017/s0305000900013842.



# REFERENCES II

- Cruse, Alan. 2004. *Meaning in Language: An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Demonte, Violeta & Olga Fernández-Soriano. 2009. Force and finiteness in the Spanish complementizer system. *Probus* 21(1). 23–49. doi:10.1515/prbs.2009.002.
- Goodhue, Daniel. 2018. *On asking and answering biased polar questions*: McGill University dissertation.
- Hooper, Joan & Sandra Thompson. 1973. On the applicability of root transformations. *Linguistic inquiry* 4(4). 465–497.
- Laka, Itziar. 1990. *Negation in syntax. on the nature of functional categories and projections*. Cambridge, MA: MIT dissertation.
- Landau, Idan. 2006. Chain resolution in Hebrew V(P)-fronting. *Syntax* 9(1). 32–66. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9612.2006.00084.x.
- Muñoz Pérez, Carlos & Matías Verdecchia. 2022. Predicate doubling in Spanish: On how discourse may mimic syntactic movement. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-022-09536-3.
- Murphy, M Lynne. 2003. *Semantic relations and the lexicon: Antonymy, synonymy and other paradigms*. Cambridge University Press.
- Pullum, Geoffrey K & Kyle Rawlins. 2007. Argument or no argument? *Linguistics and Philosophy* 30(2). 277–287.
- Quer, Josep & Luis Vicente. 2009. Semantically triggered verb doubling in Spanish unconditionals. Handout from the 19th Colloquium on Generative Grammar (CGG19).

## REFERENCES III

- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In Liliane Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of grammar: handbook in generative syntax*, 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Saab, Andrés. 2019. Sobre el *locus* de la expresividad. Paper presented at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- Samko, Bern. 2016. *Syntax & information structure: The grammar of English inversions*: UC Santa Cruz dissertation.
- Šimík, Radek. 2020. Doubling unconditionals and relative sluicing. *Natural Language Semantics* 28(1). 1–21.
- Simons, Mandy. 2007. Observations on embedding verbs, evidentiality, and presupposition. *Lingua* 117(6). 1034–1056. doi:10.1016/j.lingua.2006.05.006.
- Urmson, James O. 1952. Parenthetical verbs. *Mind* LXI(244). 480–496. doi:10.1093/mind/lxi.244.480.
- Vicente, Luis. 2007. *The syntax of heads and phrases: A study of verb (phrase) fronting*. Leiden: Leiden University dissertation.
- Vicente, Luis. 2009. An alternative to remnant movement for partial predicate fronting. *Syntax* 12(2). 158–191. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9612.2009.00126.x.

THANKS!