

## Clitic doubling in a doubling world

### The case of Argentinean Spanish reconsidered

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## <1>1. Introduction

Argentinean Spanish is well-known for some particularities of its pronominal-inflectional system (e.g., the well-known *voseo* paradigm).<sup>1</sup> Among such phenomena, this dialect also

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<sup>1</sup> Through this paper we will use the general term *Argentinean Spanish*, even though extended clitic doubling was generally assumed as being a phenomenon of the city of Buenos Aires. This is not true, though. Although at the present we do not have a clear map of the extension of the phenomenon, we can safely assert that it is registered at least in the biggest cities of Argentina (Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Rosario, Santa Fe, and so on), and beyond. Outside the cities, Vidal de Battini (1949) has registered the use of what she called “redundant pronouns”, i.e. clitic doubling, in the rural areas of San Luis, an Argentinean province. We would also like to

presents an extended clitic doubling system for accusative DPs. Thus, whereas most varieties show obligatory doubling with strong accusative pronouns (1), Argentinean Spanish also allows for accusative DPs to be optionally doubled (2) (Jaeggli 1986, Suñer 1988, Zdrojewski 2008, Di Tullio & Zdrojewski 2006, among many others):

- (1) \* (Me) vio a mí. [General Spanish]  
 CL.1.SG.ACC see:PST.3.SG ACC me  
 ‘(S)he saw me.’
- (2) a. Santos (la) miró a Rosa. [Argentinean Spanish]  
 Santos CL.3F.SG.ACC look-at:PST.3SG ACC Rosa  
 ‘Santos looked at Rosa.’
- b. La vieja (lo) tomó al llorón de la mano.  
 DET old-woman CL.3.M.SG.ACC take:PST.3SG ACC-DET weeper of DET hand  
 ‘The old woman took the weeper one by the hand.’

[adapted from Kany 1969, p. 148]

In this chapter, we put Clitic Doubling (CD) into the broad perspective of pronominal doubling phenomena in Spanish. As a first step, in section 2, we describe some properties of this dialect that are relevant to the phenomena under study. Then, in section 3, we present a battery of diagnostics based on the interaction between CD and its prosodic/pragmatic effects, which let us demonstrate, against the current consensus, that Jaeggli’s (1982)

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note that although the literature often refers crucial differences between Córdoba Spanish and Buenos Aires Spanish when it comes to doubling phenomena (Schmitt 1998 and Leonetti 2008, among others), we do not know which the empirical basis of such claims is, as we do not have any in-depth study of CD in the Córdoba area.

observation regarding the dependency of CD on Differential Object Marking (DOM) –i.e. Kayne’s Generalization– holds in Argentinean Spanish. In addition, we provide a series of diagnostics concerning the interaction between CD and its syntactic/LF effects (Section 4). These diagnostics lead us to conclude that accusative CD is substantially different from both Clitic-Right Dislocation (CLRD) and Clitic-Left Dislocation (CLLD). In section 5, we present a novel analysis of CD that integrates the morphological effects of the phenomenon with its indubitable syntactic/LF effects. We claim that CD in general Spanish is the morphological reflex of the abstract composition of direct objects. Concretely, CD is obligatorily induced whenever the object possesses a [person] feature. We call this observation the *Person Feature Condition* and show that it has far reaching empirical and theoretical consequences. As we will see, the intricacies of CD in Argentinean Spanish fall in place under the minimal assumption that lexical DPs can optionally encode a [3person] feature, which in other Spanish varieties, as in standard European *leísmo*, is only active on pronouns. This minimal difference will be enough to explain a complex set of interactions between doubled and non-doubled DPs in several syntactic/LF configurations. In this respect, we endorse the view that linguistic change should be mainly attributed to the way in which syntax manipulates the set of formal features that UG provides (Chomsky-Borer’s conjecture). Section 6 concludes with a truism.

<1>2. A short description of Argentinean Spanish

Argentinean Spanish differs from many other dialects in that it preserves the etymological distinction in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitic system: the accusative clitic expresses gender and number, whereas the dative clitic inflects only in number.<sup>2</sup>

Table 1. Argentinean Spanish Clitic System

	Accusative		Dative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Masculine	lo	los	le	les
Feminine	la	las	le	les

Next to the variation in the clitic system, Argentinean Spanish departs from other dialects in the realm of Differential Object Marking (DOM), i.e. the use of a preposition-like element *a*, which typically precedes animate specific DOs. The innovative property of this dialect is that it also allows for DOM with non-animate DPs both in dislocated and object positions (cf. 3a,b vs. 3c):

- (3) a. *Al libro de Geometría, ni siquiera lo abrí.* [CLLD]  
ACC-DET book of geometry not even CL.3.M.SG.ACC open:PST.1.SG  
‘I didn’t open the geometry book.’ (*Traición*, 218)

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<sup>2</sup> The reader interested in Argentinean Spanish would find a thorough description of its particularities in two recent volumes: Di Tullio (2013) and Colantoni & Rodríguez Louro (2013).

b. (La) arreglé, a la moto. [CLRD]

CL.3.F.SG.ACC fix.PST.1.SG ACC DET motorcycle

‘I fixed the motorcycle.’

c. Es un veneno mortífero pues ataca

be:PRS.3.SG a poison deadly because attack:PRS.3.SG

a la hemoglobina combinándose con ella.

ACC DET hemoglobin combine:GER=REF with her

‘It is a deadly poison because it attacks the hemoglobin by combining with it (the hemoglobin).’ (CREA. Osmar Ciró. *Primeros auxilios*)

In addition, Argentinean Spanish differs from other European and American varieties with respect to the VOS word order. In most varieties, this order is a productive configuration employed to align the focus on the subject and the main stress of the sentence (see Zubizarreta 1998 and Gallego 2013, among others).

(4) Comió la manzana **Juan**.<sup>3</sup> [General Spanish]

eat:PST.3.SG DET apple Juan

‘Juan ate the apple.’

In Argentinean Spanish, VOS order with *neutral focus on the subject* is unproductive.

Instead, the common strategy employed in such contexts is CLRD (5):

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<sup>3</sup> Through this chapter, we use boldfaced letters for new-information foci, which receives neutral stress, and capital letters for contrastive foci.

(5) *La* comió **Juan**, *la manzana.* [CLRD]

CL.3.F.SG.ACC eat:PST.3.SG Juan DET apple

‘Juan ate the apple.’

Now, since CD is as productive as CLRD in Argentinean Spanish and the distinction between both phenomena might be obscured by surface word ordering, it is far from evident how to decide whether a DO is clitic doubled or right dislocated. Indeed, this situation is partly responsible for an old controversy concerning the nature of CD. The debate revolves around two independent conditions: a definiteness requirement and *Kayne’s Generalization* (see 6), which can be updated as a dependency of CD on DOM:

(6) *Kayne’s Generalization* (KG)

An object NP may be doubled by a clitic only if the NP is preceded by a preposition.

[Jaeggli 1982, p. 20, (1.18)]

Both conditions have been challenged especially by Suñer (1988), who claims that CD is only constrained by specificity. For space considerations, we will be only concerned with KG, which, according to Suñer, is directly falsified in the Spanish spoken in the Buenos Aires area (see 7) (most of her data was from the corpus *El habla culta de la ciudad de Buenos Aires*):

(7) Yo *lo* voy a comprar *el diario*

I CL.3.M.SG.ACC go:PRS.1.SG to buy:INF DET newspaper

justo antes de subir.

just before of come-up:INF

‘I am going to buy the newspaper just before coming up.’ [Suñer 1988: 178]

In what follows, we explore the interaction between CD and some of its PF/pragmatics effects that provides important diagnostic tools to tease it apart from CLRD. We show that *KG* in fact holds in this dialect and that cases like (7) should be analyzed as instances of CLRD and not CD. In section 5, we present a revisited version of *KG* that integrates the patterns observed in (3) and (7).

### <1>3. Clitic doubling at the right edge: PF/Pragmatic effects

As a starting point, consider the examples in (8):

- (8) a. Juan saludó a María.  
Juan greet:PST.3.SG ACC María  
b. Juan la saludó a María.  
Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC greet:PST.3.SG ACC María  
‘Juan greeted María’.  
c. Juan \*(la) saludó, a María.  
Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC greet:PST.3.SG ACC María.  
‘Juan greeted her, María’.

(8a) and (8b) present the same intonation and information structure (*modulo* some well-known -although also somewhat vague- familiarity/specificity/D-linked effects), but differ with respect to the presence of the clitic. In turn, (8b) and (8c) have a doubling clitic, but diverge in their intonation and information structure. In the following two subsections, we

present conclusive evidence that both phenomena must be kept apart. The form of the argument is simple: clitic doubled DPs are licensed in exactly those environments where right dislocated objects or destressed ones are not. Mostly, these are focus contexts (neutral or contrastive). In other words, both phenomena are in complementary distribution.

### <2>3.1. Association with Focus

To begin with, we advance the following generalization (see also Sánchez & Zdrojewski 2013 and the references therein):

- (9) Doubled DPs, but not right dislocated ones, are normally part of the focus set of a given sentential domain.

This is expected if doubled objects behave as non-doubled objects as far as the main stress rule is concerned. As is well-known (Cinque 1993, Zubizarreta 1998, Reinhart 2006, among others), sentential or neutral stress in a given IP domain falls on the most embedded constituent contained within that IP. Crucially, the main stress rule remains unaffected under the presence of the clitic in a CD configuration. Thus, in (10) *a María* bears sentential stress regardless of the presence of the clitic:

- (10) Juan (la)                      saludó                      **a      María.**  
       Juan   CL.3.F.SG.ACC greet:PST.3.SG   ACC   María  
       ‘Juan greeted María.’

Following Reinhart (2006, and references therein), we also assume that the stress rule determines the focus set of a sentence according to the following principle:



- (11) Focus set: The focus set of a derivation D includes all and only the constituents that contain the main stress of D. [Reinhart 2006: 139]

For a sentence such as (10), then, the focus set is defined as {IP, VP, **Object**} and, consequently, this sentence, with or without the clitic, can be appropriately used as an answer to the following questions:

- (12) a. Question: What happened?<sup>4</sup>
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<sup>4</sup> Anikó Lipták (pers.comm.) pointed out to us that if CD, but not CLRD, is part of the focus set, we predict that whenever just the verb is contrastively focused, CD should not produce a grammatical outcome (iB'), but CLRD should (iB). Conversely, if the whole VP is contrastively focused, CD should be available (iiB) and CLRD should be ruled out (iiB'). These predictions are borne out.

- (i) A: Juan [BESÓ] a María?

Juan kiss:PST.3.SG ACC Maria

'Did Juan KISS María?'

- B: No, [la SALUDÓ], a María. [CLRD]

no CL.3.F.SG.ACC greet:PST.3.SG ACC María

'No, he GREETED María.'

- B': \* No, [la SALUDÓ a María]. [CD]

no CL.3.F.SG.ACC greet:PST.3.SG ACC María

'No, he GREETED María.'

- (ii) A: Juan [besó a CECILIA]?

Juan kiss:PST.3.SG ACC Cecilia

'Did Juan kiss CECILIA?'

Answer: [Juan (la) saludó a **María**]<sub>F</sub> [CD]

b. Question: What did Juan do?

Answer: Juan[(la) saludó a **María**]<sub>F</sub> [CD]

c. Question: Who did Juan greet?

Answer: Juan (la) saludó [ a **María**]<sub>F</sub> [CD]

Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC greet:PST.3.SG ACC María

‘Juan greeted María.’

Next to being contained in the focus set of a given sentence, clitic doubled objects are also usable in contrastive focus contexts:

(13) Juan (la) saludó [<sub>DP</sub> a **MARÍA**]<sub>F</sub>, (no a Cecilia).

Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC greet:PST.3.SG ACC María not ACC Cecilia

‘Juan greeted **MARÍA**, not Cecilia.’

As for CLRD, the prosodic and pragmatic situations in which a dislocated object occurs are exactly the opposite of CD: a clitic-right dislocated object is never part of the focus set of a sentence; given that they occur normally under anaphoric destressing (maybe because of syntactic reasons), an operation that removes the nuclear stress from the object and

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B: No, [la saludó a **MARÍA**]. [CD]

no CL.3.F.SG.ACC greet:PST.3.SG ACC María

‘No, he greeted María.’

B’: \* No, [la saludó, a **MARÍA**]. [CLRD]

no CL.3.F.SG.ACC greet:PST.3.SG ACC María

automatically reassigns main stress to the next, more embedded constituent (V in a simple SVO configuration). A typical destressing scenario in Romance is provided precisely by pronominal clitics, which are obligatory destressed and subject to anaphoric recoverability. Thus, in the answer in (14), the clitic is destressed and the main stress rule relocates the neutral sentential stress on the verb changing also the focus set of the sentence, which now is accordingly defined as {IP, VP, V}.

(14) Question: What happened with María?

Answer: Juan la **besó**.<sup>5</sup>  
 Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC kiss:PST.3SG  
 ‘Juan kissed her.’

This is a typical scenario where right dislocation may occur. So, (15a), but crucially not (15b), can also be an appropriate answer to the question in (14):

- (15) a. Juan la **besó**, a María. [CLRD]  
 Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC kiss:PST.3.SG ACC María  
 ‘Juan kissed her, María.’<sup>6</sup>
- b. # Juan la besó **a** **María**. [CD]  
 Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC kiss:PST.3.SG ACC María

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<sup>5</sup> We assume that there is no CD in configurations such as (14). The object clitic is a pronoun that satisfies the argument requirements of the verb (see Zdrojewski 2008, Saab & Zdrojewski 2012).

<sup>6</sup> When relevant, we will use English right dislocation for the translation of Romance CLRD, although both configurations differ in a number of properties.

‘Juan kissed María.’

For the same token, now (15a) is infelicitous as an answer to each of the questions in (12). As for the pragmatic use of right dislocated DPs like (15a), the common consensus is that they function as sentential topics, connected to the key notion of *aboutness*. Specifically, these topics are neither contrastive nor shifting topics like left dislocated topics; instead, they are extracted to avoid being interpreted inside the rheme (see Vallduví 1992, among others). We will not be particularly concerned with the pragmatic aspect of right dislocated topics. For our purposes here, it is enough to keep in mind that –unlike clitic doubled objects– they are never part of the focus set of a sentence. Although other alternatives are available, we will assume that CLRD consists of two differentiated mechanisms: anaphoric destressing and topicalization.

As much as we can tell, all the examples provided by Suñer against *Kayne*’s *Generalization* pattern as CLRD, at least, as far as the anaphoric destressing mechanism is concerned. For instance, a sentence such as the one in (7) bears main stress on the constituents preceding the object DP. More importantly, it cannot be appropriately uttered in situations where the object is the focus of the sentence. Thus, (7) is strongly disfavored as an answer to the question in (16):

(16) Question: Vos, ¿qué vas a comprar antes de subir?

you what go:PRS.2SG to buy:INF before of coming-up

‘What will you buy before you come up?’

Answer: Yo (#lo) voy a comprar el diario [CLRD]

I cl.acc go:PRS.1SG to buy:INF the newspaper

antes de subir.

before of coming-up

‘I am going to buy it, the newspaper, just before coming up.’

Therefore, there is nothing special about Argentinean Spanish when it comes to the putative doubling of non-DOM DPs: they should be considered as postponed topics as in other dialects of Spanish (cf. *NGRALE*, §16.14r. 2009. p. 1249, vol. I).

This observation is confirmed by other focus constructions that involve syntactically designated mechanisms of focalization. Concretely, we expect that focal adverbs like *solo* ‘only’, which restrict the focus set to the member associated to it, can only be compatible with CD configurations but not with CLRD ones. As Zdrojewski (2008) shows, the prediction is fulfilled in Argentinean Spanish. Let us consider some basic cases. First, human *α*-DPs can be associated with *solo* ‘only’ in cases of CD configurations, but not in CLRD ones:

(17) a. Juan (la)                      besó                      solo [a      MARÍA]<sub>F</sub>                      [CD]

Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC kiss:PST.3.SG only ACC María

(no besó                      a      nadie      más).

not kiss:PST.3.SG ACC nobody else

‘Juan kissed only María, (he didn’t kiss anybody else).’

b. \* Juan la                      **besó,**                      solo [a      MARÍA]<sub>F</sub>                      [CLRD]

Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC kiss:PST.3.SG only ACC María

(no besó                      a      nadie      más).

not kiss:PST.3.SG ACC nobody else

‘Juan kissed her, only MARÍA, (he didn’t kiss anybody else).’

Conversely, non-human DPs, like the ones in (7), behaves as clitic-right dislocated objects, as shown by the contrast between (18a) -an instance of CLRD- and (18b) -a simple case with a focused non-human DP:

- (18) a. \* Juan lo **trajo,** solo [el LIBRO]<sub>F</sub>. [CLRD]  
           Juan CL.3.M.SG.ACC bring:PST.3.SG only DET book  
       b. Juan trajo solo [el LIBRO]<sub>F</sub>.  
           Juan bring:PST.3.SG only DET book  
           ‘Juan brought only the book.’

Notice that it is not only the case that right dislocated constituents are not part of the focus set; they cannot be subjected to stress shift operations either (see Reinhart 2006 for extensive discussion on stress shift operations). In this respect, (right or left) dislocated constituents contrast, for instance, with preverbal subjects, which may be affected by stress shift operations. Compare, in this respect, a preverbal subject with a left dislocated topic (more on left dislocation in section 4):

- (19) a. Solo JUAN saludó a María.  
           only Juan greet:PST.3.SG ACC María  
           ‘Only Juan greeted María.’  
       b. \*Solo EL LIBRO lo compró Juan.  
           only DET book CL.3.M.SG.ACC buy:PST.3.SG Juan.

This could be a consequence of the fact that dislocated constituents are external to the IP, the natural domain where stress shift operations apply.<sup>7</sup> If this is on track, then the syntactic position of dislocated constituents cannot be located within the IP area (*pace* López 2009 and 2012), but within some position external to it. In any case, we will not be concerned with the proper analysis of CLRD constructions; we will just assume that they have to be located in a peripheral position outside the IP (Vallduví 1992, Zubizarreta 1998, among others).

### <2>3.2. Gapping

The diagnostic tools we have presented can be further extended to related domains. One of such domains is gapping. As is well-known, one of the trends of gapping is that the remnant of the elliptical site and its correlate in the antecedent should bear focus interpretation. In (20) we present examples of gapping in non-doubling contexts.

- (20) a. Juan vio                    **a**    **María**   y   Pedro   **a**    **Ana**.  
           Juan   see:PST.3.SG   ACC   María   and Pedro   ACC   Ana  
           ‘Juan saw María and Pedro Ana.’
- b. Juan leyó                    **el**    **libro**   y   María   **el**    **diario**.  
           Juan   read:PST.3.SG   DET   book   and María   DET   newspaper.  
           ‘Juan read the book and María the newspaper.’

As observed by López (1999), clitic-right dislocated DPs are never interpreted contrastively (21), so these DPs should not appear as correlates or remnants in gapping environments.

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<sup>7</sup> This in turn runs against a full assimilation of left dislocated topics and preverbal subjects (*pace* Ordóñez 1997 among others; see Camacho 2013 for a recent overview of the issue).

Significantly, in these same contexts, CD is possible, but only under one condition: KG must be obeyed, as witnessed by the contrast between (22a) and (22b):

(21) a. \* Juan la vio, A MARÍA, (no a Ana).

Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PST.3.SG ACC María not ACC Ana

b. \* Juan lo leyó, EL LIBRO, (no el diario).

Juan CL.3.M.SG.ACC read:PST.3.SG DET book not DET newspaper.

(22) a. Juan la vio A MARÍA y Pedro

Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PST.3.SG ACC María and Pedro

A ANA.

ACC Ana

‘Juan saw María and Pedro Ana.’

b. \* Juan lo leyó EL LIBRO y María EL DIARIO.

Juan CL.3.M.SG.ACC read:PST.3.SG DET book and María DET newspaper

As we can see in each relevant test, the conclusion is always the same: CD is DOM dependent.

### <2>3.3. Interim Summary

The findings of this section can be summarized as follows

- A. In CD contexts, the lexical object is part of the focus set of the sentence and, consequently, bears the main stress in neutral contexts and can easily be focalized in marked, contrastive ones. Instead, in CLRD environments, the DO cannot bear main stress or be under the scope of focalization operations.



- B. All combinations of clitic plus non-DOM objects in Argentinean Spanish behave as a variety of right dislocation constructions. In other words, this dialect behaves on a par with general Spanish (*pace* Suñer 1988, the NGRLE and others).
- C. While the clitic in CD is syntactically inert (i.e., the PF manifestation of some formal features of the object), this is not the case with dislocated objects, where the clitic functions as an anaphoric argument.
- D. Argentinean CD clearly shows that pronominal resumption is not incompatible with focalization, against what is generally assumed.

As for the variation issue, then, an important conclusion we advance here is that the Argentinean documents taken as evidence against a strict correlation between DOM and CD are far from conclusive. The generalizations made in the previous literature on the basis of this evidence are problematic not only from a descriptive point of view but also for the general theory of doubling phenomena across and within languages.

Having shown that KG indeed holds in Argentinean Spanish, we are left with only one particularity to account for: the very basic fact that in this dialect optional CD is productively used with lexical DPs. This minimal difference, however, has far-reaching consequences. As claimed in (D), optional CD with lexical DPs is fully compatible with focus constructions, showing that the clitic itself is syntactically inert as is not related to information given in the discourse, a typical property of pronominal clitics when they participate in the syntactic computation both in dislocations and in simple CL-V constructions (e.g., *La vi*. ‘I saw her’). This follows if doubling clitics are purely agreement

markers inserted at PF.<sup>8</sup> However, as we will see in the following section, several syntactic/LF effects of CD configurations are clearly detectable under focus fronting of doubled DPs and in other environments we will not discuss here (see Saab & Zdrojewski 2012, 2013). Therefore, we are left with an apparent paradox that calls for an explanation. But before introducing our analysis and its theoretical consequences, let us consider first the basic facts.

#### <1>4. Clitic doubling at the left edge: Syntactic/LF effects

So far, we have observed that doubled DPs can bear contrastive or neutral focus intonation and that this fact is at the heart of the difference between CD and CLRD of both *a*-marked and simple DPs. In this section, we analyze in detail another property of CD, which is also connected to focus. Specifically, we center our discussion on the fact that contrastive focus fronting is a legitimate output for doubled DPs (see Di Tullio & Zdrojewski 2006, and Saab & Zdrojewski 2012, 2013):

(23) A      MARÍA (**la**)                      critiqué.                      [CD]

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<sup>8</sup> We follow Zdrojewski (2008) and Saab & Zdrojewski (2012) in assuming that the clitic in CD configurations is not present in the syntax and but inserted at PF, whereas the clitic in CLRD is a true syntactic pronoun. Ormazabal & Romero (2013) and Romero (this volume) also propose that there are two different mechanisms involved in these two phenomena. Romero, in addition, claims that these mechanisms account for the variation of accusative CD in Spanish. He proposes that CD in *Basque Leista Spanish* should be analyzed as *agreement*, whereas CD in *Argentinean Spanish* should be analyzed as a pronominal structure belonging to the family of CLRD and CLLD constructions. However, the preceding discussion favors an agreement analysis for Argentinean CD.

ACC María CL.3.F.SG.ACC criticize:PST.1.SG

‘I criticized MARÍA.’

We will proceed by comparing focus fronting of clitic doubled objects with a well-known doubling structure: Clitic-Left Dislocation (CLLD) (Cinque 1990 and subsequent work):

(24) A María, la critique ayer. [CLLD]

ACC María CL.3.F.SG.ACC criticize:PST.1.SG yesterday

‘Mary, I criticized her yesterday.’

By doing this, we will aim to answer some basic questions regarding the nature of clitics in CD configurations. As shown below, even when these clitics parallel the distribution of pronominal clitics in CLLD environments, they also differ in non-trivial respects. Such differences call for a principled explanation, one that integrates the findings made in the previous sections with the syntactic/semantic effects that are easily detectable in CD configurations. In other words, at the end, we will be faced with the problem of reconciling the inertness of doubling clitics, which, we claim, are inserted at PF, with their indubitable syntactic-semantic effects.

#### <2>4.1. Basic facts: More on Kayne’s Generalization

There are crucial syntactic differences between focus movement (with and without doubling) and CLLD. In effect, next to the obvious differences in their information structure (contrastive focus vs. topicalization), CLLD and focus movement (with or without doubling) differ syntactically in several respects. As is well known (see Torrego 1984, Hernanz & Brucart 1987 and Ordóñez 1997), while focus movement, like *wh*-movement, triggers

obligatory subject inversion (25a), subject position inversion is optional in CLLD contexts (25b):

- (25) a. A      MARÍA (\*Juan) (**la**)                          vio                          (Juan).                          [CD]  
ACC María Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PST.3.SG Juan  
‘Juan saw MARÍA.’  
b. A      María, (Juan) la                          vio                          (Juan).                          [CLLD]  
ACC María Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PST.3.SG Juan  
‘María, Juan saw her.’

Other crucial morphosyntactic differences are worth noting. First, doubling is optional in focus movement contexts, but obligatory in CLLD ones:

- (26) a. A      MARÍA (**la**)                      critiqué.                      [CD]  
                  ACC   María      CL.3.F.SG.ACC   criticize:PST.1.SG  
                  ‘I criticized MARÍA.’
- b. A      María, **\*(la)**                      critiqué.                      [CLLD]  
                  ACC   María      CL.3.F.SG.ACC   criticize:PST.1.SG  
                  ‘María, I criticized her.’

Second, whereas focus movement observes KG, CLLD does not. Compare (27) with (28):

- (27) a. La vi a María. [CD]  
CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PAST.1.SG ACC María  
'I saw María.'

b. A MARÍA la vi. [CD]

ACC María CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PAST.1.SG

‘I saw MARÍA.’

c. \* Lo compré el auto.

CL.3.M.SG.ACC buy:PST.1.SG DET car.

‘I bought the car.’

d. \* El AUTO lo compré.

DET car CL.3.M.SG.ACC buy:PST.1.SG

‘I bought THE CAR.’

(28) a. A María, la vi ayer. [CLLD]

ACC María CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PAST.1.SG yesterday

‘María, I saw her yesterday.’

b. El auto, lo compré ayer. [CLLD]

DET car CL.3.M.SG.ACC buy:PST.1.SG yesterday

‘The car, I bought it yesterday.’

Notice that the presence of the clitic in (27) is sensitive to occurrence of the DOM marker (contrast 27a,b with 27c,d). Instead, the presence/absence of the DOM marker doesn't have any effect on the grammaticality of the examples in (28). We can conclude then that the type of focus construction we are exploring is an instance of CD plus focus fronting.

#### <2>4.2. Weak crossover effects

As is well-known, CLLD does not trigger Weak Crossover effects (WCO) (see Cinque 1990 and much subsequent work), as shown in the following example:

(29) A    María<sub>i</sub>,    su<sub>i</sub>            padre    la<sub>i</sub>            criticó.            [CLLD]

ACC María    POSS.3.SG father    CL.3.F.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG

‘María, her father criticized her.’

Regular focus movement, in turn, does trigger WCO effects:

(30) \*? A    MARÍA<sub>i</sub>    criticó                      su<sub>i</sub>            padre.            [Focus movement]

ACC María    criticize:PST.3.SG    POSS.3.SG    father

‘Her father criticized MARÍA.’

However, as noticed by Saab & Zdrojewski (2012) doubled DOs in focus movement constructions seem to behave like CLLD as far as WCO is concerned:

(31) A    MARÍA<sub>i</sub>    la<sub>i</sub>                      criticó                      su<sub>i</sub>            padre.            [CD]

ACC María    CL.3.F.SG.ACC    criticize:PST.3.SG    POSS.3.SG    father

‘Her father criticized MARÍA.’

Yet, another hitherto unnoticed restriction on WCO repair in the realm of CD should be mentioned, namely, WCO effects are attested with doubled DPs whenever the possessive is in the main clause:

(32) a. ?\* A    JUAN<sub>i</sub>    cree                      su<sub>i</sub>            profesor            [CD]

ACC Juan    think:PRS.3.SG    POSS.3.SG    professor

que    lo<sub>i</sub>                      criticó                      María    (no    a            Pedro)

that CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG María (not ACC Pedro)

‘His professor thinks that María criticized JUAN (no Pedro).’

b. A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree María que lo<sub>i</sub> criticó [CD]

ACC Juan think:PRS.3.SG María that CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG

su<sub>i</sub> profesor (no a Pedro).

POSS.3.SG professor (not ACC Pedro)

‘María thinks that his professor criticized JUAN, (not Pedro).’

Here, we get a contrast with left dislocated DPs, which do not trigger WCO effects regardless of the position of the possessive phrase (see also Zubizarreta 1998):

(33) a. A Juan<sub>i</sub>, su<sub>i</sub> profesor cree [CLLD]

ACC Juan POSS.3.SG professor think:PRS.3.SG

que lo<sub>i</sub> criticó María.

that CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG María

‘His professor thinks that María criticized Juan.’

b. A Juan<sub>i</sub>, María cree que lo<sub>i</sub> criticó [CLLD]

ACC Juan María think:PRS.3.SG that CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG

su<sub>i</sub> profesor.

POSS.3.SG professor

‘María thinks that his professor criticized Juan.’

In this respect, CD focalization behaves as D-linked *wh*-phrases in English (Mahajan 1991, and Ishii 2006):

- (34) a. Which student<sub>i</sub> do you think [that his<sub>i</sub> teacher scolded  $t_i$  in yesterday's geology class]?
- b. \*? Which student<sub>i</sub> does his<sub>i</sub> teacher think [that Mary scolded  $t_i$  in yesterday's geology class]?
- Ishii (2006: 158)

This is not surprising given the fact that CD is known as having D-linked properties (Suñer 1988, Leonetti 2008, among others). In turn, it is also worth-noticing that regular focus movement (i.e., without CD) has the same distribution as non-D-Linked *wh*-phrases in English. Compare (35) with (36):

- (35) a. \*? Who<sub>i</sub> do you think [that his<sub>i</sub> teacher scolded  $t_i$  in yesterday's geology class]?
- b. \*? Who<sub>i</sub> does his<sub>i</sub> teacher think [that Mary scolded  $t_i$  in yesterday's geology class]?
- Ishii (2006: 158)

- (36) a. ?\* A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree su<sub>i</sub> profesor  
 ACC Juan think:PRS.3.SG POSS.3.SG professor  
 que criticó  $t_i$  María (no a Pedro).  
 that criticize:PST.3.SG María (not acc Pedro)  
 'His professor thinks that María criticized JUAN, (no Pedro).'
- b. ?\* A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree María que criticó  $t_i$   
 ACC Juan think:PRS.3.SG María that criticize:pst.3.sg  
 su<sub>i</sub> profesor (no a Pedro).  
 POSS.3.SG professor (not ACC Pedro)  
 'María thinks that his professor criticized Juan, (not Pedro).'



Not surprisingly, D-linking, then, is another factor underlying the grammar of CD in Argentinean Spanish. However, we take the D-linking interpretation as a side effect of the syntactic configuration involved in CD, rather than a trigger of the phenomenon (see Leonetti 2004, 2008 for a discussion).

#### <2>4.3. Absence of reconstruction effects

Finally, we notice a difference in the possibilities of pronominal binding when comparing doubled, focused DPs with focus movement without any clitic involved:

- (37) a. \* A su HIJO<sub>i</sub> lo castigó cada padre<sub>i</sub>. [CD]  
 ACC POSS.3.SG son CL.3M.SG.ACC punish:PST.3.SG each father  
 ‘Each father punished his son.’
- b. A su HIJO<sub>i</sub> castigó cada padre<sub>i</sub>.  
 ACC POSS.3.SG son punish:PST.3.SG each father  
 ‘Each father punished his son.’

As observed in Zubizarreta (1998), Cecchetto (2000) and Arregi (2003), among others, the same absence of pronominal binding is attested in CLLD environments:

- (38) \* A su hijo<sub>i</sub>, lo castigó cada padre<sub>i</sub>. [CLLD]  
 ACC POSS.3.SG son CL.3M.SG.ACC punish:PST.3.SG each father  
 ‘Each father punished his son.’

This pattern will be accounted for on a par with the WCO facts discussed previously. As we will show, both WCO effects and absence of reconstruction are the surface effect of the A/ $\phi$ -system that CD induces.

#### <1>5. Towards an analysis

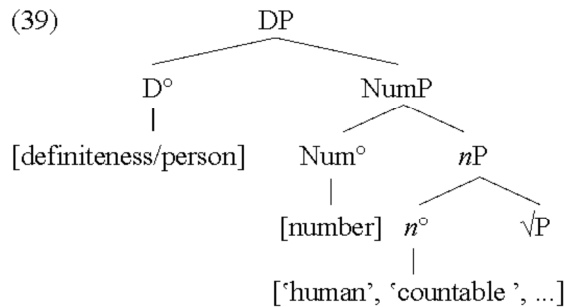
Up to this point, we are left with an intricate set of facts to explain. In a maybe controversial way, we can group them as PF/pragmatic effects on CD (Section 3), on the one hand, and syntactic/LF effects on CD (Section 4), on the other. At any rate and just to be clear, the main problem resides in accounting for the fact that, although the connection between DOM and CD has to be resolved at PF –a logical conclusion of the syntactic inertness of the doubling clitic-, syntactic/LF effects on CD are easily detectable in the realm of WCO and pronominal binding, among other relevant facts (see for instance Saab & Zdrojewski 2012, 2013 for an analysis of island repair under CD). In this section, we show that these intricacies can be resolved elegantly once we adopt the assumption that CD is just an indication of the syntactic activity of a [+person] feature on pronouns and certain DP objects, and that these person features may trigger A-movement of those objects to the  $v$ P edge.

As for the question of linguistic variation, we propose that Argentinean Spanish can optionally encode a [3person] feature on lexical DPs in the syntax (for similar ideas see also Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007). As we will see, this minimal difference is sufficient to account for all the particularities of this dialect when it comes to the doubling problem. Our view then is in consonance with the extended idea that the particular way in which syntax manipulates the universal set of formal features is at the heart of the language variation problem (the Chomsky-Borer connection). In other words, at least part of the variation attested among

languages should be attributed to the computational system (in the way just explained) and not to external factors.

## <2>5.1. The Person Feature Condition on CD and the source of microvariation

As starting point, we will assume that the DP structure projects at least the following functional categories with the features specified in their corresponding heads:



Following the line of research originated in Abney (1987), we assume that the extended projection of a noun is headed by a determiner projection that encodes at least definiteness and person features (cf. Abney 1987, Ritter 1995, Panagiotidis 2002 and Saab 2008, among others). Suggestive evidence that person features are encoded on the determiner is provided by languages like English, which have explicit pronominal determiners (cf. Panagiotidis 2002: 19):

(40) We linguists are happy when people understand what we do.

This assumption about the encoding of person features will be a key ingredient for our account of KG (see below). But before addressing the issue, we propose the following general hypothesis on the trigger of CD in general Spanish:

*The Person Feature Condition on CD (PFC):*

(41) CD is triggered by person features on pronominal/DP objects.

This is a necessary condition on CD, although not a sufficient one, as other aspects of DPs, such as definiteness, specificity and so on, could also be operative for the underlying mechanism that triggers CD among Spanish dialects. Here, we will only address the effects that such features have on CD and will assume without further discussion that definiteness is also needed for CD to apply. The PFC in (41) directly accounts for the fact that CD is obligatory in pronominal contexts in all Spanish dialects. As for lexical DPs, we propose, following Saab (2008, 2013) that the D node is redundantly understood as “third person” whenever the feature [*u*definite] is encoded. In other words, [3person] is a default value for lexical DPs. This property distinguishes them from (strong) third person pronouns that mandatorily encode a 3P specification (see below). As for the 1/2P, we also follow Saab in assuming that the D node in lexical DPs can codify these features. A direct consequence of this idea is that it can immediately account for the so-called unagreement effects in Spanish (Ordóñez 1997, Ordóñez & Treviño 1999, Saab 2008, 2013, among many others):

(42) a. Los estudiantes tenemos mala memoria.

DET students have:PRS.1.PL bad memory

‘We students have bad memory.’

b. Los estudiantes tenéis mala memoria. (Only Iberian Spanish)

the students have:PRS.2.PL bad memory

‘You students have bad memory.’

c. Los estudiantes tienen mala memoria.

DET students have:PRS.3.PL bad memory

‘The students have bad memory.’ (Ordóñez 1997:195)

In an example like (42a), for instance, the [D] node of the subject DP is [definite, 1P] and, accordingly, induces first person agreement on the verb. That is because the definite specification of D corresponds by redundancy to the 3P feature at the PF component of the grammar. Notice now that the combination of [3P, 1P] in the same abstract node is what we normally call a first person plural (see Halle 1997). The fact that the node D in English is *we* in examples like (40), but *los* in Spanish only shows that there is a pattern of systematic syncretism in Spanish with respect to person features (see Saab 2008, 2013 for details). Another advantage of this approach is that it derives the well-known restriction that unagreement is only attested in 1/2 plural contexts:

- (43) a. \* El estudiante defiende la universidad pública.  
           DET student    defend:PRS.1.SG DET university    public  
       b. \* El estudiante defendés la universidad pública.  
           DET student    defend:PRS.2.SG DET university    public

Given that D in each of these examples is already “third person” (i.e., it is [+definite]), the addition of a 1P or 2P feature is logically incompatible with a singular form. Finally, let us consider the also well-known contrast between 3P pronouns and 3P lexical DPs in unagreement scenarios:

- (44) Los estudiantes/\*ellos defendemos la universidad pública.  
           DET students/they    defend:PRS.1.PL DET university    public

One alternative to explain the ban of 3P pronouns in these contexts is to assume that *ellos* is morphologically defined as containing the following set of features: {3P, plural}. Put differently, strong 3P pronouns encode person features in the syntax. Again, the addition of a 1P feature would give us the set {3P, 1P, plural}. The item that realizes this node in Spanish can only be *nosotros* (or its weak form *nos*), and not *ellos*. For lexical DPs, instead, the vocabulary item that realizes the abstract D node is underspecified for person features and, for this reason, we obtain the syncretism already mentioned.

With these remarks on the feature composition of determiners in mind, let us move on and see how this interacts with the PFC formulated in (41). Maybe trivially, we can see now why CD is mandatory with pronoun objects in all Spanish dialects. More importantly, however, the PFC, plus our analysis of DPs, accounts straightforwardly for the basic fact that in all Spanish dialects that we are aware CD is also mandatory when unagreement effects arise in object position (Ordóñez 1997, Ordóñez & Treviño 1999, Di Tullio & Zdrojewski 2006, and Leonetti 2008):

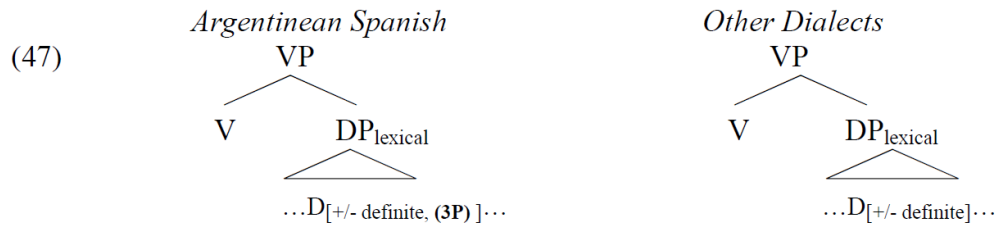
- (45) Nos            vieron        a        los estudiantes. [CD] (ALL Spanish dialects)  
          CL.1.PL.ACC see:PST.3.PL ACC DET students  
          ‘They saw us students.’                    [Fernández-Soriano 1999, 1250 (141e)]

We believe that this is a crucial fact for the understanding of the nature of CD and the source of its variants across dialects. What (45) shows is that the PFC is at play here, because a [1person] feature is present in the syntactic representation of the object DP. This DP triggers then the introduction of a doubling clitic at PF, which is a mere copy of the formal features of the object DP; i.e., {1P, 3P, plural}. The phonological representation of this morphological object is, of course, /*nos*/.

The consequence of this view for the variation question (i.e., what is special about Argentinean Spanish in the realm of doubling?) is that there is nothing particular in the mechanism of doubling in Argentinean Spanish that makes the difference: CD is uniformly regulated by the PFC across each Spanish dialect (and probably beyond Spanish). Instead, we propose that the microparameter that makes the difference has to be found in the feature composition of DPs. Concretely, we propose the following hypothesis.

- (46) Lexical DPs in Argentinean Spanish are optionally assigned with a [3Person] feature in the syntax.

Simplifying somewhat, we can represent the difference between Argentinean Spanish and other Spanish dialects as follows:



The optionality of CD in Argentinean Spanish is the result of the optionality of 3P specification on lexical DPs: whenever such a feature is present, CD must apply in consonance with the PFC.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Space considerations do not allow us to present a detailed discussion on whether the [3P] feature is always represented in the syntax (see Nevins 2007, among others) or not (Anagnostopoulou 2005, among others). This question involves a broader debate that exceeds the scope of this chapter. At any rate, to the extent that we claim

(48) Juan (la)                      saludó                      a                      María.                      [CD]

Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC greet:PST.3.SG ACC María

‘Juan greeted María.’

In this subsection, we have presented the basic ingredients of our theory of CD. Let us show now how this simple theory derives the set of complex interactions involving this phenomenon.

## <2>5.2. Deriving the syntactic-LF effects of CD

The most pressing question to the approach to CD we are pursuing here is whether or not such a minimal difference in the formal feature composition of lexical DPs is enough to account for the syntactic/LF effects that CD induces (WCO repair effects, absence of reconstruction and so on). In this section, we show that the answer to this question is positive and, more importantly, that its consequences are revealing for the syntax of CD and beyond. Shortly, we propose that [person] features on pronouns or lexical DP objects trigger A-movement to the  $\nu$ P edge. Putting aside the optionality issue, we defend the idea that the  $\nu$ P edge may count both as an A or A' position depending on the edge feature triggering movement.<sup>10</sup> If the feature at hand is a [person] feature, movement will have A-properties

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that the [3P] features can be optionally specified on lexical DPs, our assumptions are not compatible with Nevins' (2007) proposal.

<sup>10</sup> The literature on clitic constructions has usually resorted to the A/A' distinction so as to account for the absence of WCO and reconstruction effects. For instance, Sportiche (1996) proposes that some clitic positions count as A-positions, whereas others as A'-positions. In her proposal, the movement triggered by specificity removes WCO effects all together. Then, the lack of WCO effects in CD and CLLD are accounted on the same

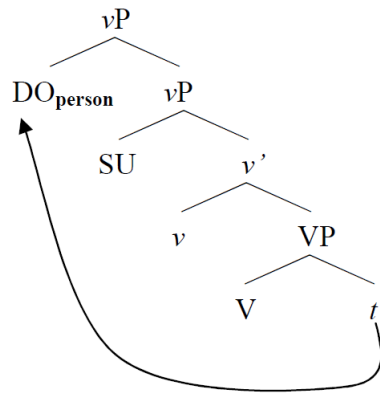


and, of course, it will require a matching [person] feature on the DP object; whatever other feature attracts constituents to the  $\nu$ P edge will be considered an A'-feature in consonance with Chomsky (2000, 2001) and Ishii (2006) and, especially, with Baker's (2012) recent conclusions on case and object agreement in Amharic. At any rate, we will not commit ourselves to any particular attract theory of movement or with any particular ontology of edge features. If we use such notions is only for expository convenience, and the argument remains the same under other conceptions of movement (the survive approach, for instance). What is more, the A/A' distinction should be considered as a descriptive device, as well. Our concern then is the empirical effects that such a distinction makes in the realm of CD beyond the proper content of the A/A' pair. Having made these clarifications, we can now see the difference between doubled and non-doubled objects in the following simplified trees (49).

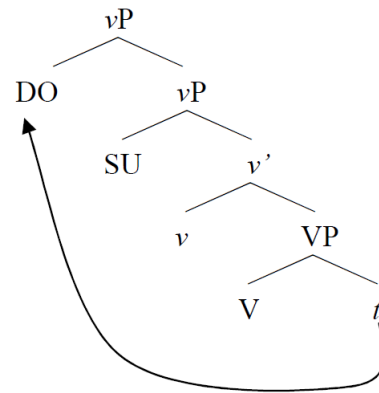
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grounds. However, the contrasts revised in this chapter challenge this hypothesis. In a similar vein, Zubizarreta (1998) claims that Spec,TP counts as an A-position for CLLDed constituents only in non-embedded contexts. Instead, Torrego (1998) and López (2009, 2012) conceive of Spec, $\nu$ P as an A-position. Torrego claims that some accusative DOM DPs A-move to Spec, $\nu$ P. However, we think that the arguments given in favor of this idea has not been shown as conclusive (see López 2012, for a discussion). As for López, he claims that CLRDed constituents occupy a Spec, $\nu$ P, an A-position, according to his view. We do not agree with this claim on CLRD. At any rate, our proposal is different from theirs in a very important respect, namely, Spec, $\nu$ P would be interpreted as an A or A' position depending on the properties of the object DP, much like in the line of Baker (2012).

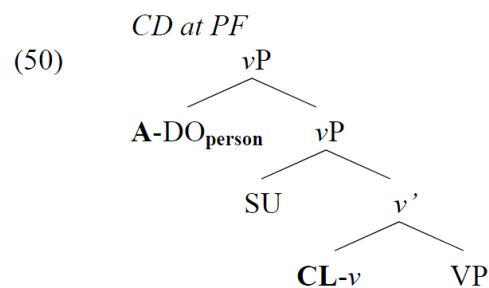
(49) *A-movement (CD)*



*A'-movement (Non-CD objects)*



The morphological evidence in favor of the distinction we are describing is precisely the presence or absence of a doubling clitic in each case. In other words, we put forward the hypothesis that pronominal clitics in CD scenarios are just the PF effect of a person agreement relation in Spec,*vP*. This is a natural conclusion if we think of A-movement as a phi-related dependency. So, at PF, the tree in (49a) is modified accordingly to add a dissociated agreement morpheme after DOM has applied to the lexical DP. For a detailed analysis of the PF mechanisms operative in CD we refer to Zdrojewski (2008):



The absence of a doubling clitic then correlates with the absence of A-movement to the *vP* edge. If such movement occurs, we will get an A'-dependency. The first remarkable

consequence of the line of thinking we are exploring here is a direct explanation of WCO repair effects in CD configurations:<sup>11</sup>

- (51) A    MARÍA<sub>i</sub>    \*?(la<sub>i</sub>)                    criticó                    su<sub>i</sub>                    padre.    [CD]  
          ACC   María       CL.3.F.SG.ACC    criticize:PST.3.SG   POSS.3.SG   father  
          ‘Her father criticized MARÍA.’

As is known, WCO effects arise when a possessive (or other pronouns) in a specific syntactic configuration is between the head and the tail of an A'-chain.

- (52) OP<sub>i</sub>        ...        pro<sub>i</sub>        ...        *variable*<sub>i</sub>

Notice that this configuration never arises in CD environments because the movement of the object does not create an OP-variable chain, but a simple A-chain triggered by person features.

- (53) DP<sub>i</sub>        ...        pro<sub>i</sub>        ...        *t*<sub>i</sub>

In this respect, CD parallels the behavior of other well-known instances of A-movement that also are immune to WCO effects:

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<sup>11</sup> See also Baker (2012) for the same conclusion in connection with indefinite and definite objects in Amharic. Interestingly, in Argentinean Spanish the asymmetry in WCO effects is attested between doubled and non-doubled definite objects, showing that the issue seems to be independent of definiteness effects on DPs.

(54) Who<sub>i</sub> *t'*<sub>i</sub> seems to his<sub>i</sub> mother [*t*<sub>i</sub> to be smart]? [Ishii 2006: 158]

Now, recall that WCO repair effects vanish in long-distance extraction contexts whenever the object is extracted from an embedded clause, crossing an intervening pronoun which is generated in the main clause (Mahajan 1991, Ishii 2006 for English):

- (55) a. \*? A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree su<sub>i</sub>\_\_\_\_\_profesor que [CD]  
 ACC Juan think:PRS.3.SG POSS.3.SG professor that  
 lo<sub>i</sub> criticó María (no a Pedro).  
 CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG María not ACC Pedro
- b. A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree María que lo<sub>i</sub> criticó [CD]  
 ACC Juan think:PRS.3.SG María that CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG  
su<sub>i</sub>\_\_\_\_\_profesor (no a Pedro).  
 POSS.3.SG professor not ACC Pedro  
 ‘María thinks that his professor criticized Juan.’

As observed by Ishii, this puzzling fact follows if it is the case that only the first step of movement is of the A-type. Thus, in a sentence like (55a) even when CD indicates A-movement from the original object position to the embedded *v*P edge, the subsequent steps of movement can only count as A’ (see 56).<sup>12</sup> Crucially then, extraction from the embedded object crossing the subject in the main clause revives WCO effects:

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<sup>12</sup> We remain neutral with respect to the issue of whether the movement from the embedded *v*P edge applies from phase edge to phase edge, or directly to the landing site. Notice, at any rate, that the A’ steps we are

- (56) A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree [<sub>VP</sub> *t* su<sub>i</sub> profesor [<sub>CP</sub> *t* que [<sub>VP</sub> *t* lo<sub>i</sub> criticó *t* María] ] [CD]
- 
- A'*                      *A'*                      *A'*                      *A*

Of course, in non-doubling scenarios, the first step is enough to produce WCO effects given that it creates an *A'* chain (see the examples in 36, above). Finally, let us briefly to return to the contrast between CD and CLLD in WCO contexts. As noticed in section 3.3, CLLD is not sensitive to the relative position of the possessive:

- (57) a. A Juan<sub>i</sub>, su<sub>i</sub> profesor cree que [CLLD]
- ACC Juan POSS.3.SG professor think:PRS.3.SG that
- lo<sub>i</sub> criticó María.
- CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG María
- ‘His professor thinks that María criticized Juan.’
- b. A Juan<sub>i</sub>, María cree que [CLLD]
- ACC Juan María think:PRS.3.SG that
- lo<sub>i</sub> criticó su<sub>i</sub> profesor.
- CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG POSS.3.SG professor
- ‘María thinks that his professor criticized Juan.’

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representing only for expository reasons do not constitute violations of freezing effects because they count as intermediate traces (see Rizzi 2006).

We think that this fact is revealing of the nature of CLLD. If we are on track, it seems that left dislocated topics do not move cyclically, an idea that has its origins in Cinque's (1990) seminal work. For the same token, focalization under CD should be considered as an instance of cyclic focus movement in the usual sense. Therefore, we are led to conclude that either pronominal resumption is not what matters in the cyclic *vs* non-cyclic distinction or that doubling clitics are really syntactically inert entities. This last claim seems to be more in consonance with other properties of doubling clitics, mainly connected with their non-anaphoric nature. In other words, if the syntactic inertness of clitics in CD environments is on track, we can safely assert that cyclic focus/*wh* movement and CLLD (and other related resumptive structures) can be properly distinguished on the basis of syntactic resumption. We will leave this issue open for space reasons (although see Saab & Zdrojewski 2013 for a first approximation to the problem).

The hypothesis that doubled objects A-move (maybe optionally) to the *vP* edge not only resolves the puzzling facts regarding WCO in simple and complex extraction scenarios, but also derives the impossibility of pronominal binding in CD configurations. Consider again the examples in (37), repeated below:

- (58) a. \* A      su              HIJO<sub>i</sub> lo              castigó              cada padre<sub>i</sub>.              [CD]  
           ACC POSS.3.SG son      CL.3.M.SG.ACC punish:PST.3.SG each father.  
       b. A      su              HIJO<sub>i</sub> castigó              cada      padre<sub>i</sub>.  
           ACC POSS.3.SG son      punish:PST.3.SG each      father.  
           'Each father punished his (own) SON.'

As is well-known, especially since Lasnik (1999), traces of A-movement are not reconstruction sites.<sup>13</sup> For this reason, the copy of the direct object in (58a) cannot be interpreted under the scope of the universal quantifier. In (58b), instead, LF reconstruction takes place without difficulty and the desired binding configuration obtains.<sup>14</sup>

In summary, the syntactic/LF effects of CD are not a consequence of the presence of pronominal clitics, which are only the morphological realization of an abstract syntactic property of pronouns/DPs. Instead, the key factor is the syntactic composition of object DPs in Spanish and, particularly, the syntactic activity of person features. If the PFC is correct, then we can safely take CD as an indication that doubled DPs encode person features. In turn, whenever movement of a [+person] object takes place, we are forced to interpret the *v*P edge as an A-position. This follows from the theory of A-dependencies: if the A/A' distinction exists at all, it should boil down to the phi-system and nothing else (*pace* Ishii 2006 in this respect). Person features are of course part of such a system. The syntactic/LF effects of doubling configurations are thus the direct result of how syntax manipulates the inflectional system of a language. As for Argentinean Spanish in particular, things fall in place once we accept the assumption that this dialect optionally assigns a [3P] feature to lexical DPs in the

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<sup>13</sup> Lasnik's (1999) claim about the lack of reconstruction effects in A-movement has been challenged by many authors (Fox 1999, among others). However, it has also been noticed that A-reconstruction is less consistent than A'-reconstruction. In fact, it is well known that A-scrambling in German and Japanese can reconstruct for scope, but not for binding (see Wurmbrand 2010 and references therein). The behavior of Argentinean Spanish CD with respect to reconstruction effects seems to be coherent with this observation. Unfortunately, it is not obvious that scope reconstruction effects could be tested in the CD domain, at least in this dialect, because CD of quantified DPs and indefinites tend to be ungrammatical.

<sup>14</sup> We use the term *reconstruction* in a descriptive sense. In other words, we are not committed with the existence of a *reconstruction* operation properly.

syntax. This minimal difference in the feature composition of DPs within and across dialects is enough to account for the intricate set of phenomena we have considered here.

### <2>5.3. A final remark on inanimate a-DPs

In section 2, we showed that Argentinean Spanish allows for DOM with non-animate DPs. So it is worth exploring whether CD can also arise in such contexts. Consider (59):

- (59) a. La **arreglé**, a la moto. [CLRD]  
 CL:3.F.SG.ACC fix.PST.1.SG ACC DET motorcycle  
 ‘I FIXED the motorcycle.’
- b. \* La arreglé a la **moto**. [CD]  
 CL:3.F.SG.ACC fix.PST.1.SG ACC DET motorcycle  
 ‘I fixed the motorcycle.’

(59a) is totally accepted in this dialect. However, notice that neutral stress normally falls on the constituent preceding the object, as witnessed by the contrast between (59a) and (59b) (although some variation among speakers is possible). On top of this, the *association-with-focus* test gives clear negative results as cases of CD (60).

- (60) (\*La) arreglé solo a la moto. [CD]  
 CL:3.F.SG.ACC fix:PST.1.SG only ACC DET motorcycle  
 ‘I fixed only the motorcycle.’

It seems then that we have a clear indication that examples such as (59) are not CD configurations but CLRD ones. That is what we expect for (optional?) *a*-insertion in topic



positions, namely, absence of KG effects in dislocated positions; i.e., presence or absence of DOM does not affect the obligatory occurrence of the clitic in such cases.

To a certain extent the asymmetry between animate and inanimate objects seems to be a natural consequence of the PFC: The syntactic presence of a [+person] feature in the syntax semantically collapses with inanimate DPs. Thus, we can restate KG in the following way:

*Kayne's Generalization (revisited):*

(61) CD is dependent on [+person] *a*-DPs.

However, we are far from an *end-of-story* situation. As it is well-known, language change might be induced by the way in which syntax manipulates syntactic-semantic features. Usually, a consequence of such manipulations simply involves the conversion of a former semantic feature into a purely formal one. Gender and classifier systems across languages are good illustrations in this respect. Imagine then that for a group of Spanish speakers the sentences in (59b) and (60) are perfectly grammatical, which would be an actual scenario, indeed. In such a situation, the obvious conclusion would be that CD has applied as a consequence of the PFC simply because a [+person] was arbitrarily assigned to a non-human DP. As we said, this is a natural scenario in the realm of linguistic change. What we would not expect to find would be speakers allowing non-human objects to be doubled but not human ones. In other words, the direction of linguistic change as far as the inventory of universal features is concerned always goes from (semantic) interpretability to (semantic) non-interpretability and not the other way around.

<1>6. Conclusion in the form of a truism

We would like to conclude with a truism. Corpus analyses are of course a useful way to approach the apparent chaos of linguistic evidence. However, one of the trends of generative grammar, one that greatly contributed to its success, was to show that such analyses cannot be carried out without the diagnostic tools that the theory of grammar is forced to provide. It is because of these tools that we are able to make sense of a huge body of evidence that at first glance seems to be out of scientific scrutiny. Among the things we have learned is that superficial similarities might be hiding deep differences in the abstract representation of sentences. As noted, we are perfectly aware that this is a truism, but, for some unknown reason, in the realm of doubling phenomena across Spanish dialects, and particularly within the Buenos Aires variety, this truism has not been considered as such. Maybe, this is the reason why several claims have been made only under the suspicious evidence of corpora uncritically taken. In this respect, we hope that the novel tools we have developed in detail here help us make sense of the apparent chaos in the doubling world.

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#### *Corpora*

CREA = Real Academia Española, *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*

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