

Clitics as predicate-makers

A case study of clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish

June 27, 2023

Abstract

Among the myriads of Spanish varieties, Rioplatense Spanish is well-known for having an extended pattern of clitic doubling (CD), both for accusative and dative arguments. Adapting van Urk's featural approach to A-movement, I propose that doubling clitics are probes, i.e., pure syntactic indexes triggering Agree+A-movement. I show that this thesis is robustly confirmed by old and new tools for diagnosing A-movement (reconstruction, WCO, binding, ellipsis, agreement and so on). At LF, the index is read off as a mere stranded λ -abstractor triggering predicate abstraction. The abstracted predicate is, then, semantically saturated by the doubled object. I distinguish clitics in CD sentences from clitics in clitic left dislocation (CLLD), which, following Cinque (1990), I model as bound variables. As I show in detail, many astonishing distributional differences between CD and CLLD are accounted for by making this basic division between probe-clitics and variable-clitics. In this regard, the theory implies a new typology of clitics, according to which, in addition to their already acknowledged status as variables or as mere agreement markers, clitics can also serve as predicate-makers (i.e., λ -abstractors).

Keywords: Clitic Doubling, A-movement, Predicate Abstraction, Rioplatense Spanish

1 Introduction

This study can be read as an attempt to understand the grammar of clitic doubling under a general theory of syntactic and semantic predication. I propose that doubling clitics are probes for A-movement in the syntax and λ -abstractors at LF. In this respect, the main theoretical contribution of this paper is its particular focus on the derivation of clitic doubling structures at the LF interface.¹

In order to highlight what I think is the novel contribution of this study, let me make a brief introduction to the main ingredients of the theory. I assume that clitics in languages of the Spanish type (i.e., languages containing impoverished clitics) can enter the derivation with or without valued ϕ -features. An important restriction is that clitics merged in non-thematic position only have unvalued / uninterpretable ϕ -features. From this, it follows that whenever a clitic enter the derivation with valued ϕ -features, it must be merged in argument position and receive a thematic interpretation. Adapting original ideas in Chomsky (1995), I also assume that clitics serving as variables are hybrid minimal and maximal categories projecting a DP, whereas clitics serving as

acknowledgement

¹The vast majority of clitic doubling theories is based on the intuition that doubling clitics do not have any impact in the truth-conditions of the sentences in which they occur; if there is any semantic or pragmatic contribution in a CD dependency is just to highlight some particular semantic or pragmatic property of the doubled object, say, specificity, definiteness and so on, i.e., the same properties that restrict object shift/scrambling in other languages (see, e.g., Suñer 1988 for a first observation regarding Rioplatense CD and Leonetti 2008 for a more general approach along these lines, and Fischer and Rinke 2013, Navarro et al. 2017 and Fischer et al. 2019 for similar considerations from a diachronic point of view). Although I agree with this general view regarding the semantic-pragmatic contribution of CD sentences, I would like to make explicit the claim that, although CD sentences are truth-conditionally equivalent to non-CD ones, they do not share the same LF derivation. See Anagnostopoulou (2014) for an excellent overview of clitic doubling theories in the generative tradition.

probes are always minimal.² The different formal content of clitics as variables and clitics as probes can be represented as follows:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) Pronoun: $D^{min/max}$ | (2) Probe: D^{min} |
| $\left[\begin{array}{c} index \\ \phi: \text{valued} \end{array} \right]$ | $\left[\begin{array}{c} index \\ \phi: \text{unvalued} \end{array} \right]$ |

Next, consider an accusative clitic doubling structure of the well-known Rioplatense Spanish type first studied by Jaeggli in the generative tradition (1982, 1986).³

- (3) Ana lo vio a Juan.
 Ana CL.MASC.3SG.ACC saw DOM Juan
 ‘Ana saw Juan.’

My central claim regarding doubling clitics is that they are generated as probes in non-thematic positions and that the doubled DP is, in turn, merged in the normal thematic position that corresponds to DOs:

- (4) [CIP CL [VoiceP Ana Voice [VP V Juan]]]

Compare with a clitic in thematic position:

- (5) a. Ana lo vio.
 Ana CL.MASC.3SG.ACC saw

²Technically, this implies that clitics merge as phrasal complements of verbal heads whenever they act as (bound or free) variables.

³Of course, like all Spanish dialects I am aware of, first/second and third person clitics also trigger clitic doubling of the corresponding strong pronouns. I will not discuss pronominal clitic doubling in any detail here. As far as I can tell, the analysis I offer for accusative and dative clitic doubling of full DPs generalizes over the most common pattern.

- (i) Ana me/te/la vio a mí/vos/ella.
 Ana CL.1SG.ACC/CL.2SG.ACC/CL.FEM.3SG.ACC saw DOM me/you/her
 ‘Ana saw me/you/her.’

‘Ana saw him.’

b. [VoiceP Ana Voice [VP V CL]]

A pronoun in thematic position like in (5a) is, under the well-established Montaguean tradition, an index triggering a particular assignment function (see Heim and Kratzer 1998 and Saab and Carranza 2021 for introductions to the notion of variable assignment):

(6) $\llbracket \text{Cl} = \text{index} \rrbracket^g = g(\text{index}) = \text{individual}$

In contradistinction, the non-argumental clitic/index in (4), merged as a sister of VoiceP, feeds instead λ -abstraction at LF:

(7) **Predicate abstraction:**

Let α a branching node with daughters β and γ , where β dominates only a numeric index i . Then, for any variable assignment g , $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^g = \lambda x. \llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^{g[i \rightarrow x]}$.

[Heim and Kratzer 1998: 186]

This means that the clitic opens its sister node in the usual way:

(8) $\llbracket \text{Cl} = \text{index} + \text{VoiceP} \rrbracket^g = \lambda x. \llbracket \text{VoiceP} \rrbracket^{g[i \rightarrow x]}$

The first preliminary consequence is straightforward: clitics in non-thematic positions (in particular, as sister of proposition-denoting phrases) create LF predicates through λ -abstraction. The argument slot introduced by the new λ -formula is saturated by overt A-movement of the doubled DP to the spec,CIP position. This again depends on syntax: the clitic and the argument DP must be related through syntactic Agree and A-movement. This follows if clitics, unlike argumental pronouns, are literal probes for Agree+A-Movement. On the syntactic side, this aspect of the theory is in accord with the spirit of Sportiche’s (1996) theory of clitics. The following simplified analysis schematizes what I have just said:⁴

(9) [CIP DOM Juan CL [VoiceP Ana Voice [VP V *t*_{Juan}]]]

⁴Note that the subject in spec,VoiceP does not intervene in the dependency between the clitic and the direct object. As discussed in footnote 16, this follows if the search domain of the probe is restricted to the complement of the phase head, i.e., the Voice head.

This syntax has the following straightforward LF:

(10) $\lambda x.[\text{Ana saw } x](\text{Juan})$

Now, crucially departing from Sportiche’s original theory, I also propose that in clitic left dislocation (CLLD), the clitic is not a probe, but a variable, like originally proposed by Cinque (1990). As for its LF representation, this means that it must be treated as bound variables. Although I will not defend a particular detailed analysis for CLLD, I will conjecture that CLLD clitics and their associated DPs form a big DP, from which the topic moves until it reaches its final landing position in spec,TopP.⁵

- (11) a. a Juan, Ana lo vio.
 DOM Juan Ana CL.MASC.3SG.ACC saw
 ‘Juan, Ana saw him.’
- b. [_{TopP} [_{DP} a Juan]_i [_{TP} T [_{VoiceP} Ana Voice [_{VP} V [_{DP} *t_i* lo]]]]]

The movement of the dislocated constituent is of the A’-type in the sense of not being motivated by EPP requirements of any ϕ -related probe. Yet, unlike other types of A’-movement, it uniformly abstracts over individuals, even in the intermediate steps of its way to TopP. In this respect, my proposal also departs from van Urk (2015) for whom A’-movement never abstracts over individuals. I will argue that by giving up van Urk’s assumption regarding the nature of A’-movement, we can straightforwardly capture a set of astonishing differences between CD and CLLD. On the account to be presented in what follows, the A/A’ distinction reduces to the nature of the probe. Put differently, and now in accord with van Urk’s featural approach to the A/A’ distinction, A-movement is always triggered by the need for establishing a local Agree dependency between a goal and a probe with unvalued ϕ -features. As is well-known, the trigger is formally encoded as an EPP requirement on the probe. Here, I suggest that we conceive of the index itself as the trigger of EPP-effects, i.e., the index *is* the EPP feature.

⁵This is still a simplification. As we will see in section 3.2, before topic extraction, the big DP moves to the edge of the VoiceP, as originally proposed by Cecchetto (2000).

In sum, from certain fairly well-established assumptions, we derive the syntax and LF of clitic doubling from abstract interactions at the syntax-LF interface. This view implies certain commitment with the thesis that the semantics of doubling clitics is not entirely vacuous or, put another way, doubling clitics are not mere agreement markers. Yet, against Baker and Kramer (2018), they are not variables (i.e., pronouns), either. From my point of view, Baker and Kramer's conclusions regarding the nature of CD suffers from the same oversimplification that most theory of clitics that assume that there are only two entities to consider: variables or agreement markers. It is one of the central claims of this paper that the theory of clitics must acknowledge the existence of the entities that I call here *predicate-makers*. In what follows, I extensively justify the core theses just introduced. To this end, in the next section, I will unfold a battery of diagnostics that will provide a proper characterization of the phenomenon under discussion here. As is well known, Rioplatense clitic doubling has been under public debate in the generative tradition at least since Jaeggli (1982). Yet, many facts still remains poorly understood and this, in turn, opens the analytic space in many unrestricted ways. The results obtained at the end of section 2 will narrow this analytic space by conclusively showing that clitic doubling involves a step of phrasal A-movement above the subject. As already observed, this movement is triggered by an EPP requirement encoded on the clitic itself. No such motivation is observed in CLLD configurations, in which the dislocated constituent moves to its final landing site through uniform A'-movement. Yet, unlike other types of A'-dependencies, the movement uniformly abstracts over individuals, giving rise to the well-known hybrid nature of CLLD. In section 3, I propose an explicit implementation of the clitics-as-probes thesis, according to which at LF clitics are read off as mere stranded λ -abstractors. Then, the moved doubled object closes the open formula in the standard way. I show how this approach explains the entire set of intricate facts introduced in the previous section. In addition, I will also present new evidence showing that clitic doubling, but not CLLD, requires a step of syntactic Agree. This piece of evidence crucially involves PCC effects in totally unexpected contexts, in which a third person clitic doubles a full DP in presence of a dative argument. I call this restriction the Double Doubling Ban, a fact based on observations due to Zdrojewski (2008), Saab (2008), and Saab and Zdrojewski (2012). This will be the topic of section 4, in which I first demonstrate that dative clitic doubling

also involves a step of A-movement crossing the subject and that the differences between both types of doubling reduce to internal properties of the moved object in each case. In the same section, the No Double Doubling Ban is, then, introduced as a new piece of evidence in favor of the proposed theory. In the last section, I conclude by completing the typology of clitics and briefly discussing some of its consequences.

2 Accusative CD and A-movement

As is well-known, one of the most prominent characteristics of Rioplatense Spanish is the optional doubling of full nominal phrases (Jaeggli 1982, 1986, Suñer 1988, Zdrojewski 2008, among many others). Consider, in this respect, the contrast between (12), which illustrates mandatory CD of pronominal DOs (the usual pattern in most, if not all, Spanish dialects), and (13), which illustrates optional Rioplatense doubling of non-pronominal DOs (see Di Tullio et al 2019 for a more detailed characterization of CD in Rioplatense Spanish):

(12) *(Me) vio a mí.
 CL.1SG.ACC see:PST.3SG DOM me
 ‘(S)he saw me.’ [All dialects]

(13) a. Santos (la) miró a Rosa.
 Santos CL.FEM.3SG.ACC look-at:PST.3SG DOM Rosa
 ‘Santos looked at Rosa.’
 b. La vieja (lo) tomó al llorón de la mano.
 the old-woman CL.MASC.3SG.ACC take:PST.3SG DOM-DET weeper of the hand
 ‘The old woman took the weeper one by the hand.’

[Rioplatense Spanish, adapted from Kany 1969: 148]

Here, I will focus only on the distribution of clitic doubling in sentences like (13), which, without a doubt, constitute the core cases of clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish. To this end, I will make use of a particular type of construction involving focus fronting with optional clitic doubling (Saab and Zdrojewski, 2012, Di Tullio et al., 2019). I call *Focus-CD* to the sentence

involving focus fronting plus clitic doubling and *bare Focus Fronting* (or BFF for short) to the one without doubling:⁶

⁶As noted by a reviewer, Focus-CD is not registered in the literature of other putative CD languages (Balkan languages, for instance). Yet, it is worth-mentioning that Focus-CD is, of course, available in other Spanish dialects in which pronominal doubling is mandatory:

- (i) A ELLA *(la) vi.
 DOM her CL.FEM.3SG.ACC saw.1 SG
 ‘I saw HER.’

[all Spanish dialects]

So, Rioplatense Spanish does not show any funny property with respect to focus fronting *per se*. The dialect is distinguished only because the doubling extended to non-pronominal accusative DPs and, since the doubled DP is part of the focus set of the sentence, the property of focus fronting is directly predicted. Romanian, a Romance language similar to Rioplatense Spanish CD in many respects, also has doubling of non-pronominal DOs within the focus set of the sentence. The prediction is that this language should have Focus-CD. As the following example shows, this is borne out:

- (ii) PE MARIA *(o) voi lăuda.
 DOM Maria CL.FEM.3SG.ACC FUT.1 SG praise
 ‘I will praise MARIA.’

[Monica Irimia, personal communication]

In contradistinction to CD in Spanish and other Romance languages, in dislocations, both of the CLRD and CLLD types, the dislocated constituent is never part of the focus set and it is, consequently, incompatible with focus intonation and focus movement of any type. This leads me to the preliminary conclusion that those other languages with clitic duplication that do not show the option of focus fronting under clitic duplication do not have CD of the Spanish or Romanian type but something more similar to dislocation with clitic reduplication, like CLRD. Interestingly, the

- (14) A MARÍA (la) critiqué.
 DOM María CL.FEM.3SG.ACC criticize:PST.1SG
 ‘I criticized MARÍA.’

And I will compare this kind of structures with the more familiar CLLD constructions (Hurtado, 1984, Cinque, 1990, Cecchetto, 2000, Zubizarreta, 1998, Arregi, 2003, Zdrojewski, 2008, Saab and Zdrojewski, 2012, Di Tullio et al., 2019):

- (15) A María, la critiqué ayer.
 DOM María CL.FEM.3SG.ACC criticize:PST.1SG yesterday
 ‘Mary, I criticized her yesterday.’

This is an useful methodological move, since it allows me to isolate the relevant differences by keeping under control (to a reasonable extent) other variables. Putting aside the discourse properties of each construction (contrastive focus vs. contrastive topic), we can safely assume that CLLD, Focus-CD, and BFF involve all at least one step of A'-extraction each. In order to show this, I will assume with Angelopoulos and Sportiche (2021) that reconstructions of different sorts can be used to test A or A'-extractions both at the landing sites of the relevant XPs and at the intermediate steps of movement. With the exception of the pre and postverbal asymmetries to be noted below (see section 2.5), reconstruction patterns in Spanish behaves as many other languages in the relevant respects. Let's see some of those patterns. Angelopoulos and Sportiche use reconstruction in Greek and French in an ample set of left dislocation configurations to claim that CLLD in these languages allows reconstruction of the left dislocated constituent below the subject position (perhaps, only below the *surface* subject position, see section 3.2.2), a typical property of A'-extractions. That

same reviewer notes that in languages in which Focus-CD is banned, there is no double doubling ban of the type I discuss in section 4, where I show that Spanish does not tolerate simultaneous CD of accusative and dative DPs. As the example (106) in that section clearly demonstrates, the ban does not apply to right dislocations. So, it seems that, at least in this respect, the languages the reviewer has in mind reproduce the pattern of CLRD not of CD.

there is at least one step of A'-movement can be demonstrated in the following Greek example, in which there is a Principle-C violation related to the reconstruction site below the subject position:

- (16) [Ton jítóna tu Jorghu_j]_k pro_{*j,m} dhén ton_k ghnorízi
 the neighbor.ACC the George.GEN 3SG.MASC.NOM not CL.3SG.MASC.NOM knows
 kala.
 well
 'George's neighbor, he does not know well.'

[Angelopoulos and Sportiche 2021: 966]

The same effects are attested both in Focus-CD, BFF and CLLD in Spanish, corroborating that in all these cases there is, indeed, a step of A'-movement:

- (17) a. [AL VECINO DE JUAN_j]_k pro_{*j,m} no (lo_k) conoce
 DOM.the neighbor of Juan 3SG.MASC.NOM not CL.3SG.MASC.NOM knows
 bien.
 well
 'George's neighbor, he does not know well.' [Focus-CD/BFF]
- b. [Al vecino de Juan_j]_k, pro_{*j,m} no lo_k conoce bien.
 DOM.the neighbor of Juan 3SG.MASC.NOM not CL.3SG.MASC.NOM knows well
 'George's neighbor, he does not know well.' [CLLD]

In addition, they also claim that CLLD involves at least an intermediate step of A-movement (probably, more than one). The diagnostic they use to test this step of A-movement in Greek and French gives a different result in Spanish. Consider first Greek. In the following example, there is no Principle-C effect:

- (18) [Tis fotografíes tu Jorghu_j]_k, i María dhén tu_j
 the pictures.ACC the Jorghu.GEN the Maria.MOM not CL.3SG.MASC.DAT
 tis_k epestrepse.
 CL.3PL.FEM.ACC returned.3SG
 'The pictures of George, Maria did not return to him.'

This follows from two assumptions they made. First, the *pro* associated with the dative clitic through A-movement does not reconstruct in its original position and, second, the dislocated DO moves to its landing site through one intermediate step of A-movement above the position of the indirect object. Given that the DO can reconstruct in this position, but not lower, it is always higher than the dative *pro*, which, consequently, cannot produce any Principle-C violation. Now, Spanish clearly contrasts with Greek (and French) in this regard, since the Spanish versions of sentences like (18) trigger Principle-C effects, clearly indicating total reconstruction below the position of the dative clitic:

- (19) *Ayer, [las fotos de Juan_j]_k, no se_j las_k devolvi.
 yesterday, the pictures of Juan not CL.3SG.DAT CL.FEM.3PL.ACC returned 1 SG
 ‘Yesterday, Juan’s pictures, I did not returned to him.’ [CLLD]

And the same, with Focus-CD and BFF:

- (20) *[A LAS AMIGAS DE JUAN_j]_k, no se_j (las_k)
 DOM the friends of Juan not CL.3SG.DAT CL.FEM.3PL.ACC
 recomendé.
 recommended. 1 SG
 ‘I did not recommend Juan’s FRIENDS to him.’ [Focus-CD/BFF]

I would like to conjecture that the difference between Greek and Spanish is not related to reconstruction *per se*, but to the reconstruction site for DOs, which, by assumption and unlike French and Greek, should be lower than the A-position of dative arguments. If this is the case, then, the presence of Principle-C effects in sentences like (20) is correctly captured in Spanish. At any rate, it is not clear at all that this kind of facts can really be used as an argument for an intermediate step of A-movement in CD or CLLD in Spanish. As far as I can tell, only Focus-CD involves a step of A-movement, in my favored sense, crossing the subject, i.e., only Focus-CD involves an underlying clitic doubling configuration like:⁷

⁷On this analysis, sentences like (21) can be seen as identical to the Focus-CD ones, except, of course, for the step of overt focus extraction, which is absent here. Therefore, the doubled

(21) La critiqué a María.

CL.FEM.3SG.ACC criticize:PST.1SG DOM María

‘I criticized María.’

In order to demonstrate this hypothesis and to obtain a proper characterization of Rioplatense clitic doubling, in the remainder of this section, I will unfold a battery of robust diagnostics to differentiate A-properties from A'-properties.

2.1 *Optional vs obligatory doubling*

The first fact to be noted is that clitic doubling is optional in focus fronting constructions. In contradistinction, clitics are mandatory in CLLD, at least in Rioplatense and most dialects of Spanish:

(22) a. A MARÍA (la) critiqué.

DOM María CL.FEM.3SG.ACC criticize:PST.1SG

‘I criticized MARÍA.’

b. A María, *(la) critiqué.

DOM María CL.FEM.3SG.ACC criticize:PST.1SG

‘María, I criticized her.’

As we will see in detail, absence vs. presence of an accusative clitic in examples like (22a) is strongly correlated with presence vs. absence of a step of A-movement superficially indicated by the clitic itself in both focus fronting constructions. However, when it comes to comparing CD and CLLD, the presence of a ϕ -matching clitic cannot be taken as an indication of A or A'-properties.

object in (21) is ex-situ, concretely, in spec,CIP, and the surface word order is derived by head movement above the CIP position. In this respect, my analysis is in accord with the vast majority of accounts of CD configurations, according to which doubling sentences are the superficial reflex of A-scrambling of objects to the middle field. Examples like (32b), in which there is WCO amelioration even with the object in postverbal position confirms the ex-situ thesis.

2.2 *Focus intonation and obligatory subject inversion*

If Focus-CD is an instance of focus fronting, we expect for it to trigger some of the basic properties of focus fronting and focus in general. There are two basic facts that corroborate this. First, the focused object bears the typical intonational emphasis that characterizes contrastive focus in general. Second, as other regular instances of BFF, it triggers subject inversion (see Torrego 1984, Arnaiz 1992, and Olarrea 1997, among others). Contrast, in this respect, Focus-CD with CLLD, which does not require inversion:

- (23) a. A MARÍA (*Juan) (la) vio (Juan).
 DOM María Juan CL.FEM.3SG.ACC see:PST.3SG Juan
 ‘Juan saw MARÍA.’
- b. A María, (Juan) la vio (Juan).
 DOM María Juan CL.FEM.3SG.ACC see:PST.3SG Juan
 ‘María, Juan saw her.’

This contrast clearly distinguishes CLLD from Focus-CD. Along the lines of the split CP theory of Rizzi (1997), I will assume that contrastive topics are above foci:

- (24) [TopP XP Top⁰ [FocP YP Foc⁰ [FinP ...

Both are A'-positions with different syntactic distribution and different semantic-pragmatic import. What distinguishes Rioplatense Spanish from other Spanish dialects and other CD languages within and beyond Romance is, precisely, the co-occurrence of focus movement plus CD of non-pronominal DPs.

2.3 *Kayne's Generalization*

Jaeggli (1982) defended the thesis that Rioplatense doubling obeys Kayne's generalization:

- (25) **Kayne's Generalization (KG):** An object NP may be doubled by a clitic only if the NP is preceded by a preposition. [Jaeggli 1982: 20]

If this is correct, we expect to find a first formal difference between Focus-CD and BFF, since the latter, like CLLD, is insensitive to differential object marking. This difference is confirmed by minimal pairs like the following ones, which show that Focus-CD behaves as regular CD (i.e., CD without overt focus movement) regarding Kayne's Generalization:

- (26) a. (La) vi a María.
 CL.FEM.3SG.ACC see:PST.1SG DOM María
 'I saw María.'
- b. A MARÍA (la) vi.
 DOM María CL.FEM.3SG.ACC see:PST.1SG
 'I saw MARÍA.'
- c. *Lo compré el auto.
 CL.MASC.3SG.ACC buy:PST.1SG the car
 'I bought the car.'
- d. El AUTO (*lo) compré.
 the car CL.MASC.3SG.ACC buy:PST.1SG
 'I bought THE CAR.'

The following two sentences just demonstrate that BFF behaves as CLLD as far as Kayne's Generalization is concerned:

- (27) a. A María, la vi ayer.
 DOM María CL.FEM.3SG.ACC see:PST.1SG yesterday
 'María, I saw her yesterday.'
- b. El auto, lo compré ayer.
 the car CL.MASC.3SG.ACC buy:PST.1SG yesterday
 'The car, I bought it yesterday.'

These judgments are extremely robust. I have found no native speaker contradicting them. However, what is indeed controversial is the very nature of Kayne's Generalization. In the generative tradition, the main known source challenging it is Suñer (1988), mainly based on *Rosaura a las 10*,

a prize-winning novel by Marco Denevi written in the 50's, although she also used Barrenechea and Orecchia (1979) (based, in turn, on the *Corpus del Habla Culta de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires*), and to a lesser extent Kany (1969), which is a very important source for Latin-America Spanish, although a too general one. According to Suñer, sentences like the following one, in which a clitic is present in absence of DOM, is enough to reject the claim that Rioplatense Spanish obeys Kayne's Generalization (for additional examples of the same type, see Suñer 1988, 399, ex. (14)):

(28) Yo *lo* voy a comprar *el diario* justo antes de subir.

I CL.MASC.3SG.ACC go to buy.INF the newspaper just before of coming-up.INF

'I am going to buy (it) the newspaper just before coming up.'

[Suñer 1988, p. 400, ex. 15]

Of course, Suñer was aware of the potential objection that sentences like this contain an instance of clitic right dislocation (CLRD), not of clitic doubling, but argued that (i) they do not have the intonation break CLRD seems to require, and that (ii) they may occur in non-final and embedded positions. I and the speakers I have consulted find some of Suñer's examples a bit marginal, especially, without a previous conversation background in which the DOs are introduced as shared information. But I agree that they are grammatical. Yet Suñer's rejection of a CLRD analysis is still not compelling. In a careful empirical discussion, Zdrojewski (2008) demonstrates that the best way of adjudicating between a CD or a CLRD analysis is constructing examples in which the relevant direct object is unambiguously focused. This experimental strategy, which is the one I have adopted here, has the clear advantage of isolating true CD, since, as is well-known, CLRD is incompatible with focus marking. The previous example in (26d), in which an unambiguously focused non-DOM object is fronted, already complies with this requirement and shows that Focus-CD requires DOM as a precondition. As Zdrojewski shows in detail, association with focus gives rise to exactly the same results, i.e., only true CD is licit with association with focus. Using *solo* 'only' for focus-marking the doubled object in an example like (28) is illicit. Compare (29a) with (29b):

- (29) a. *Yo lo voy a comprar *solo el diario* justo antes de
 I CL.MASC.3SG.ACC go.1SG to buy only the newspaper just before of
 subir.
 coming-up
 ‘I am going to buy only the newspaper just before coming up.’
- b. Yo lo voy a ver *solo a Juan* justo antes de subir.
 I CL.MASC.3SG.ACC go.1SG to see only DOM Juan just before of coming-up
 ‘I am going to see only Juan just before coming up.’

The same results obtain if we use information focus in question-answer pairs like the following ones:

- (30) Q: ¿A quién viste antes de ir al super?
 DOM whom saw.2SG before of go.INF to.the super
 ‘Who did you see before going to the supermarket?’
 A: *La vi a Ana* antes de ir al super.
 CL.FEM.3SG.ACC saw.1SG DOM Ana before of go.INF to.the supermarket
 ‘I saw Ana before going to the supermarket.’
- (31) a. Q: ¿Qué compraste antes de ir al super?
 what bought.2SG before of go.INF to.the super
 ‘What did you buy before going to the supermarket?’
 A: **Lo compré el diario* antes de ir al
 CL.MASC.3SG.ACC bought.1SG the newspaper before of go.INF to.the
 super.
 supermarket
 ‘I bought the newspaper before going to the supermarket.’

Focus fronting, association with focus and information focus in question-answer pairs are all strategies of focus marking. This observation follows if CD involves objects that are part of the focus set of a given sentence (in Reinhart’s 2006 sense; see Di Tullio et al. 2019 for further

detailed discussion), but right or left dislocated XP are not. Therefore, Suñer’s examples have to be considered as cases of right dislocation.

2.4 Rethinking Hurtado’s Observation: Weak Crossover effects (WCO)

We owe to Hurtado (1984) the important observation that clitic doublings of various kinds in Spanish obviate weak crossover effects (WCO). Thus, clitic left dislocation of an indefinite quantifier and accusative clitic doubling are immune to WCO.

- (32) a. [A algunos candidatos]_i, creo que su_i edad los_i perjudica.
 DOM some candidates believe.1SG that his age CL.MASC.3PL.ACC hinders
 [CLLD, Hurtado 1984: 224]
- b. Su_i cómplice ??(lo_i) acusó a JUAN_i.
 his accomplice CL.MASC.3PL.ACC accused DOM Juan
 [CD, Hurtado 1984: 126-127]

Hurtado observed that the pattern is general and obtains whenever a predication clitic chain is formed. I call this observation *Hurtado’s Observation*:

- (33) **Hurtado’s Observation (HO):** Predication clitic chains escape crossover effects.
 [Hurtado 1984: 125]

According to Chomsky (1982), a predicate clitic chain is formed when a sentence is opened by a clitic (and its associated empty positions) and the dislocated element serves as the “subject” of such an open sentence:

- (34) **Predication clitic chain:** (XP)_i (... clitic_i ... e_i ...)

Hurtado extensively argued that it has to be the case that, in all the relevant cases of WCO obviation (in clitic structures), the nominal associated with the clitic is in a particular A’-position, which he called “external non-argumental position”, probably a type of base-generated, peripheral position. The direct consequence of this approach is that all CD sentences like those in (32b) must have the doubled nominal in the same A’-position as dislocated topics. Here, building on previous

observations in Di Tullio et al. (2019), I argue that (i) HO is only partially correct, i.e., there are cases in which a predicate clitic chain cannot obviate WCO, and that, on the basis of this, (ii) the doubled nominal of a CD sentence and the dislocated topic of a CLLD construction cannot be conceived of in the same way.

Di Tullio et al (2019) have shown that the position of the possessive is crucial for distinguishing CD from CLLD. Whereas CLLD always repairs WCO, regardless of the position of the possessive, in Focus-CD, WCO is ameliorated only when the possessive inside the subject is in the same embedded clause as the clitic (see also Mahajan 1991 and Ishii 2006):

- (35) a. A *Juan_i, su_i* profesor cree que *lo_i*
 DOM Juan POSS.3SG profesor believe:PRS.3SG that CL.MASC.3SG.ACC
 criticó María.
 criticize:PST.3SG María
 ‘His professor believes that María criticized Juan.’
- b. A *Juan_i, María* cree que *lo_i* criticó
 DOM Juan María believe:PRS.3SG that CL.MASC.3SG.ACC criticize:PST.3SG
su_i profesor.
 POSS.3SG profesor
 ‘María believes that his professor criticized Juan.’
- (36) a. *? A JUAN_i cree *su_i* profesor que *lo_i*
 DOM Juan believe:PRS.3SG POSS.3SG profesor that CL.MASC.3SG.ACC
 criticó María (no a Pedro).
 criticize:PST.3SG María not DOM Pedro
- b. A JUAN_i cree María que *lo_i* criticó
 DOM Juan believe:PRS.3SG María that CL.MASC.3SG.ACC criticize:PST.3SG
su_i profesor (no a Pedro).
 POSS.3SG profesor not DOM Pedro
 ‘María believes that his professor criticized Juan.’

Therefore, HO overgenerates the ungrammaticality of (36a). In the next section, I will argue that the problem vanishes once we assume that CD clitics are probes for A-movement. Note now that BFF gives rise to WCO regardless of the position of the possessive:

- (37) a. ?* A JUAN_i cree su_i profesor que criticó t_i María
 DOM Juan believe:PRS.3SG POSS.3SG professor that criticize:PST.3SG María
 (no a Pedro).
 (not DOM Pedro)
 ‘His professor believes that María criticized JUAN, (no Pedro).’
- b. ?* A JUAN_i cree María que criticó t_i su_i profesor
 DOM Juan believe:PRS.3SG María that criticize:PST.3SG POSS.3SG professor
 (no a Pedro).
 (not DOM Pedro)
 ‘María believes that his professor criticized Juan, (not Pedro).’

2.5 Absence/presence of pronominal binding

In addition to the WCO facts just discussed, there are differences between focus movement with and without CD with respect to the possibilities of pronominal binding by a quantifier:

- (38) a. * A SU_i HIJO lo_i castigó cada padre_i.
 DOM POSS.3SG son CL.MASC.3SG.ACC punish:PST.3SG each father
 ‘Each father punished his SON.’
- b. A SU_i HIJO castigó cada padre_i.
 DOM POSS.3SG son punish:PST.3SG 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 whenever the subject occurs in postverbal position, which, as is broadly accepted, remains in its in situ VoiceP internal position:

- (39) * A su_i hijo, lo_i castigó cada $padre_i$.
 DOM POSS.3SG son CL.MASC.3SG.ACC punish:PST.3SG each father
 ‘Each father punished his son.’

In preverbal position, instead, binding is available:

- (40) A su_i hijo, cada $padre_i$ lo_i castigó.
 DOM POSS.3SG son each father CL.MASC.3SG.ACC punish:PST.3SG
 ‘Each father punished his son.’

The same scenario cannot be tested in Focus-CD environments since, as I have already shown, focus movement triggers obligatory subject inversion (see again the example in (23a) in section 2.2). Yet, we can test the effects of preverbal subjects in their availability to license pronominal binding if we use long focus extraction with the focused DO crossing a preverbal embedded subject. Interestingly, in this new scenario, pronominal binding becomes licit:

- (41) A SU_i HIJO creo que cada $padre_i$ lo_i
 DOM POSS.3SG son believe.1SG that each father CL.MASC.3SG.ACC
 castigó.
 punish:PST.3SG
 ‘I believe each father punished his SON.’

Therefore, it seems that both CLLD and CD are able to reconstruct below preverbal subjects, but not below postverbal ones. Besides this superficial similarity between CD and CLLD, in section 3.2.2, I will show that each case is the byproduct of different underlying mechanisms, confirming the thesis that they involve different type of clitics.

2.6 EPP-suspension under ellipsis

As is well-known, Merchant (2001) has presented compelling evidence in favor of the idea that EPP-effects in English are canceled under ellipsis. Let us explain the idea with some detail. First, consider the fact that derived positions are islands for extraction in English:

- (42) a. * Which Marx brother did she say that [a biography of ___], she refused to read?

- b. * Which Marx brother did she say that [a biography of ___] {is going to be published/will appear} this year?
- c. * Which Marx brother did she say that [a biographer of ___] {interviewed her/worked for her}?

[Merchant 2001]

Second, note now that sluicing can repair these islands:

- (43) a. A: A biography of one of the Marx brothers, she refused to read.
B: Which one?
- b. A biography of one of the Marx brothers {is going to be published / will appear} this year? — Guess which!
- c. A biographer of one of the Marx brothers {interviewed her / worked for her}, but I don't remember which.

[Merchant 2001]

According to Merchant, the pattern can be explained if the extractions in (43) do not take place from derived positions, but from postverbal ones, which, as is well-known, cancel island effects. This is allowed insofar the EPP requirement on T is suspended under ellipsis in the relevant cases, which, on some assumptions, amounts to saying that overt A-movement is suspended within ellipsis sites.⁸

- (44) ... which <[_{IP} ___ is going to be published [a biography of *t*]]>

[Merchant 2001, (<...> = E(llipsis) site)]

After Merchant's original proposal, van Craenenbroeck and den Dikken (2006) discuss further evidence that robustly confirms the EPP-suspension hypothesis. One clear piece of evidence comes

⁸The example in (43a) is somewhat different since it involves an instance of topicalization, an optional operation in the language. So, in a sense, one could argue that an alternative explanation is at stake in this case, according to which a non-topicalized structure is licit as an ellipsis site with an antecedent containing the trace of a topicalized constituent.

from absence of complementizer agreement under ellipsis. Consider first the following minimal pair in which adding agreement on C becomes ungrammatical in sluicing:

- (45) a. Jan weet niet wie *darr-e* wiej gezien hebt.
Jan knows not who that-AGR we seen have
'Jan doesn't know who we have seen.'
- b. Wiej hebt 'r ene ezeen, en Jan weet niet wie(*-e).
we have there someone seen and Jan knows not who-AGR
'We have seen someone, and Jan doesn't know who.'

[Hellendoorn Dutch, van Craenenbroeck and den Dikken 2006: 659]

As discussed in van Craenenbroeck and den Dikken's paper, complementizer agreement has two basic properties (i) it is true agreement and (ii) it is constrained by very strict locality constraints, as shown in the following contrasts, where the presence of high adverbs can interrupt C agreement.

- (46) a. ... *darr-e* wiej *allichte* de wedstrijd winne zölt.
that-AGR we probably the game win will
- b. * ... *darr-e* allichte wiej de wedstrijd winne zölt.
that-AGR probably we the game win will
- c. ... *dat* *allichte* wiej de wedstrijd winne zölt.
that probably we the game win will
'...that we will probably win the game.'

[Hellendoorn Dutch, from Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen 2003 *apud* van Craenenbroeck and den Dikken 2006: 660]

Thus, agreement endings on the complementizer in Dutch dialects is dependent on the subject occupying the highest available specifier position in the inflectional domain. Now, since ellipsis bleeds subject movement to that position, absence of complementizer agreement under sluicing is correctly predicted.

Assuming the thesis of EPP-suspension under ellipsis, here I discuss some previous evidence presented in Saab and Zdrojewski (2012) regarding the behavior of CD under ellipsis. They first

note that only the doubled version of a focus fronting configuration improves extraction from some islands. One relevant case is the sentence subject condition:

- (47) a. * A MARÍA creo que [desaprobar *t*] va a causar un
 DOM María believe:PRS.1SG that fail:INF go:PRS.3SG to cause:INF a
 escándalo.
 scandal
- b. A MARÍA creo que [desaprobar=*la*] va a
 DOM María believe:PRS.1SG that fail:INF=CL.FEM.3SG.ACC go:PRS.3SG to
 causar un escándalo.
 cause:INF a scandal
- ‘I believe that failing MARÍA is going to cause a scandal.’

Secondly, they also observe that this repair effect vanishes in contexts of ellipsis, specifically, with fragment answers, a kind of TP-ellipsis construction that cannot repair island effects, according to Merchant (2004) and much subsequent work. In this respect, see the response in (48B):

- (48) A. ¿Creés que [desaprobar=(*la*) a MARÍA] va a
 believe:PRS.2SG that fail:INF=(CL.FEM.3SG.ACC) DOM María go:PRS.3SG to
 causar un escándalo?
 cause:INF a scandal
- ‘Do you believe that failing María is going to cause a scandal?’
- B. *No, a ANA.
 no DOM Ana

Whatever the right explanation of why A-movement + clitic resumption improves island effects, the Spanish facts make sense if CD is an EPP-related phenomenon, which, like in the English or Dutch paradigms discussed so far, is suspended under ellipsis.

Now, contrast CD with CLLD. As the following example shows, CLLD is also immune to the sentence subject condition:

- (49) A María, creo que [desaprobar=*la*] va a causar un escándalo.
 DOM María believe:PRS.1SG that fail:INF=CL.FEM.3SG.ACC go:PRS.3SG to
 cause:INF a scandal
 ‘María, I believe that failing her is going to cause a scandal.’

However, unlike CD, ellipsis makes no difference, i.e., eliding a TP containing a sentential subject island does not affect the grammatical status of the sentence:

- (50) A María, [desaprobar=*la*] va a causar un escándalo y a Ana también.
 DOM María fail:INF=CL.FEM.3SG.ACC go:PRS.3SG to cause:INF a scandal and DOM
 Ana también.
 Ana too
 ‘María, failing her is going to cause and scandal and Ana too.’

An additional prediction involves WCO again. Recall first that CLLD does not trigger WCO, but regular BFF does, unless CD applies:

- (51) A María_{*i*}, su_{*i*} padre *la*_{*i*} criticó.
 DOM María POSS.3SG father CL.FEM.3SG.ACC criticize:PST.3SG
 ‘María, her father criticized her.’
- (52) A MARÍA_{*i*} ??(*la*) criticó su_{*i*} padre.
 DOM María CL.FEM.3SG.ACC criticize:PST.3SG POSS.3SG father
 ‘Her father criticized MARÍA.’

Saab and Zdrojewski show that the absence of WCO effects in (51) and (52) has different behaviors under ellipsis. WCO amelioration in CLLD also shows up when the TP is elided:

- (53) A María_{*j*}, su_{*j*} padre *la*_{*j*} criticó y a Ana_{*i*}
 DOM María POSS.3SG father CL.FEM.3SG.ACC criticize:PST.3SG and DOM Ana
 también <su_{*i*} padre *la*_{*i*} criticó>.
 also POSS.3SG father CL.FEM.3SG.ACC criticize:PST.3SG
 ‘María, her father criticized her and Ana too, her father criticized her.’

In contradistinction, WCO effects reappear under ellipsis in Focus-CD contexts. To see this, consider a fragment answer like the one in (54B), in which there is no sloppy reading available. Note that I represented the ellipsis site as containing a clitic in which, descriptively speaking, the EPP-feature is inert:

- (54) A. ζSu_i madre la_i ama a MARÍA_{*i*}?
 POSS.3SG mother CL.FEM.3SG.ACC love:PRS.3SG DOM María
 ‘Does her mother love MARÍA?’
- B. *No, a ANA_{*i*} <CL[<EPP>] ama su_i madre>.
 not DOM Ana CL[<EPP>] love:PRS.3SG POSS.3SG mother
 ‘*No, her_{*i*} mother loves ANA_{*i*}.’

Of course, a non-elliptical answer can be doubled and interpreted as desired:

- (55) A. ζSu_i madre la_i ama a MARÍA_{*i*}?
 POSS.3SG mother CL.FEM.3SG.ACC love:PRS.3SG DOM María
 ‘Does her mother love MARÍA?’
- B. No, a ANA_{*i*} la_i ama su_i madre.
 not DOM Ana CL.FEM.3SG.ACC love:PRS.3SG POSS.3SG mother
 ‘No, her mother loves ANA.’

On the theory of CD I will put forward here, the different distribution of CD and CLLD under ellipsis, both regarding island anti-repair and WCO effects, directly connects to an indubitable step of overt A-movement above the subject in CD scenarios. Such a movement is blocked under ellipsis forcing the reappearance of island and WCO effects. Since this EPP-driven movement is not present in CLLD, we correctly predict that the behavior CLLD shows in WCO and island environments remains unaltered by the ellipsis operation.

2.7 Interim Summary

The following table synthesizes the main findings and observations made in this section:

	Focus-CD	BFF	CLLD
Associated DP is part of the focus set	yes	yes	no
Agreement dependency/matching clitic	yes	no	yes
Obligatory subject inversion	yes	yes	no
DOM dependent	yes	no	no
Pronominal binding with postverbal subjects	no	yes	no
WCO amelioration	yes (with restrictions)	no	yes
EPP-suspension under ellipsis	yes	irrelevant	no

Table 1: Focus-CD, BFF and CLLD

As we have seen, some properties require qualifications, in particular, even when both CLLD and CD ameliorate WCO, they do it under different conditions. At any rate, I think that the tests discussed in this section allows me to safely conclude that:

- in consonance with some previous analysis of Rioplatense Spanish but also of other languages (see, in particular, the analysis of Bulgarian CD in Harizanov 2014), CD involves a derivational step of object A-movement crossing the subject position,
- CD and CLLD cannot be reduced to the same essential analysis, in particular, the WCO and ellipsis facts have shown that CLLD, unlike true CD, does not involve any step of A-movement triggered by Agree+EPP reasons

In the next section, I will give an explicit implementation for what I will call the synchronic thesis (see (56)) which, in tandem with some independently motivated assumptions, will derive all the properties listed in Table 1 in a straightforward way.

- (56) **The synchronic thesis:** Doubled objects A-move above VoiceP. Such movement is triggered by the clitic itself, which serves as a probe for A-movement.

3 Implementing the Synchronic Thesis

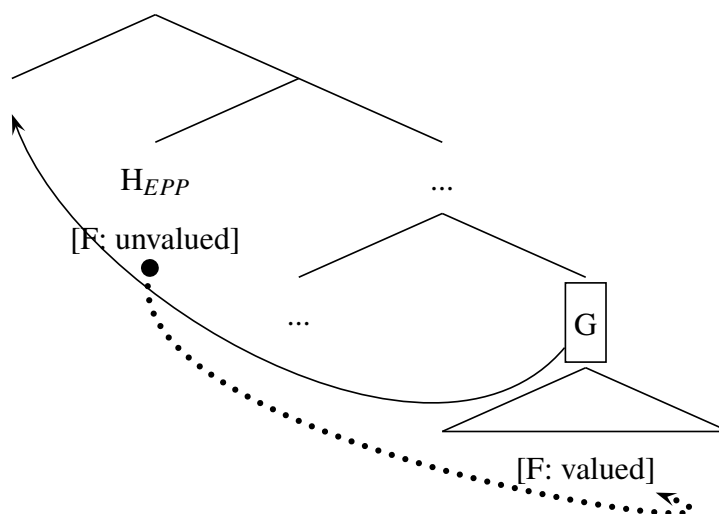
In this section, I will present my own analysis of Rioplatense CD. As already announced in the introduction, I propose that we elaborate on some version of Sportiche's (1996) theory of clitics. The most important aspect of Sportiche's approach that I would like to adopt here is directly related to the commitment with the idea that the doubled object must A-move to some position above the subject position. Furthermore, this movement (i) is phrasal and (ii) of the A-type. These two ingredients are crucial if we want to account for the distributional patterns discussed in the previous section. From a general point of view, these assumptions amount to adopting a basic Probe_{EPP} -Goal dependency between the clitic and the doubled XP. But before entering into details, a brief comment about the proper content of the A/A' distinction is in order. I will follow the main insights of van Urk (2015), Safir (2019) and Fong (2019), and other relevant works, according to which the distinction must be derived as an epiphenomenon from independent morphosyntactic factors. Concretely, I will adopt the featural theory of van Urk (2015), which as shown recently by Fong (2020) is particularly well designed to deal with Rioplatense clitic doubling. Van Urk's featural theory has as a core assumption the idea that there is no rigid A or A'-positions; on this conception being A or A' is exclusively determined by the features that trigger movement.

3.1 CD clitics as abstractors over individuals

I adopt a version of the Agree model first proposed in Chomsky (2000, 2001). On this theory, Agree is an asymmetric operation involving a Probe head, which contains a set of unvalued and uninterpretable features, and a Goal, which contains a set of valued and interpretable features. A Probe with unvalued features is a non-convergent object at the LF interface. Agree is the operation that values the probe's features for convergence at the interfaces. As is well-known, in one of its implementations, the probe searches in its complement domain for an active DP (i.e., a DP with an unvalued Case feature) with the relevant set of matching features and, if there is such a goal, it values the unvalued features of the probe and the goal gets its own Case feature as retribution. I think that we must dispense with many of the core ingredients of the theory, in particular, given the rea-

sons adduced in Preminger (2014), (i) Agree must be reformulated just as an obligatory operation, not as convergence-induced operation, and (ii) probably, Case assignment should be dissociated from Agree (see Marantz 1991, Bittner and Hale 1996, Bobaljik 2008, Baker 2015 and Preminger 2014 for case-competition alternatives). In addition, I also assume that in Spanish Voice is not a Probe for ϕ -agreement.⁹ I will not be particularly concerned on other of the well-known controversial assumptions of this model having to do, for instance, with the perhaps spurious correlation between interpretability and valuation (on this, see Pesetsky and Torrego 2007). The minimal assumption I need is that an Agree dependency between a head H, encoding an EPP feature (an index, in my terms), and a Goal G (G, a phrase) with the relevant set of matching valued features can be represented in the following way (taken from van Urk 2015: 16; dotted arrow = Agree and solid arrow = A-movement by G):

(57) Agree + Movement



In Chomsky's system, the so-called EPP features do not have any other motivation than being the triggers for movement. Here I propose that at least for the empirical domain I am concerned with, the triggers of movement are doubling clitics, which I conceive of as impoverished pronouns. Concretely, I assume that doubling clitics are D heads with a set of unvalued ϕ -features (see (2)):

⁹In principle, my account of clitic doubling is compatible with an aspect of Rodríguez-Mondoñedo's (2007) theory of Spanish transitivity, according to which Voice (or v^* in his terms) is a person defective category.

(58) Probe: D^{min}

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} index \\ \phi: \text{uninterpretable and unvalued} \end{array} \right]$$

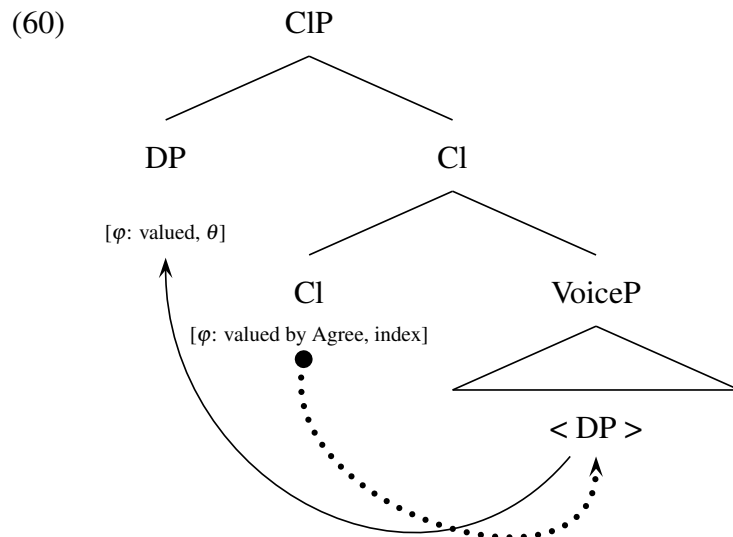
In this representation, what I call the *index* corresponds to Chomsky's EPP feature. I propose that the index value in this case is obtained at LF as the result of an application of Agree between the relevant ϕ -sets. This way of modeling the EPP has a clear resemblance to Chierchia's (2004) predication operation which "opens" VPs, which denote closed propositions, by inserting a predicate diacritic on T.

Doubling clitics contrast with full nominals, which bear valued ϕ , a θ -role, and a more extended functional structure, projecting a D head:

(59) DP:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \phi: \text{interpretable and valued} \\ \theta \end{array} \right]$$

The relation between clitics that have the content in (58) and the doubled full nominals in (59) is, as I already advanced, that of a Probe-Goal dependency:



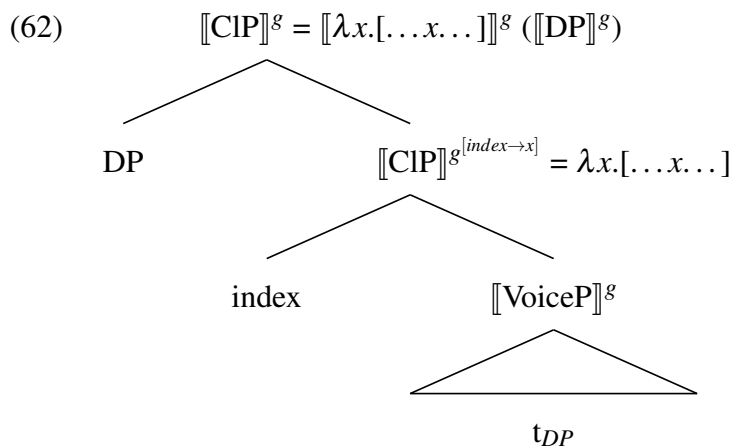
As I said, at LF, clitics are read off as mere indexes, whose value was obtained through syntactic Agree in the syntax. Then, the object that LF receives feeds predicate abstraction over an individual variable:

(61) **Predicate abstraction:**

Let α a branching node with daughters β and γ , where β dominates only a numeric index i . Then, for any variable assignment g , $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^g = \lambda x. \llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^{g[i \rightarrow x]}$.

[Heim and Kratzer 1998: 186]

Having the structure in (60) as input, the LF interpretation proceeds along the following lines:¹⁰



The fact that A-movement results in abstraction over individuals derives here from the internal composition of probes. In principle, movement of any type is allowed to abstract over any semantic type and also assignment functions can be of any semantic type. More technically, we should interpret assignment functions as ranging over ordered pairs of numbers and semantic types, in such a way that, in principle, nothing prevents to have assignment functions for any semantic type:

- (63) A partial function g from indices to denotations (of any type) is a (variable) assignment iff it fulfills the following condition: For any number n and type τ such that $\langle n, \tau \rangle \in \text{dom}(g)$, $g(n, \tau) \in D_\tau$.

[Heim and Kratzer 1998: 292]

The pronominal nature of probe clitics forces abstraction over individuals at LF. Thus, the LF makeup of doubling clitics always results in an ordered pair with the index value determined by the goal of the Agree relation:

¹⁰Note the resemblance with the notion of predicative clitic chain in Chomsky (1982) and Hurtado (1984) discussed in section 2.4.

(64) LF: $CL_{Probes} \langle n, e \rangle$

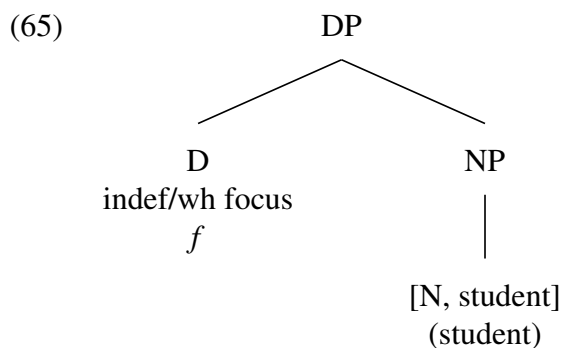
In the remainder of this section, I show how the present theory explains the entire set of facts discussed in the previous section.

3.2 Deriving WCO and Reconstruction effects

3.2.1 CLLD, CD and WCO

The theory explains all the WCO facts in a similar way to the so called *scope theories* of WCO (among others, Sauerland 1998, Ruys 2000, and, in particular, van Urk 2015). In a nutshell, given that A-movement triggered by Agree reasons always results in abstraction over individuals, the possessive pronoun, an *e*-denoting expression, can be properly bound by the abstractor. Instead, Wh/Focus movement, as other types of A'-movements, abstracts over choice function variables and, consequently, can never bind a variable of the *e*-type. Let us explore this account for the WCO facts in detail.

Consider, first, the idea that focused constituents range over choice function variables. I follow essentially the theory presented in Reich (2004). The basic idea is that focused constituents project, like wh-phrases and indefinites, a functional head, whose denotation consists of a choice function, i.e., a function that takes a set as argument and returns a member of that set as value:



Take as illustration a simple case of focus *in situ*:

(66) Ana criticó a $f_{Juan}(alt(JUAN))$.

Ana criticized DOM JUAN

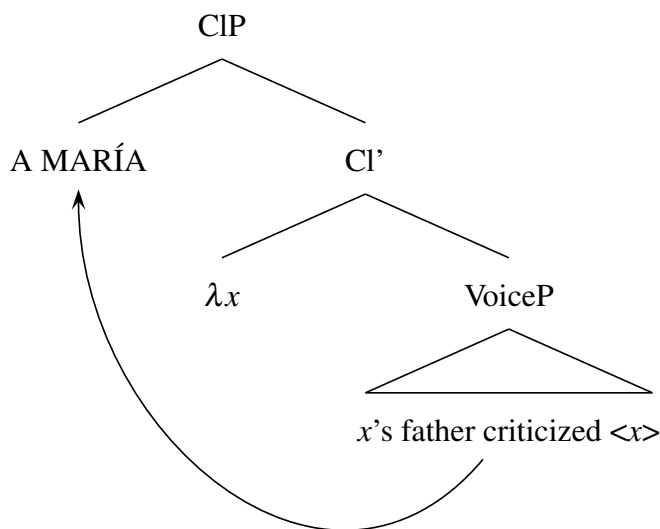
‘Ana criticized JUAN.’

For this particular example, the choice function chooses the individual Juan from the set of alternatives $alt(\text{Juan})$. That is, the result of applying f to $alt(\text{Juan})$ is the individual Juan - $f(alt(\text{JUAN})) = \text{juan}$. Avoiding some particular complexities, I conclude that focus movement involves abstraction over choice functions. This implies two different LF derivations for our minimal pair in (52) repeated below:

- (67) A MARÍA_{*i*} ??(*la*) criticó *su_i* padre.
 DOM María CL.FEM.3SG.ACC criticize:PST.3SG POSS.3SG father
 ‘Her father criticized MARÍA.’

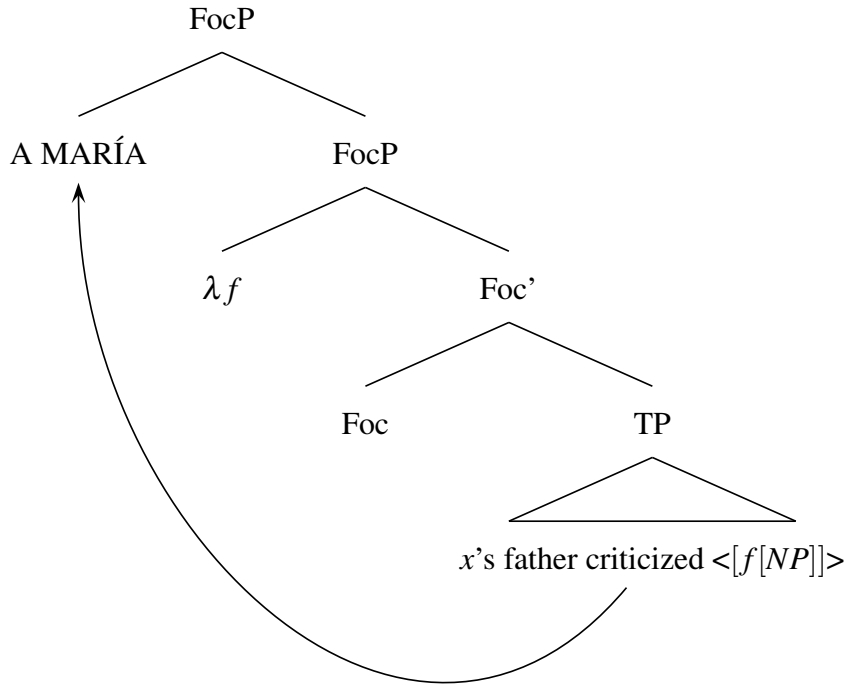
For the Focus-CD example, the first step of movement is triggered by the clitic, which, as we already know, results in abstraction over individuals at LF. The clitic, which received the index value from its associated DP, c-commands the possessive. Now, if both the clitic and the possessive share the same index at LF, we obtain the desired result in which there is no WCO at all:

- (68) CD + Focus: A MARÍA_{*i*} *la* criticó *su_i* padre. No WCO



In contradistinction, BFF results in abstraction over a choice function and, consequently, there is no chance that the λ operator ends up binding the individual variable that the possessive denotes:

- (69) Bare Focus Fronting: A MARÍA_{*i*} criticó *su_i* padre. WCO



But recall that the position of the possessive is crucial when it comes to calculating WCO in Focus-CD sentences. Concretely, only when the first step of movement is of the A-type, WCO is repaired. In this respect, the ungrammaticality of (36a), repeated below, is now explained without further ado under the scope theory of WCO. The reason is that the movement crossing the possessive is focus movement, which produces LF abstraction over choice functions, not over individuals:

- (70) a. *? A JUAN_i cree *su*_i profesor que *lo*_i
 DOM Juan believe:PRS.3SG POSS.3SG professor that CL.MASC.3SG.ACC
 criticó María (no a Pedro).
 criticize:PST.3SG María not DOM Pedro
- b. LF: *? [_{FocP} A JUAN_i [_{Foc'} λf cree x_i profesor que lo_e criticó María]]
 [WCO effect: the abstractor cannot bind the individual variable introduced by the possessive]

Recall also that, as shown in the examples in (35), CLLD is always immune to WCO effects. As already observed, this minimal contrast shows that Hurtado's assimilation of CD to CLLD in terms the same type of A'-chain cannot be on the right track. On my analysis, the WCO facts regarding CD are the byproduct of an EPP-induced movement. If clitics are mere probes triggering

b. LF: [_{TopP}A Juan_i [_{Top}' λx cree x_i profesor que lo_e criticó María]]

[No WCO effect: the abstractor can bind the individual variable introduced by the possessive]

Finally, I also assume with part of the literature (e.g., Cecchetto 2000) that, in CLLD, there is, indeed, an intermediate step of A-movement above VoiceP crossing the subject position, but that this movement is not performed by the dislocated constituent but by the entire big DP. In other words, it is a requisite of the head of the big DP, i.e., the clitic itself, what forces A-scrambling in the usual way.

(73) XP1 . . . [AgrS . . . [BigDP < XP2 > CL] . . . [VP < [BigDP <XP3> CL] > . . .]]

[Cecchetto's analysis as schematized in Arregi 2006: 3]

This assumption is irrelevant here but it will be important to account for the pre and postverbal asymmetries observed in patterns of pronominal binding. This is the theme of the next subsection.

3.2.2 CD, CLLD and Reconstruction

The basic reconstruction facts discussed in the previous section behave as expected by the vast literature on the issue: CD does not allow reconstruction below postverbal subjects, blocking for instance pronominal binding in cases like (74a):

(74) a. * A SU_i HIJO lo castigó $cada padre_i$.

DOM POSS.3SG son CL.MASC.3SG.ACC punish:PST.3SG each father

'Each father punished his SON.'

b. A SU_i HIJO castigó $cada padre_i$.

DOM POSS.3SG son punish:PST.3SG each father

'Each father punished his SON.'

Recall that CLLD seems to behave the same in this respect:

(75) * A su_i hijo, lo castigó $cada padre_i$.

DOM POSS.3SG son CL.masc.3sg.acc punish:PST.3SG each father

'Each father punished his son.'

And that CLLD and CD also seem to behave alike in their availability to license pronominal binding whenever the subject is preverbal:

- (76) A su_i hijo, *cada padre_i lo_i* castigó.
 DOM POSS.3SG son each father CL.MASC.3SG.ACC punish:PST.3SG
 ‘Each father punished his son.’

- (77) A SU_i HIJO creo que *cada padre_i lo_i*
 DOM POSS.3SG son believe.1SG that each father CL.MASC.3SG.ACC
 castigó.
 punish:PST.3SG
 ‘I believe each father punished his SON.’

In principle, one is tempted to adopt an uniform explanation: both the focus fronted DO in CD and the topicalized DO in CLLD reconstruct in the intermediate clitic position above VoiceP. If the subject remains in its internal VoiceP position the resulting configuration would be as follows:

- (78) [XP CL (= **Reconstruction site:** <*a su_i hijo*>) [VoiceP Subj_i]]

And when the subject occurs preverbally, we obtain the result shown below:

- (79) [TP Subj_i [XP CL (= **Reconstruction site:** <*a su_i hijo*>) [VoiceP t_i]]]

Now, the reason why this is the reconstruction site is different in CD and CLLD. As for CD, we already know that the spec,CIP is an A-position, which, by well-known assumptions, does not allow further reconstruction in lower positions. As for CLLD, it is the clitic, a variable, what A-scrambles above VoiceP, limiting reconstruction of the left dislocated constituent in this position, and not lower. In both cases the result is the same: the QP subject in spec,VoiceP cannot bind the possessive.

This analysis makes the net prediction that in long-distance reconstruction a DP should be able to reconstruct in its embedded position below a matrix postverbal subject. This is borne out when it comes to testing Focus-CD:

- (80) A SU_i HIJO cree *cada madre_i* que ese profesor lo_i maltrata.
 DOM his son believes each mother that that professor CL.MASC.3SG.ACC mistreats
 ‘Every mother believes that that professor mistreats her SON.’

Here is a simplified representation:

- (81) A SU_i HIJO cree *cada madre_i* [_{CP} que ese profesor lo (=**Reconstruction site:** <A SU_i HIJO>)
 maltrata t_e]

However, CLLD behaves differently not allowing pronominal binding in essentially the same underlying configuration:

- (82) *A su_i hijo, cree *cada madre_i* que ese profesor lo_i maltrata.
 DOM his son believes each mother that that professor CL.MASC.3SG.ACC mistreats
 ‘*His son, every mother believes that that professor mistreats him.’

Again, in preverbal position the well-known reconstruction effects show up:

- (83) A su_i hijo, *cada madre_i* cree que ese profesor lo_i maltrata.
 DOM his son each mother believes that that professor CL.MASC.3SG.ACC mistreats
 ‘His son, every mother believes that that professor mistreats him.’

This is a totally unexpected result under more or less standard assumptions on reconstruction. For instance, this is clearly not predicted by Angelopoulos and Sportiche (2021), one of the most, if not the most, detailed study on reconstruction effects in CLLD. One is tempted to conclude that the pre and postverbal asymmetries regarding pronominal binding in CLLD are not due to reconstruction *per se*, but to the variable nature of the clitic. This was, indeed, already proposed by Arregi (2003), for whom clitics of CLLDs are individual bound variables. On this analysis, the basic minimal pair in (75) and (76) should receive the following analysis, in which the surface subject position makes the difference in variable binding:

- (84) a. [_{XP} CL (=variable) [_{VoiceP} Subj_i]] (cfr. (75))
 b. [_{TP} Subj_i [_{XP} CL (=variable) [_{VoiceP} t_i]]] (cfr. (76))

There are at least two considerations that make such an analysis more plausible than a pure reconstruction approach. The first one is that hanging topics behave exactly like CLLDs regarding the pre and postverbal asymmetries already noted:

- (85) a. En cuanto a su_i hijo, *cada madre_i* cree que ese profesor lo_i
 as-for his son each mother believes that that professor CL.MASC.3SG.ACC
 maltrata.
 mistreats
- b. *En cuanto a su_i hijo, cree *cada madre_i* que ese profesor lo_i
 as-for his son believes each mother that that professor CL.MASC.3SG.ACC
 maltrata.
 mistreats
 ‘As for his son, every mother believes that that professor mistreats him.’

Since hanging topics are not the byproduct of any movement, reconstruction considerations cannot account for the attested pattern. Put differently, it has to be the case that the variable itself is being subject to binding. Notice that, like in the case of CLLD, the analysis in (84) naturally extends to pronominal binding in hanging topic constructions without further ado.

The second consideration involves another pre and postverbal asymmetry but now regarding principle-C effects. The relevant patterns are discussed by Panagiotidis and Tsipaloku (2006) in several null subject languages in which postverbal subjects are a legitimate option. As the following example show, in a language like Spanish, preverbal subjects containing an R-expression do not trigger principle-C effect with respect to a DO pronoun, whereas postverbal subjects do:

- (86) a. La madre de Juan_i lo_{i/j} quiere.
 the mother of Juan him loves
- b. Lo_{*i/j} quiere la madre de Juan_i.
 him loves the mother of Juan
 ‘Juan’s mother loves him.’

Again, assuming that clitics A-move above VoiceP, crossing the subject in its in situ position, the contrast can be accounted for along the lines proposed in (84), i.e., the clitic in its external A-position c-commands the postverbal subject and the R-expression within it giving rise to a Principle-C effect. The preverbal subject, regardless of the nature of its landing position, is outside the c-command domain of the pronoun and, consequently, immune to illicit binding:¹¹

- (87) a. [XP CL (= variable) [VoiceP [Subj ... R-Expression_{*i*} ...]]]
 b. [TP [Subj ... R-Expression_{*i*} ...] [XP CL (= variable) [VoiceP *t*_{subj}]]]

These two empirical considerations lead me to the preliminary conclusion that the variable approach for CLLD has more initial plausibility than the reconstruction approach. And, although it is not entirely clear to me at the moment why pronominal binding is impossible in cases like (82), especially when compared to the licit (80), it is reasonable to not complicate the theory of reconstruction, which provides already an elegant solution for all the relevant patterns regarding pronominal binding in CD environments, in which the relative position of subjects interacts with variable binding as predicted, and bare focus extraction, in which the pre and postverbal asymmetry is irrelevant, a fact correctly predicted, as well. As we have just seen, this is not the case in CLLD, in which the binding patterns do not seem related to the availability of the left-dislocated topic to reconstruct in the clitic position, but to the relative position of subjects and pronominal variables. Although I leave the ungrammaticality of (82) for future research, I conjecture that, under a variable analysis of the pronominal binding patterns in CLLD, one could reasonably attribute the impossibility of pronominal binding in (82) to the need for the binder to be discursively accessible. One initial piece of evidence in favor of this has to do with the fact that a topic intonation for the postverbal subject, after a marked prosodic break, makes the binding much more accessible:

¹¹A very broad accepted assumption is that preverbal subjects of null subject languages are left-dislocated with the agreement marker in T indicating the limits of reconstruction. In fact, this is the assumption in Panagiotidis and Tsipakou (2006), by virtue of which they account for the relevant binding asymmetry regarding Principle-C effects with pre and postverbal subjects.

- (88) ?A su_i hijo, cree, $cada\ madre_i$, que ese profesor lo_i maltrata.
 DOM his son believes each mother that that professor CL.MASC.3SG.ACC mistreats
 ‘His son, every mother believes that that professor mistreats him.’

In summary, the pronominal binding patterns both in CD and CLLD discussed so far reinforce what we have already demonstrated based on other distributional facts, namely, that doubling clitics and CLLD clitics have different syntactic origins and, consequently, different semantic representations: probes and variables, respectively. In the last subsection, I will provide an account of the ellipsis facts already discussed in subsection 2.6 in order to add a final argument in favor of the proposed theory.

3.3 Ellipsis and A-movement

Recall that A-movement is canceled under ellipsis suspending thus any of their potential PF or LF effects. Consider again the island anti-repair effect in (48) and the WCO anti-repair one in (54):

- (89) A. ¿Creés que [desaprobar=(la) a MARÍA] va a
 believe:PRS.2SG that fail:INF=(CL.FEM.3SG.ACC) DOM María go:PRS.3SG to
 causar un escándalo?
 cause:INF a scandal
 ‘Do you believe that failing María is going to cause a scandal?’
- B. *No, a ANA.
 no DOM Ana
- (90) A. ¿Su $_i$ madre la_i ama a MARÍA $_i$?
 POSS.3SG mother CL.FEM.3SG.ACC love:PRS.3SG DOM María
 ‘Does her mother love MARÍA?’
- B. *No, a ANA $_i$ <ama su_i madre>.
 not DOM Ana love:PRS.3SG POSS.3SG mother
 ‘*No, her $_i$ mother loves ANA $_i$.’

How does the present account explain the observation that ellipsis nullifies the effects that the presence of the accusative clitic produces regarding island repair and WCO effects? As I have shown in section 2.6, there is ample evidence that EPP-driven movements inside ellipsis sites are blocked by the ellipsis operation. For the derivation of CD, this implies that the clitic ceases to be an attractor of the doubled DP, consequently canceling some of the observed effects A-movement produces. Schematically, the difference between a derivation of CD with and without ellipsis can be illustrated as follows:

- (91) a. Derivation without ellipsis: [CIP DP_i Cl [VoiceP ... t_i ...]]
 b. Derivation with ellipsis: < [CIP Cl [VoiceP ... DP ...] >

This analysis straightforwardly accounts for the reappearance of WCO in cases like (90). In effect, since there is no A-movement crossing over the subject position, no binding by a λ abstractor of semantic type e would bind the possessive pronoun which is crossed over. The DO object still moves, but this movement is of the A'-type, making the co-reference with the possessive impossible, for the reasons provided in section 3.2.1. Put differently, cyclic focus movement will produce λ -abstraction over choice function, not individuals. As for (89), there is no good explanation in the literature of the correlation between the absence/presence of island effects and absence/presence of a clitic in CD sentences, but if the analysis provided here is on the right track, then the cause of this correlation must be located not in the absence or presence of clitic *per se* but in the effects produced by Agree+A-movement. I leave inquiry of island effects in sentences with and without ellipsis for further research.

Recall now that ellipsis does not affect the output of CLLD structures either regarding the grammatical status of island or WCO ameliorations. Consider again examples (50) and (53) repeated below:

- (92) A María, [desaprobar=*la*] va a causar un escándalo y a
 DOM María fail:INF=CL.FEM.3SG.ACC go:PRS.3SG to cause:INF a scandal and DOM
 Ana también.
 Ana too

‘María, failing her is going to cause and scandal and Ana too.’

- (93) A María_j su_j padre la_j criticó y a Ana_i
 DOM María POSS.3SG father CL.FEM.3SG.ACC criticize:PST.3SG and DOM Ana
 también <su_i padre la_i criticó>.
 also POSS.3SG father CL.FEM.3SG.ACC criticize:PST.3SG
 ‘María, her father criticized her and Ana, too (her father criticized her).’

According to the analysis I presented in section 3.2.1, (i) uniform abstraction over individuals results in uniform immunity to WCO, and (ii) ellipsis cannot suspend the syntactic and semantic effects created by movement of a left dislocated constituent. This is so, because it is not an EPP-induced movement triggered by ϕ -reasons. This is enough to account for the insensitivity of CLLD with respect to the absence of WCO or island effects in ellipsis environments. The natural conclusion is again that clitics in CD and CLLD must have different syntactic origins, as proposed under the present account.

4 A new restriction: No Double Doubling

In this section, I bring up for discussion dative clitic doubling and its interaction with accusative clitic doubling. I conjecture that the ban of double doubling (i.e., dative and accusative CD simultaneously) gives new support to the theory pursued in this paper, in particular, to the thesis that doubled objects participate in Agree relations.

4.1 A natural extension: Dative Clitic Doubling and A-movement

Dative clitic doubling has a broader extension than accusative clitic doubling, not only in Rioplatense Spanish but in other dialects as well. Yet, Rioplatense Spanish is an extreme representative example of such an extension, since it allows for dative doubling of bare nominals (94e):

- (94) a. No *le* des tus llaves *a ella*.
 not CL.3SG.DAT give:PRS.SUBJ.2SG your keys to her
 ‘Don’t give your keys to her.’

- b. No *le* *des* *tus llaves a María.*
 not CL.3SG.DAT give:PRS.SUBJ.2SG your keys to María
 ‘Don’t give your keys to María.’
- c. No *le* *des* *tus llaves a ese pibe.*
 not CL.3SG.DAT give:PRS.SUBJ.2SG your keys to that boy
 ‘Don’t give your keys to that boy.’
- d. No *le* *des* *tus llaves a un cerrajero sin experiencia.*
 not CL.3SG.DAT give:PRS.SUBJ.2SG your keys to a locksmith without experience
 ‘Don’t give your keys to an inexperienced locksmith.’
- e. No *les* *des* *tus llaves a personas desconocidas.*
 not CL.3PL.DAT give:PRS.SUBJ.2SG your keys to persons unknown
 ‘Don’t give your keys to strangers.’ [adapted from Ordóñez (1998): ex. (58)]

At this juncture, and putting aside the extension of the phenomenon, the relevant question is whether dative CD, like accusative CD, also implies A-movement of the IO. In order to properly answer it, we must again construct comparable minimal pairs including Focus-CD and CLLD constructions. I have tested the same diagnostics summarized in Table 1 (see subsection 2.7) and I can assert that all of them point out to the conclusion that dative CD also involves a step of A-movement crossing the subject. For space reasons, I will only present WCO facts, which in the case of dative doubling can also be tested in wh-movement environments (not only in focus movement ones). Here is an initial pattern that illustrates WCO amelioration under dative clitic doubling:

- (95) a. *¿A quién_i le_i entregó la nota su_i profesor?*
 to who CL.3SG.DAT give:PST.3SG the grade POSS.3SG professor
 ‘Who did her/his professor give the grade to?’
- b. *A MARÍA_i le_i entregó la nota su_i profesor (no a Ana).*
 to María CL.3SG.DAT give:PST.3SG the grade POSS.3SG professor not to Ana
 ‘Her professor gave the grade to MARÍA, not to ANA.’

Now, as we have seen in cases of accusative CD, the position of the possessive is crucial, as the following long wh-extraction examples indicate:¹²

- (96) a. *? ¿A *quién_i* cree *su_i* madre que *le_i* entregó el libro Juan?
 to who believe:PRS.3SG POSS.3SG mother that CL.3SG.DAT give:PST.3SG the book Juan

¹²Our judgment sharply contrasts with Suñer's judgment with respect to her example below:

- (i) ¿A *quiénes_i* dijo *su_i* madre que no *(*les_i*) dejaría ningún dinero?
 to who said their mother that not CL.3PL.DAT leave:COND.3SG any money
 'To whom did their mother say that she would not leave any money (to them)?'

[Suñer 1988: 422, also cited in Baker and Kramer 2018: 1079; her judgment]

Suñer's example is considered ungrammatical even in the doubled version by my informants, but there are some that note a subtle contrast with examples like (96a), which is judged as worst by those same speakers. The difference seems to be in the nature of the embedded subject, which works as a variable bound by the matrix subject in Suñer's example. If we modify this situation by inserting a disjoint subject in the embedded clause, the result is clearly ungrammatical:

- (ii) *¿A *quiénes_i* dijo *su_i* madre que Pedro no (*les_i*) dejaría ningún dinero?
 to who said their mother that Pedro not CL.3PL.DAT leave:COND.3SG any money
 'To whom did their mother say that Pedro would not leave any money (to them)?'

It seems then that some speakers can accommodate a variable bound reading in Suñer's example by virtue of the binding relation that the possessive subject establishes with its subordinate subject. At any rate, such accommodation does not make the WCO configuration completely licit. Crucially, changing the order of subjects in (ii) makes the sentence fully grammatical, as predicted by our scope approach to WCO, contradicting the conclusions in Baker and Kramer (2018), which in any case are based on incorrect judgments:

‘Whom did her/his mother believe that Juan gave the book?’

- b. *¿A quién_i cree Juan que su_i madre le_i entregó el libro?*
 to who believe:PRS.3SG Juan that POSS.3SG mother POSS.3SG give:PST.3SG
 the book

‘Whom did Juan believe that his mother gave the book?’

It is worth noting that the absence of a doubling clitic in the same syntactic environments gives ungrammatical results, even for the speakers that allows for optional dative clitic doubling:

- (97) a. **¿A quién_i entregó el libro su_i madre?*
 to who give:PST.3SG the book POSS.3SG mother
 ‘To whom did her/his mother give the book?’
- b. **¿A quién_i cree Juan que su_i madre entregó el libro?*
 to who believe:PRS.3SG Juan that POSS.3SG mother give:PST.3SG the book
 ‘To whom did Juan believe that her/his mother give the book?’

And finally, as expected, dative CD behaves differently from dative CLLD, which is insensitive to the position of the possessive pronoun:

- (98) a. *A Ana_i, su_i madre cree que Juan le_i entregó el libro.*
 to Ana POSS.3SG mother believe:PRS.3SG that Juan CL.3SG.DAT give:PST.3SG the
 book
 ‘To Ana, her mother believes that Juan gave her the book.’

- (iii) *¿A quiénes_i dijo Pedro que su_i madre no (les_i) dejaría ningún dinero?*
 to who said Pedro that their mother not CL.3PL.DAT leave:COND.3SG any
 money
 ‘To whom did Pedro say that their mother would not leave any money (to them)?’

- b. *A Ana_i, Juan cree que su_i madre le_i entregó el libro.*
 to Ana Juan believe:PRS.3SG that POSS.3SG mother CL.3SG.DAT give:PST.3SG the book
 ‘To Ana, Juan believes that her mother gave her the book?’

In sum, the data just presented show that IOs A-move above the subject position. I will now turn my attention to the conditions that are behind accusative doubling and its interactions with dative doubling. The discussion will be rather descriptive and essentially aims at setting up the general grounds on which the double doubling ban can arise.

4.2 *The Person Licensing Condition on accusative doubling*

As we have seen, in general terms, the duplication of the IO has a wider extension than the duplication of DOs in all Spanish dialects, but in particular in Rioplatense Spanish. Now, building on previous ideas in Béjar and Rezac (2003, 2009) and Preminger (2019), I adopt the following licensing condition for (at least) direct objects in Spanish (π = person):

- (99) **The (revised) Person Licensing Condition (PLC):**¹³ A π -feature on a DP that is a canonical agreement target must participate in a valuation relation.

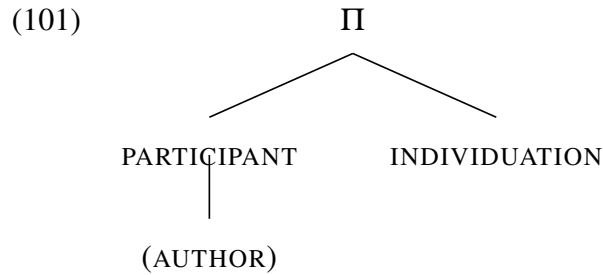
[adapted from Preminger 2019: 7]

This condition meets the condition Di Tullio et al. (2019) propose for accusative CD in Rioplatense Spanish. Concretely, they argue that for every Spanish dialect, accusative CD is induced by an [α participant] feature on DOs. Rioplatense Spanish is special only because it allows for a [3 person] feature to be optionally present in object DPs. Put differently, whereas an [α participant] feature is present across object pronouns in all dialects, but not on full DPs (for which third person is redundantly deduced from properties in D), Rioplatense Spanish has the following option for full DPs:

¹³A given DP x is a canonical ϕ -agreement target for a given probe y iff (i) x and y are clause-mates and (ii) x meets the case-discrimination requirements of y (see Preminger 2019: 7).

(100) D [... (**[individuation]**) ...]

I call this third person feature *individuation* for the following reason. I assume that 1/2 and 3 person features have a privative structure along the lines proposed in Harley and Ritter (2002). So, in this respect, while 1/2 person pertains to the [participant] branch of the feature geometry, [individuation] hangs in a different branch, although both are daughters of the person node Π :



Whenever [individuation] is present on DOs, then the PLC as formulated in (99) applies and those π -DOs must participate in an Agree relation. In Spanish, this amounts to inserting a clitic in non-thematic position, which in turns activates Agree with the associated nominal. That this account of Rioplatense Spanish is on the right track is provided by the crucial fact that any dialect of Spanish triggers accusative CD of full DPs in cases of unagreement:

(102) (*Nos) vieron a los estudiantes.

CL.1PL.ACC saw.3PL DOM the students

‘They saw us students.’

[All Spanish dialects]

As argued by Di Tullio et al. (2019) and references therein, unagreement consists of the simple addition of a π -feature on D in DOs. By the PLC, such an addition implies that the object must participate in an Agree relation, which (again) is superficially manifested by accusative CD. This account of CD licensing in PLC terms will be crucial for deriving the ban of double doubling.

4.3 No Double Doubling

Having shown that Rioplatense Spanish has both dative and accusative doubling with the relevant properties that characterize an Agree+A-movement dependency, now let us pay attention to the following sentences:¹⁴

¹⁴As pointed out to me by an anonymous reviewer, the double doubling is reminiscent to what Anagnostopoulou (2017) calls *sweak and strong defective intervention intervention*. The following paradigm illustrates the effects of strong defective intervention in the realm of objects in Northern Greek:

- (i) a. *To edosa ton Petro (to pagoto).
 CL.ACC gave.ACT.1SG the Peter.ACC the icecream.ACC
 ‘I gave Peter the ice-cream.’
- b. *Ton to edosa (ton Petro) (to pagoto).
 CL.ACC CL.ACC gave.ACT.1SG the Peter.ACC the icecream.ACC
 ‘I gave Peter the ice-cream.’
- c. Tu to edosa (tu Petru) (to pagoto).
 CL.GEN CL.ACC gave.ACT.1SG the Peter.GEN the icecream.ACC
 ‘I gave Peter the ice-cream.’
- d. Me/se to edose (to pagoto).
 CL.1/2.ACC CL.3SG.ACC gave.ACT.3SG the icecream.ACC
 ‘He/she gave me/you the ice-cream.’

Like in Spanish, defective intervention only occurs in interactions between third person objects, i.e., the effects vanish if the indirect object occurs in the first or second form (compare the example in (id) with the Spanish examples in (110), in which first and second person do not produce any intervention, either). Now, strictly speaking, it seems that Northern Greek has two ways of producing the strong defective intervention, namely, like in (ia), through a double object construction, or, like in (ib), through an *accusative* double doubling construction. The intervention effect is avoided in the dialect if the double doubling uses genitive doubling for the goal argument instead of ac-

- (103) a. Ayer le presenté (a) María a Juan.
 yesterday CL.3SG.DAT introduce:PST.1SG DOM María to Juan
 ‘Yesterday, I introduced María to Juan.’

cusative doubling, as illustrated by the example in (ic). In spite of these different manifestations of the double doubling ban and the different ways of avoiding it both in Northern Greek and Spanish, the underlying phenomenon looks very similar, as suggested by the reviewer. The same reviewer also conjectures that in Northern Greek the intervention effects could be related to some distinctiveness effect and not to the PCC *per se*. Put differently, one could take the contrast between (ib) and (ic) as illustrating the use of non-syncretic forms to avoid identical case forms in the same local clitic domain. Of course, this cannot be the case in Spanish in which the surface form of the clitics involved in the intervention is not syncretic. Therefore, double doubling cannot be reduced to clitic distinctiveness effects (or, as shown in the text, to doubled DP distinctiveness). I will argue that the ban follows from a PCC effect, perhaps, as pointed out to me for this reviewer, of the “super strong” type in the PCC typology of Pancheva and Zubizarreta (2018). As shown in the text, double doubling is allowed in cases like (110), i.e., in $\langle 1/2, 3 \rangle$ combinations in which first or second IOs can co-occur with third person objects. In order to check whether the double doubling ban is indeed a variety of super strong PCC, we should show that, beyond the illicit combination $\langle 3,3 \rangle$, combinations $\langle 3,1 \rangle$ and $\langle 3,2 \rangle$ are also ruled out. Combinations $\langle 3,1 \rangle$ or $\langle 3,2 \rangle$ are clearly ungrammatical:

- (ii) *Ana le me/te presentó.
 Ana CL.3SG.DAT CL.1SG.ACC/CL.1SG.ACC introduced.
 ‘Ana introduced me/you to her/him.’

The same is attested with any other combination like $\langle 1,2 \rangle$, for instance, not illustrated here for space reasons. Having said that, I am not convinced about the existence of such thing as a “super strong” PCC. I think that the “super strong” effect is, in reality, the byproduct of two different restrictions on clitic combinations. Examples like (ii) are instances of Bonet’s (1995) plain strong PCC, i.e., cases in which the direct object has to be third person. In contradistinction, as argued below, the double doubling ban follows from the PCC understood as a problem in the locality

- b. * Ayer se=la presenté (a) María a Juan.
 yesterday CL.3SG.DAT=CL.FEM.3SG.ACC introduce:PST.1SG DOM María to Juan.
 ‘Yesterday, I introduced María to Juan.’

The sentence in (103a) contains both a doubled IO and a non-doubled DO. Two *a*-marked objects in the same phase domain produces (at least for many speakers) a distinctiveness effect (for Spanish, see Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007 and Zdrojewski 2008, and see Richards 2010 for a general theory). There are many ways in which speakers can avoid these effects, one of which is dropping the preposition *a* of the DO, as indicated in the relevant example above. Topicalizing the IO is also a way of avoiding the undesired effect.

- (104) A Juan, ayer le presenté a María.
 to Juan yesterday CL.3SG.DAT introduce:PST.1SG DOM María
 ‘To Juan, yesterday, I introduced María to him.’

These two strategies give no grammatical output for the strongly ungrammatical sentence in (103b). The standard use of parenthesis in that example already indicates that any attempt to drop the marker *a* is vain. In turn, the following one illustrates that topicalizing the IO is also useless:

- (105) * A Juan, ayer se=la presenté a María.
 to Juan yesterday CL.3SG.DAT=CL.FEM.3SG.ACC introduce:PST.1SG DOM María
 Intended: ‘To Juan, yesterday, I introduced María to him.’

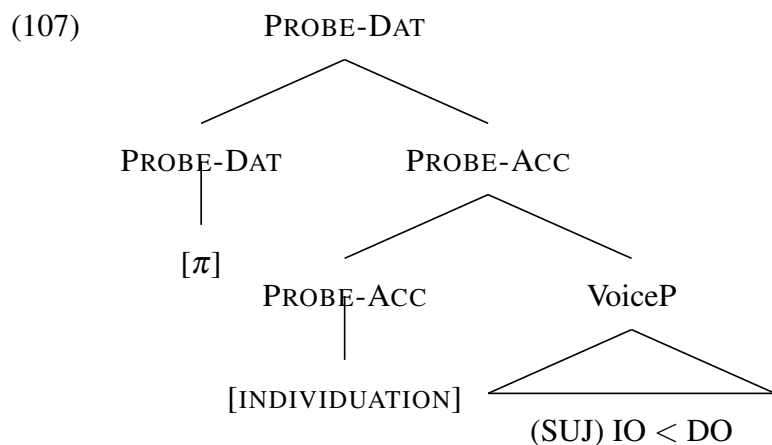
Therefore, the unacceptability in (103b) cannot be accounted for as a distinctiveness effect. The restriction, I argue, has to do with the impossibility of having accusative doubling in presence of a doubled dative argument. More evidence in favor of this conclusion is that right dislocation of both objects produces a perfect output, showing that the phenomenon is not related to the superficial presence of two co-occurring doubling clitics:¹⁵

of Agree, more specifically, as a locality restriction in the satisfaction of the Person Licensing Condition. I leave further investigation on the nature of the notion of super strong PCC for further research.

¹⁵As I mentioned in footnote 6, an anonymous reviewer points out that in many CD languages there is no double doubling ban. Crucially, she correlates this observation with the fact that in

- (106) Ayer se=la presenté, a María, a Juan.
 yesterday CL.3SG.DAT=CL.FEM.3SG.ACC introduce:PST.1SG DOM María to Juan.
 ‘Yesterday, I introduced María to Juan.’

I would like to offer the following solution to the double doubling puzzle of the type we observe in (103b): the Double Doubling Ban follows from the Person Case Constraint (Bonet, 1991, 1995, Anagnostopoulou, 2003, 2005, Béjar and Rezac, 2003, Nevins, 2007, Ormazabal and Romero, 2007, Preminger, 2014, 2019, Kalin and van Urk, 2015). An accurate description of PCC in terms compatible with this study is to assume first that when more than an object probe occurs in the same local domain the following syntactic representation must be assumed (\leq c-command):



The idea that the accusative probe can only bear [individuation: *unv.*] features in presence of a dative probe is a quite obvious restatement of the PCC. Now, in the spirit of many works on the PCC in other languages (in particular, Béjar and Rezac 2003), I contend that the PCC in Spanish boils down to a flagrant violation of the PLC in (99). Yet, the assumptions made here predict PCC effects in a broader set of cases, for instance, whenever a DO bearing an [individuation] feature is c-commanded by a dative argument. The reason is the same as in many other syntactic approaches to the PCC, namely, feature minimality. In effect, an IO with the same type of π -features as the the same languages the doubled DPs cannot bear focus. As I noted in that footnote, it seems that the languages that correlate the absence of focus marking on doubled DPs with the absence of the double doubling ban are more amenable to a clitic right dislocation analysis. Future comparative studies should shed light on this almost unexplored aspect of the theory of CD.

Therefore, the OD does not participate in any Agree relation that would be disrupted by the dative argument and, consequently, no violation of the PLC arises.

In summary, the double doubling ban follows from the PCC, as conceived of under a theory with the PLC revised as in (99). Unlike other PLC-based approaches,¹⁷ which essentially boil down to reference to a [participant] feature on accusative objects, the revision made here makes reference to the higher Π -node in the hierarchy in (101). This stronger version of the PLC plus the double probe structure assumed in (107) predicts PCC effects in those scenarios in which a superficial third person probe with a third person IO c-commanding a third person DO in its complement domain is ruled out in terms of a standard feature minimality effect (i.e., the dative is the closest suitable goal for the probe H) and, this, ultimately, gives rise to a PLC violation (i.e., the accusative object is not licensed via Agree by any probe). This complex interaction between clitic doubling and the PCC shows that PCC effects must be expanded as contemplated in (99). Without the double doubling ban into the PCC terrain, the facts remain masked by the formal makeup of full third person DPs, which in most dialects of Spanish and in other Romance languages simply does not have π -features of any kind.¹⁸ Clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish indicates that an [individuation] feature (i.e., a π 's daughter) is optionally active in full third person DPs. In this sense, the double doubling ban points out to the rather robust conclusion that those objects must be contemplated by the PLC.¹⁹ But note now that if the probe structure in (107) is seriously taken as a good analysis of an aspect of the middle field in Spanish, then we predict that a 1/2 person dative argument can intervene between the Probe_[individuation: unval] head and the accusative DO_[individuation: val] without inducing feature minimality. This prediction is confirmed by the following data, which are double doubling configurations minimally differing from the previous ones in that the dative argument is either first or second person:

¹⁷See, in particular, Béjar and Rezac (2003) for a first theory in these terms (based, in turn, on Anagnostopoulou 2003), and Preminger (2019) for a recent reconsideration.

¹⁸Although see Nevins (2007) for an argument to the effect of showing that third person must be syntactically represented.

¹⁹A similar conclusion in other terms is made in Ormazabal and Romero (2013).

- (110) a. Ayer {*me, te*}=la presentaron a
 yesterday {CL.1SG.DAT, CL.2SG.DAT}=CL.FEM.3SG.ACC introduce:PST.3PL DOM
 María {a mí, a vos} en el super.
 María {to me, to you} in the supermarket
 ‘Yesterday, they introduced María {to me, to you} at the supermarket.’
- b. {A mí, a vos} ayer {*me, te*}=la
 {to me, to you} yesterday {CL.1SG.DAT, CL.2SG.DAT}=CL.FEM.3SG.ACC
 presentaron a María.
 introduce:PST.3PL DOM María
 ‘{To me, to you}, yesterday, they introduced {me, you} María.’

Therefore, I conclude that 1/2 dative arguments do not intervene in terms of feature minimality (108). The following representation, in which indirect objects bear just [participant] features, illustrates the idea:

- (111) $H_{[\text{individuation: unvalued}]} D(\text{Probe}) = [\text{Dat}_{[\text{participant: valued}}] < \text{Acc}_{[\text{individuation: valued}}]]$

Thus, it seems that we have strong reasons to assert that the double doubling ban reduces to the PCC. And if this is correct, then the very existence of the double doubling prohibition would constitute a new piece of evidence for one of the main thesis of this study, namely, that doubled objects, but not CLLD ones, must participate into an Agree relation with an external probe. In Rioplatense Spanish this probe has the form of a pronominal clitic.

5 Final remarks: towards a finer typology of clitics

In this study, I have proposed that clitic doubling has a distinguished syntax, according to which the clitic itself is a pronoun/index in non-argumental position in the syntax. This results in abstraction over individuals at LF: the variable bound by the λ -operator (i.e., the clitic) is created by overt A-movement of the associated nominal. In contradistinction, in CLLD environments, the clitic itself serves as an individual variable bound by the left dislocated nominal. This difference in the formal and semantic makeup of clitics has proven as sufficient to explain the intricate set of facts discussed

here. The proposed theory naturally fits with the growing literature on the A/A' distinction, both in its empirical content and in its theoretical convergence with many related views on the topic in other languages. Once the $\text{Probe}_{[\pi: \text{unvalued}, \text{index}]}-\text{Goal}_{[\pi: \text{valued}, \text{index}]}$ dependency, as designed here, is assumed as a crucial ingredient underlying CD derivations, Rioplatense CD behaves as expected, without any particular extravagance.

Now, beyond the distinction between clitics as variables and clitics as probes, the taxonomy must also contemplate clitics as mere agreement markers. At LF, this amounts to full dissolution of the operation of predicate abstraction and, more generally, to the dissolution of any semantic import. Put differently, this amounts to pure ϕ -ornamentation around a given functional head and, consequently, to true uninterpretable objects in the semantics. Thus, a finer typology of clitics must include this third option:

- (112) a. Pronoun: $D^{\text{min}/\text{max}}$ b. Probe: D^{min} c. Agr. marker: D^{min}
- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| $\begin{bmatrix} \text{index} \\ \phi: \text{valued} \end{bmatrix}$ | $\begin{bmatrix} \text{index} \\ \phi: \text{unvalued} \end{bmatrix}$ | $\begin{bmatrix} \phi: \text{unvalued} \end{bmatrix}$ |
|---|---|---|

This typology allows for finer distinctions in the realm of clitics. For instance, in a recent paper Baker and Kramer (2018) claim that clitics in CD languages like Amharic or Spanish cannot be treated as agreement markers and, consequently, must be considered pronouns. But this conclusion is forced by what I think is an incorrect or too simplistic, binary taxonomy of clitics. Showing that a clitic is not an agreement marker cannot be taken as evidence of the pronominal nature of the clitic at hand; further investigation must provide reasons to set apart a variable analysis from a predicate-maker analysis. Through this paper, I have shown that the variable/predicate-maker distinction is confirmed by robust empirical evidence from many different domains (WCO, ellipsis, pronominal binding and so on). This evidence shows that Baker and Kramer's analysis of Spanish cannot be sustained: doubling clitics are not pronouns (variables, in my terms). Now, beyond the variable/predicate-maker distinction in the realm of clitic doubling, a quick look at subject-verb agreement properties in typical null subject languages like Spanish, in which absence of A-movement properties in overt subjects is widely attested (see, among others, Barbosa 1995, Ordóñez 1997 and Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998), seems to give some initial plausibility

to the hypothesis that subject agreement is purely ornamental in this case, instantiating a true case of (112c).

References

- Alexiadou, Artemis, and Elena Anagnostopoulou. 1998. Parametrizing AGR: Word order, V-movement, and EPP-checking. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 16:491–540.
- Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2003. *The syntax of ditransitives. Evidence from clitics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2005. Strong and weak restriction: A feature checking analysis. In *Clitics and affixation*, ed. Laura Heggie and Francisco Ordóñez, 199–235. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2014. Clitic doubling. In *The Blackwell Companion to syntax 1*, ed. Martin Everaert and Henk van Riemsdijk, 519–581. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2017. Defective intervention effects in two Greek varieties and their implications for ϕ -incorporation as Agree. In *Order and structure in syntax ii: Subjecthood and argument structure*, ed. Michelle Sheehan and Laura R. Bailey, 153–178. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Angelopoulos, Niko, and Dominique Sportiche. 2021. Clitic dislocations and clitics in French and Greek from interpretation to structure. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 39:959–1022.
- Arnaiz, Alfredo. 1992. On word order in wh-questions in Spanish. In *Papers from the fourth student conference in linguistics 1992*, ed. Andreas Kathol and Jill Beckman, 1–10. MIT Papers on Linguistics.
- Arregi, Karlos. 2003. Clitic left dislocation is contrastive topicalization. In *Proceedings of the 26th Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium, Penn Working Papers in Linguistics 9.1*, 31–44. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Arregi, Karlos. 2006. Reconstruction and condition-C in Spanish: A non-structural account. In *Selected proceedings of the 9th hispanic linguistics symposium*, ed. Nuria Sagarra and Jacqueline Toribio Almeida, 1–12. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

-
- Baker, Mark. 2015. *Case: Its principles and its parameters*. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics. Cambridge University Press.
- Baker, Mark, and Ruth Kramer. 2018. Doubled clitics are pronouns Amharic objects (and beyond). *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 36:1035—1088.
- Barbosa, Pilar. 1995. Null subjects. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Barrenechea, Ana María, and Teresa Orecchia. 1979. La duplicación de objetos directos e indirectos en el español hablado en Buenos Aires. In *Estudios lingüísticos y dialectológicos. temas hispánicos*, ed. Ana María Barrenechea, Mabel Manacorda de Rosetti, María Luisa Freyre, Elena Jiménez, Teresa Orecchia, and Clara Wolf, 73–101. Buenos Aires: Hachette.
- Bittner, Maria, and Ken Hale. 1996. The structural determination of case and agreement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27:347–266.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan David. 2008. Where's Phi? Agreement as a postsyntactic operation. In *Phi theory*, ed. Daniel Harbour, David Adger, and Susana Béjar, 295–328. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bonet, Eulalia. 1991. Morphology after syntax: Pronominal clitics in Romance. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Bonet, Eulalia. 1995. Feature structure of Romance clitics. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 13:607–647.
- Béjar, Susana, and Milan Rezac. 2003. Person licensing and the derivation of PCC effects. In *Romance linguistics: Theory and acquisition*, ed. Ana Teresa Perez-Leroux and Yves Roberge, 49–62. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Béjar, Susana, and Milan Rezac. 2009. Cyclic agree. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40:35–73.
- Cecchetto, Carlo. 2000. Doubling structures and reconstruction. *Probus* 12:93–126.
- Chierchia, Gennaro. 2004. A semantics for unaccusatives and its syntactic consequences. In *The unaccusativity puzzle. Explorations of the syntax-lexicon interface*, ed. Artemis Alexiadou, Elena Anagnostopoulou, and Martin Everaert, 22–59. Oxford University Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1982. *Some concepts and consequences of the theory of Government and Binding*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The minimalist program*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 89–156. MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale: A life in linguistics*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, 1–52. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2008. On phases. In *Foundational issues in linguistic theory. essays in honor of jean-roger vergnaud*, ed. Robert Freidin, Carlos Otero, and María Luisa Zubizarreta, 134–166. MIT Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1990. *Types of A'-dependencies*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- van Craenenbroeck, Jereon, and Marcel den Dikken. 2006. Ellipsis and EPP repair. *Linguistic Inquiry* 37:653–664.
- Di Tullio, Ángela, Andrés Saab, and Pablo Zdrojewski. 2019. Clitic doubling in a doubling world. the case of Argentinean Spanish reconsidered. In *The syntactic variation of Spanish dialects*, ed. Ángel Gallego, 213–242. Oxford University Press.
- Fischer, Susann, Mario Navarro, and Jorge Vega Vilanova. 2019. The clitic doubling parameter: Development and distribution of a cyclic change. In *Cycles in language change*, ed. Miriam Bouzouita, Anne Breitbarth, Lieven Danckaert, and Elisabeth Witzenhäusen, 52–70. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fischer, Susann, and Esther Rinke. 2013. Explaining the variability of clitic doubling across Romance: a diachronic account. *Linguistische Berichte* 236:255–272.
- Fong, Suzana. 2019. Proper movement through Spec-CP: An argument from hyperraising in Mongolian. *Glossa. A Journal of General Linguistics* 4:1–42.
- Fong, Suzana. 2020. Distinguishing between explanatory accounts of the A/A'-distinction. The view from Argentinian Spanish clitic doubling. Paper presented at Going Romance @ CNRS: November, 2020.
- Harizanov, Boris. 2014. Clitic doubling at the syntax-morphophonology interface. A-movement and morphological merger in Bulgarian. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 32:1033–1088.

-
- Harley, Heidi, and Elizabeth Ritter. 2002. Person and number in pronouns: A feature geometric analysis. *Language* 78:482–526.
- Heim, Irene, and Angelika Kratzer. 1998. *Semantics in generative grammar*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Hurtado, Alfredo. 1984. On the properties of LF. *Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics* 6:121–149.
- Ishii, Toru. 2006. A nonuniform analysis of overt wh-movement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 37:155–167.
- Jaeggli, Osvaldo. 1982. *Topics in Romance syntax*. Dordrecht Holland: Foris Publications.
- Jaeggli, Osvaldo A. 1986. Three issues in the theory of clitics: Case, doubled NPs, and extraction in the syntax of pronominal clitics. *Syntax and semantics* 19:15–42.
- Kalin, Laura, and Coppe van Urk. 2015. Aspect splits without ergativity agreement asymmetries in Neo-Aramaic. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 33:659–702.
- Kany, Charles E. 1969. *Sintaxis hispanoamericana*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Leonetti, Manuel. 2008. Specificity in clitic doubling and in differential object marking. *Probus* 20:33–66.
- López, Luis. 2012. *Indefinite objects. Scrambling, choice functions, and differential marking*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Mahajan, Anoop. 1991. Clitic doubling, object agreement and specificity. In *Proceedings of the North Eastern Linguistics Society*, ed. Tim Sherer, 263–277.
- Marantz, Alec. 1991. Case and licensing. In *Eastern States Conference on Linguistics*, ed. Germán Westphal, Benjamin Ao, and Hee-Rahk Chae, 234–253. Cornell University, Ithaca, NY: Cornell Linguistics Club.
- Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The syntax of silence: sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Merchant, Jason. 2004. Fragments and ellipsis. *Linguistics and philosophy* 27:661–738.
- Navarro, Mario, Susann Fischer, and Jorge Vega Vilanova. 2017. Reconstruyendo un ciclo: doblado de clíticos y gramaticalización en las lenguas romances. In *Ivestigaciones actuales en lingüística. VOL. III: Sintaxis*, ed. Silvia Gumiel-Molina, Manuel Leonetti, and Isabel Pérez-

- Jiménez, 111–126. Alcalá: Universidad de Alcalá.
- Nevins, Andrew. 2007. The representation of third person and its consequences for person-case effects. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 25:273—313.
- Olarrea, Antxon. 1997. Pre and postverbal subject positions in Spanish: A minimalist account. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Washington, Washington.
- Ordóñez, Francisco. 1997. Word order and clause structure in Spanish and other Romance languages. Doctoral Dissertation, The City University of New York, New York.
- Ordóñez, Francisco. 1998. Post-verbal asymmetries in Spanish. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 313–346.
- Ormazabal, Javier, and Juan Romero. 2007. Object clitics, agreement and dialectal variation. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 25:315—347.
- Ormazabal, Javier, and Juan Romero. 2013. Object clitics, agreement and dialectal variation. *Probus* 25:301—344.
- Panagiotidis, Phoevos, and Stavroula Tsiplakou. 2006. An a-binding asymmetry in null subject languages and its significance for universal grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 37:167–177.
- Pancheva, Roumyana, and Maria Luisa Zubizarreta. 2018. The Person Case Constraint. The syntactic encoding of perspective. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 36:1291–1337.
- Pesetsky, David, and Esther Torrego. 2007. The syntax of valuation and the interpretability of features. In *Syntactic derivation and interpretation. In honor of Joseph E. Edmonds*, ed. Simin Karimi, Vida Samian, and Wendy K. Wilking, 262–294. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Preminger, Omer. 2014. *Agreement and its failures*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Preminger, Omer. 2019. What the PCC tells us about “abstract” agreement, head movement, and locality. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics* 4:1–42.
- Reich, Ingo. 2004. Association with focus and choice functions. A binding approach. *Research on Language and Computation* 2:463–489.
- Renihart, Tanja. 2006. *Interface strategies. Optimal and costly computations*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Richards, Novin. 2010. *Uttering trees*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

-
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of grammar*, ed. Liliane Haegeman, 281–337. Kluwer.
- Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, Miguel. 2007. The syntax of objects: Agree and differential object marking. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Connecticut, Connecticut.
- Ruys, Eddy. 2000. Weak crossover as a scope phenomenon. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31:513–539.
- Saab, Andrés. 2008. Hacia una teoría de la identidad parcial en la elipsis. Doctoral Dissertation, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- Saab, Andrés, and Fernando Carranza. 2021. *Dimensiones del significado. Una introducción a la semántica formal*. Buenos Aires: SDAF.
- Saab, Andrés, and Pablo Zdrojewski. 2012. Anti-repair effects under ellipsis diagnosing (post-) syntactic clitics in Spanish. In *Romance languages and linguistic theory 2010: Selected papers from Going Romance, Leiden 2010*, ed. Andrés Saab Irene Franco, Sara Lusini, volume 4, 177–202. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Safir, Ken. 2019. The A/A distinction as an epiphenomenon. *Linguistic Inquiry* 50:285–336.
- Sauerland, Uli. 1998. The meaning of chains. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Sportiche, Dominique. 1996. Clitic constructions. In *Phrase structure and the lexicon*, ed. Johan Rooryck and Laurie Zaring, 213–276. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.
- Suñer, Margarita. 1988. The role of agreement in clitic-doubled constructions. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 6:391–434.
- Torrego, Esther. 1984. On inversion in Spanish and some of its effects. *Linguistic Inquiry* 1:103–129.
- Uriagereka, Juan. 1995. Aspects of the syntax of clitics placement in Western Romance. *Linguistic Inquiry* 26:79–123.
- van Urk, Coppe. 2015. A uniform syntax for phrasal movement. A case study of Dinka Bor. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Zdrojewski, Pablo. 2008. ¿Por quién doblan los clíticos? Restricciones morfosintácticas sobre la duplicación pronominal en el español rioplatense. Master's thesis, Universidad Nacional del Comahue, General Roca, Río Negro.

Zubizarreta, Maria Luisa. 1998. *Prosody, focus, and word order*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.