

# Case conflicts and A-movement: DOM, doubling and clitics in Rioplatense Spanish<sup>1</sup>

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*Utrecht Theoretical Linguistics Lectures*

*17-19 December 2018*

*Utrecht, The Netherlands*

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<sup>1</sup> The material presented here is part of joint work with Mercedes Pujalte and Pablo Zdrojewski, to whom I hereby acknowledge for many years of scientific collaboration. Special thanks to Pablo for helping me with translations, trees and glosses.

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# Handout 1

## First steps towards an *Agree*-based theory of Case

### 0. Plan

From now on, we are going to explore certain version of Case Theory based on the *Agree* model (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2007, 2008). We'll attempt to convince you that such a theory explains in a simple and elegant way a set of intricate phenomena of Spanish grammar involving at least the following domains:

#### Our empirical domains:

- (i) Case and argument structure interactions in structures involving the clitic *se*
- (ii) Case patterns in ditransitive and applicative sentences
- (iii) Case patterns in analytic causatives and their interactions with *se* constructions
- (iv) DOM

(among other phenomena that time will not allow to discuss in the following three days)

The theory to be presented makes reference to purely formal properties of head phases and DPs. None of the phenomena mentioned above involves the notion of movement (Internal Merge) in any substantial way. Put differently, a set of assumptions about the formal make up of functional heads and DPs, some working hypotheses about the mechanics of case/agreement and argument structure at the syntax-PF interface will be enough. Yet, there are other set of phenomena that requires an explicit theory of the formal motivation of movement, A-movement, specifically. As we will see, the motivation is again purely formal and makes reference to inflectional and selectional features alone. The relevant empirical domain is clitic doubling:

## (v) Accusative and dative clitic doubling

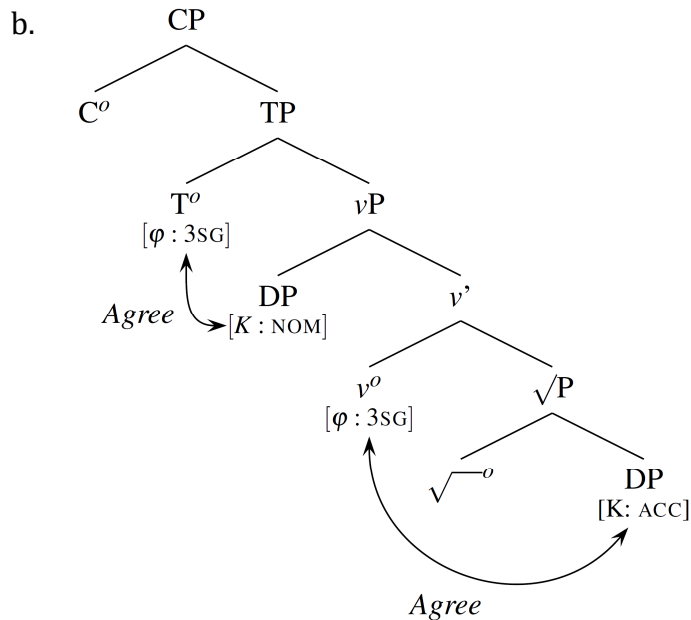
The final picture is an integral theory of the syntax of A-dependencies in Spanish (with special reference to Rioplatense Spanish), with large theoretical consequences regarding the Case system, the Agree system, argument structure and, in broad terms, the syntax-PF interface (**come to my today's talk for a discussion of the other side of the coin, the syntax-semantic interface**).

**Today:** (A) We sketch the basic ingredients of the theory and (B) We evaluate some of its predictions in a particular empirical domain: certain type of *se* constructions in Spanish (i.e., **the empirical domain in (i)**). In the next two days, I'll address the rest of the phenomena I have just mentioned with different levels of detail.

## 1. Ingredients

**Initial exercise:** a toy representation of a transitive sentence under the (standard) *Agree* model (only the final result of Agree on uninterpretable features is illustrated):

- (1) a. Juan compró el auto.  
 J. bought the car



Let's now see the *special* ingredients of the theory.

### 1.1. Formal features and functional heads

Beyond the set of  $\phi$ -features that determines Agree relations, we assume that every category can be specified with category features, C-features (e.g., [D], [P], [ $\sqrt{\quad}$ ], etc.). As we'll see, these features are triggers of External Merge. For the moment, let us just emphasize that both  $\phi$ -features and C-features are optional on terminal nodes with which they are normally associated (*pace* Chomsky 2000; see Pujalte & Saab 2012).<sup>2</sup> Thus,  $v$ , for instance, has at least four logical possibilities regarding its formal realization in the syntax:

#### Formal composition of $v$ :

- (2)
- a.  $v_{[\phi, D]}$
  - b.  $v_{[\phi]}$
  - c.  $v_{[D]}$
  - d.  $v$

These four possibilities, together with their empirical and theoretical consequences, are discussed in detail in Pujalte & Saab (2012), Pujalte (2012), and Saab (2014, 2015, 2018). In what follows, we explore some concrete instances of (2), which will be fundamental for the subsequent discussion.

### 1.2. Subcategorization

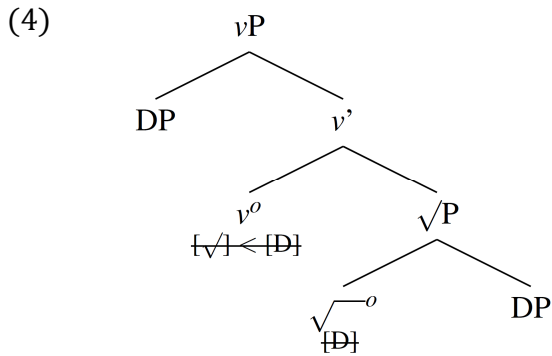
We assume that External Merge is triggered by a set of ordered subcategorization features encoded on syntactic heads (Adger 2010 and Müller 2010). Once applied to a given head with a subcategorization feature  $x$ , (External) *Merge* deletes such a

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<sup>2</sup> As noticed by Karlos Arregi (p.c.) this requires qualifications regarding the particular implementation. Are such properties always optional within and across languages? Or do languages make different selections of the possibilities in (2) up to parametric options? We'll not explore these issues here. As far as we know, Rioplatense Spanish is a case in which the four options are attested at least for the  $v$  head.

feature from the syntactic derivation. Consider the sentence in (3) with its associated tree in (4):

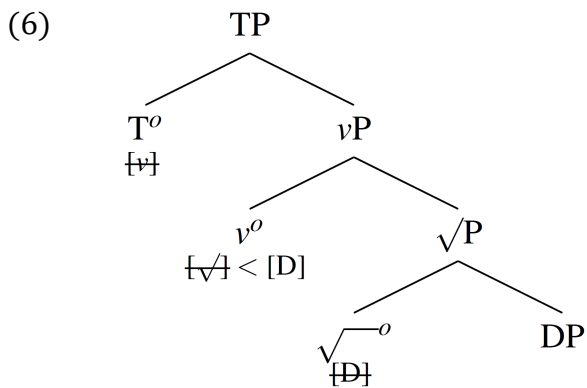
(3) John read the book.



According to Pujalte & Saab (2012: 238), deletion of subcategorization features is motivated by PF considerations:

(5) At PF, every structure-building feature must be discharged.

It is PF and not syntax, then, the responsible for cancelling a derivation like (6):



(7) \*Read the book.

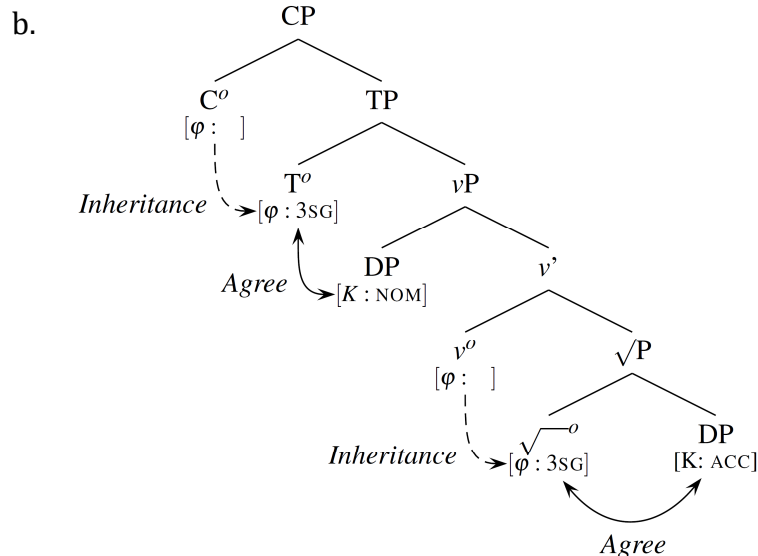


## 1.3. Inheritance and flexible Case domains

According to Chomsky (2008: 143-144)<sup>3</sup>:

It seems problematic for T to fail to define a phase boundary along with C, since on the surface it seems to be T, not C, that is the locus of  $\phi$ -features that are involved in the nominative-agreement system, and raising of the external argument subject or unaccusative/passive object to Spec-T. There is, however, antecedent reason to suspect otherwise, confirmed (as we will see) by empirical phenomena. The reason is that for T,  $\phi$ -features and Tense appear to be derivative, not inherent: basic tense and also tenselike properties (e.g., irrealis) are determined by C (in which they are inherent: “John left” is past tense whether or not it is embedded) or by selecting V (also inherent) or perhaps even broader context. In the lexicon, T lacks these features. T manifests the basic tense features if and only if it is selected by C (default agreement aside). If not, it is a raising (or ECM) infinitival, lacking  $\phi$ -features and basic tense. So it makes sense to assume that Agree and Tense features are inherited from C, the phase head. If C-T agrees with the goal DP, the latter can remain in situ under long-distance Agree, with all uninterpretable features valued; or it can raise as far as Spec-T, at which point is inactivated, with all features valued, and cannot raise further to Spec-C. We thus derive the A-A' distinction.

- (8) a. Juan compró el auto. (Arrows indicate inheritance direction)  
 J. bought the car



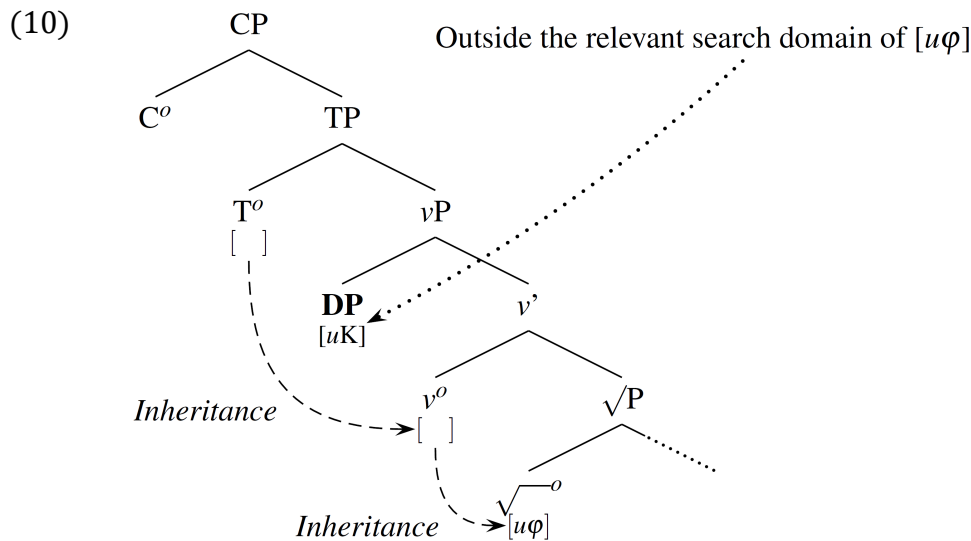
<sup>3</sup> For more discussion on the mechanism of inheritance and its possible motivations, see Richards (2007, 2011) and Gallego (2014), among others.

Moreover, Chomsky assumes that:

- (9) (a) C to T inheritance: OK  
 (b)  $v$  to Root inheritance: OK  
 (c) C/T to Root inheritance: **NO**

The claim in (9c) is accounted for as an Agree failure:

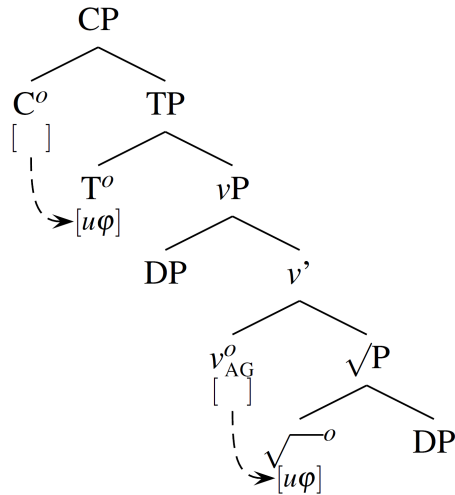
Notice that TP cannot be saved as a phase [...]: if its features are inherited by  $v^*$ , the derivation will always crash because the external argument is outside the search domain of  $v^*$ . (Chomsky 2007: 19)



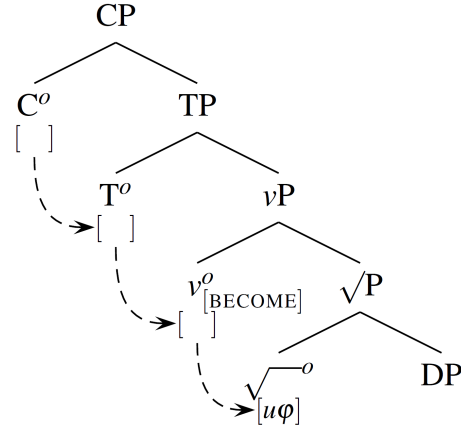
Yet, as argued by Pujalte & Saab (2012), Chomsky's claim holds only if there is indeed a DP in the relevant search domain (i.e., Spec,  $vP$ ). In other words, **C to Root inheritance should be allowed when no DP merges in Spec,  $vP$**  (and other conditions apply, see below).<sup>4</sup> Compare the following inheritance possibilities:

<sup>4</sup> This is a provisional claim. As we will see, this seems to be correct in Spanish as far as the external argument is concerned. Lower arguments (DOM objects and several types of datives are licensed even in a situation like the illustrated in (10)) (see next chapter). Probably, certain ergative languages do license external arguments in that environment.

(11) a. *Transitive*

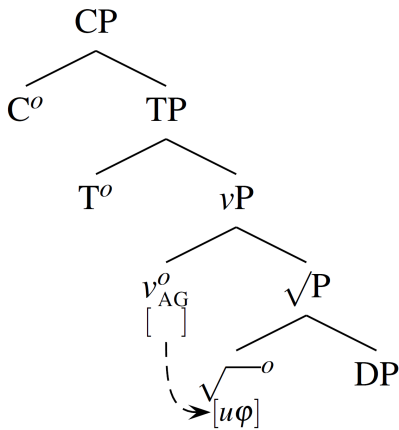


b. *Unaccusative*

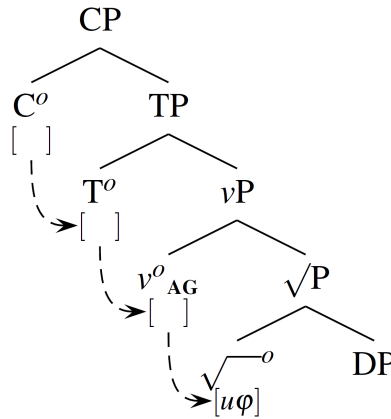


Other alternatives...

(12) a. *C without φ*



b. *Transitive v° without φ*



On this view, **Case domains are flexible**, sensitive to the locus and formal make up of phase heads. Thus, at least in Spanish, the nominative Case domain can or cannot include the lowest phase head, depending on the situations already commented. It is important to make explicit how far inheritance can go. In principle, C to Root inheritance is allowed to the extent that cyclic  $v$  is  $\phi$ -defective. In other words, inheritance proceeds until the last defective head that it finds in its way. This is a reasonable assumption (not Chomsky's assumption), and we will assume it in what follows. Yet, there must be other restrictions. For instance, we will see that in

unergatives, inheritance from C stops at T (or whatever the last non-phase head immediately dominating unergative  $v$ ). In footnote 16, we tentatively suggest that this could be related to the hidden transitive nature of unergatives.

#### 1.4. Morphological cyclicity

The debate about what constitutes a cyclic head begins at the same time when Chomsky (2000) proposed to come back to a certain implementation of the *Strict Cycle Condition*.<sup>5</sup> An alternative proposal to the idea that transitive  $v$  is a phase head is that all category-defining heads are phases:

- (13) Category-defining heads  $n$ ,  $v$ ,  $a$ , and so on, are cyclic heads: such heads define the *phases* that trigger Spell-Out. (Embick 2010: 51)

Other functional categories in higher domains can also be phase heads, in consonance with other approaches to cyclicity.

We also adopt a strong version of the *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC). This is the version of the strong PIC formulated by Marvin (2002) (see Chomsky 2000 for another well-known version of strong PIC):

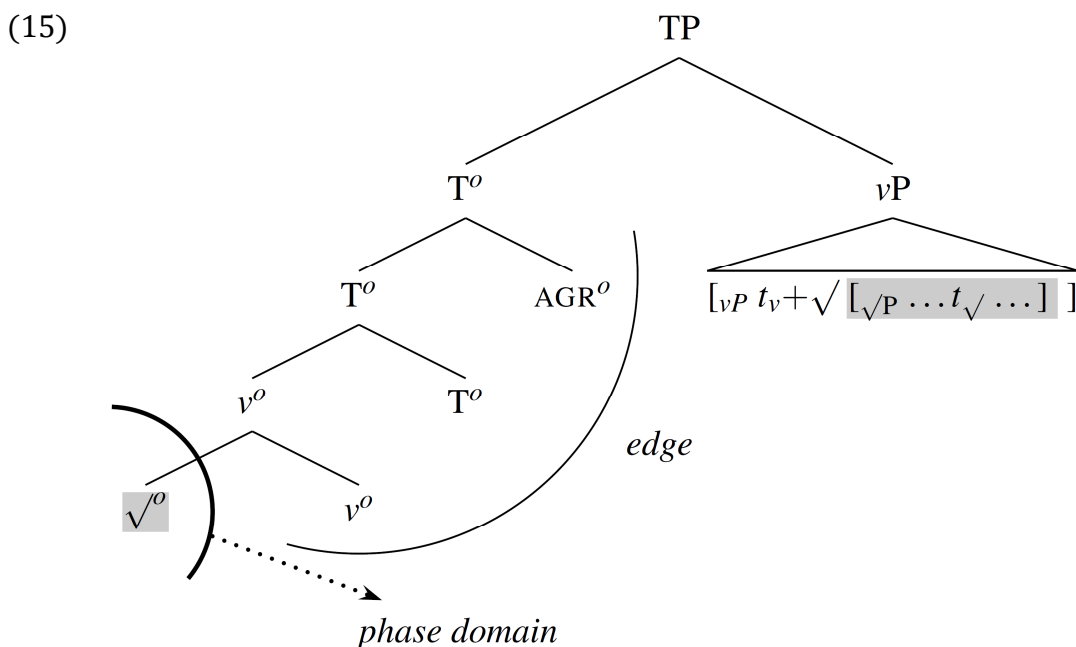
**PIC:**

- (14) H and its edge are spelled out at the next (strong) phase. The domain of H is spelled out at the phase of HP. A head  $h$  adjoined to H is in the domain of H. (Marvin 2002: 26)

Consider a head movement structure from Root to T:

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<sup>5</sup> See Gallego (2010, 2013) for a more detailed discussion on phase theory.



As it can be observed, head movement of material in the  $v$  domain, as correctly noticed by Marvin, does not convert the moved head in edge material. This is an empirical claim (opacity effects, for instance) and does not have a satisfactory explanation in the framework of phase theory.

Even when the assumptions adopted so far are enough for the subsequent discussion, it is worth-noticing that, as formulated in (14), PIC could be (and surely it is) too restrictive. For instance, the theory predicts that every non-cyclic head that dominates a cyclic head cannot access to information present in the Root. This is immediately falsified by certain cases of allomorphy involving the Tense node (*sing-sang*, *hit-hit*, etc.), which lead Embick to postulate a weaker version of the PIC, along the lines of Chomsky (2001). In what follows, we ignore these complications in favor of expository clarity (see Pujalte & Saab 2012 for a more detailed discussion). At least for the cases to be discussed here, a strong version of the PIC seems to be empirically justified, a fact that makes the debate about cyclicity more pressing.

**2. First illustration: *se* syncretism**

The sentences listed in (16)-(19) constitute a pattern of systematic syncretism that produces argument reduction effects. The syncretic element is the clitic *se* or its agreeing relatives (e.g., *me*, *te*, *nos*, etc):

**Causative *se*:**

- (16) a. La tormenta hundió al barco.  
 the storm sank DOM.the ship  
 'The storm sank the ship.'
- b. Se hundió el barco con la tormenta.  
*se* sank the ship with the storm  
 'The ship sank with the storm.'

**Passive *se*:**

- (17) a. La policía cerró las puertas para bloquear la salida.  
 the police closed the doors for block.INF the exit  
 'The police closed the doors in order to block the exit.'
- b. Se cerraron las puertas para bloquear la salida.  
*se* closed.3PL the doors for block.INF the exit  
 'The doors were closed in order to block the exit.'

**Impersonal *se*:**

- (18) a. Juan criticó a Ana.  
 Juan criticized DOM Ana  
 'Juan criticized Ana.'
- b. Se criticó a Ana.  
*se* criticized DOM Ana  
 'One criticized Ana.'

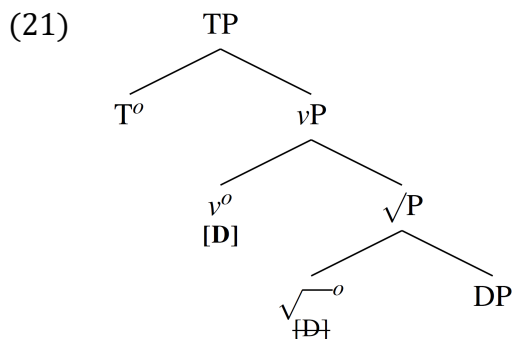
**Reflexive se**

- (19) a. Juan criticó a Ana.  
 Juan criticized DOM María  
 'Juan criticized Ana.'
- b. Ana se criticó.  
 Ana se criticized  
 'Ana criticized herself.'

According to Pujalte & Saab (2012: 230), these patterns are the surface manifestation of the following underlying generalization:

- (20) At PF a clitic has to be inserted when  $v_{[EXT\ ARG]}$  does not have a specifier.

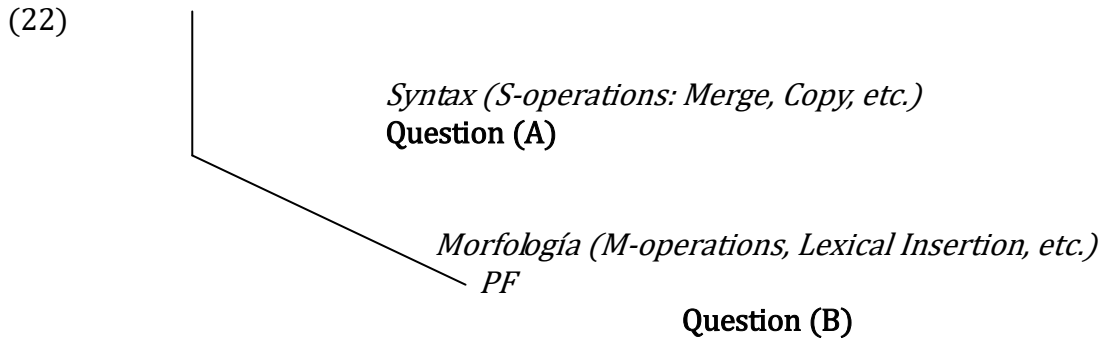
Preliminarily, we say that the clitic is inserted at PF when the syntax provides the following configuration:



Before advancing into the details of the theoretical consequences behind (25), let's see how proceeds Pujalte & Saab's argument. Here are the two crucial questions:

- (A) Under what particular syntactic circumstances is the absence of an EA in the syntax allowed?
- (B) How is CL-*insertion* implemented at PF?

Question (A) is about the syntax of *se* constructions, any answer we attempt directly affect possible answers to question (B). This is particularly evident in a model in which syntax feeds morphology (Distributed Morphology, for instance; see Halle & Marantz 1993, subsequent work and Embick 2015 for a lucid introduction):



### 3. The syntax of *se* constructions

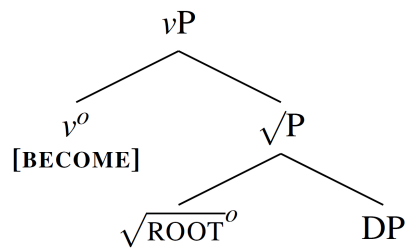
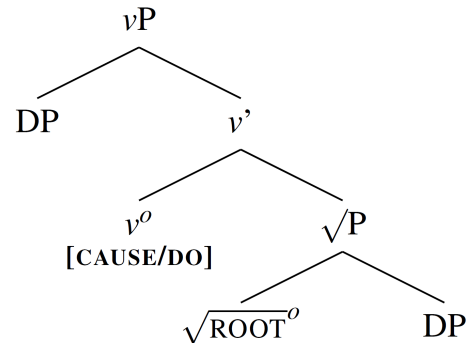
#### 3.1. *Se Reflexives and causatives*

As is well-known, the most important difference between causatives and reflexives is, without a doubt, agentivity. Adverbial modification with volitional PPs/adverbials is a robust test (any substitution of a volitional adverb in (23a) or of a non-volitional modifier in (23b) would give ungrammatical results or produce a change of meaning: e.g., from middle to agentive in (23a)):

- (23) a. El barco se hundió solo/con la tormenta.  
 the ship *se* sank only/with storm  
 'The ship sank ??/with the storm.'
- b. Juan criticó a María a propósito  
 J. criticized DOM María on purpose  
 /para impresionar a su audiencia.  
 to impress DOM his audience



Following Folli & Harley (2005), we can capture the difference postulating different semantic flavors of  $v$ . In Folli & Harley's system, pure unaccusatives are introduced by a  $v_{[become]}$  head, whereas transitive  $v$  can encode  $[cause]^6$  or  $[do]$ . This last feature is typically agentive.

(24) *Unaccusatives*(25) *Transitives*

In regular transitive structures both flavors of  $v$  can be illustrated with sentences as the following ones:

(26) Juan asesinó a Pedro. ( $v_{[do]}$ )

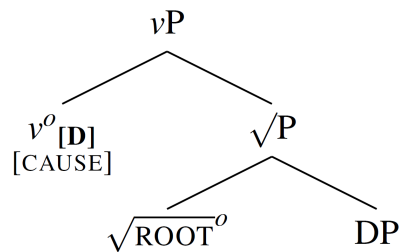
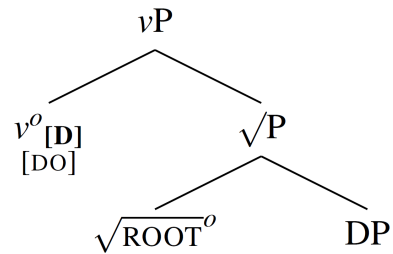
Juan murdered.3SG DOM Pedro

(27) El calor quemó el pasto. ( $v_{[cause]}$ )

the heat burned.3SG the grass

Now, structures corresponding to sentences with reflexive *se* and causative *se* are equivalent to the transitive variants in (26) and (27), respectively, but with the crucial differences (i) that  $v$  is  $\phi$ -defective and (ii) that the external argument is absent in the *se* sentences (see Embick 2004 and subsequent work).

<sup>6</sup> This supposes the postulation of a causer role, but see Pyllkänen (2002, 2008) for a different analysis that rejects causer roles in favor of a biventric structure for causatives.

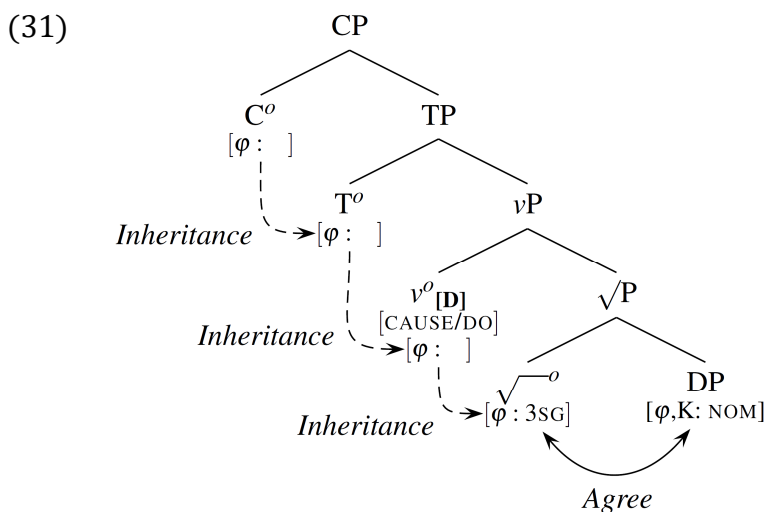
(28) *Causative-se*(29) *Reflexive-se*

In other words, *se* causatives and *se* reflexives instantiate a case in which a category feature remains unsatisfied in the syntax. **Merge failures are allowed in our system** (borrowing the term *failure* from Preminger 2014, although our system seems to be less flexible than Preminger's when it comes to Merge failures). On our account, however, the derivation is not cancelled, *contra* Chomsky (1995):

**Strong Feature Condition (SFC):**

(30) Suppose that the derivation  $D$  has formed  $\Sigma$  containing  $\alpha$  with a strong feature  $F$ . Then,  $D$  is canceled if  $\alpha$  is in a category not headed by  $\alpha$ . (Chomsky 1995: 234)

The derivation, then, continues introducing  $T$  and  $C$ . Since that, by hypothesis,  $v$  does not contain inflectional features (28) and (29), the  $DO$  argument cannot value its Case feature at the  $vP$  level. Only when the features of  $C/T$  enter the derivation such an argument can value its Case feature, but as nominative. This is exactly what is behind the hypothesis of flexible Case domain introduced above. Put differently, reflexives/causatives with *se* instantiate a case like (12b):



In sum, we can state the following generalization:

- (32) *Se* reflexives/causatives are syntactically defective in two senses: (i) they lack an external argument that cancels the [D]-feature on  $v$ , and (ii) the underlying transitive  $v$  doesn't have inflectional features.

In principle, it seems that there is an evident connection between these two properties. Notice that if  $v$  was not defective, we would have two complete probes for the same goal.<sup>7</sup> In turn, if two DPs with an unvalued Case feature were merged in Spec,  $vP$ , where  $v$  is defective- one of the two arguments involved in the structure could not value its Case; i.e., we would have only one probe for two goals.<sup>8</sup>

### 3.2. Impersonal and passive *se*

Impersonal and passive *se* sentences seem to differentiate each other not in the semantic readings that they trigger but just in their formal properties:

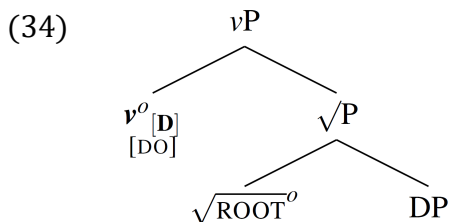
<sup>7</sup> Just to be clear: this is not a problem in agreement failure models, but of course the result as far as the Case properties of the relevant sentence would be entirely different. Indeed, we'll see in a moment that this situation is instantiated in impersonal *se* sentences.

<sup>8</sup> Again, this is not a problema *per se*, as it depends on particular implementations and parametric options across languages; see, e.g., Kalin & van Urk (2015) for a case that illustrates what Spanish seems to ban.

- (33) a. **Se** cerraron las puertas para bloquear la salida.  
*se* closed.3PL the doors for block.INF the exit  
 'The doors were closed in order to block the exit.'
- b. **Se** criticó a Ana.  
*se* criticized DOM Ana  
 'One/someone criticized Ana.'

The first obvious difference is in the agreement-Case properties: while in passives there is subject-verb agreement (or at least, the appearance of it) with the internal argument, in impersonals the internal argument values accusative.<sup>9</sup> This difference is clear in (33) where there is plural agreement with the internal argument in (33a) but the same argument is a DOM object in (33b).

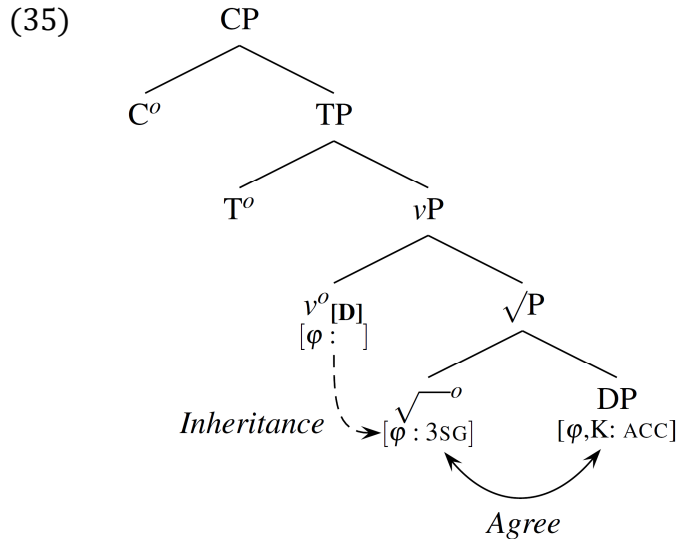
Regarding the interpretation, both sentences are clearly agentive, as demonstrated by the purpose clause in (33a) and for the use of an inherently agentive verb in (33b). Therefore, the underlying  $\theta$ -structure in both kinds of sentences is identical to the underlying structure of reflexives in the relevant aspects; i.e., with an agentive *v*.



The essential point is, then, accounting for the aforementioned formal differences. Here, we depart from Pujalte & Saab (2012), for whom the Case structure differs in impersonals and passives. Instead, we follow the reformulation proposed in Saab (2014) and the more detailed implementation in Pujalte (2012). The working hypothesis is that impersonals and passives do not differ in Case structure.

<sup>9</sup> Although see **Handout 2** section 4.5 for a reconsideration.

Concretely, both types of *se* constructions are a particular instance of the abstract structure proposed in (12a); i.e., a C/T radically defective, but a  $\phi$ -complete  $\nu$ .



That is, in passive *se* there is no nominative case assignment. This is demonstrated by contrasts as the following ones, in which we can observe that passives do not admit nominative pronouns or proper names in subject position (see Di Tullio 1997):

- (36) a. Se encontraron cadáveres.  
*se* found.3PL bodies  
 'Bodies were found'
- b. \*Se encontró Juan/él. (ok as reflexive)  
*se* found.3SG Juan/he
- c. \*Me encontré yo. (ok as reflexive)  
*me* found.1SG I

Notice now that introduction of personal *a* (DOM) always results in an impersonal *se* sentence:

- (37) a. Se lo encontró.  
       *se* CL.MASC.3SG.ACC found.3SG  
       ‘He was found’
- b. Se me encontró.  
       *se* CL.1SG.ACC found.3SG
- c. Se encontró a Juan.  
       *se* found.3SG DOM J.  
       ‘Juan was found’

Evidently, the following generalization is active in Rioplatense Spanish and, probably, in other Spanish varieties (see Pujalte & Saab 2014):

**Generalization (Rioplatense Spanish, at least):<sup>10</sup>**

- (38) Only those objects that are not morphologically marked as accusative show subject-verb agreement effects.

The question now is how to derive these subject-verb agreement effects. Pujalte (2012) suggests adopting the following assumptions:

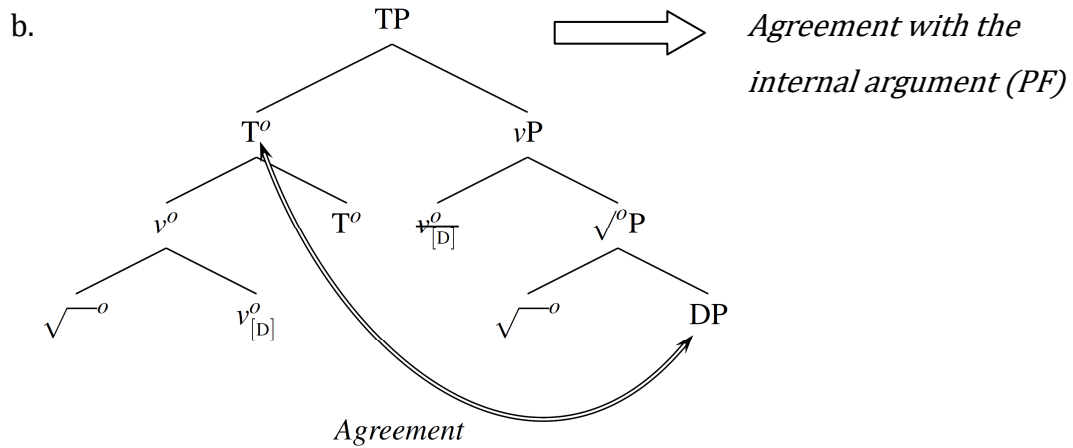
- (39) a. In Spanish,  $T_{\text{finite}}$  must manifest morphological agreement.  
       b. Default agreement is more costly than subject-verb agreement. That is, if possible, agreement with a nominative DP is preferred.  
       c. Direct objects that are not explicitly marked are syncretic with nominative DPs. This syncretism is a matter that is resolved at PF, not in the syntax (as usual).

Suppose now that a nominative DP is a DP with valued structural Case and an accusative is a K(ase)P projection (although there are other possible

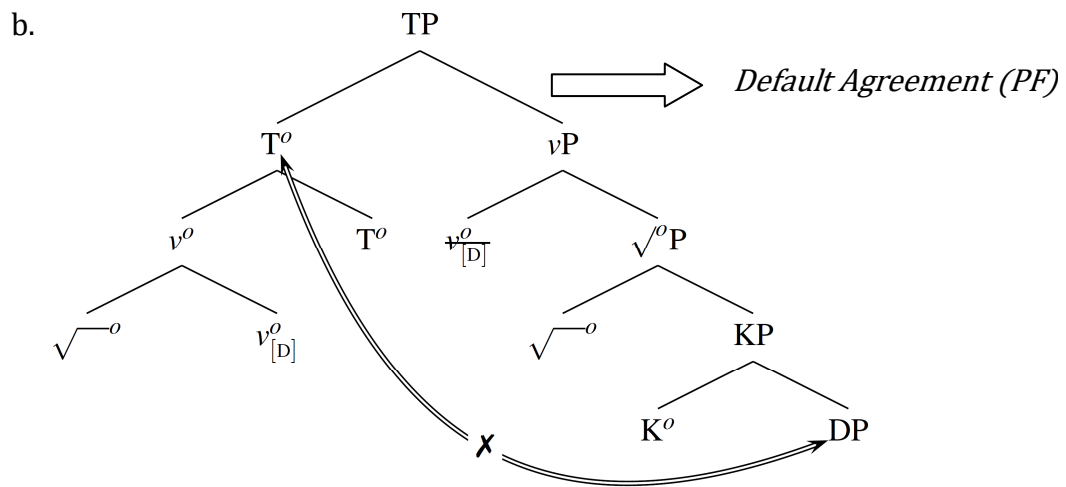
<sup>10</sup> This is not an unexpected pattern in other languages; see for instance Bhatt (2005) for discussion of a similar phenomenon in Hindi-Urdu.

implementations). Suppose, moreover, that K is deleted at PF in those objects that are not explicitly marked under certain conditions. If T only agrees with DPs, not with KPs, then the paradigm in (36) and (37) is accounted for as a matter of agreement / syncretism interaction at PF.<sup>11</sup>

(40) a. Se encontraron cadáveres. 'Bodies were found'



(41) a. Se encontró a los niños. 'Someone found the boys.'



[Pujalte 2012: 266-67]

<sup>11</sup> An interesting consequence of this way of stating the problem is that there is no need for stipulating that C/T is syntactically defective. It could be the case that, as a consequence of syncretism, the set of inflectional features in C/T are valued against the DO in the relevant cases (i.e., when K has been pruned).

This analysis seems to predict that there is complementary distribution between impersonals and passives. For instance, the following contrasts would be obtained:

- (42) a. Se **ven** montañas desde acá.  
*se* see.3PL mountains from here  
 'Mountains are seen from here.'
- b. \*Se **ve** montañas desde acá.  
*se* see.3SG mountains from here
- c. Se **encontraron** cadáveres.  
*se* found.3PL bodies  
 'Bodies were found'
- d. \*Se **encontró** cadáveres.  
*se* found.3SG bodies
- (43) a. Se **castigó** a los culpables.  
*se* punished.3SG DOM the culprits  
 'Someone/one punished the culprits.'
- b. \*Se **castigaron** a los culpables. (as impersonal)  
*se* punished.3PL DOM the culprits
- c. \*Se los **castigaron**.  
*se* CL.ACC.MASC.3SG punished.3PL

This prediction is essentially correct in colloquial Río de La Plata Spanish but it is not correct for every dialect (or even idiolect) or register (see, for instance, NGRAE 2009). Yet, notice that this kind of variation points out to morphophonological properties of the relevant constructions. For those varieties that accept (42b), for instance, it is enough that the syncretism rule that eliminates information regarding accusative case does not apply, whereas for (43b-c) it is enough postulating an inverse rule ordering; for example, K insertion takes place after agreement.



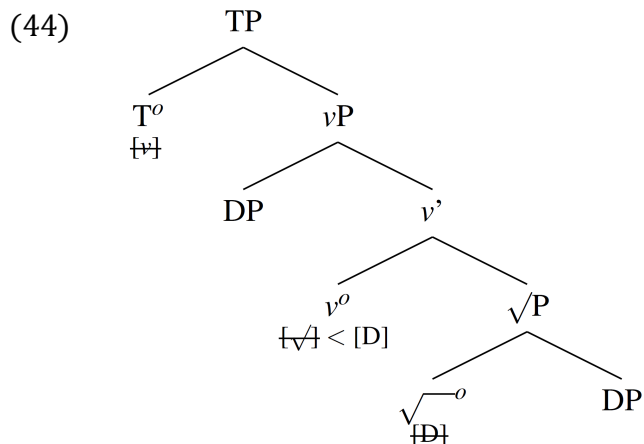
In sum, impersonals and passives have the same underlying syntactic structure; the observed difference in agreement is the byproduct of syncretism patterns between nominative DPs and unmarked objects plus the rules in (39).

#### 4. CL(itic)-insertion

Let's see now how the theory derives CL-insertion in terms of the version of the phase theory that we adopted in 2.3. Concretely, we have to answer Question (B):

(B) How is CL-*insertion* implemented at PF?

As observed, the entire set of *se* constructions discussed so far presents the following basic syntax:



Put differently, we obtain a flagrant violation of the SFC as formulated in (30) and repeated below:

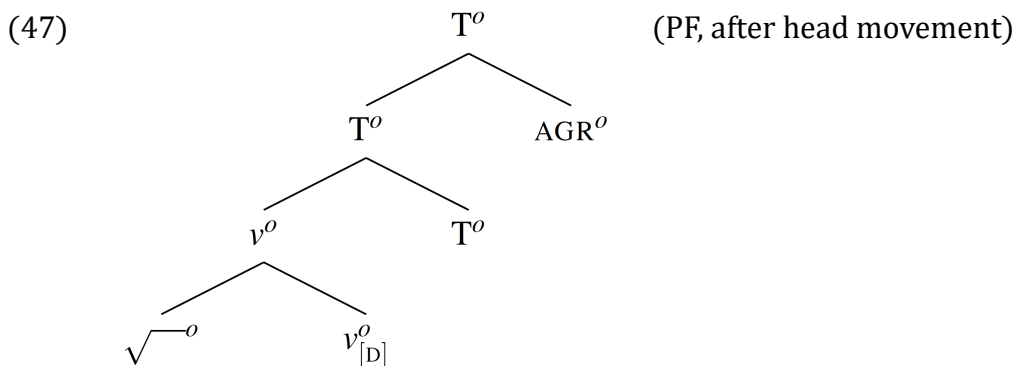
**Strong Feature Condition:**

(45) Suppose that the derivation  $D$  has formed  $\Sigma$  containing  $\alpha$  with a strong feature  $F$ . Then,  $D$  is canceled if  $\alpha$  is in a category not headed by  $\alpha$ . (Chomsky 1995: 234)

As already discussed, given that the category features must be cancelled before lexical insertion, it is not narrow syntax that rules out (44). Evidently, there must be a repair mechanism that deletes the offending feature at hand, otherwise, we obtain a non-convergent structure at PF. That mechanism was already presented in an informal way in (20), repeated now:

(46) At PF a clitic has to be inserted when  $v_{[EXT\ ARG]}$  does not have a specifier.

The relevant structure for the application of CL-insertion is (47), where there was head movement from Root to T:

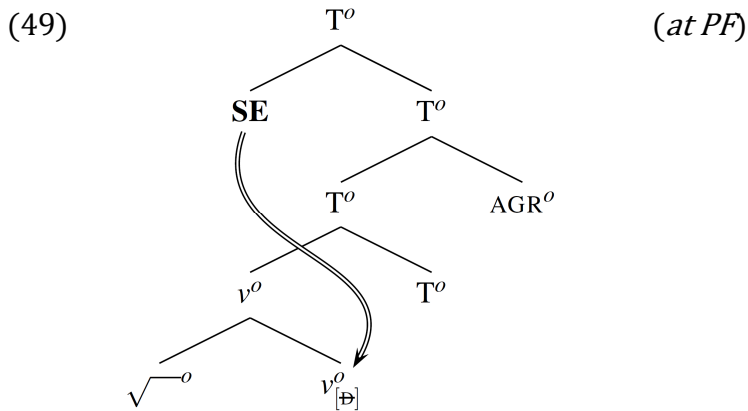


In such a situation, the [D]-feature on  $v$  is visible according to the version of the PIC we have assumed in (14) (and, in fact, in any version of PIC):

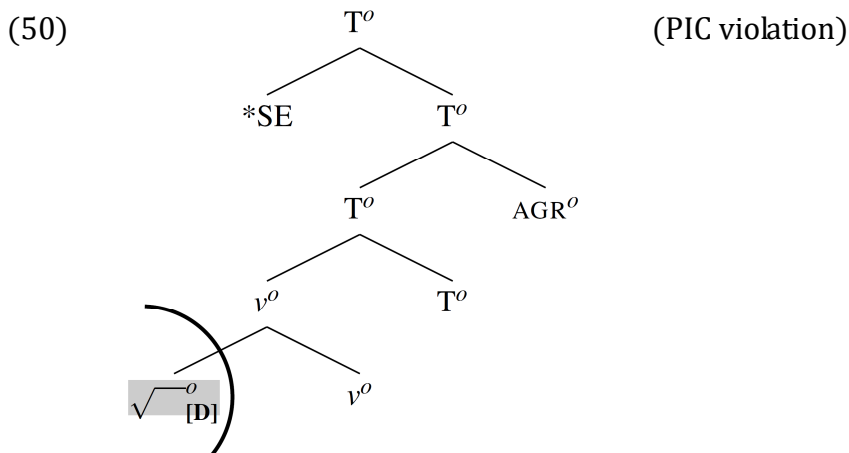
**PIC:**

(48) H and its edge are spelled out at the next (strong) phase. The domain of H is spelled out at the phase of HP. A head  $h$  adjoined to H is in the domain of H. (Marvin 2002: 26)

Therefore, the clitic *se* or its agreeing variants (although see Pujalte & Saab 2012 for details regarding clitic agreement) is inserted on the top of the complex head that contains the uncanceled [D]-feature:



A core prediction of this system is that CL-insertion cannot apply to repair uncanceled features in the complement of the cyclic head. This follows from the PIC in (50):



In other words, it is predicted that **it could not exist something like impersonal *se* in object position**. This prediction is borne out (discard irrelevant readings in each case):

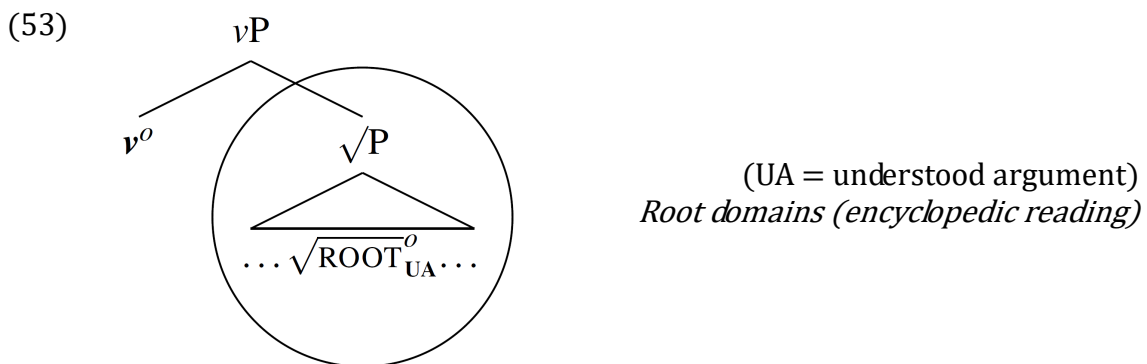
- (51) a. \*Juan compró / se compró.  
 J. bought / *se* bought  
 Intended meaning: 'Juan bought something.'
- b. \*Juan hace / se hace.  
 J. does *se* does  
 Intended meaning: 'Juan does something.'

- c. \*Juan corta / se corta.  
 Juan cuts / se cuts  
 Intended meaning: 'Juan cuts something.'

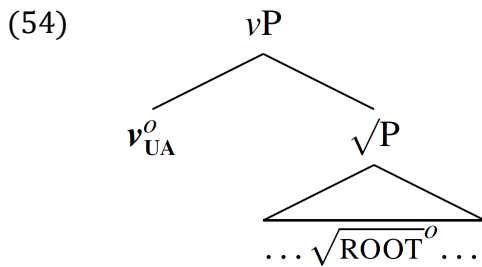
Notice, however, that it is possible to have null objects under certain circumstances:

- (52) a. El psicoanálisis cura. (said in Buenos Aires)  
 the psychoanalysis cures  
 b. Este cuchillo no corta.  
 this knife not cuts  
 c. Los fantasmas asustan.  
 the ghosts fright.3PL

There are two routes of analysis: (i) there is a *pro<sub>arb</sub>* in object position à la Rizzi (1986) that cancels the [D]-feature on the Root, or (ii) there is nothing in object position because the Root doesn't encode a [D]-feature in the syntax; i.e., the object remains understood and it is encyclopedically interpreted in the domain of the Root, hence the varieties of readings that can be found for understood objects (see Saab 2014 for detailed discussion):



Is such an option also available for the external argument position? In other words, it remains to be determined whether or not the structure in (54), with a radically defective *v* (i.e., without inflectional and category features), is possible:



At first glance, this situation seems not to be possible, in view of the ungrammaticality of (55) (again, under the relevant interpretation):

- (55) \*Castiga a los culpables. (ok under referential reading)  
 punish.3SG DOM the culprits

Yet, analytical passives do seem to instantiate the structure in (54):

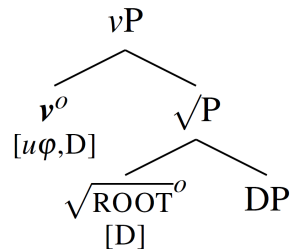
- (56) Juan fue reprimido por la policía.  
 Juan was repressed by the police

Absence of categorial specification on  $v$  permits the occurrence of a PP as agent, whereas its absence blocks it:

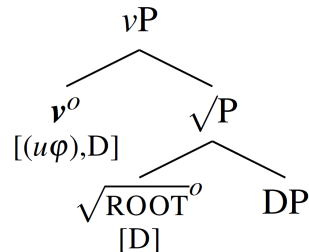
- (57) a. \*Se reprimió a los maestros por la policía.  
*se* repressed.3SG DOM the teachers by the police  
 b. \*Se destruyeron los puentes por el enemigo.  
*se* destroyed.3PL the bridges by the enemy

This gives us the following Voice typology (adapted from Pujalte & Saab 2012: 250)

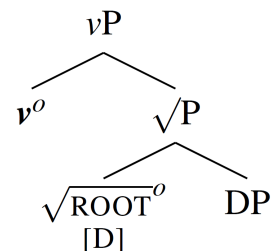
(58) a. *Transitive*



b. *Imp./reflexive SE*



c. *Analytic passive*

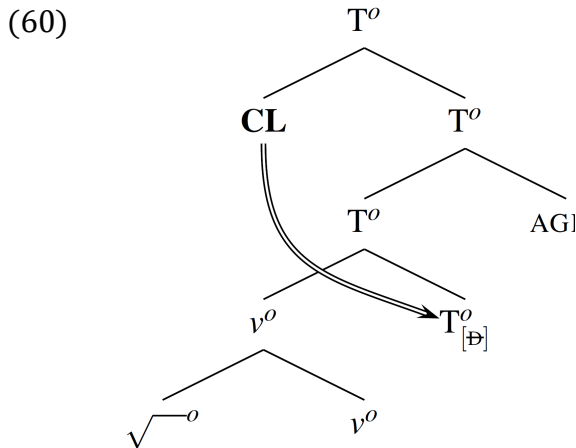


Thus, we dispense with any reference to a Voice feature: the properties generally attributed to such a feature are derived from the inflectional properties of the clause, an interesting conclusion, if correct.

Notice, however, that this typology predicts that we cannot have a  $v_{[D]}$  associated with an agent PP, since both are in complementary distribution. There are putative counterexamples, though:

- (59) a. Cuando **se** es condenado **por** **los** jueces, ...  
 when *se* is sentenced by the judges  
 'When one is sentenced by the judges...'
- b. Aquí, **se** es reprimido **por** **la** policía.  
 here *se* is repressed by the police  
 'Here, one is repressed by the police...'

Fortunately, there is an alternative analysis that not only indicates that these data are not counterexamples, but, in addition, gives further support to the theory. Concretely, we propose that in cases like (59) the [D]-feature is on T not on  $v$ . Since T is visible for CL-insertion, the operation applies to repair the structure at hand:



A clear indication that this analysis is on the right track is related to the following contrast (Cinque 1988, among others):

- (61) a. Al castigar $se$  a los culpables...  
 to.the to.punish- $se$  DOM the culprits  
 'Punishing the culprits...'
- b. \*Al ser $se$  castigado...  
 to.the to.be- $se$  punished  
 'One/someone being punished...'

As it can be observed, the clitic *se* that occurs in passive structures is not compatible with absolute clauses. This follows from the fact that absolute clauses are generated *via* movement to T, an EPP-driven movement (see Pérez-Jiménez 2008 and Camacho 2011):

- (62) [<sub>CP</sub> C [<sub>TP</sub> PredP [<sub>T'</sub> T<sub>EPP</sub> [<sub>AsP</sub> SUBJ  $t_{PredP}$  ...

That is, the categorial specification on T in these cases is inconsistent with a [D]-feature on such a category, which is already specified with another kind of category feature.

Interestingly, this analysis receives additional confirmation from languages in which there is a complementary distribution between expletive insertion and stylistic movement, like Icelandic. In this language, the verb cannot occur in initial position, and, for this reason, either an expletive is inserted in such a position or a constituent, other than V of course, moves to initial position:

- (63) a. *Það* hefur komið fram að *það* hefur verið fiskað  
 Exp has come forth that Exp has been fished  
 í leyfisleysi a chilensku fiskisvæði  
 illegally in Chilean fishing-zone  
 'It has appeared that illegal fishing has taken place in the Chilean fishing zone.'
- b. *Fram* hefur komið að *fiskað* hefur verið...
- c. \*Hefur komið fram að hefur verið fiskað...

(Holmberg 2000: 451-452)

Stylistic fronting of a given phrase and the expletive cannot co-occur, a fact that demonstrates that they serve the same purposes in the clause; i.e., to check the EPP.

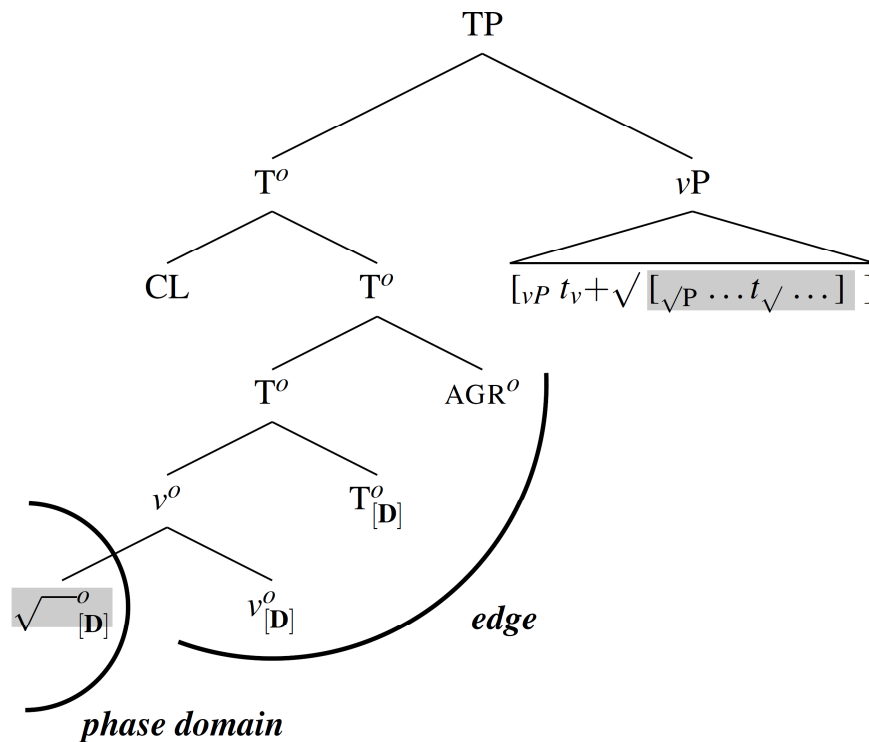
- (64) a. \**Fram* hefur *það* komið að ...  
 forth has Exp come that
- b. \**Það* hefur *fram* komið að ...

(Holmberg 2000: 452)

In sum, the data discussed so far give rise to the following scheme, which illustrates under what conditions Cl-Insertion at PF can take place:



## (65) The complete picture



We have demonstrated the need for having a certain theory that introduces some notion of morphosyntactic cycle. At the same time, the theory must be flexible enough as to allow counter-cyclic operations whenever such operations occur outside narrow syntax, i.e., at PF.

## 5. Theoretical/empirical consequences

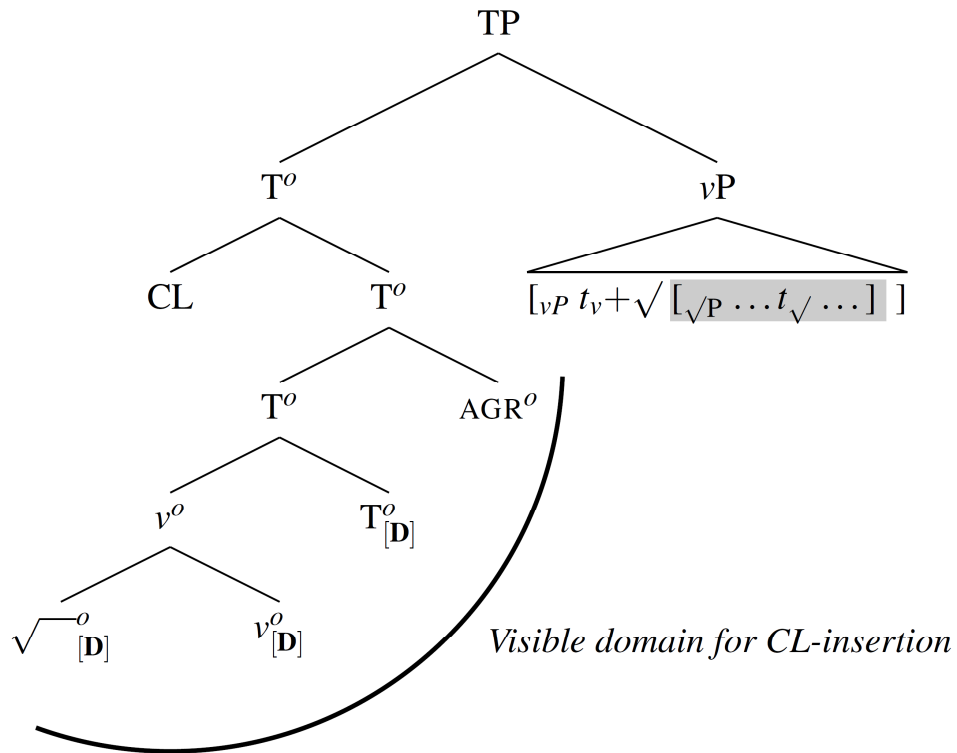
As a conclusion of this chapter, we will discuss some theoretical and empirical consequences that still require an explicit answer.

### 5.1. Phase theory

An important consequence has to do with phase theory. If the conclusions extracted in the preceding sections are correct, then it is evident that we need to come back to a more restrictive notion of the PIC. This is conceptually desirable beyond of being fully compatible with the data explored so far. On a weaker version of the PIC, like the

proposed in Chomsky (2001) or Embick (2010), according to which T can see/access the Root, one incorrectly predicts CL-insertion in object position:

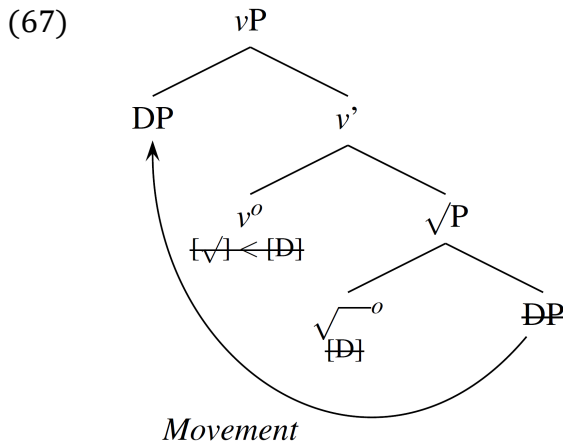
(66) **Weak PIC:**



However, it remains as an open issue how to resolve the empirical issues that led to a weaker version of the PIC.

5.2. *Attract vs. Repel*

A question that comes into mind immediately is why in a configuration like (67) the internal argument doesn't move to cancel the category feature on  $v_{[D]}$ :



Whatever the answer we provide here, it is clear that it affects matters of general design, in particular, as far as the properties that trigger movement are concerned. In principle, the previous discussion seems to favor an analysis in terms of *Repel* (Bošković 2007 and Stroik 2009) over an *Attract* analysis (Chomsky 1995 and several subsequent work). *Attract* motivates movement by properties of the Probe, that is, of the functional head bearing a strong or EPP feature. In a *Repel* model, instead, an element moves because of its own needs; basically, because it is not in the right syntactic domain. The incompatibility can make reference to uncanceled K or WH features. Notice, however, that if K features are repelled from certain domains, one could legitimately wonders why in causatives or reflexives containing *se*, the DP in internal position, which has an uncanceled K feature, doesn't not vacate the domain in which is contained. Although more research is needed here, it seems that the presence of an unvalued K-feature alone doesn't motivate movement, at least not with the timing we would expect. In **Handout 3**, we will discuss the reasons that underly A-movement of objects in Spanish. As shown there, the evidence, at least for that particular domain, doesn't seem to bring conclusive evidence in favor of any of the two main theories mentioned here, *Attract* or *Repel*.

## 5.3. (post-)syntactic expletives

Jaeggli (1986a) wonders why English expletives *it* or *there* cannot occur in  $\theta$ -positions. He notices that in sentences like the following ones that an expletive reading is just impossible:

- (68) a. \*It kills the rat.  
 b. \*John ate it/there.

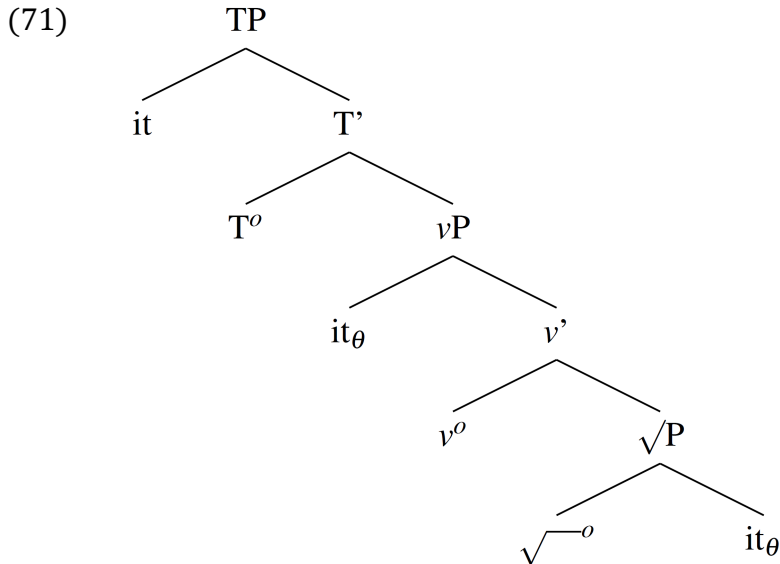
We have already seen that in Spanish (69a) is possible, but (69b) is not:

- (69) a. Se asesina a la rata / se asesina ratas.  
       *se* kills dom the rat *se* kills rats  
       'Someone/one kills the rat / rats.'
- b. \*Juan hace / se hace.  
       J. does *se* does  
       Intended meaning: 'Juan does something.'

The contrast in (69) follows directly from the locality theory already presented. The question is how to derive the contrast between English and Spanish. In the first place, observe that the sketched theory here confronts with the following (implicit or explicit) accepted idea:

- (70) Expletives only occur in non-thematic positions.

This has certain plausibility if expletives are always syntactic entities. Jaeggli himself observes that if an expletive like *it* or *there* is merged into a  $\theta$ -position, it can only be interpreted as referential:



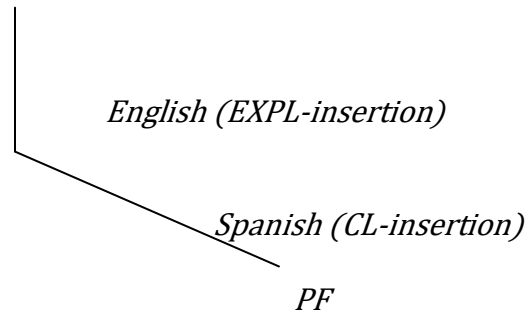
That is to say, expletives do not exist as entities of the lexical system, rather the expletive character of a certain syntactic object (maybe always pronominal) follows from syntactic considerations regarding merging positions.

Now, on a theory as the one suggested here, “expletives” can merge into  $\theta$ -positions to the extent that such a merging occurs at PF and not in the syntax. Therefore, (70) must be relativized as in (72):

(72) In the syntax, expletives only occur in non-thematic positions.

But as far as morphology is concerned, the point is irrelevant because material inserted at PF is always non-thematic by definition. Therefore, it seems that we arrive to the following typology of expletives:

(73)



Both in English and in Spanish there are not expletives in object position, but for different reasons: (i) In English, because merging *it* in object position gives rise to a thematic interpretation; (ii) In Spanish, because CL-Insertion in object position violates PIC.

The following question immediately arises:

(74) Is the impossibility of having expletives in object position universal?

There is no easy answer. Marantz (1984) observed that in Dyrbal, a syntactically ergative language, reflexives form a pattern of systematic syncretism with impersonal sentences in which the object is the impersonal argument (see also Otero 1985: 96-97):

Dyrbal (Marantz 1984: 212):

- (75) a.    bala yugu      baŋgul yaɾaŋgu      buyban.  
           stick-ABS      man-ERG            hides  
           'Man hides stick.'
- b.    bala yaɾa      buybayirpu.  
           man-ABS      hides-REFL  
           'Man hides himself.' or 'Man hides (something).'
- Impossible reading: \*The man is hidden.

Put differently, in Dyrbal a sentence of the form *John SE hides* is ambiguous between a reflexive reading and a reading of arbitrary object. This state of affair is fully consistent with our approach. In the first place, the ambiguity has to be related to the impossibility of cancelling a [D]-feature *via* syntactic procedures. Second, the absence of the passive reading follows for the same very reason that in Spanish there is complementary distribution between the relevant *se* constructions and analytical passives (*modus* the considerations already made). Against the current literature, this seems to favor an analysis of syntactic ergativity as originally proposed by Marantz, according to which the internal argument is structurally prominent. In our terms, this means that it is visible for CL-insertion or whatever the relevant repair strategy. Of course, this can only be left at a purely conjectural level, given the controversial nature of syntactic ergativity.

## Handout 2

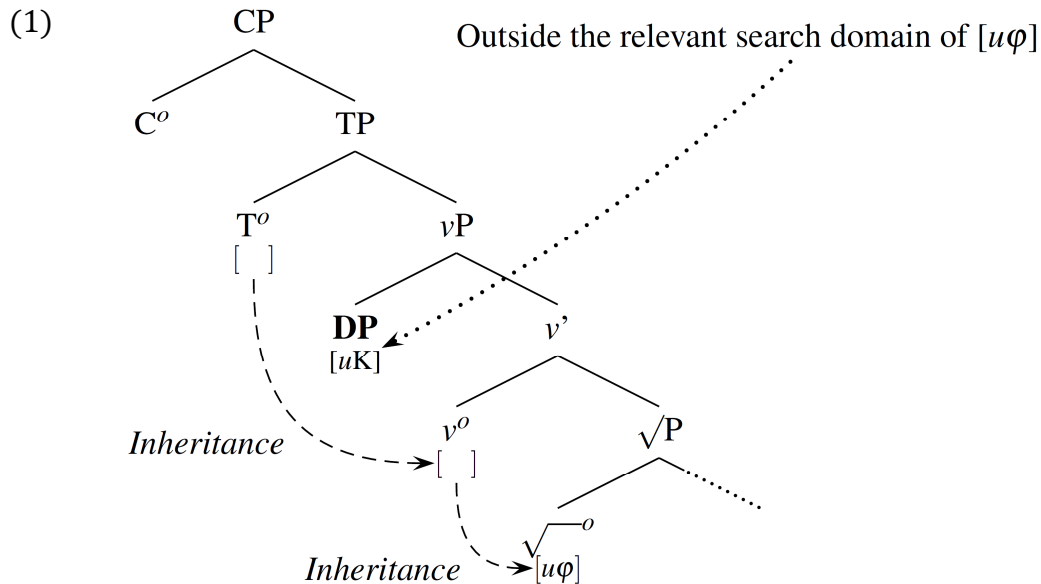
### Case conflicts and Case alternations

#### 0. Plan

Recall why Chomsky (2007) doesn't permit inheritance from T to  $v^*$ :

Notice that TP cannot be saved as a phase [...]: if its features are inherited by  $v^*$ , the derivation will always crash because the external argument is outside the search domain of  $v^*$ .

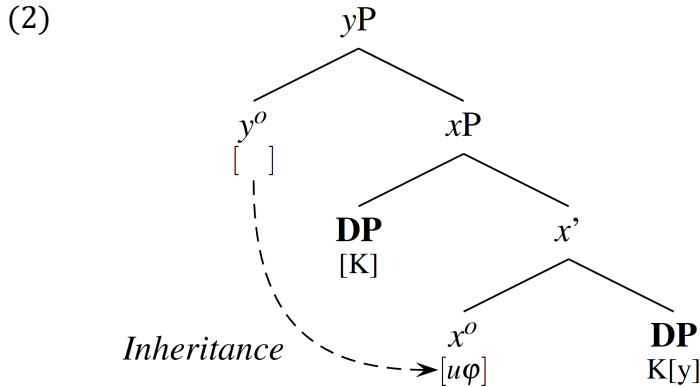
(Chomsky 2007: 19)



However, we saw in the previous handout that there are situations in which there is no external argument and C/T to  $v$  inheritance takes place. Today, we'll see that there are, indeed, legitimate instances of (1). In those cases, the Caseless DP can receive a (morphological) case value at PF (although this is not an essential assumption; it could be syntax the responsible for solving the problem, see section 4). In the



abstract, the said situation may obtain (depending on particular language properties<sup>12</sup>) when there are two goals competing for the same probe.

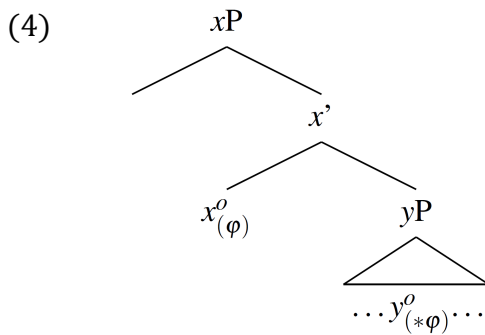


¿What is  $x'$ ? Either a non-phase head or a  $\phi$ -defective phase head (i.e., it lacks  $\phi$ -features). According to Pujalte (2012), there are contexts in which a given phase head is indeed forced to be  $\phi$ -defective. Here is how she states the observation:

- (3) **Generalization:** Given a configuration like  $[x^0 \dots Z \dots y^0]$ , if  $x^0$  and  $y^0$  are cyclic heads of the same type,  $Z \neq C$ , and  $x^0$  and  $y^0$  are in a potential inheritance relation, then  $y^0$  is fully  $\phi$ -defective.

[adapted and translated from Pujalte 2012]

More graphically, in a tree like (4) where both  $x$  and  $y$  are phase heads,  $y$  cannot bear inherent  $\phi$ -features:



<sup>12</sup> See again Kalin & van Urk (2015).

Many facts seem to obey the observation in (3). The plan for today is to account for the patterns (ii) and (iv) mentioned in yesterday's class, which are instantiations of the abstract situation in (3) and (4):<sup>13</sup>

**Our empirical domains:**

~~(i) Case and argument structure interactions in structures involving the clitic *se*~~

**(ii) Case patterns in ditransitive and applicative sentences**

**(iii) Case patterns in analytic causatives and their interactions with *se* constructions**

**(iv) DOM**

(v) Accusative and dative clitic doubling

Tomorrow, we will address (v).

**1. Preliminary introduction: The dative**

Following an influential tradition in Spanish grammars, Pujalte (2012), partially *contra* Masullo (1992), Demonte (1995) and Cuervo (2003), distinguishes between added and argument datives:

- (5) a. Juan le envió un libro a María.  
       J. CL.DAT.3SG sent a book to M.  
       'Juan sent a book to María.'
- b. Juan le construyó una casa a María.  
       Juan CL.DAT.3SG built a house to María  
       'Juan built a house for María.'

Among other diagnostics, Pujalte shows that both kinds of datives behave differently under certain nominalizations and the licensing of implicit argument readings:<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Eventive nominalizations are also cases that fall under (3)/(4) (see Pujalte 2012 for details). Analytical passives are another potential case at point (see Saab 2014).

- (6) a. el envió del libro a María...  
 the sending of.the book to M.
- b. \*la construcción de la casa a María.  
 the construction of the house to M.
- (7) a. Juan envió un libro *e* (*e*= a alguien).  
 J. sent a book to someone  
 'Juan sent a book to María (to someone).'

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<sup>14</sup> The second minimal pair correlates with another crucial property: only argument datives license sluicing of the sprouting type:

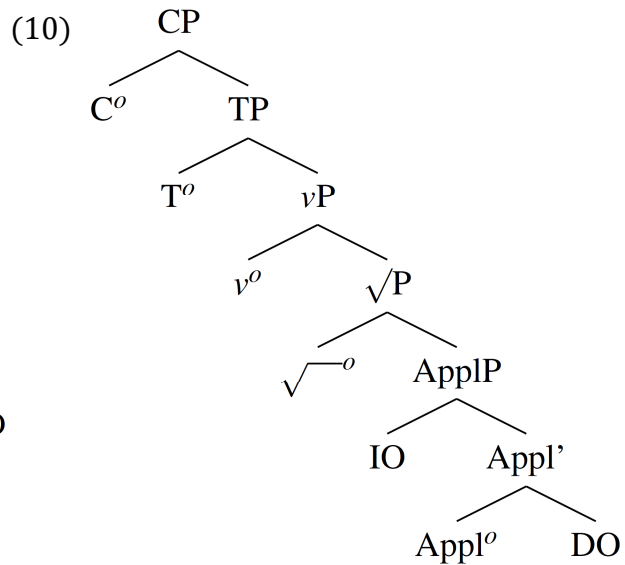
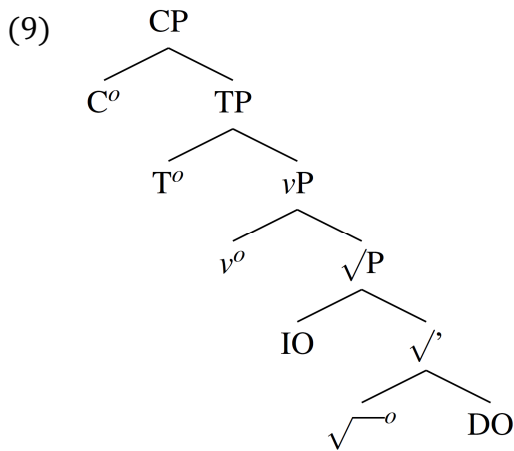
- (i) a. Juan mandó la carta, pero no sé a quién  
 Juan sent the letter, but not know to who  
 <le mandó la carta.> (<...> = ellipsis site)  
 CL.DAT.3SG sent the letter  
 'Juan sent a letter, but I don't know who to.'
- b. Juan entregó el artículo, pero no sé a quién  
 Juan submitted the paper, but not know to who  
 <le entregó el artículo.>  
 CL.DAT.3SG submitted the paper  
 'Juan submitted the paper, but I don't know who to.'
- (ii) a. \*Juan cortó el pasto, pero no sé a quién  
 Juan cut the grass, but not know to who  
 <le cortó el pasto.>  
 CL.DAT.3SG cut the grass  
 'Juan mowed someone's lawn, but I don't know whose.'
- b. \*Juan construyó la casa, pero no sé a quién  
 Juan built the house, but not know to who  
 le construyó la casa.  
 CL.DAT.3SG built the house.  
 'Juan built a house but I don't know who for.'

- b. Juan construyó una casa (\*a alguien)  
 J. built a house to someone  
 'Juan built a house.'

A crucial observation is that low applicatives in Spanish (i.e., added IOs) do not change the Case relations of their non-applied counterparts:

- (8) a. El lápiz desapareció.  
 the pencil disappeared  
 'The pencil disappeared'
- b. A Valentina le desapareció el lápiz.  
 to V. CL.DAT.3SG disappeared the pencil
- c. Andrés construyó una casa de muñecas.  
 A. built a house of dolls  
 'Andrés built a dollhouse.'
- d. Andrés le construyó una casa  
 A. CL.DAT.3SG built a house  
 de muñecas a Valentina.  
 of dolls to V.  
 'Andrés built a dollhouse to Valentina.'

Following Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) and, partially, Cuervo (2003), added datives are introduced by Applicative Phrases (AppIP). In turn, argumental datives are merged in the Root domain:

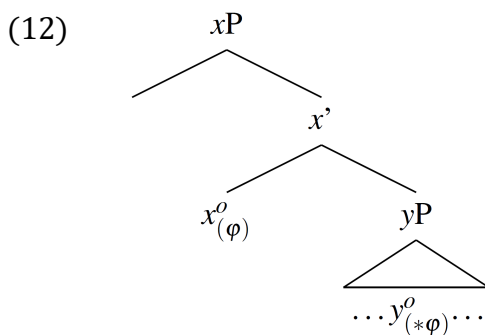


[adapted from Pylkkänen 2008]

Let's state the main hypothesis as follows:

**Hypothesis #1:** Applicatives heads do not possess  $\phi$ -features inherently, but they are derivative on it. This follows from the Generalization in (3), repeated below together with its schematic tree:

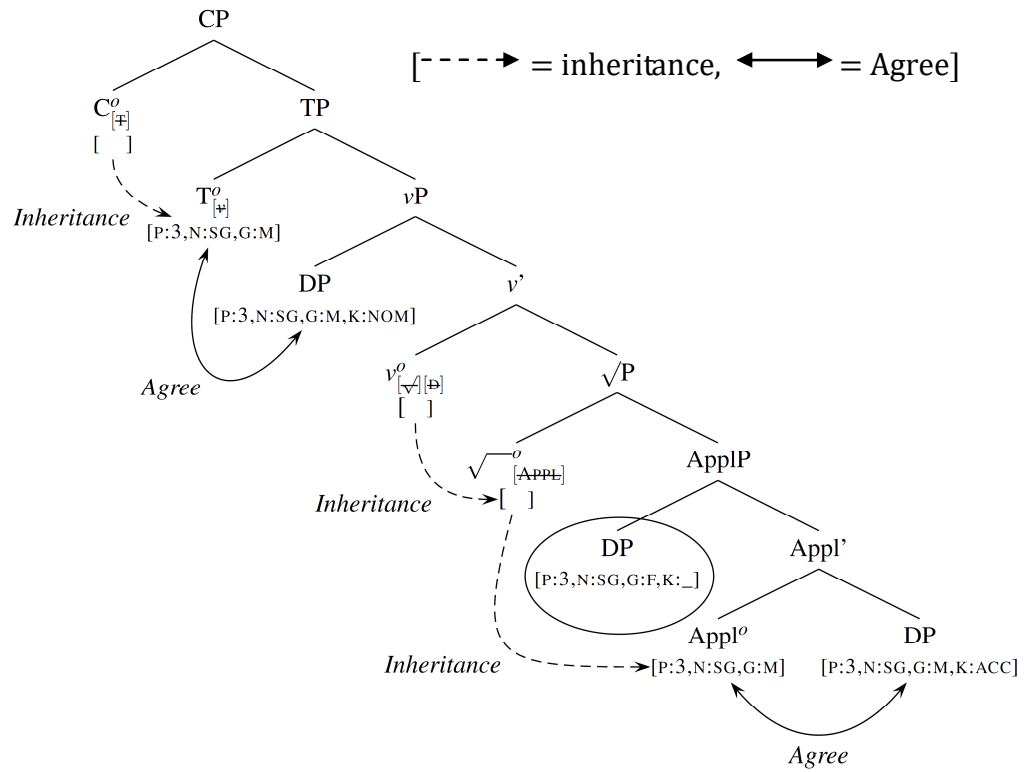
(11) **Generalization:** Given a configuration like  $[x^0 \dots Z \dots y^0]$ , if  $x^0$  and  $y^0$  are cyclic heads of the same type,  $Z \neq C$ , and  $x^0$  and  $y^0$  are in a potential inheritance relation, then  $y^0$  is fully  $\phi$ -defective.



Then,  $\phi$ -features on applicative heads (when they have it) are parasitary of the phase heads dominating them.

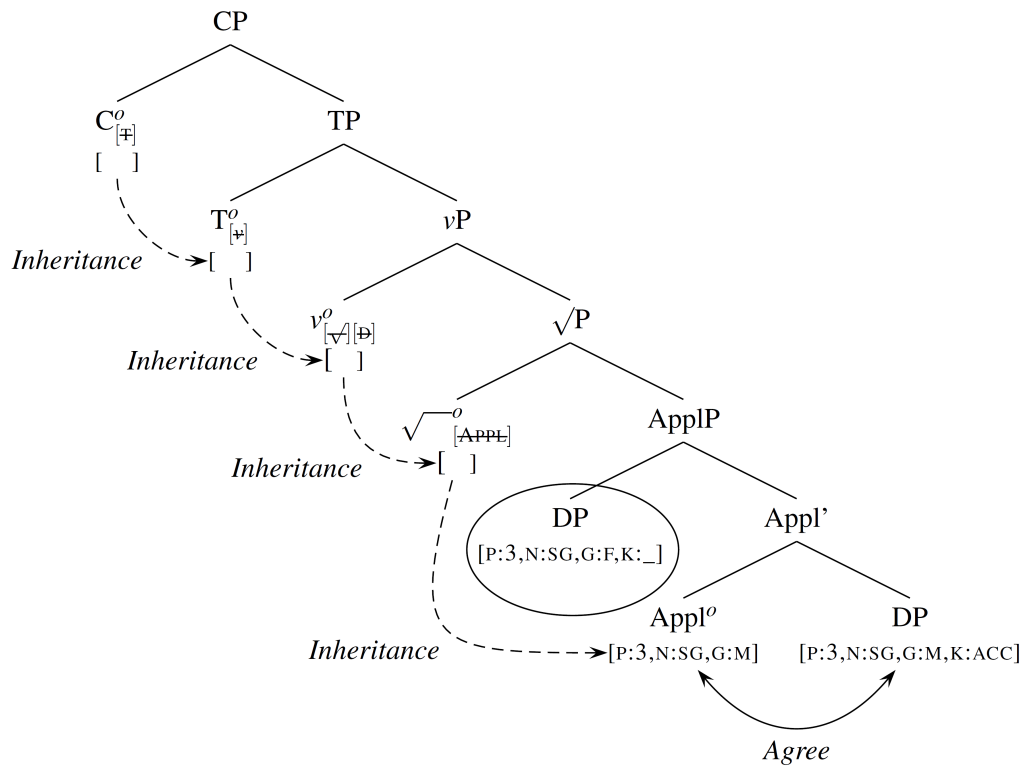
(13) a. Juan le construyó una casa a María.

b.



(14) a. A Juan le llegaron las cartas.

b.

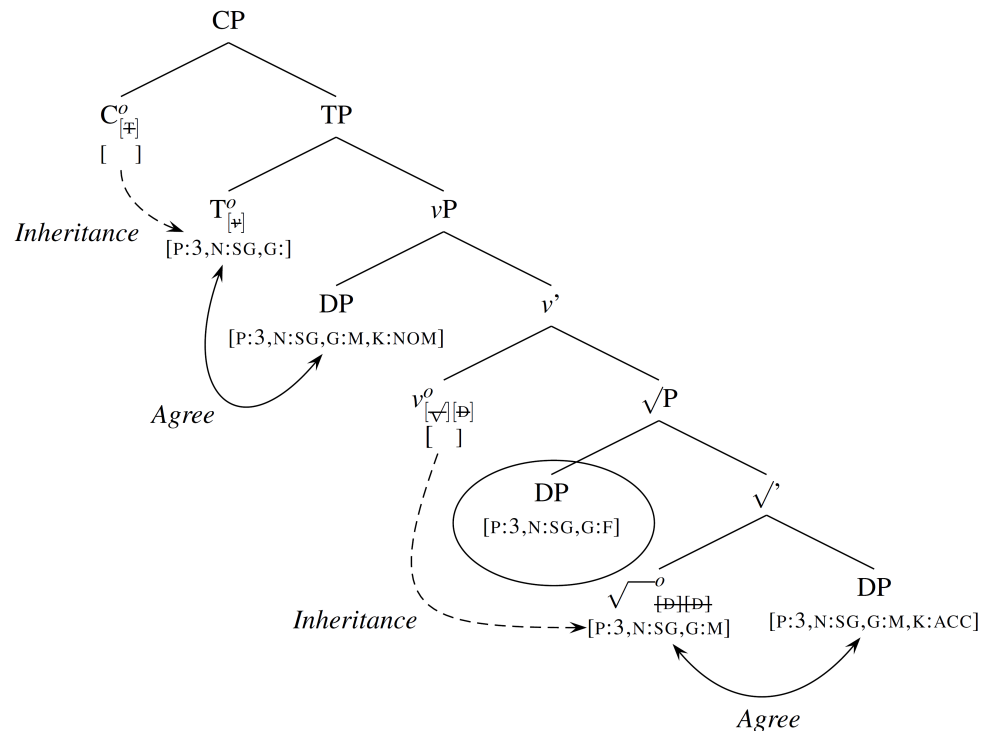


**Hypothesis #2:** In Spanish, low DP arguments (i.e., argument DPs in the domain of  $vP$ ) that remain outside the inheritance chain (therefore, outside the search domain of any probe) receive Dative case at PF.<sup>15</sup>

This allows us unify the occurrence of dative case both in applicative objects like those in (13) and (14) with the occurrence of the same case in argumental IOs (15):

(15) a. Juan le entregó los libros a María.

b.



## 2. The syntax of analytic causatives

As is well-known, analytical causatives in Romance come in two different forms (see, among many others, Kayne 1969, Bordelais 1974, Treviño 1994, Folli & Harley 2007, Tubino Blanco 2011, Pujalte 2012 and references therein).

<sup>15</sup> As we will see in section 4.4, this formulation can only be taken as provisory in view of the coming discussion regarding DOM objects.

**Passive causative:**

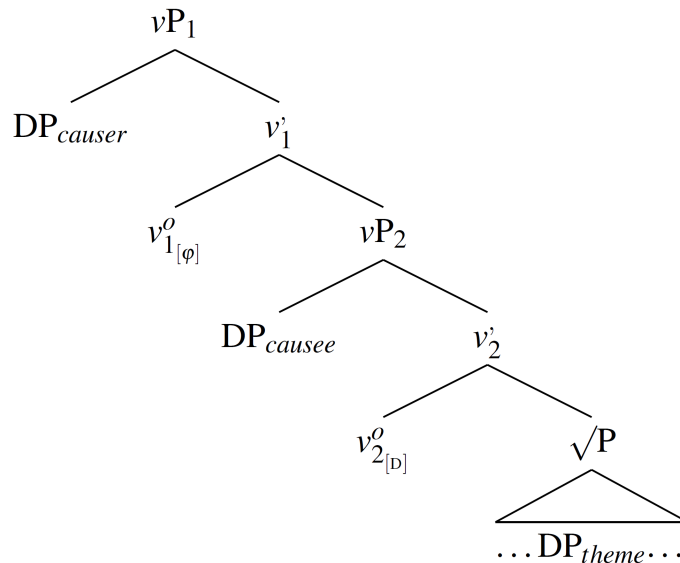
- (16) a. Juan hizo arreglar la cocina por el plomero.  
 J. made repair.INF the kitchen by the plumber

**Active causative:**

- b. Juan le hizo arreglar la cocina al  
 J. CL.DAT made repair.INF the kitchen to.the  
 plomero.  
 plumber  
 'Juan made the plumber to repair the kitchen.'

Pujalte (2012) proposes the following analysis for (16b):

- (17) The syntax of active causatives:



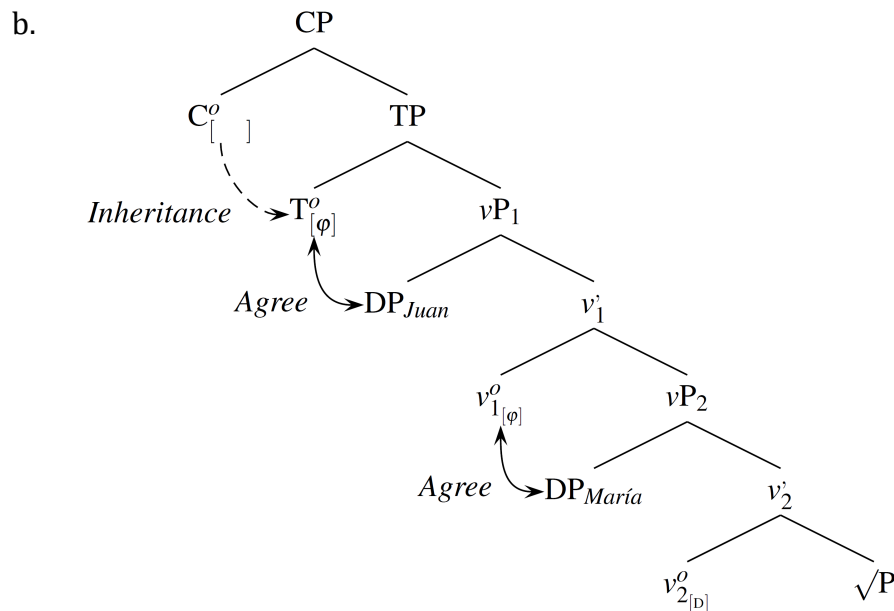
The key of this proposal is the defective character of embedded  $v$ . Again this follows from the generalization in (3):

- (18) **Generalization:** Given a configuration like  $[x^0 \dots Z \dots y^0]$ , if  $x^0$  and  $y^0$  are cyclic heads of the same type,  $Z \neq C$ , and  $x^0$  and  $y^0$  are in a potential inheritance relation, then  $y^0$  is fully  $\phi$ -defective.



In (17), then, the presence of  $v_1$  (the causative light verb) deactivates the possibility for  $v_2$  to have inherent  $\phi$ -features. The direct consequence of this is that in analytical causatives Case relations within the caused clause are essentially determined by causative  $v$ . In fact, this is what we observe in analytical causatives with unergative infinitives, where the causee subject receives accusative depending on the properties of  $v_2$ :<sup>16</sup>

- (19) a. Juan la hizo saltar a María.<sup>17</sup>  
 J. CL.ACC.FEM.3SG made jump DOM M.  
 'Juan made María jump.'

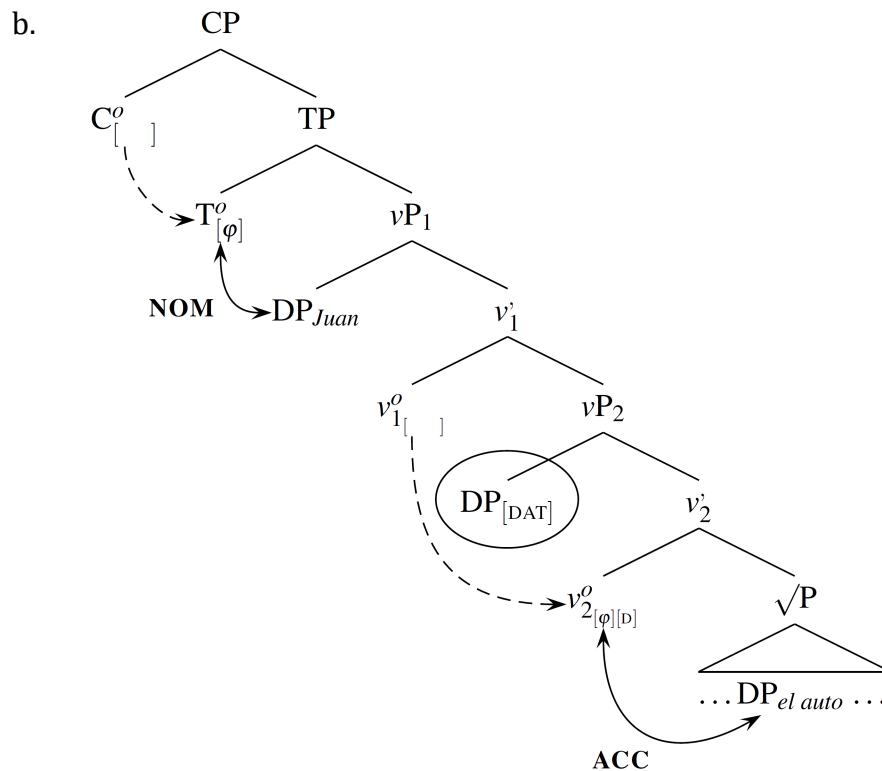


<sup>16</sup> We are not going to discuss word ordering in analytical causatives. We refer the interested reader to Ordóñez & Saab (2018) and Ciutescu (2018) for recent discussion and references.

<sup>17</sup> Two observations are in order. First, as mentioned in the previous handout, we stipulate that unergative verbs (or the  $v$  selecting unergative Roots) cannot be the locus of  $\phi$ -features. This stipulation could be motivated by the hidden transitive hypothesis of unergatives (see Halle & Keyser 1993, 2002). Second, since that this is a DOM object, we ask the reader to take this analysis as provisory and wait until section 4 for a detailed analysis of DOM that considerably differs of what we have been proposed so far.

As Pujalte (2012) shows, the inheritance system provides an elegant solution to the long-standing problem of Case alternation in analytical causatives. Compare, in this respect, the sentence in (19a) to (20a), containing a transitive infinitive, where the causee subject values dative and its internal argument accusative:

- (20) a. Juan le hizo comprar el auto a María.  
 J. CL.DAT.3SG made buy.INF the car to M.  
 'Juan made María buy a car.'

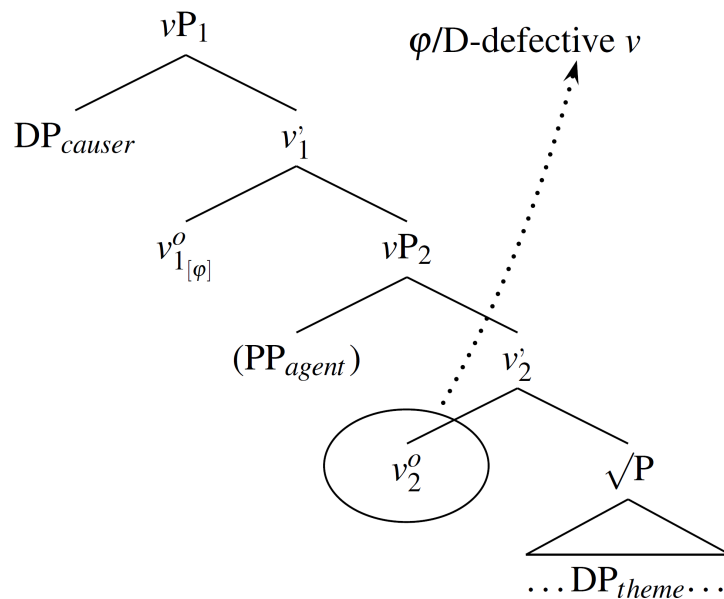


Observe that the external argument of *comprar* cannot value accusative case since it is outside the search domain of the relevant probe (of any probe, indeed). It is the internal argument, then, that receives its accusative value. As argued in the previous section, dative case (of the external argument in this case) is the result of being outside of the search domain of the probe; i.e., dative case occurs when valuation by a probe is not possible (of course, other language particular conditions making reference to the syntax and the morphology of such languages must apply).

Regarding passive causatives, Saab (2014) proposes the same analysis as Pujalte with a crucial difference: **embedded  $v_2$  is both  $\phi$ - and D-defective**. For this reason, the causee subject of passive causatives either remains implicit or it is realized as an agentive PP (like in analytical passives):

- (21) Juan hizo arreglar la cocina (por el plomero).  
 J. made repair.INF the kitchen (by the plumber)

(22) *Passive causatives:*



Recall that the occurrence of an agentive PP is in complementary distribution with the occurrence of the clitic *se* when the latter is the surface reflex of an uncanceled D-feature on  $v$  (see the previous chapter):

- (23) \*Se reprimió a los maestros por la policía.  
*se* repressed.3SG DOM the teachers by the police

### 3. Interactions in analytic causatives: expletives, Case and $\theta$ -roles

#### 3.1. Case and $\theta$ -Theory

As we have proposed in the previous handout, the occurrence of the clitic *se* (or its agreein relatives) indicates absence of an external argument in the syntax. Therefore, in a model in which there are no lexical rules of argument reduction or argument introduction, the thematic interpretation of the following sentences must follow from principles of thematic interpretation active at the syntax-semantic interface. The basic problem is providing a good answer to the question of why reflexives receive a reading of “double  $\theta$ -assignment” for the internal argument, but the external argument in impersonals/passives is interpreted as impersonal/generic and disjoint in reference with respect to the internal argument:<sup>18</sup>

#### Reflexive *se*

- (24) a. Juan criticó a Ana.  
 Juan criticized DOM María  
 ‘Juan criticized Ana.’
- b. Ana **se** criticó.  
 Ana *se* criticized  
 ‘Ana criticized herself.’

#### Passive *se*:

- (25) a. La policía cerró las puertas para bloquear la salida.  
 the police closed the doors for block.INF the exit  
 ‘The police closed the doors in order to block the exit.’
- b. **Se** cerraron las puertas para bloquear la salida.  
*se* closed.3PL the doors for block.INF the exit  
 ‘The doors were closed in order to block the exit.’

---

<sup>18</sup> See Embick (2004) and Schäfer (2008), for proposals that introduce the pronominal element in the syntax and resolve the interpretation problem entirely at the syntax-LF interface.

**Impersonal *se***

- (26) a. Juan criticó a Ana.  
 Juan criticized DOM Ana  
 'Juan criticized Ana.'
- b. **Se** criticó a Ana.  
*se* criticized DOM Ana  
 'One criticized Ana.'

Saab (2014, 2015, 2018) proposes that  $\phi$ -assignment is subject locality and activity conditions similar to other types of A-dependencies. Here is the basic principle of  $\theta$ -assignment:

(27) **Principle of  $\theta$ -role assignment**<sup>19</sup>

An argument DP *A* receives a theta-role from a thematic head,  $x_{[D]}$ , in the domain of a  $xP$  if and only if:<sup>20</sup>

(A) **Activity**: *A* has an unvalued K feature at the point of the derivation where the  $\theta$ -role of  $x_{[D]}$  is being evaluated/assigned (i.e., *A* is active within the  $xP$  domain to enter into further A-dependencies).

(B) **Locality**: *A* is the closest local argument to  $x_{[D]}$ ; (i.e., *A* is not contained in the domain of another  $y_{[D]}$  of the same type as  $x_{[D]}$  c-commanded by  $x_{[D]}$  and there is no closest argument *A'* local to  $x_{[D]}$ ).

[adapted from Saab 2015]

<sup>19</sup> Here are some important associated definitions:

**Associated definitions:**

**Contained**: *X* is contained in *Y* if at least one segment of *Y* dominates *X*.

**Sameness**: *x* is a thematic head of the same type as *y* if *x* and *y* are thematic heads that introduce the same structural argument (internal or external).

**Closeness**: Given two active DPs, *Y* and *Z*, such that *Y* and *Z* are local to a given  $\theta$ -role assigner  $x_{[D]}$ , *Y* is closer to  $x_{[D]}$  than *Z* if *Y* c-commands *Z*.

<sup>20</sup> The notation  $x_{[D]}$  stands for a head with a subcategorization feature of the [D] type that makes that head a potential  $\theta$ -role assigner.

For a reflexive like (24b), then,  $\theta$ -assignment proceeds as follows (simplified):

(28) a. Merge *Ana* and the Root  $\rightarrow$  *Ana* receives the theme role

$[\sqrt{P} \ \sqrt{\text{CRITICAR}}_{\{\text{D}\}} \text{Ana}_{[\text{K}: ?, \text{Theme}]}]$

b. Merge of  $\phi$ -defective  $\nu$  with  $\sqrt{P} \rightarrow$  *Ana* receives the agent role

$[\sqrt{P} \ \nu_{\{\text{D}\}} \ [ \sqrt{P} \ \sqrt{\text{CRITICAR}}_{\{\text{D}\}} \ \text{Ana}_{[\text{K}: ?, \text{Theme}, \text{Agent}] } ] ]$

c. Merge T and then  $C_\phi \rightarrow$  *Ana* values nominative

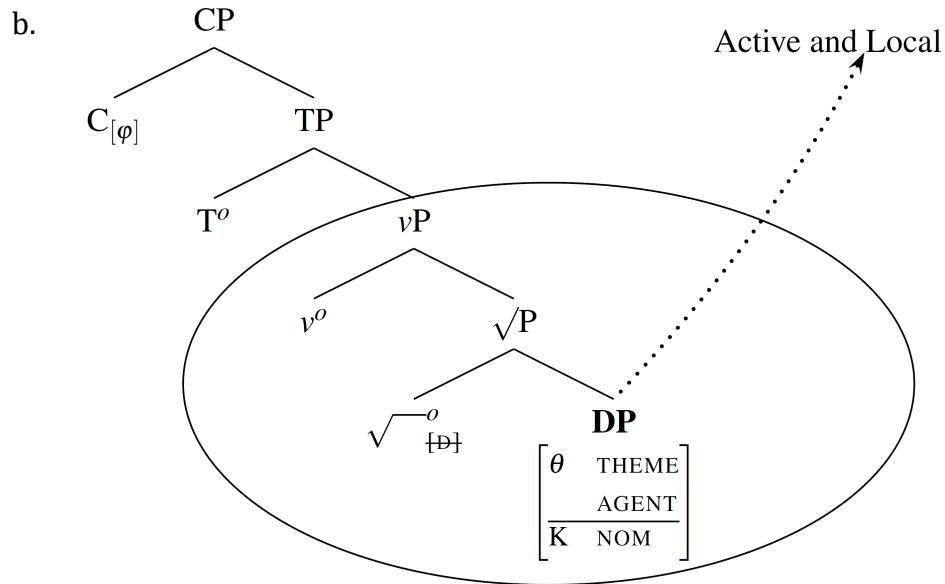
$[\text{CP} \ C_\phi \ [ \text{TP} \ \text{T} \ [ \nu_{\{\text{D}\}} \ [ \sqrt{P} \ \sqrt{\text{CRITICAR}}_{\{\text{D}\}} \ \text{Ana}_{[\text{K}: \text{Nominative}, \text{Theme}, \text{Agent}] } ] ] ] ] ]$

d. CL-Insertion at PF (simplified; see previous chapter)

$[\text{CP} \ C_\phi \ [ \text{TP} \ \text{T} \ [ \nu_{\{\text{D}\}} \ \text{SE-} \nu_{\{\text{D}\}} \ [ \sqrt{P} \ \sqrt{\text{CRITICAR}}_{\{\text{D}\}} \ \text{Ana}_{[\text{K}: \text{Nominative}, \text{Theme}, \text{Agent}] } ] ] ] ] ] ]$

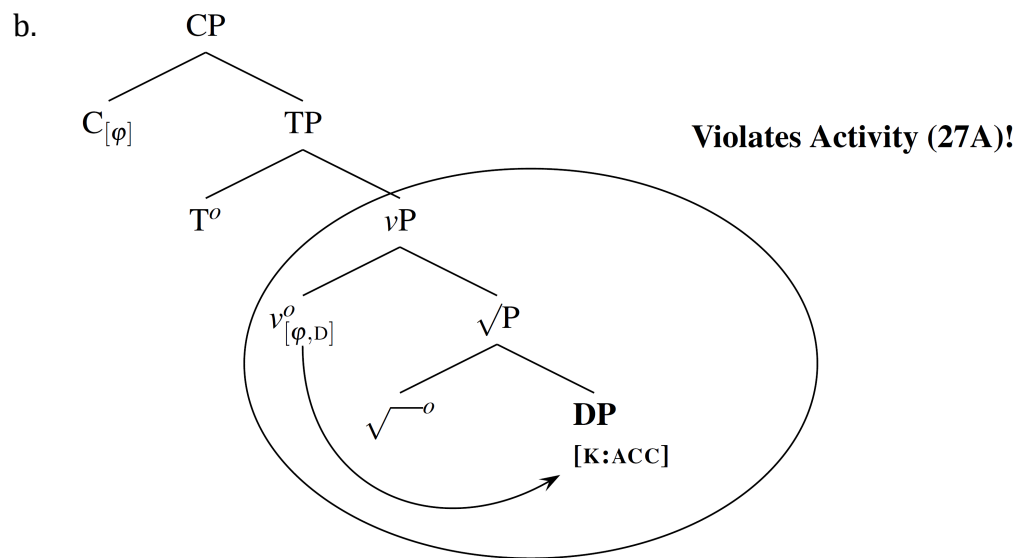
In each step of  $\theta$ -assignment the argument DP is local and active with respect to its two  $\theta$ -assigners (first the Root and then  $\nu$ ). In a tree form:

(29) a. Ana se criticó.  
 Ana se criticized  
 'Ana criticized herself.'



We see then that the crucial assumption is that defective  $\nu$  doesn't enter into *Agree* relations with its internal argument and, consequently, this leaves such an argument accessible for further  $\theta$ -assignment. The prediction is that accusative Case assignment by non-defective  $\nu$  bans  $\theta$ -assignment of the agent role to the internal argument. This is exactly what we observe in impersonals and passives with *se*:<sup>21</sup>

- (30) a. **Se** criticó a Ana.  
*se* criticized DOM Ana  
 'One/someone criticized Ana.'



Given this situation, the agentive interpretation of sentence (30a) obtains through the following repair strategy applying at the semantic (and maybe also pragmatic) interface (see Saab 2014 for an extensive discussion around (31) and Saab 2018 for an explicit semantic account of *se* constructions)

**Default agents:**

- (31) For any agentive  $\nu_{[D]}$ , assign *arb* in absence of a *nominative subject* in the C-domain of  $\nu_{[D]}$ .

<sup>21</sup> Again see section 4 for another view of Case determination for DOM objects.

A theory with (27) and (31) at its core opens a set of relevant question regarding the nature of  $\theta$ -roles and implicit arguments, the principles that regulate their distribution in the sentence, and the way in which the interfaces operate with the information provided by narrow syntax. In what follows, we discuss some of these aspects of the theory, in particular, in connection with the locality and activity conditions that regulate  $\theta$ -assignment. The empirical domain includes an intricate set of interactions between analytical causatives and *se* constructions.

### 3.2. Evidence: Interactions between impersonals/reflexives and causatives

#### 3.2.1. Impersonals vs. reflexives and the Activity Condition

The sentence in (32) is compatible with a reflexive/reciprocal reading, but not with an impersonal one:

(32) Juan hizo castigarse a los culpables.

J. made punish.INF-SE ACC the culprits

*i. Reciprocal / reflexive reading (OK under the active structure)*

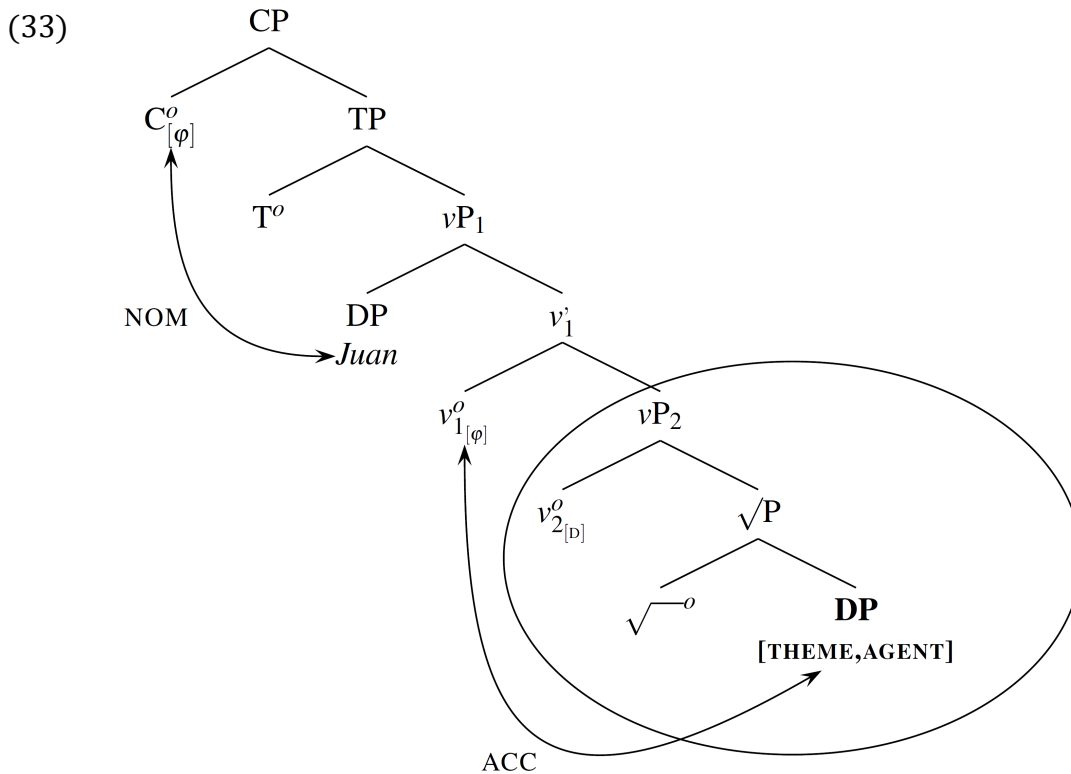
'Juan made the culprits punish themselves/each other.'

*ii. Impersonal reading (impossible in both causatives)*

Intended: 'John made someone/one punish the culprit.'

The associated tree for (32) is (33):



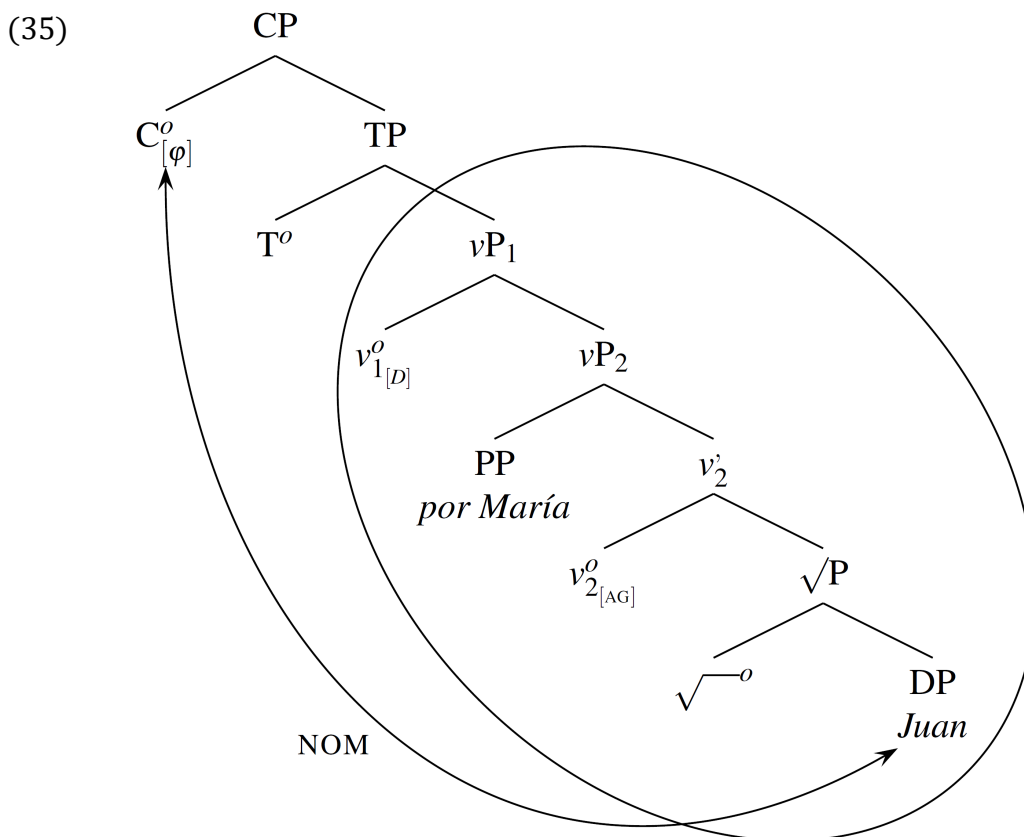


The structure in (33) contains an active DP in internal argument position of the caused  $vP_2$ . Given the conditions in (27), the DP *los culpables* is both active and local with respect to the embedded  $v_2$  and, in consequence, must be interpreted as the agent and the theme of the caused  $vP$ . Crucially, there is no way in which this situation can be avoided since lower  $v$  is always  $\phi$ -defective.

### 3.2.2. Long-distance $\theta$ -role assignment

Another interesting fact about analytical causatives is that in passive configurations, reflexivization of the internal argument of the caused predicate is grammatical:

- (34) Juan **se** hizo besar por María.  
 J. *se* made kiss.INF by M.  
 'Juan<sub>i</sub> made María kiss him<sub>i</sub>.'

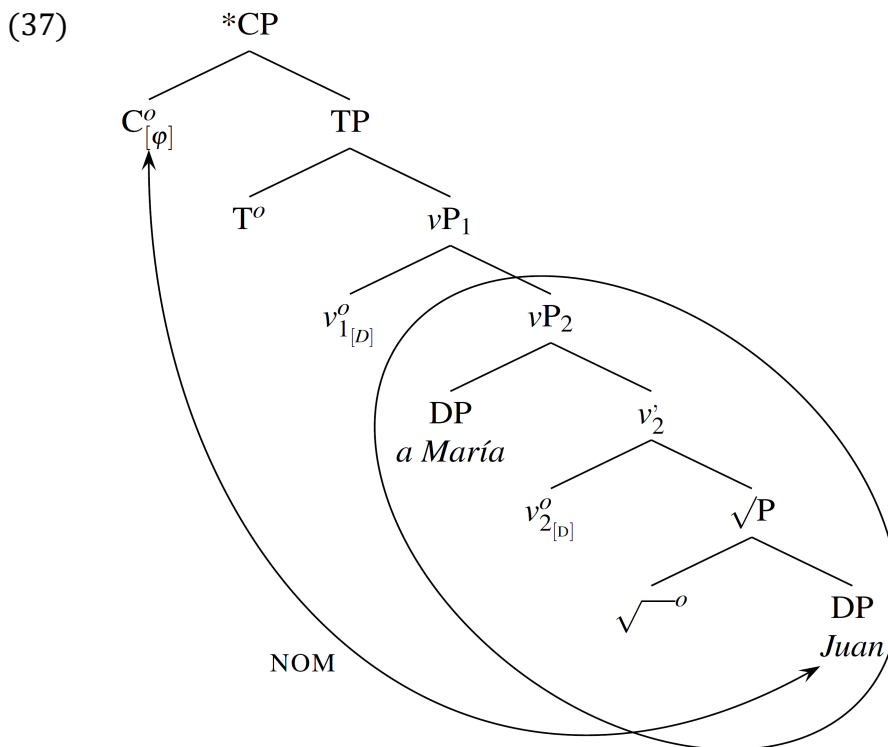


This fact, which does not have any natural account in previous analysis (see, for instance, the observations in Folli & Harley 2007 and Saab 2015 for a critique to available alternatives), follows from our approach without further ado, since the internal argument is both active and local with respect to causative  $v_2$ . Notice that the caused  $v_2$  doesn't intervene in terms of locality because doesn't encode a [D]-feature, which is the feature that converts a functional head into a potential  $\theta$ -role assigner (see footnote 19).

### 3.2.3. Locality effects in $\theta$ -assignment

Given what we have just claimed, if the embedded  $v$  does encode a [D]-feature (like in (37)), then long-distance  $\theta$ -role assignment is impossible, a fact confirmed by the strong ungrammaticality in (36):

- (36) \*Juan *se* (le) hizo besar a María.  
 J. *se* (CL.DAT..3.DAT) made kiss.INF to M.  
 Intended: 'Juan<sub>i</sub> made María kiss him<sub>1</sub>.'



### 3.2.4. Obviation effects and absence of double *se* reflexives

Although reflexivization of an internal argument in passive causatives is possible, reflexivization of the causee subject is strongly ungrammatical, a fact that does not receive any satisfactory account in previous literature, either:<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Assuming with Folli & Harley (2007: 214-215) that active causatives accept unaccusative infinitives, one might make the crucial question about what the predictions of this system are when it comes to reflexivization of unaccusative embedded subjects. The patterns are admittedly complex in this respect. And although our own research is not conclusive, some preliminary thoughts can (and must) be advanced here. Firstly, it should be noticed that while some unaccusative subjects of verbs like *llegar* 'to arrive' cannot be reflexivized in analytical causative environments, other unaccusative subjects of verbs like *desaparecer* 'to disappear' and related ones can (examples in (ii) modeled on the basis of an own *google* corpus, where a clear preference in favor of *desaparecer* over the other verbs is observed):

- 
- (i) a. \*Juan se hizo llegar/venir (a sí mismo).  
 J. se made arrive.inf/come.INF (to himself)
- b. Juan se hizo desaparecer/caer/morir a sí mismo.  
 J. se made disappear.INF /fall.INF /die.INF (to himself)

A first idea that comes into mind to account for this contrast is to make use of the *sameness* clause in the definition in (footnote 18), repeated below:

- (ii) *Sameness*:  $x$  is a thematic head of the same type as  $y$  if  $x$  and  $y$  are thematic heads which introduce the same structural argument (internal or external).

This would amount to say that verbs of the *llegar*-type, when taking human subjects, are introduced as specifiers of a  $v_{[D]}$  taking a Root complement, but verbs like *desaparecer* have a DP as complement of the  $\sqrt{P}$ :

- (iii) [<sub>VP</sub> DP  $v_{[D]}$  [<sub>VP</sub>  $\sqrt{\text{llegar}}$ ]]  
 (iv) [<sub>VP</sub> V [<sub>VP</sub>  $\sqrt{\text{desaparecer}}_{[D]}$  DP]]

If this is correct, then, some unaccusative subjects must be interpreted as being of the same type of some agentive verbs, in this case, of the same type of causative *hacer*. Recall that *sameness* is defined as making reference to structural positions more than to the specific content of each head. There are some preliminary indications that this contrast between *llegar* and *desaparecer* could be on the right track. On the one hand, *desaparecer*, but not *llegar*, allows for synthetic causatives in some Spanish dialects (specifically, Buenos Aires Spanish; see Pujalte 2012 and the references therein):

- (v) Juan lo desapareció (a Pedro).  
 J. CL.MASC.SG.ACC disappeared (DOM P.)  
 'Juan made Pedro disappear.'
- (vi) \*Juan lo llegó (a Pedro).  
 J. CL.MASC.SG.ACC arrived DOM P.  
 'Juan made Pedro arrive.'

This could be explained if *desaparecer* leaves room for an agentive subject to be added in the basic structure in which the verb is inserted. The subject of *llegar*, instead, would be in complementary

distribution with such an agentive subject, blocking thus the possibility in (vi). On the other hand, *llegar* easily allow for agentive-related readings when modified for some adverbials like *tarde* 'late' (thanks to another anonymous reviewer for discussion around examples of this type):

- (vii) Juan llegó tarde.  
 J. arrived late  
 'Juan arrived late.'

That this example is related to volition predicates is shown by several tests involving: (a) compatibility with impersonal *se* constructions (viii), (b) incompatibility with absolute clauses (ix), and (c) incompatibility with participial adjectives (x):

- (viii) Se llegó \*(tarde).  
*se* arrived (late)  
 'One arrived late.'

- (ix) Llegados (\*tarde) los estudiantes...  
 arrived (late) the students  
 'Once the students arrived (late)..'

- (x) un hombre recién llegado / \*un hombre llegado tarde  
 a man just arrived a man arrived late

Therefore, it seems that there are some principled reasons to analyze verbs like *llegar* as hybrid predicates with respect to agentivity / intentionality. As for analytical causatives, notice indeed that *llegar* is clearly preferred under its volitional reading:

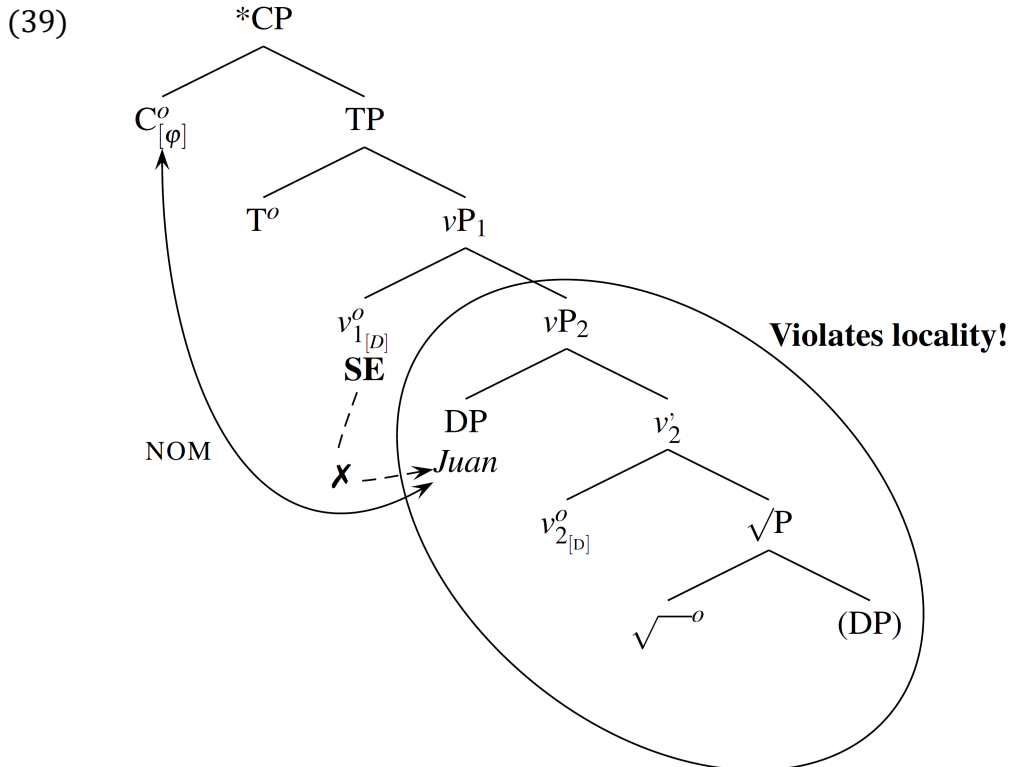
- (xi) ?Juan/la tormenta hizo llegar a María.  
 J./ the storm made arrive. INF DOM M.  
 (xii) Juan/la tormenta hizo llegar tarde a María.  
 J./ the storm made arrive. INF late DOM M.  
 'Juan/the storm made Mary arrive late.'

At any rate, a deeper exploration of the patterns involving unaccusative predicates in analytical causatives must be carried out before taking any conclusive decision about the basic facts in (i) and (ii) in connection with the notion of *sameness*. Needless to say, it could be the case that other selection or more general semantic/pragmatic conditions are at play here obscuring the ultimate reasons of

- (38) \*Juan se hizo comprar un auto / trabajar .  
 J. se made buy.INF a car / work.INF

Intended: 'Juan made himself buy a car / work.' (*Juan* = infinitive subject)

Like in (36), this is explained as a flagrant violation of Locality (27B):

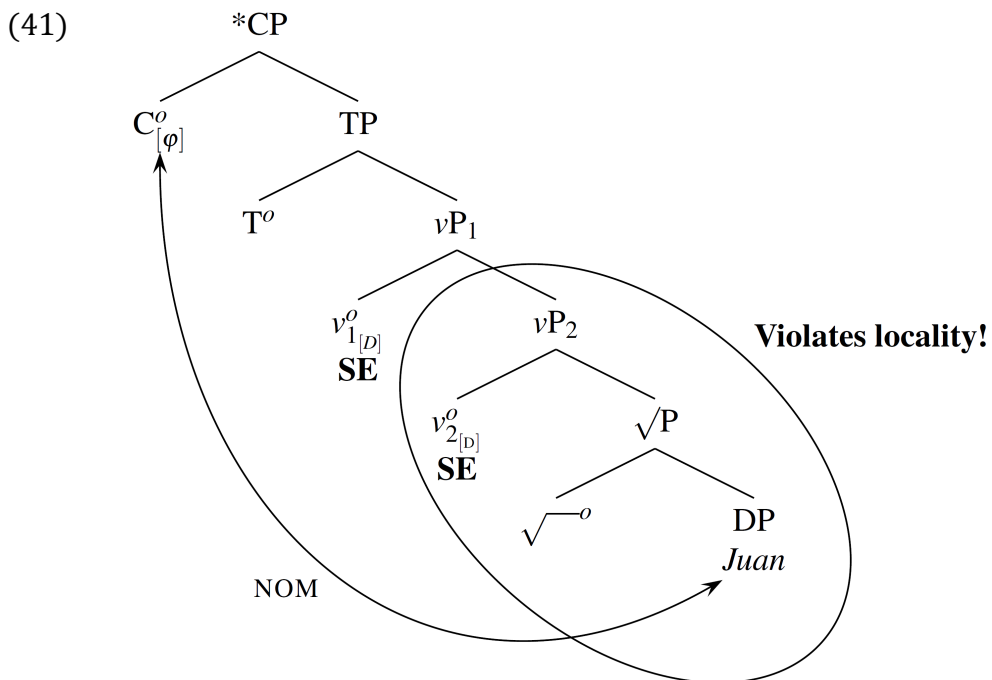


such a contrast. For instance, it is my own impression that unaccusative predicates are preferred in active causatives when the *causer* is a non-intentional causer even if animate. This is the first reading one obtains in examples like (xii). If this is correct, then the ungrammaticality of (i) could be linked to the difficulty of reflexivizing non-volitional causers. Other differences between ergative/transitive predicates, on the one hand, and unaccusative ones, on the other, related to the (im)possibility of having embedded arbitrary subjects (see López 2001 and the reference therein) could be also telling to account for the paradigms at hand. I will leave a careful exploration of the empirical patterns involving unaccusative subjects of *hacer* causatives and its analytical possibilities as a topic for further research.

Presence of two reflexives is also impossible both under the active analysis of causatives (i.e., with underlying causative  $v_{[D]}$ ) and the passive analysis (i.e., with underlying causative  $v$ ):

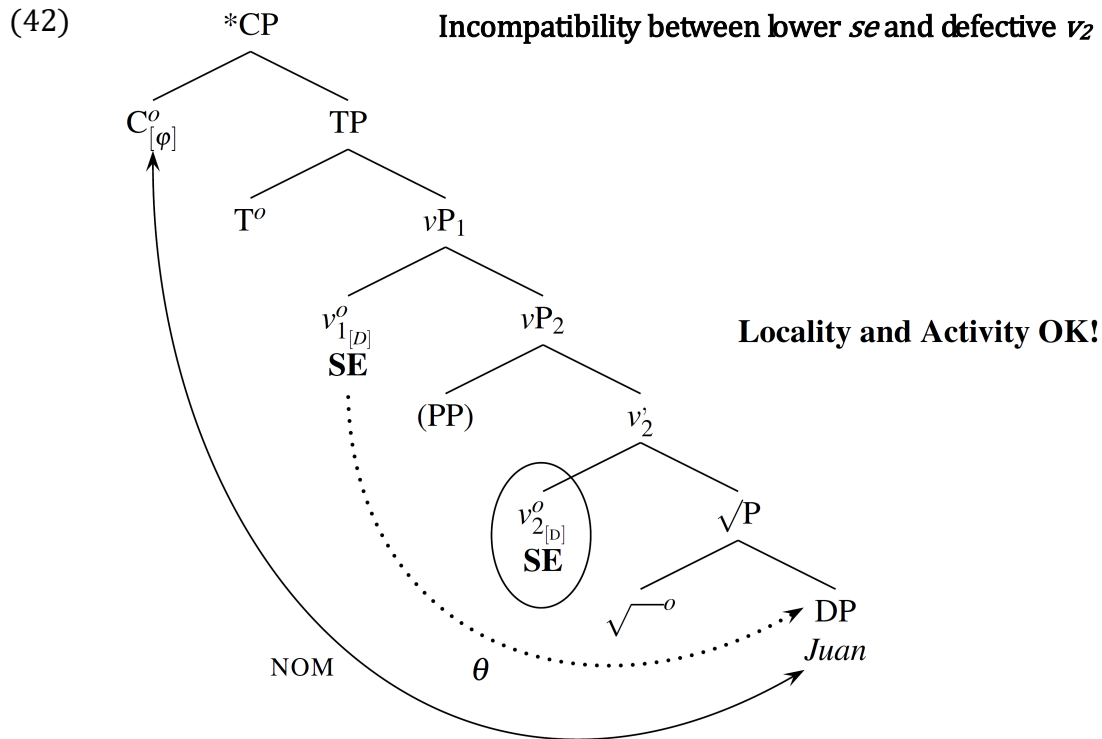
- (40) \*Juan *se* hizo besarse (por María)  
 J. *se* made kiss.INF-SE (by M.)  
 Intended 1 (passive): 'Juan<sub>i</sub> made {someone, María} kiss him<sub>i</sub>.'  
 Intended 2 (active): 'Juan<sub>i</sub> made himself<sub>i</sub> kiss him<sub>i</sub>.'

Since that in the active structure the clitic *se* indicates presence of an underlying [D]-feature, it is evident that double reflexivization of the internal argument of the caused  $vP_2$  violates Locality (27B):



On the passive analysis, even when Locality is respected, there is an incompatibility between the occurrence of the clitic *se* associated to lower  $v$  and an agentive PP. As we have already observed, the mere presence of a [D]-feature on lower  $v_2$  blocks any

possibility that the external argument might be interpreted as “passive”. Consider the passive version of (40), \**Juan se hizo besarse por María*:



Again, there is a complementary distribution between the relevant clitic *se* and agentive PPs. In this respect, it is timely to recall (62) from the previous chapter:

- (43) a. \**Se reprimió a los maestros por la policía.*  
*se repressed.3SG DOM the teachers by the police*
- b. \**Se destruyeron los puentes por el enemigo.*  
*se destroyed.3PL the bridges by the enemy*

In sum, the theory resolves without any additional stipulation a set of long-standing (and also new) problems involving the presence of *se* in analytical structures:

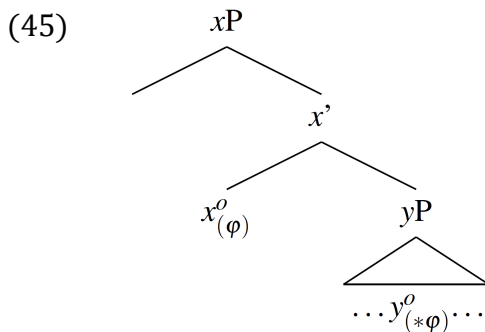


**Explained facts:**

- (44) a. absence of impersonal *se* readings in passive and active causatives  
 b. presence of long-distance reflexivization in passive causatives  
 c. absence of long-distance reflexivization in active causatives  
 d. absence of reflexivization of causee subject in both types of causatives  
 e. absence of double *se* in both types of causatives

**3.3. An additional prediction: ECM with perception verbs**

Recall that a key aspect of our analysis of analytical causatives is that caused *v* is obligatorily defective because of the presence of causative *v* (see (4) above):



As already said, the deactivation of the inflectional features on the lower phase head blocks Case assignment by inherent properties of such a head. As far as analytical causatives, our approach predicts the impossibility of double accusative assignment. This is essentially correct (although see Treviño 1994 for important considerations regarding dative/accusative alternation affecting interpretation in Mexican Spanish):

- (46) a. \*Juan **la** hizo (a María) comprar**lo**.  
 J. CL.ACC.FEM.3SG made DOM M. buy.INF-CL.ACC.MASC.3SG
- b. \*Juan **le** hizo (a María) comprar**lo**.  
 J. CL.DAT.3SG made DOM M. buy.INF-CL.ACC.MASC.3SG  
 'Juan made Mary to buy it.'

Consider, however, what happens with sentences superficially related, like those involving perception verbs in ECM contexts:

- (47) Juan vio a María comprar ese vestido.  
 J. saw ACC M. buy.INF that dress  
 'John saw Mary to buy that dress.'

Unlike causatives, here double accusative is fully grammatical:

- (48) Juan **la** vio comprar**lo**.  
 J. CL.ACC.FEM.3SG saw buy.INF-CL.ACC.MASC.3SG

This simple fact indicates two  $v$  probes with  $\phi$ -features. Therefore, perception verbs must have more structure than causatives have (an uncontroversial fact). A possibility is that perception verbs select certain type of defective CP or another type of high cyclic head, but there are other alternatives. It could be, for instance, that the infinitival sentence might be in a position from which it cannot inherit the  $\phi$ -features of matrix  $v$ . At any rate, the possibility that there are two accusatives  $v$ s makes a set of specific predictions regarding our theory of the A-system in Spanish. For merely expository reasons, let's assume that perception verbs select indeed a defective infinitival CP as complement and that the infinitival subject raises to the CP edge, at least in some cases (see below). This gives us the following abstract situation:

- (49)  $C_{\phi} \dots [{}_{vP1} v_{1[D, \phi]} \dots [ZP \text{SUB}]_i [{}_{vP2} \bar{t}_i v_{2[D, (\phi)]} (IA)] ] ]$   
 (where Z = a type of  $\phi$ -defective C head)

The first prediction is that impersonal readings should be allowed in cases like (50). In fact, this is correct:

Impersonal se in the embedded infinitive: OK

(50) Juan vio castigarse a los culpables.

J. saw punish.INF-SE ACC the culprits

*i. Reciprocal / reflexive reading*

'Juan saw the culprits to punish themselves / each other.'

*ii. Impersonal reading*

'Juan saw the culprits to be punished.'

Contrast with (32), repeated below:

(51) Juan hizo castigarse a los culpables.

J. made punish.INF-SE ACC the culprits

*i. Reciprocal / reflexive reading (OK under the active structure)*

'Juan made the culprits punish themselves/each other.'

*ii. Impersonal reading (impossible in both causatives)*

Intended: 'John made someone/one punish the culprit.'

If (49) is the right structure, we also predict absence of long-distance reflexivization.

This is borne out:

Long-distance reflexivization: NO

(52) a. \* Juan se vio besar por María.

J. se saw kiss.INF by M.

Intended: 'Juan<sub>i</sub> saw that he<sub>i</sub> was kissed by María.'

b. Juan se hizo besar por María. (cf. 34)

J. se made kiss.INF by M.

'Juan<sub>i</sub> made María kiss him<sub>i</sub>.'

Now, since according to (49), infinitival subjects move to the edge of its sentence, in principle, the reflexivization of the subject should be allowed. Once more, this prediction is also corroborated by the facts (contrast with (38) repeated below):

Reflexivization of the subject of the infinitive: OK

- (53) a. Juan **se** vio llegar / trabajar / comprar un auto.  
 J. *se* saw arrive.INF / work.INF / buy.INF a car  
 Intended: 'Juan saw himself to arrive/ work /buy a car.' (*Juan* = infinitive subject)
- b. \* Juan **se** hizo comprar un auto / trabajar.  
 J. *se* made buy.INF a car / work.INF  
 Intended: 'Juan made himself buy a car / work.' (*Juan* = infinitive subject)

Finally, occurrence of double *se* with perception verbs is also fully grammatical, such as (49) predicts:

Double reflexivization: OK

- (54) a. Juan **se** vio besarse a sí mismo  
 J. *se* saw kiss.INF-SE (DOM himself)  
 Intended: 'John<sub>i</sub> saw himself<sub>i</sub> to kiss himself<sub>i</sub>.'
- b. \* Juan **se** hizo besarse (por María)  
 J. *se* made kiss.INF-SE (by M.)  
 Intended 1 (passive): 'Juan<sub>i</sub> made {someone, María} kiss him<sub>i</sub>.'  
 Intended 2 (active): 'Juan<sub>i</sub> made himself<sub>i</sub> kiss him<sub>i</sub>.' (cf. 40)

In sum, this complementary distribution between perception verb constructions and analytical causatives gives additional support to the theory we are defending here. As we understand the issue, we not only have seen how thematic interpretation proceeds obeying syntactic locality and activity conditions but we have also left clear

the need for rethinking the connections between Case and  $\theta$ -assignment (see Saab 2018 for extensive discussion).

#### 4. Extensions and further issues: DOM

In this section, we show that Spanish DOM is captured in the very same way we derive other Agree / Case failures (e.g., datives of different kinds). But before entering into the details of the analysis, let's briefly introduce what a differential case marking system is (see Bossong 1991):

An object case-marking system is differential, if *subject and object functions are not morphologically distinguished in a systematic way in a given language*. In other words, a system is differential if objects don't express a uniform case morphology.

The italics in the preceding paragraph have the intention of pointing out not only that objects don't have a uniform morphological realization, but also that unmarked objects are syncretic with subjects. So in a language like Spanish, we find a double pattern of syncretism: marked objects are syncretic with the dative and unmarked objects are syncretic with subjects.

(55) a. María vio [ a una niña]<sub>DO</sub>. [ACCUSATIVE]

María saw ACC a child

'María saw a child.'

b. María le dio un regalo [ a una niña]<sub>IO</sub> [DATIVE]

María CL3.SG.DAT gave a present DAT a child

'María gave a present to a child.'

(56) a. María vio [ una niña]<sub>DO</sub>. [ACCUSATIVE]

María saw a child

'María saw a child.'

b. [Una niña]<sub>SUBJ</sub> sonrió esta mañana. [NOMINATIVE]

a child smiled this morning

Our theory makes explicit and concrete claims regarding the conditions that trigger DOM, but also regarding the structural conditions for unmarked objects.

1. Differentially marked objects do not enter into Agree relations in the Syntax. These constituents fall out the inheritance chain, which leads to an *Agree/Case failure*.
2. Unmarked objects, like subjects, value its case in Syntax by *Agree*, because they remain in the search domain of the Probe.

Some important trends of the system presented in the previous sections are:

- A. it extends to DOM without further assumptions;
- B. it captures one aspect of the classical view to Spanish DOM that claims that the insertion of the marker /a/ is triggered by a rule similar to Chomsky's (1970) *of*insertion rule (Hernanz & Bruccart 1987);
- C. it is consistent with recent claims regarding the position of marked objects in simple transitive clauses, and
- D. More importantly, it provides a uniform structural account for DOM both in simple cases as in complex ones, like those involving DOM in secondary predication, object control, pseudo-relatives, analytic causatives and ECM.

At the end, we will reach the conclusion that DOM is about structure rather than semantic features (like animacy, specificity, etc). Yet, beyond its initial appealing our analysis for DOM introduces new challenges with respect to some aspects of the  $\theta$ -theory we adopt here. In particular, if DOM objects do not receives abstract Case they should be active for further  $\theta$ -assignment. It seems then that our analysis for DOM should rule in sentences like the following with the intended meaning.

- (57) \*Se criticó a Ana.  
 se criticized DOM Ana

Intended meaning: 'Ana criticized herself.' / \*'One criticized Ana.'

This is so, because the DO is active to receive the agentive  $\theta$ -role in consonance with (27A), repeated below:

- (58) Principle of  $\theta$ -role assignment:

An argument DP  $A$  receives a theta-role from a thematic head,  $x_{[D]}$ , in the domain of a  $xP$  if and only if:

(A) **Activity:**  $A$  has an unvalued K feature at the point of the derivation where the  $\theta$ -role of  $x_{[D]}$  is being evaluated/assigned (i.e.,  $A$  is active within the  $xP$  domain to enter into further A-dependencies).

(B) **Locality:**  $A$  is the closest local argument to  $x_{[D]}$ ; (i.e.,  $A$  is not contained in the domain of another  $y_{[D]}$  of the same type as  $x_{[D]}$  c-commanded by  $x_{[D]}$  and there is no closest argument  $A'$  local to  $x_{[D]}$ ).

In section 4.5, we suggest at least three analytical options to deal with this problem. At any rate, our thoughts in this respect can only be taken as conjectural, part of an ongoing research agenda.

## 4.1. DOM as another Agree / Case failure: a sketch of the analysis

Spanish DOM is typically described as conditioned by animacy and specificity. However, as we can see below, specificity is not itself relevant (see Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007 for a detailed discussion)

(59) [+ANIMATE]

- a. La saludé \*(a) ella.  
 CL.3.F.SG.ACC greet:PST.1.SG ACC she  
 'I greeted her.'
- b. Saludé \*(a) María.  
 greet:PST.1.SG ACC María  
 'I greeted María'
- c. Saludé \*(a) la maestra.  
 greet:PST.1.SG ACC the teacher  
 'I greeted the teacher.'
- d. Saludé \*(a) todas las maestras.  
 greet:PST.1.SG ACC all the teachers  
 'I greeted all teachers.'
- e. Saludé \*(a) la mayoría de las maestras.  
 greet:PST.1.SG ACC the most of the teachers  
 'I greeted most of the teachers.'

(60) [- ANIMATE]

- a. Juan compró (\*a) la bici.  
 Juan bought ACC the bike  
 'Juan bought the bike.'
- b. Juan compró (\*a) todas las bici.  
 Juan bought ACC all the bikes  
 'Juan bought all the bikes.'
- c. Juan compró (\*a) la mayoría de las bicis.



Juan bought ACC the most of the bikes  
 'Juan bought most of the bike.'

(61) [+ANIMATE, -SPECIFIC]

- a. ¿\*(A) quién saludaste?  
 ACC who greet:PST.2.SG  
 'Who did you greeted?'
- b. No saludé \*(a) nadie.  
 not greet:PST.1.SG ACC nobody  
 'I didn't greet anybody.'
- c. Saludé \*(a) alguien.  
 greet:PST.1.SG ACC somebody  
 'I greeted somebody.'

(62) [-ANIMATE, -SPECIFIC]

- a. ¿\*(A) qué compraste?  
 ACC what buy:PST.2.SG  
 'What did you buy?'
- b. No compré \*(a) nada  
 not buy:PST.1.SG ACC nothing  
 'I didn't buy anything.'
- c. Compré \*(a) algo.  
 buy:PST.1.SG ACC something  
 'I bought something.'

(63) *Indefinites*

- a. Juan vio (a) un hombre.  
 Juan saw ACC a man  
 'Juan saw a man.'
- b. Juan vio (a) dos hombres.

Juan saw ACC two me

'Juan saw two men.'

c. Juan vio (a) muchos hombres.

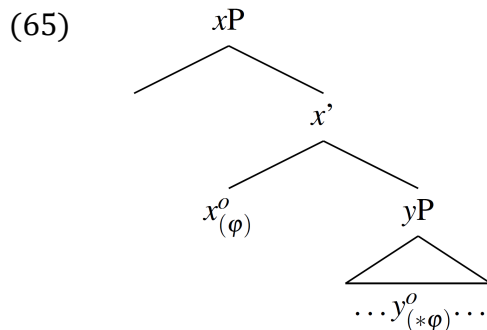
Juan saw ACC many men

'Juan saw many men.'

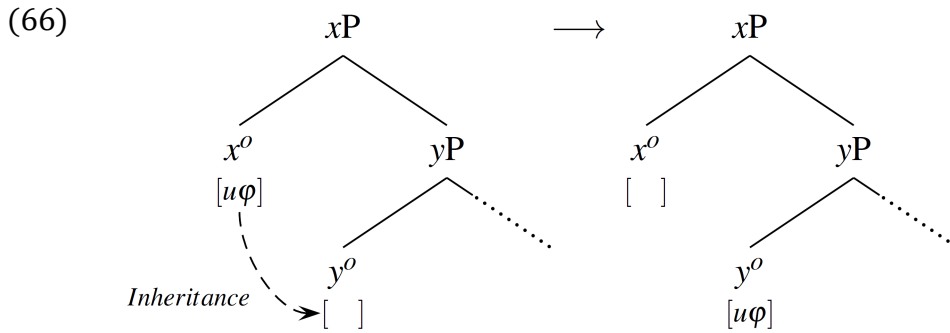
[Bleam 2005, p. 16. (40)-(41)]

As mentioned, our hypothesis for DOM is that the presence of the differential marker is a consequence of a Case failure. Like datives, DOM objects cannot value their uninterpretable case feature by *Agree* in the syntax and, consequently, receive a differential case marker at PF. Recall the generalization in (3) repeated below:

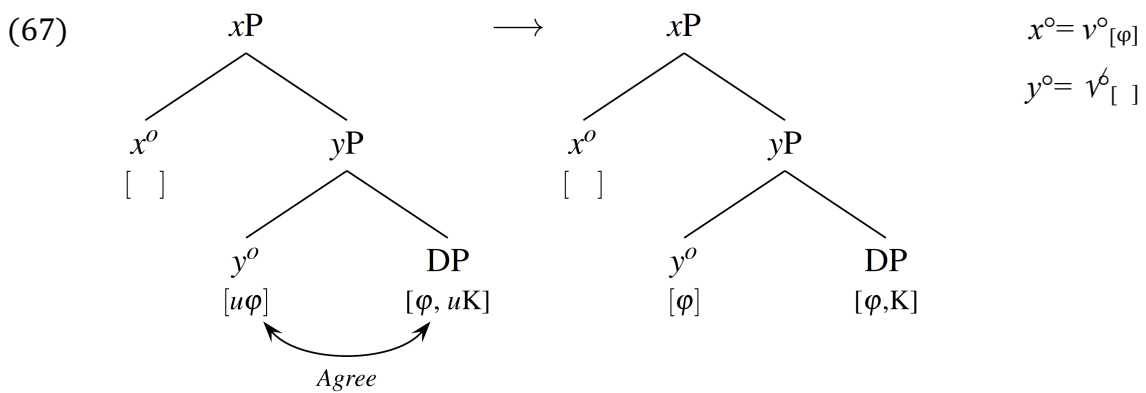
(64) **Generalization:** Given a configuration like  $[x^0 \dots Z \dots y^0]$ , if  $x^0$  and  $y^0$  are cyclic heads of the same type,  $Z \neq C$ , and  $x^0$  and  $y^0$  are in a potential inheritance relation, then  $y^0$  is fully  $\phi$ -defective.



So, assuming that  $x^o$  is  $\nu^o$ , a phase head that might bear  $\phi$ -features, and  $y^o$  is  $\alpha^o$ , Appl $^o$  or  $\sqrt{\phantom{x}}^o$ , then all of these categories should be fully  $\phi$ -defective. So, inherent  $\phi$ -features on  $\nu$  must be inherited by these heads.

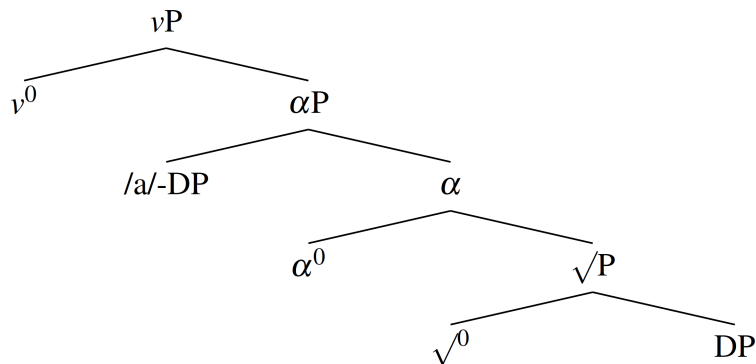


*Agree* takes place at the last link of the inheritance chain:

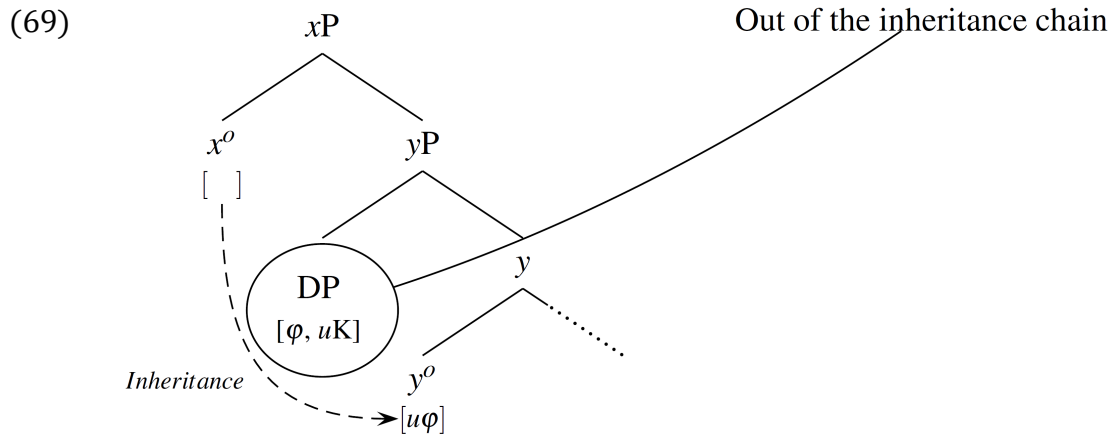


Let's assume the structural distribution of objects in simple transitive is as proposed by López (2012). For expository purposes, following López we call the projection between  $v$  and the Root  $\alpha P$ , but nothing in our analysis depends on that.

(68) Distribution of objects



Notice that the position of marked objects –i.e. /a/-DP– coincides with the configuration in which a DP falls out the inheritance chain.



Let's see now how this system explains DOM in simple and complex contexts

#### 4.2. Simple contexts

##### 4.2.1. A-stripped animate objects

Just as an initial illustration of our theory, we present some recalcitrant examples commonly quoted in the literature.

##### *Definites*

- (70) Llevaron los heridos a un hospital cercano.  
 take:PST.3.PL the injured to a hospital nearby  
 'They took the injured to a nearby hospital.'

- (71) a. Antoñito buscaba la mujer rica.  
 Antoñito looked.for the woman rich  
 'Antoñito looked for the rich woman.'
- b. ? Las enfermedades y la guerra han exterminado el hombre.  
 the diseases and the war have exterminated the man  
 'Diseases and war have exterminated the man.'

[Bruge 1996, p. 6, (5)]

4.2.2. A-marked inanimate objects<sup>23</sup>(72) **Proper names**

a. Escondí \*(a) Bárbara. [Bárbara = a yacht]

hide: PST.1.SG ACC Bárbara

'I hide Bárbara.'

[Torrego 1998]

b. En Estocolmo, premiaron \*(a) Cien años de soledad.

In Stockholm, award:PST.3.PL ACC Cien años de soledad

'In Stockholm, they awarded Cien años de soledad.'

(73) **Definite Descriptions**

Los pájaros saludan \*(a) la aurora.

the birds greeted ACC the aurora

'The birds greeted the aurora.'

[Gili Gaya 1973]

(74) El adjetivo modifica \*(a)l sustantivo.

the adjective modifies ACC.the noun

'Adjectives modify nouns.'

(75) *Definites*

Abrazó a las columnas.

hug: PST.3.SG ACC the columns

'She/he hugged the columns.'

---

<sup>23</sup> See Weissenrieder (1991), Martín (2005), Di Tullio & Zdrojewski (2006), García-García (2007), Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), and Zdrojewski (2018) for discussion of DOM with inanimate DPs.

## 4.3. Complex contexts

## 4.3.1. Secondary predications

Existential *tener* 'have' rejects DOM (cf. 76a and 77a), however DOM is allowed if the marked DP is the subject of a secondary predication.<sup>24</sup>

- (76) a. \* Juan tiene a un hermano.  
 Juan has ACC a brother  
 'Juan has a brother.'
- b. Juan tiene a un hermano enfermo.  
 Juan has ACC a brother sick  
 'Juan has a sick brother.'
- c. Juan tiene a un hermano enfermo.  
 Juan has ACC a brother sick  
 'Juan has a/the sister that is sick.'
- (77) a. \* Juan tiene al hermano  
 Juan has ACC.the brother  
 'Juan has the brother.'
- b. Juan tiene el hermano enfermo.  
 Juan has the brother sick.
- c. Juan tiene al hermano enfermo.  
 Juan has ACC.the brother sick  
 'Juan has the brother sick.'

As observed by Laca (1995), in the DOM version in (77), the adjective has a stage level reading and it can only be interpreted as predicative. Instead, the version without DOM favors an individual level reading and it has two interpretations, as predicative or attributive.

<sup>24</sup> See Bleam (2005) for a discussion on relation between DOM and existential *tener*.

Similar judgements can be obtained with [-ANIMATE] DPs.

- (78) a. \* Juan tiene al libro de gramática.  
 Juan has ACC.the book of grammar  
 'Juan has the grammar book broken.'
- b. Juan tiene el libro de gramática roto.  
 Juan has the book of grammar broken  
 'Juan has the broken grammar book.'
- c. Juan tiene al libro de gramática roto.  
 Juan has ACC.the book of grammar broken  
 'Juan has the grammar book broken.'

#### 4.3.2. ECM

Another well-known context triggering DOM is ECM with perception predicates:

- (79) a. Vio a un estudiante copiarse en el examen.  
 see:PST.3.SG ACC a student cheating in the exam  
 'She/he saw a student cheating in the exam.'
- b. Vio al estudiante copiarse en el examen.  
 see:PST.3.SG ACC.the student cheating in the exam  
 'She/he saw a student cheating in the exam.'
- (80) Juan escuchó al árbol caer sobre la vereda.  
 Juan hear:PST.3.SG ACC.the tree falling over the street  
 'Juan heard the tree falling over the street.'

The subject of the non-finite clause can be in a preverbal (81a) or postverbal (81b) position. Notice, however, that in preverbal position DOM is mandatory, while it is optional in a postverbal position.

- (81) a. Vio            ??(a)l    camión    venir.  
           see:PST.3.SG ACC.the    truck      coming  
           'She/he saw the truck coming.'
- b. Vio            venir        (a)l        camión.  
           see:PST.3.SG coming ACC.the    truck  
           'She/he saw the truck coming.'

#### 4.3.3. Pseudorelatives (Hyper ECM)

Pseudo-relatives are similar to ECM constructions, but differ in that the embedded clause is finite.

- (82) a. Vio            a    Juan que corría.  
           see:PST.3.SG ACC Juan that run:PST.3.SG  
           'She/he saw Juan running.'
- b. Vio            al        camión que chocaba        al        auto.  
           see:PST.3.SG ACC.the    truck    that crash:PST.3.SG ACC.the car  
           'She/he saw the truck crashing the car.'
- c. Vio            al        árbol que caía            sobre el auto.  
           see:PST.3.SG ACC.the    tree    that fall:PST.3.SG on        the car  
           'She/he saw the tree falling over the car.'

#### 4.3.4. Obligatory Object Control

In obligatory object control constructions, the controller of the subject of the nonfinite clause must bear DOM:

- (83) a. Juan obligó \*(a) Pedro a limpiar las ventanas.  
           Juan forced ACC Pedro to clean the windows  
           'Juan forced Pedro to clean the windows.'
- b. Juan mandó \*(a) Pedro a cerrar la ventana.  
           Juan sent ACC Pedro to close the ventana



- 'Juan ordered Pedro to close the window.'
- (84) a. Salvó            ??(a) la casa de ser destruida.  
 save:PST.3.SG    ACC the house of being destroyed  
 'She/he saved the house of being destroyed'
- b. Rescató            ??(a) la propiedad de ser vendida.  
 rescue:PST.3.SG    ACC the property of being sold  
 'She/he rescued the real state of being sold.'
- c. Preservó            ??(a) la comida de pudrirse.  
 preserve:PST.3.SG    ACC the food of rotting  
 'She/he preserved the food of rotting.'

#### 4.3.5. Causatives with *hacer*

Finally, a similar pattern is observed by Ordóñez & Saab (2013, 2018) when it comes to analytical causatives with the verb *hacer*. In preverbal position DOM for the cause subject is mandatory:

- (85) a. La lluvia hizo            \*(a)l rosal florecer.  
 the rain make:PST.3.SG    ACC.the rosebush blossom  
 'The rain made the rosebush blossom.'
- b. La lluvia hizo            florecer (a)l rosal.  
 the rain make:PST.3.SG    blossom    ACC.the rosebush  
 'The rain made the rosebush blossom.'

(Ordóñez-Saab 2013)

Thus, Spanish DOM is not triggered by a [+ANIMATE]-feature: the correct generalization should make reference to structural properties and not to abstract features, even when, of course, features, understood as triggers for syntactic operations, could be responsible for creating the structural conditions that make DOM available.

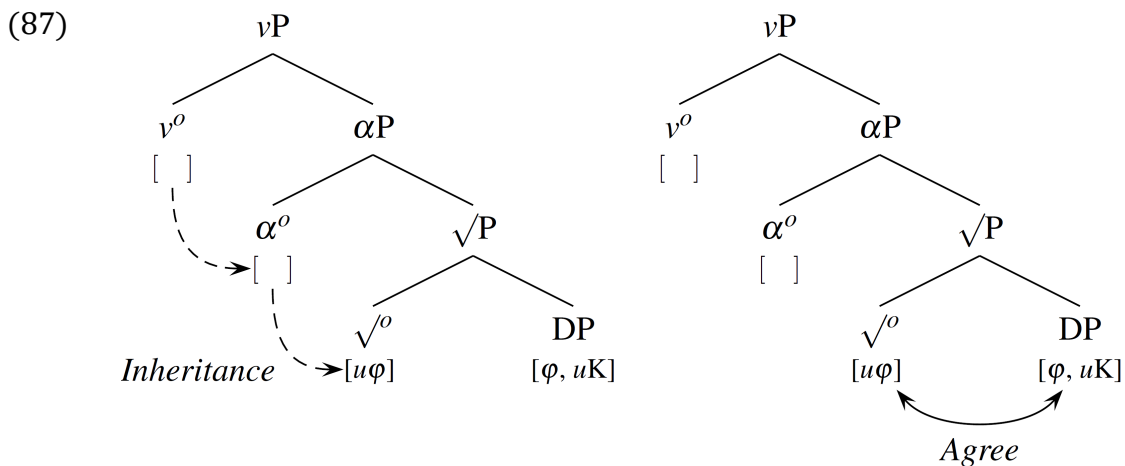
## 4.4 The analysis

## 4.4.1. Simple contexts

Consider a transitive construction without DOM:

- (86) Juan vio un tigre.  
 Juan saw a tiger  
 'Juan saw a tiger.'

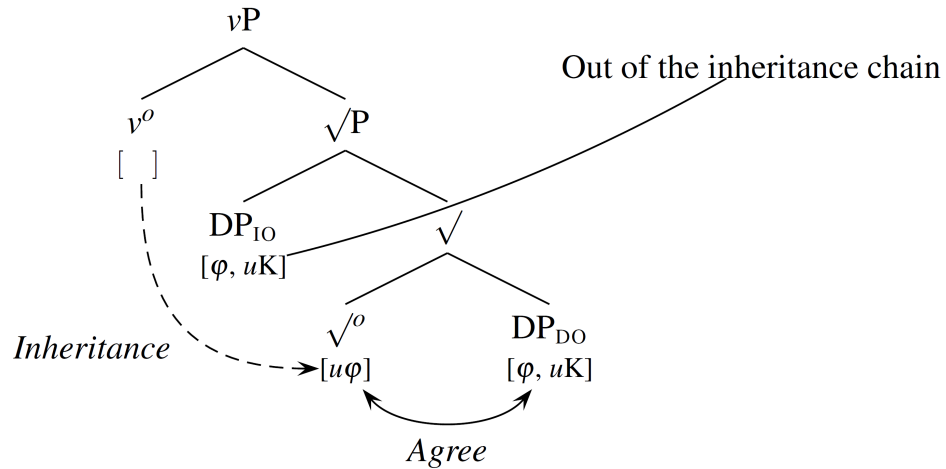
In this case, the object DP remains *in-situ* in  $\sqrt{o}$  complement position. Since that it is in the search domain of the Probe, it can value its case feature by *Agree*.



Now, recall the analysis we have already proposed for datives. These constituents are base generated out of the domain of  $\nu^o$ . Then, they are always out of the inheritance chain, hence it leads to a case failure.

- (88) Le di un regalo a María.  
 CL.3.SG.DAT give: PST.1.SG a present DAT María  
 'I gave María a present.'

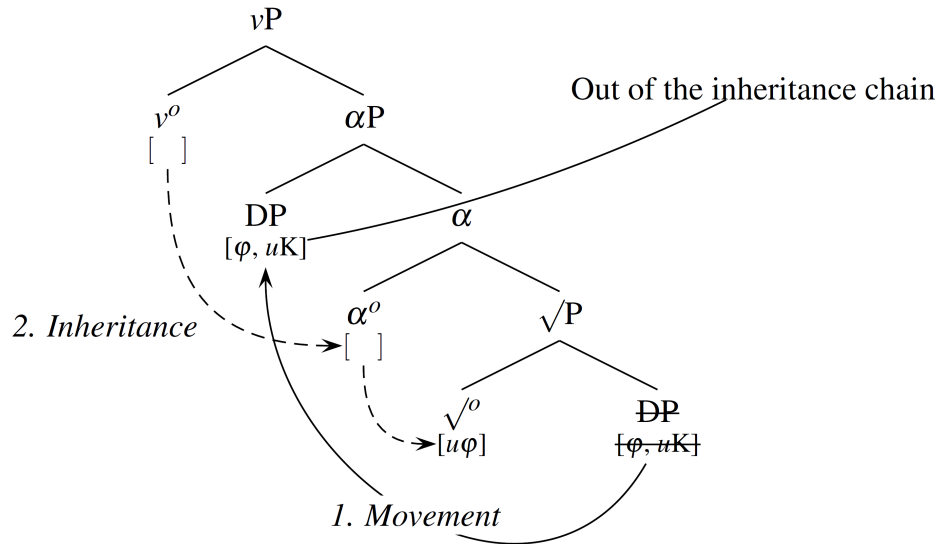
(89)



With this in mind, we can analyze DOM in simple contexts. Marked objects move out the complement of  $\sqrt{o}$  before the Probe is inserted. This movement creates a configuration analogous to the one for datives.

- (90) Juan vio a un tigre.  
 Juan saw DOM a tiger  
 'Juan saw a tiger.'

(91)



There are, however, two important differences between datives and DOM objects. First, DOs are internally merged out of the inheritance chain, rather than being

externally merged as in the case of IOs. And second and more importantly, in DOM sentences there a total Agree failure in Preminger's (2014) sense, as there is no Goal in the search domain of relevant Probe. Our system, then, must allow for this type of general failure, in consonance with Preminger's original proposal and subsequent work, although see section 4.5 for some important qualifications.

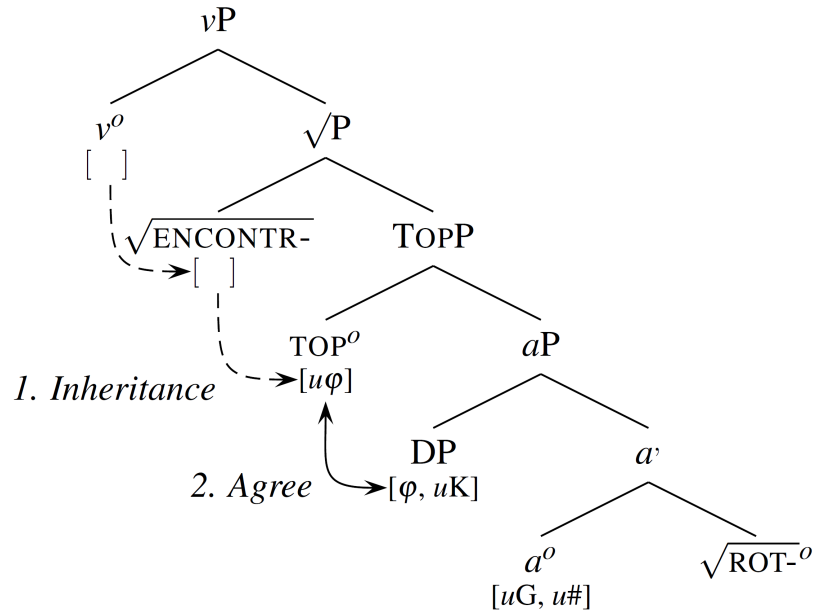
#### 4.4.2. Complex contexts

As we have seen, subjects of secondary predications can be optionally marked:

- (92) a. Encontró el libro roto.  
find:PST.3.SG the book broken
- b. Encontró al libro roto.  
find:PST.3.SG ACC.the book broken  
'She/he found the book broken.'

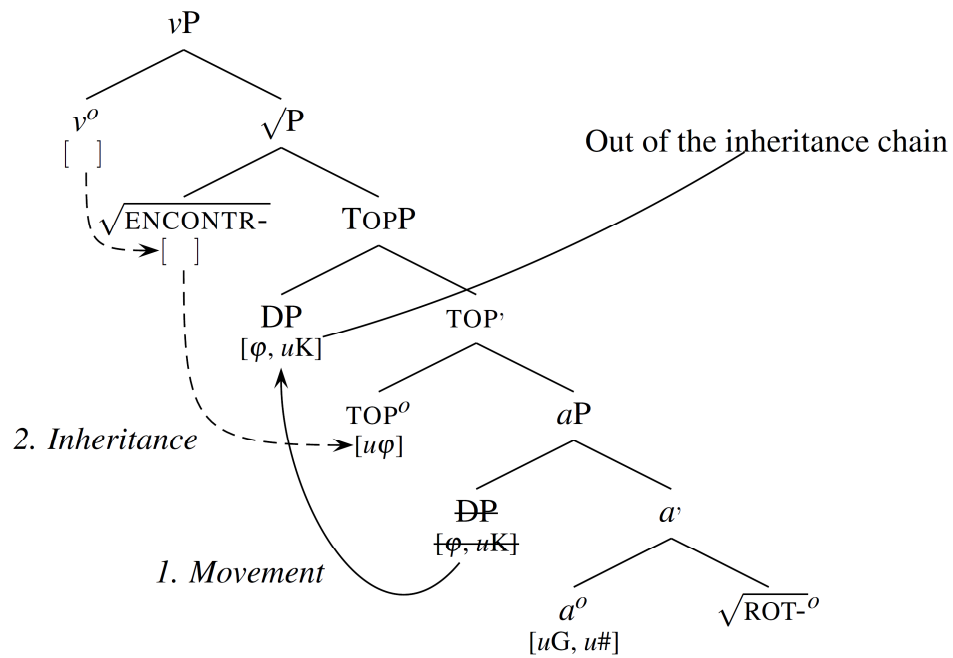
Let's assume that Small Clauses project a TopP, as proposed by Basilico (2003). So, in the case without DOM in (92a), the DP remains in a low position in the small clause, as in (93).

(93)



In (92b), the DP subject of the small clause must move to Spec,TopP, before the Probe is inserted in the derivation. As a consequence, this DP falls out the inheritance chain (94), which leads to a Case failure.

(94)

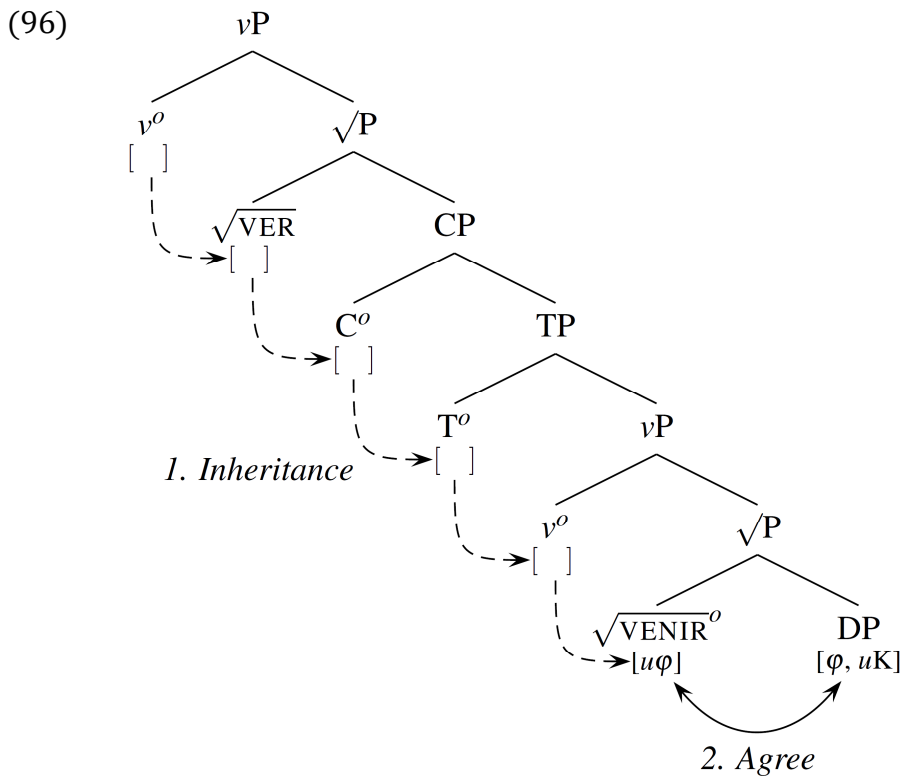


ECM

Like secondary predications, pre-infinitival subjects are obligatory differentially marked, but, with some exceptions, post-infinitival subjects are grammatical without a differential marker. Consider (95):

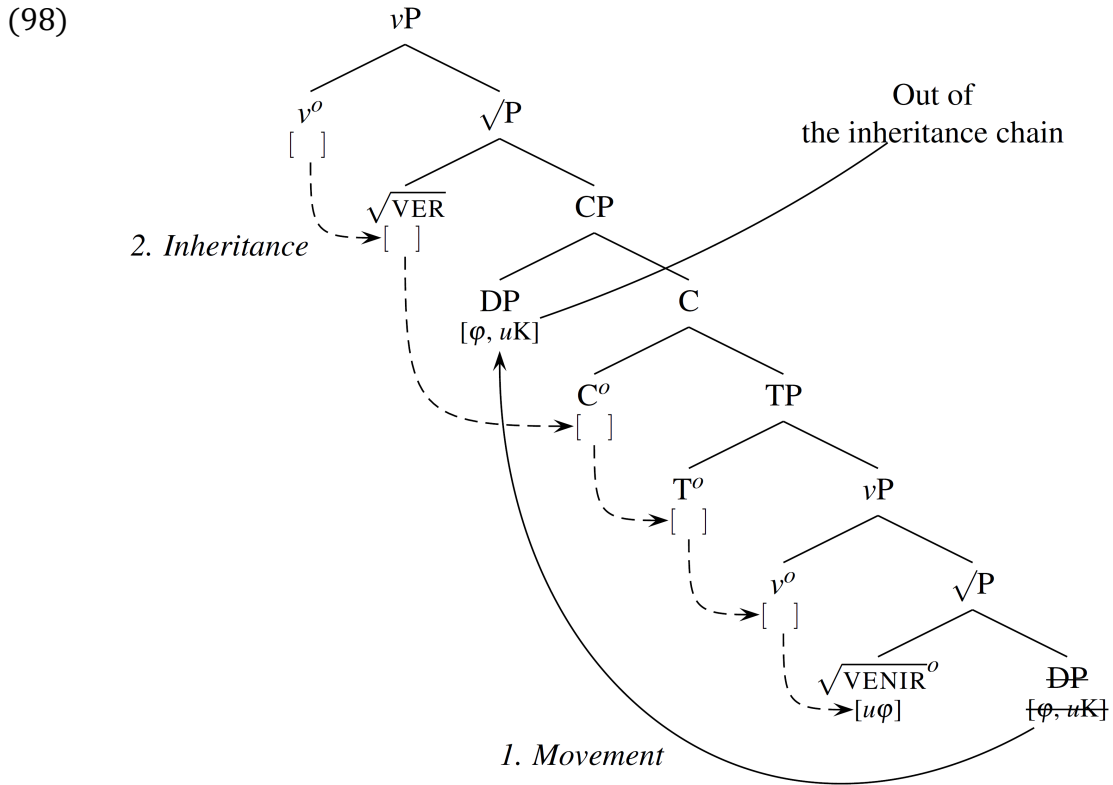
- (95) Vio venir el camión.  
 see:PST.3.SG comming the truck  
 'She/he saw the truck comming.'

In this case, *el camion* 'the truck' remains *in-situ*, so it values its case by *Agree*.



In (97), instead, the subject of the ECM moves to the edge of its clause. And again, it reaches a position outside the inheritance chain, so this configuration leads to a Case failure.

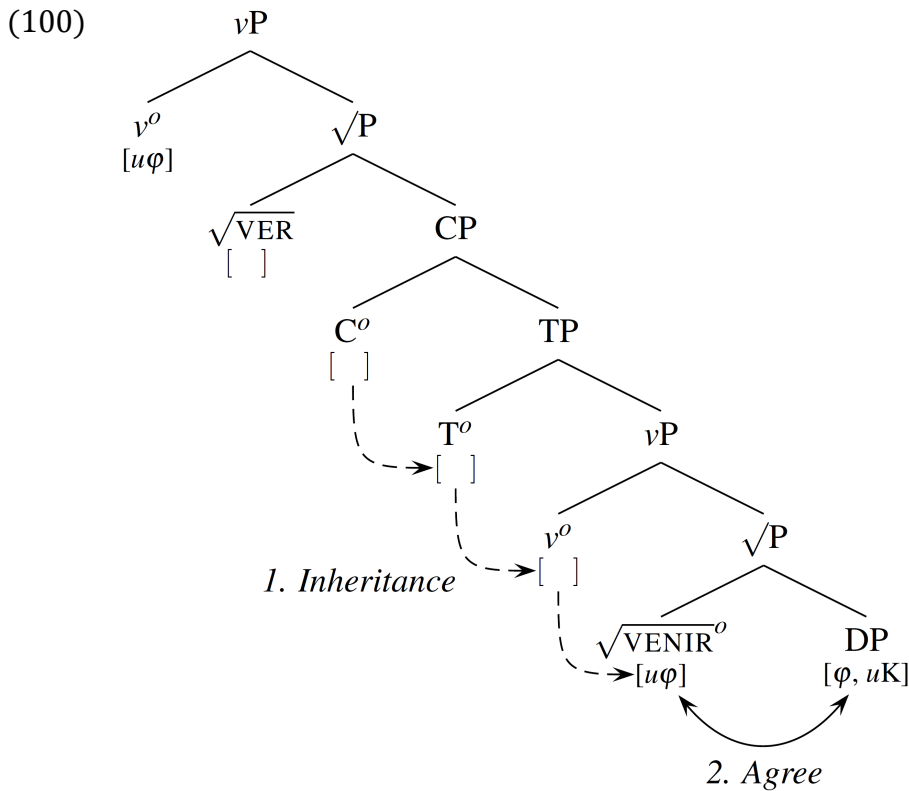
- (97) Vio            \*(a)l        camión    venir.  
 see:PST.3.SG ACC.the    truck        coming  
 'She/he saw the truck coming.'



*Pseudo-relatives*

These structures can be analyzed as cases of hyper-ECM. If the DP remains in the embedded finite clause (99), it doesn't bear a differential marker, because its case is valued by means of *Agree*.

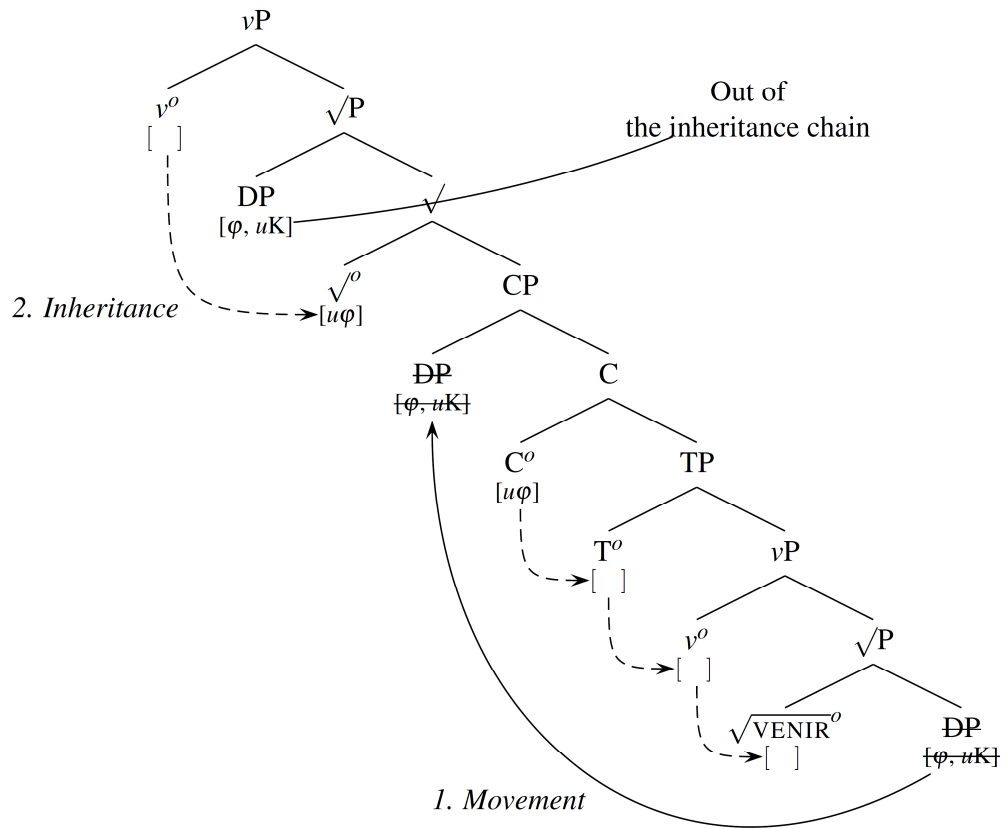
- (99) Vio que el camión venía.  
 see:PST.3.SG that the truck came  
 'She/he saw the truck coming.'



However, the DP can move to “object position” vacating the finite clause. In this case, the DP receives a differential marker because it falls out the inheritance chain in the main clause, as in (101) (we omit some movement steps).



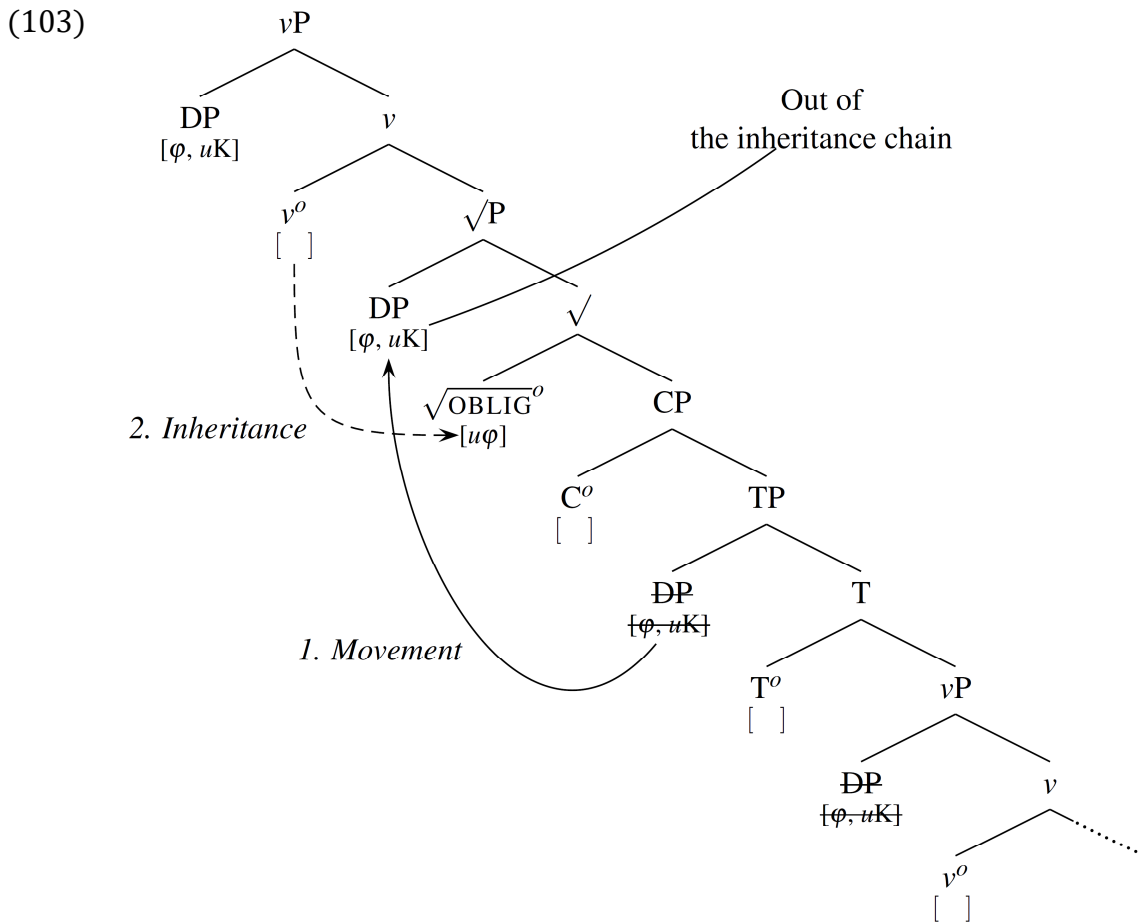
(101)



*Obligatory Object Control*

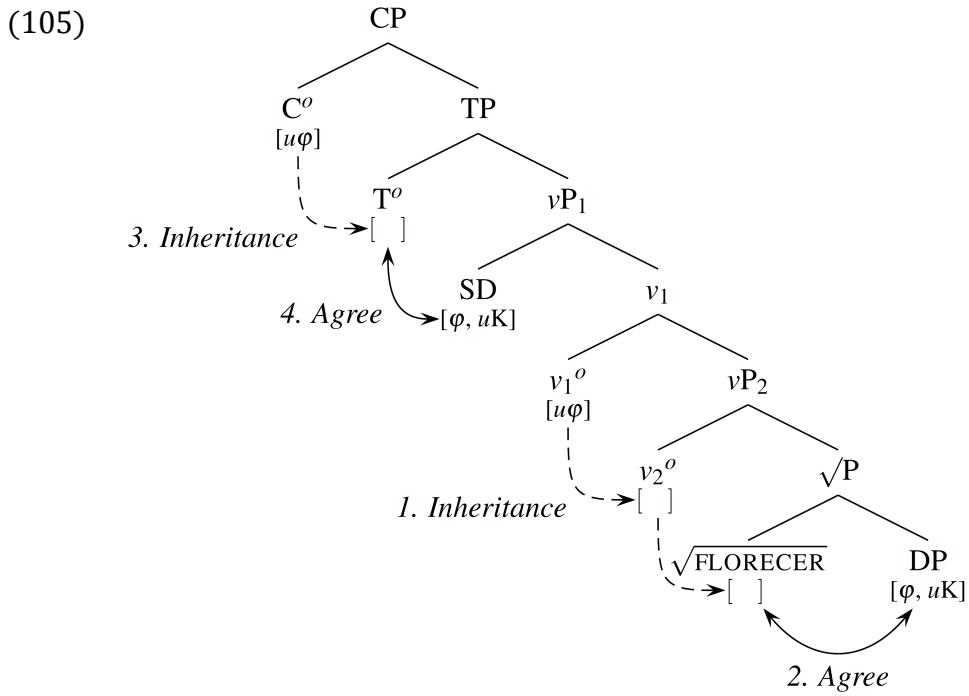
Obligatory object control sentences and analytical causatives do not require additional qualification: in both cases DOM obtains by the routine already known:

- (102) Juan obligó \*(a) Pedro a limpiar las ventanas.  
 Juan forced ACC Pedro to clean the windows  
 'Juan forced Pedro to clean the windows.'



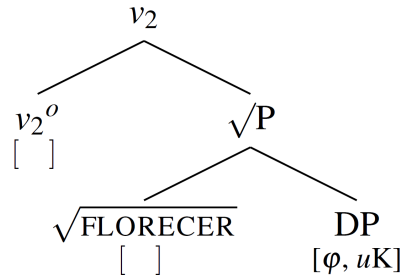
*Causatives with hacer 'to make'*

- (104) La lluvia hizo florecer (a)l rosal  
 the rain make:PST.3.SG blossom ACC.the rosebush  
 'The rain made the rosebush blossom.'

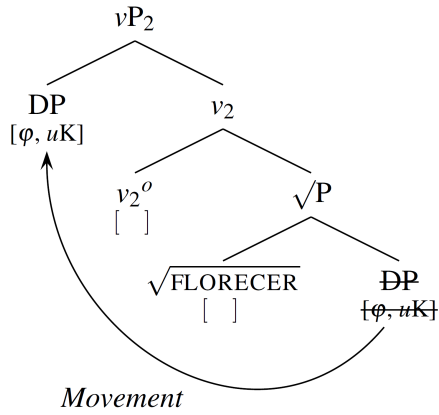


- (106) La lluvia hizo \*(a)l rosal florecer.  
 the rain make:PST.3.SG ACC.the rosebush blossom  
 'The rain made the rosebush blossom.'

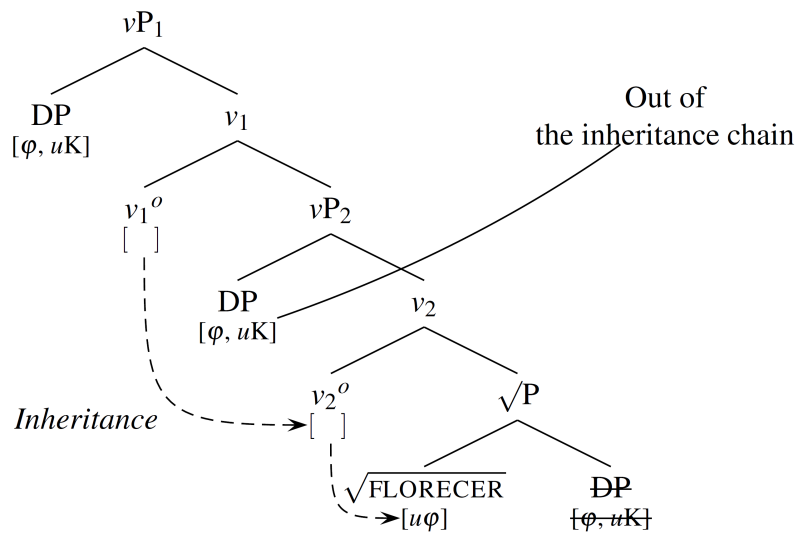
(107) a.

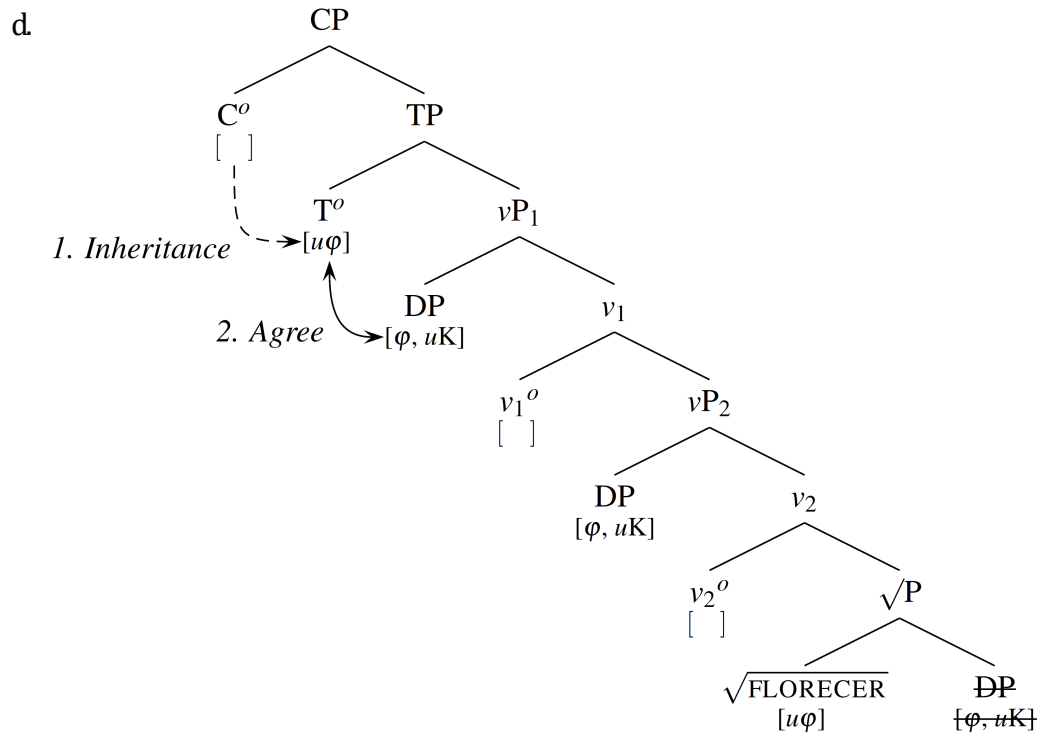


b.



c.





#### 4.5. Further issues: $\theta$ -theory and activity with DOM objects

We have explored Differential Object Marking as another instance of an *Agree / Case Failure*. We have shown that the theory proposed in this chapter extends without further assumptions to DOM. Our theory explains the connection between DOM objects and datives, without resorting to dativization (*pace* Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007 and López 2012): both dative and DOM objects happen to feed the morphosyntactic conditions that trigger morphological marking. In other words, they are out of the inheritance chain, a structural condition that leads to an *Agree / Case Failure*. Clearly, dativization is just an illusion derived from properties of the Spanish A-system. As it is also an illusion that DOM observes some sort of animacy condition: such a putative condition is just the surface reflex of the structural position of animate objects. Of course, animacy features play a role, but in a derivative way: they force DOs to reach an *ex situ* position. At the end, the entire DOM pattern in Spanish can be captured in purely structural terms.

However, if nothing more is said our theory predicts an obligatory reflexive reading for a sentence like (108):

- (108)        \***Se**    criticó        a        Ana.  
               *se*    criticized    DOM   Ana  
               Intended meaning: ‘Ana criticized herself.’ / \*‘One criticized Ana.’

This is so, because the DO is active to receive the agentive  $\theta$ -role in consonance with (27A), repeated below:

(109) Principle of  $\theta$ -role assignment:

An argument DP  $A$  receives a theta-role from a thematic head,  $x_{[D]}$ , in the domain of a  $xP$  if and only if:

(A) **Activity:**  $A$  has an unvalued K feature at the point of the derivation where the  $\theta$ -role of  $x_{[D]}$  is being evaluated/assigned (i.e.,  $A$  is active within the  $xP$  domain to enter into further A-dependencies).

(B) **Locality:**  $A$  is the closest local argument to  $x_{[D]}$ ; (i.e.,  $A$  is not contained in the domain of another  $y_{[D]}$  of the same type as  $x_{[D]}$  c-commanded by  $x_{[D]}$  and there is no closest argument  $A'$  local to  $x_{[D]}$ ).

There are various alternatives to explore in order to solve the problem. Three come into mind now: (i) Case conflicts are entirely resolved in the syntax in such a way that a DP outside of a given inheritance chain receives its Case feature by other *syntactic* (not PF) means; (ii)  $\theta$ -assignment proceeds by phases in a such a way that the complement of  $\phi$ -complete  $v$  is sent to the interfaces and, among other possible interface operations, the DOM DP receives its differential mark at PF and its internal  $\theta$ -role at LF (this requires obvious qualifications if DOM DOs are *ex situ*); crucially, in this cycle the DOM object doesn't interact with agentive  $v$ ; and (iii) Activity must be weakened in such a way that a nontrivial DP chain is inactive if at least one of its links have its K feature valued. This could happen if the lower copy of a DOM object values

accusative with the  $\phi$ -features inherited by the Root. At any rate, any of these alternatives require the design of the relevant experiments in order to show what the best alternative is.

## Handout 3

# Accusative and Dative Doubling: conditions and interactions

### 0. Plan

In this class, we explore clitic doubling in Argentinean Spanish from a microparametric perspective. We follow the theory of doubling presented in Di Tullio, Saab & Zdrojewski (2018). As is well-known, one of the most prominent characteristics of Argentinean is the doubling of full nominal phrases (Jaeggli 1986a, Suñer 1988, Zdrojewski 2008, Di Tullio & Zdrojewski 2006, a.o):

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

[adapted from Kany 1969, 148]

Now withstanding this, the doubling pattern has been extended, or it is extending, to indefinite objects -specially, indefinite specific ones-, as noted by Suñer (1988):



- (3) Diariamente, la escuchaba a una mujer que  
 daily CL.3.FSG.ACC listen:PST.3.SG ACC DET.INDEF woman that  
 cantaba tangos.  
 sing:PST.3.SG tangos  
 ‘Daily, she listened a woman that use to sing tangos.’ [Suñer 1988: 396]

In contrast, dative clitic doubling affects the full range of IOs. The most extreme case appears with bare plural datives (4e):

- (4) a. No le des tus llaves a ella.  
 not CL.3.SG.DAT give:PRS.SUBJ.3.SG your keys DAT her  
 ‘Don’t give your keys to her.’
- b. No le des tus llaves a María.  
 not CL.3.SG.DAT give:PRS.SUBJ.3.SG your keys DAT María  
 ‘Don’t give your keys to María.’
- c. No le des tus llaves a esa piba.  
 not CL.3.SG.DAT give:PRS.SUBJ.3.SG your keys DAT that girl  
 ‘Don’t give your keys to that girl.’
- d. No le des tus llaves a un cerrajero  
 not CL.3.SG.DAT give:PRS.SUBJ.3.SG your keys DAT a locksmith  
 sin experiencia.  
 without experience  
 ‘Don’t give your keys to an inexperienced locksmith.’
- e. No le des tus llaves a personas desconocidas.  
 not CL.3.SG.DAT give:PRS.SUBJ.3.SG your keys DAT persons unknown  
 ‘Don’t give your keys to strangers.’ [(4e) adapted from Ordóñez 1998: ex. 58]

**Plan for today:**

A. Completing the empirical picture we presented in the first class.

**Our empirical domains:**

- ~~(i) Case and argument structure interactions in structures involving the clitic *se*~~
- ~~(ii) Case patterns in ditransitive and applicative sentences~~
- ~~(iii) Case patterns in analytic causatives and their interactions with *se* constructions~~
- ~~(iv) DOM~~
- (v) Accusative and dative clitic doubling**

B. Making sense of the conditions that license clitic doubling. There are at least two at the core of the clitic doubling system:

**General conditions:**

Condition 1: Doubled objects do not participate in syntactic Agree relations.

Condition 2: Doubled objects (IOs or DOs) A-moves to the  $\nu\text{P}$  edge.

Condition 1 was extensively discussed in the previous class. Today, we will discuss Condition 2 at large by comparing accusative and dative doubling and their interactions at the  $\nu\text{P}$  edge. As we will see, the evidence points out to an analysis of doubling in terms of A-movement for both types of objects to exactly the same position (Spec- $\nu\text{P}$ ). On the one hand, we will find confirming evidence for Condition 2. On the other hand, we predict a set of complex interactions between doubled objects that gives additional support to the A-movement hypothesis. Crucially, a new observation is stated according to which double doubling is not a grammatical option in Spanish (see Pujalte & Saab 2018). We will start by comparing clitic doubling with other clitic duplication constructions (Clitic Right Dislocation and Clitic Left Dislocation). This strategy proves to be fundamental for a proper understanding of the syntax of clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish and beyond.

### 1. Some basic properties of Argentinean Spanish: DOM, doubling and right dislocation

Argentinean Spanish departs from other dialects in the realm of Differential Object Marking (DOM)<sup>25</sup>. The innovative property of this dialect is that it also allows for DOM with non-animate DPs both in dislocated and object positions (cf. 5a,b vs. 5c):

- (5) a. *Al libro de Geometría, ni siquiera lo abrí.* [CLLD]  
 ACC-DET book of geometry not even CL.3.M.SG.ACC open:PST.1.SG  
 'I didn't open the geometry book.' (Traición, 218)
- b. *(La) arreglé, a la moto.* [CLRD]  
 CL.3.F.SG.ACC fix.PST.1.SG ACC DET motorcycle  
 'I fixed the motorcycle.'
- c. *Es un veneno mortífero pues ataca  
 be:PRS.3.SG a poison deadly because attack:PRS.3.SG  
 a la hemoglobina combinándose con ella.  
 ACC DET hemoglobin combine:GER=REF with her  
 'It is a deadly poison because it attacks the hemoglobin by combining with it  
 (the hemoglobin).' (CREA. Osmar Ciró. *Primeros auxilios*)*

This variety also presents clear differences with respect the VOS word order. In most varieties, this configuration is employed to align the focus on the subject and the main stress of the sentence (see Zubizarreta 1998 and Gallego 2013, among others):

- (6) *Comió la manzana **Juan**.* [General Spanish: boldface = neutral stress]  
 eat:PST.3.SG DET apple Juan  
 'Juan ate the apple.'

<sup>25</sup> The reader interested in Argentinean Spanish would find a thorough description of its particularities in two recent volumes: Di Tullio (2013) and Colantoni and Rodríguez Louro (2013).

In Argentinean Spanish, it is more productive a clitic right dislocation configuration with information focus on the subject, as in (7):

- (7) *La comió Juan, la manzana.* [CLRD]  
 CL.3.F.SG.ACC eat:PST.3.SG Juan DET apple  
 'Juan ate the apple.'

**Question:** How can we distinguish between CD and CLRD? The distinction between these phenomena seems to be obscured by certain facts, which seem to be also responsible for some long-standing controversies in this particular empirical domain. Among these controversies, the so-called *Kayne's Generalization* (8), which can be updated as a dependency of CD on DOM, is among the more pressing ones:

- (8) *Kayne's Generalization* (KG)  
 An object NP may be doubled by a clitic only if the NP is preceded by a preposition. [Jaeggli 1982, p. 20, (1.18)]

Suñer (1988) is one of the first scholars that challenged the KG, based on data taken from the corpus *El habla culta de la ciudad de Buenos Aires*:

- (9) *Yo lo voy a comprar el diario*  
 I CL.3.M.SG.ACC go:PRS.1.SG to buy:INF DET newspaper  
 justo antes de subir.  
 just before of come-up:INF  
 'I am going to buy the newspaper just before coming up.' [Suñer 1988: 178]

In what follows, we will see that there are sound tests that let us distinguish CD from CLRD.

## 2. Clitic Doubling at the right edge: PF/ Pragmatic Effects

Consider the following examples in (10):

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

Despite the superficial similarities between (10b) y (10c), there are many tests that let us distinguish both constructions.

**Observation:** clitic-doubled DPs are licensed in exactly those environments where right-dislocated objects are not.

### 2.1. Association with Focus

Let's begin with the following generalization:

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

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

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

The focus set of (12), with or without clitic, = {IP, VP, **Object**}

(14) a. Question: What happened?

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

b. Question: What did Juan do?

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

c. Question: Who did Juan greet?

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

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

'Juan greeted María.'

In addition, clitic-doubled objects are also usable in contrastive focus contexts:

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

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

'Juan greeted **MARÍA**, not Cecilia.'

CLRD behaves in exactly the opposite way: a clitic-right dislocated object is never part of the focus set of a sentence, nor it can be used as a contrastive focus. CLRD is a construction that implies defocalization and destressing. A typical destressing scenario in Romance is provided precisely by pronominalization with clitics.

(16) Question: What happened with María?

Answer: Juan la **besó**. Focus Set: {IP, VP, V}

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

'Juan kissed her.'

This is a typical scenario where right dislocation productively occurs:

- (17) a. Juan la besó, a María. [CLRD]  
 Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC kiss:PST.3.SG ACC María  
 ‘Juan kissed her, María.’
- b. # Juan la besó a María. [CD]  
 Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC kiss:PST.3.SG ACC María  
 ‘Juan kissed María.’

For the same reason, (17a) is infelicitous as an answer to each of the questions in (14). As for the pragmatic function of CLRD, dislocated constituents are extracted in order to avoid being interpreted within the sentential rheme (Vallduví 1992). These constituents are commonly related to the notion of *aboutness*.

**Important:** All the examples provided by Suñer against *Kayne’s Generalization* pattern as CLRD.

- (18) Question: Vos, ¿qué vas a comprar antes de subir?  
 you what go:PRS.2SG to buy:INF before of coming-up  
 ‘What will you buy before you come up?’
- Answer: Yo (#lo) voy a comprar el diario [CLRD]  
 I CL.3.M.SG.ACC go:PRS.1SG to buy:INF the newspaper  
 antes de subir.  
 before of coming-up  
 ‘I am going to buy it, the newspaper, just before coming up.’

Therefore, there is nothing special about Argentinean Spanish with respect to KG. The putative doubling of non-DOM DPs should be considered as postponed topics as in other dialects of Spanish (cf. *NGRALE*, §16.14r., 2009, Vol. I, 1249).

**Independent evidence:** Association with Focus*Solo* [only] →

- (19) a. Juan (la) besó solo [a MARÍA]<sub>F</sub> [CD]  
 Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC kiss:PST.3.SG only ACC María  
 (no besó a nadie más).  
 not kiss:PST.3.SG ACC nobody else  
 ‘Juan kissed only María, (he didn’t kiss anybody else).’
- b. \* Juan la **besó,** solo [a MARÍA]<sub>F</sub> [CLR]  
 Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC kiss:PST.3.SG only ACC María  
 (no besó a nadie más).  
 not kiss:PST.3.SG ACC nobody else  
 ‘Juan kissed her, only MARÍA, (he didn’t kiss anybody else).’

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

*Nomás* [just] →

- (21) Juan vio a **María** *nomás*.  
 Juan see:PST.3.SG ACC María just  
 Reading 1: ‘Juan saw *just* María.’  
 Reading 2: ‘Juan saw María, *finally*.’



**Desambiguation:**

(22) Entonces, ¿Juan vio a María?  
 so, Juan see:PST.3.SG ACC María  
 ‘So, did Juan see María?’  
 [IP Sí, Juan vio a María] nomás.  
 yes Juan see:PST.3.SG ACC María just  
 ‘Yes, Juan saw María, finally.’

(23) Juan visitó a Ana y a María.  
 Juan visit:PST.3.SG ACC Ana and ACC María  
 ‘Juan visited Ana and María.’  
 No, Juan visitó [a ANA] nomás.  
 no Juan visit:PST.3.SG ACC Ana just  
 ‘No, Juan visited just Ana.’

**Prediction:** *nomás* is ambiguous in CD configurations, but not in CLRD ones.

(24) Juan la vio a MARÍA nomás. [ambiguous] [CD]  
 Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PST.3.SG ACC María just.  
 ‘Juan just saw María.’ / ‘Juan saw María, finally.’

(25) a. Juan la **vio**, a María, nomás. [non-ambiguous] [CLRD]  
 Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PST.3.SG ACC María just.  
 ‘Juan saw her, María, finally.’  
 b. Juan lo **compró**, el auto, nomás. [non-ambiguous] [CLRD]  
 Juan CL.3M.SG.ACC buy:PST.3.SG DET car just.  
 ‘Juan bought it, the car, finally.’

## 2.2. Gapping

Gapping is an elliptical configuration that requires that the remnant of the elliptical site and its correlate in the antecedent contrast.

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

As expected, CLRD configurations are impossible in gapping contexts.

- (27) a. \* Juan la                    **vio**,            A    **MARÍA**, (no a    Ana).  
           Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PST.3.SG ACC María not ACC Ana
- b. \* Juan lo                    **leyó**,            EL    **LIBRO**, (no el    diario).  
           Juan CL.3.M.SG.ACC read:PST.3.SG DET book not DET newspaper.
- (28) a. Juan la                    vio            A    **MARÍA** y Pedro A    **ANA**.  
           Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PST.3.SG ACC María and Pedro ACC Ana  
           ‘Juan saw María and Pedro Ana.’
- b. \* Juan lo                    leyó            EL    **LIBRO** y María EL    **DIARIO**.  
           Juan CL.3.M.SG.ACC read:PST.3.SG DET book and María DET newspaper

The conclusion is always the same: **CD is DOM dependent**.



Given that the constructions under study differ in nontrivial respects, the conclusion to be drawn is that contrastive focalization of doubled DPs is syntactically different from both CLLD and contrastive focalization of non-doubled DPs. This conclusion calls for a principled explanation, one that integrates the syntactic/semantic effects of CD with the syntactically inert nature of clitics in CD configurations.

### 3.1. Basic facts: More on Kayne's Generalization

#### *Obligatory Subject Inversion* →

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

#### *Optional vs Obligatory Doubling* →

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

#### *Kayne's Generalization* →

- (33) a. La                    vi                    a    María.                    [CD]  
           CL.3.F.SG.ACC   see:PAST.1.SG   ACC   María  
           'I saw María.'
- b. A    MARÍA la                    vi.                    [CD]  
           ACC   María   CL.3.F.SG.ACC   see:PAST.1.SG  
           'I saw MARÍA.'

c. \* Lo compré el auto.  
 CL.3.M.SG.ACC buy:PST.1.SG DET car.  
 'I bought the car.'

d. \* El AUTO lo compré.  
 DET car CL.3.M.SG.ACC buy:PST.1.SG  
 'I bought THE CAR.'

(34) a. A María, la vi ayer. [CLLD]  
 ACC María CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PAST.1.SG yesterday  
 'María, I saw her yesterday.'

b. El auto, lo compré ayer. [CLLD]  
 DET car CL.3.M.SG.ACC buy:PST.1.SG yesterday  
 'The car, I bought it yesterday.'

### 3.2. Weak Crossover effects (WCO)

As is well-known, CLLD does not trigger WCO effects (see Cinque 1990):

(35) A María<sub>i</sub>, su<sub>i</sub> padre la<sub>i</sub> criticó. [CLLD]  
 ACC María POSS.3.SG father CL.3.F.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG  
 'María, her father criticized her.'

Now, compare (35) with a case of focus movement without CD:

(36) \*? A MARÍA<sub>i</sub> criticó su<sub>i</sub> padre. [Focus movement]  
 ACC María criticize:PST.3.SG POSS.3.SG father  
 'Her father criticized MARÍA.'

However, Saab & Zdrojewski (2012) notice that CD can repair WCO effects:

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

Yet, WCO effects reappear with focused doubled DPs whenever the possessive is in the main clause:

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

Contrast (38) with the CLLD configuration in (39) (see also Zubizarreta 1998):

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

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

- (40) a. Which student<sub>i</sub> do you think [that his<sub>i</sub> teacher scolded *t<sub>i</sub>* in yesterday's geology class]?
- b. \*? Which student<sub>i</sub> does his<sub>i</sub> teacher think [that Mary scolded *t<sub>i</sub>* in yesterday's geology class]? [Ishii 2006: 158]

In turn, regular focus movement (i.e., without CD) has the same distribution as non-D-Linked *wh*-phrases in English.

- (41) a. \*? Who<sub>i</sub> do you think [that his<sub>i</sub> teacher scolded *t<sub>i</sub>* in yesterday's geology class]?
- b. \*? Who<sub>i</sub> does his<sub>i</sub> teacher think [that Mary scolded *t<sub>i</sub>* in yesterday's geology class]? [Ishii 2006: 158]

- (42) a. ?\* A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree                      su<sub>i</sub>            profesor    que criticó                      *t<sub>i</sub>*  
 ACC Juan    believe:PRS.3.SG    POSS.3.SG    professor    that criticize:PST.3.SG  
 María (no a Pedro).  
 María (not acc Pedro)  
 'His professor believes that María criticized JUAN, (no Pedro).'
- b. ?\* A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree                      María que criticó                      *t<sub>i</sub>*  
 ACC Juan    believe:PRS.3.SG    María that criticize:PST.3.SG  
 su<sub>i</sub>            profesor    (no a Pedro).  
 POSS.3.SG    professor    (not ACC Pedro)  
 'María believes that his professor criticized Juan, (not Pedro).'

### 3.3. Absence of reconstruction effects

Finally, there are differences between focus movement with and without CD with respect to the possibilities of pronominal binding:

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

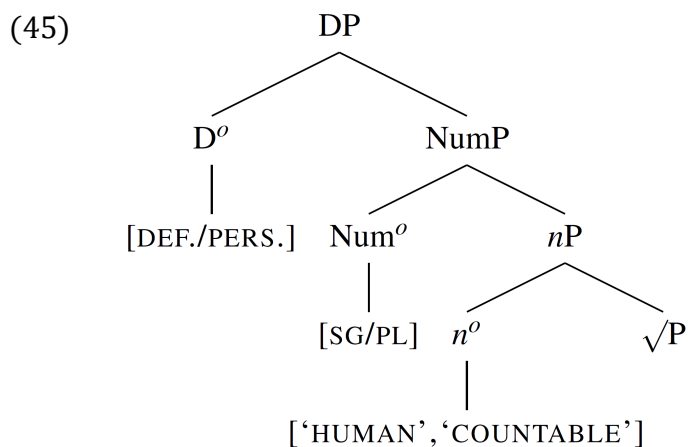
As observed in Zubizarreta (1998), Cecchetto (2000), and Arregi (2003), among others, the same absence of pronominal binding is attested in CLLD environments:

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

## 4. Towards an analysis

### 4.1. The Person Feature Condition on CD and the source of microvariation

Let’s assume that DPs have the following structure:





Evidence for [person]-features on D°:

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

Here is our working hypothesis:

*The Person Feature Condition on CD (PFC)*

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

This is a necessary condition on CD, although not a sufficient one. In any case, the PFC directly accounts for the fact that CD is obligatory in pronominal contexts in ALL Spanish dialects. As for lexical DPs, we propose that the “third person” feature is redundantly determined by the (in)definite feature encoded on D nodes. However, full DPs can also express other values for person, as witnessed by the following unagreement examples (Ordóñez 1997; Ordóñez and Treviño 1999; and Saab 2008, 2013, among many others):

- (48) a. Los estudiantes tenemos mala memoria.  
 DET students have:PRS.1.PL bad memory  
 ‘We students have bad memory.’
- b. Los estudiantes tenéis mala memoria. (Only Iberian Spanish)  
 the students have:PRS.2.PL bad memory  
 ‘You students have bad memory.’
- c. Los estudiantes tienen mala memoria.  
 DET students have:PRS.3.PL bad memory  
 ‘The students have bad memory.’ [Ordóñez 1997, 195]

If D encodes person features, it is possible to provide a direct explanation for the fact that every Spanish dialect has obligatory CD with objects in unagreement

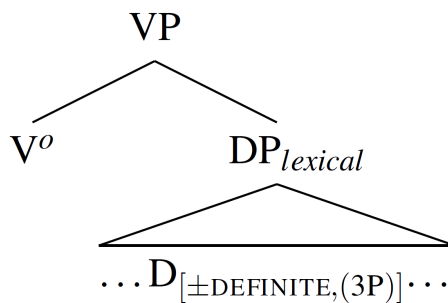
environments (Ordóñez 1997, Ordóñez & Treviño 1999, Di Tullio & Zdrojewski 2006 and Leonetti 2008):

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

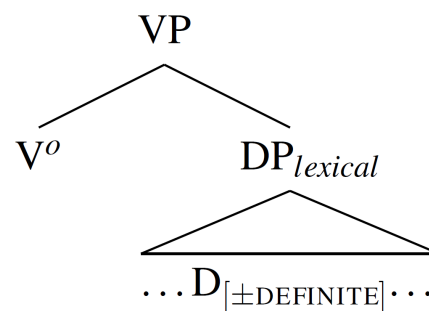
**Microparameter:**

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

- (51) *Argentinean Spanish*



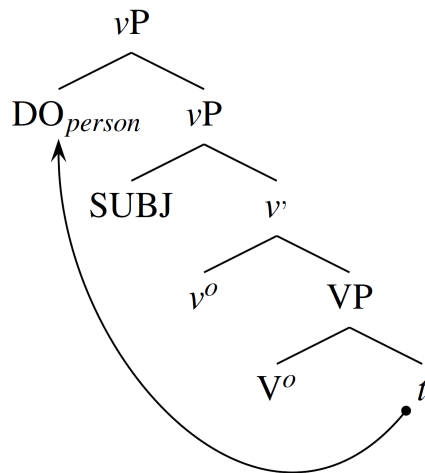
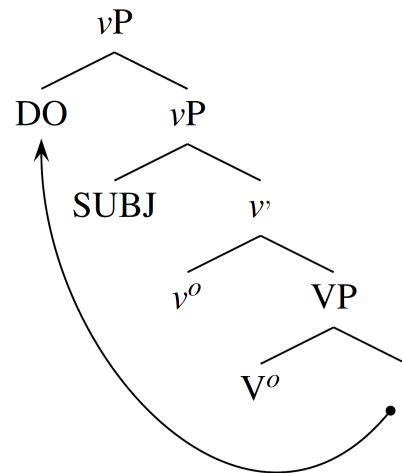
- Other dialects*



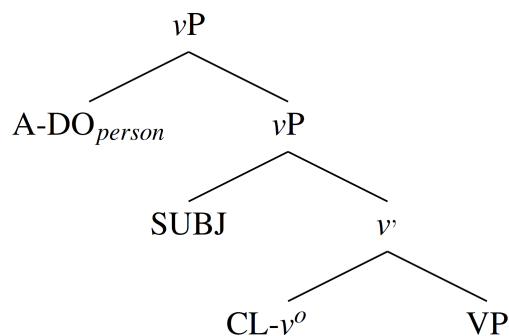
- (52) Juan (la) saludó a María. [CD]  
 Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC greet:PST.3.SG ACC María  
 'Juan greeted María.'

*4.2. Deriving the syntactic-LF effects of CD*

The syntactic effect of the presence of [person] features on pronouns or lexical DP objects is that they trigger A-movement to the *v*P edge.

(53) *A-movement**A'-movement*

Following Zdrojewski (2008), we assume that the clitic is inserted at PF under certain relevant conditions (of course, this is a simplification of the CL-insertion operation that we assume applies on the complex T head after head movement, in a similar way to *se*-insertion; see **Handout 1** for details):

(54) *CD at PF*

As already advanced, it seems that the relevant conditions for CD are:

**General conditions:**

Condition 1: Doubled objects do not participate in syntactic Agree relations.

Condition 2: Doubled objects (IOs or DOs) A-moves to the *vP* edge.

Let's focus only on Condition 2 alone now and its consequences. Absence of a doubling clitic correlates with the absence of A-movement to the  $\nu\text{P}$  edge. If movement to the  $\nu\text{P}$  edge occurs in the absence of a [person]-feature, then we will get an A'-dependency (cf. 53). This proposal provides a direct explanation of the absence of WCO effects in CD configurations (see also Baker 2012):

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

WCO configuration:

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

This configuration never arises, if there is A-movement to the  $\nu\text{P}$  edge, as in CD. This is why CD doesn't display WCO effects:

- (57) DP<sub>i</sub> ... pro<sub>i</sub> ...  $t_i$

Compare with the following well-known example of A-movement in English:

- (58) Who<sub>i</sub>  $t'_i$  seems to his<sub>i</sub> mother [ $t_i$  to be smart]? [Ishii 2006: 158]

Now, recall that WCO effects reappear if the possessive pronoun occurs in a clause higher than the one that contains the trace of the focalized object (Ishii 2006 for English):

- (59) a. \*? A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree su<sub>i</sub> profesor que [CD]  
 ACC Juan believe:PRS.3.SG POSS.3.SG professor that  
 lo<sub>i</sub> criticó María (no a Pedro).

- CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG María not ACC Pedro
- b. A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree María que lo<sub>i</sub> criticó [CD]  
 ACC Juan believe:PRS.3.SG María that CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG  
su<sub>i</sub> profesor (no a Pedro).  
 POSS.3.SG professor not ACC Pedro  
 ‘María believes that his professor criticized Juan.’

As observed by Ishii (2006), this puzzling fact follows if it is the case that only the first step of movement counts as a movement of the A-type.

- (60) a. ?\* A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>su<sub>i</sub></sub> profesor [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>que</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>lo<sub>i</sub></sub> criticó María t. (cf. 59a)
- 
- A'                  A'                  A'                  A
- b. A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>María</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>que</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>lo<sub>i</sub></sub> criticó su<sub>i</sub> profesor t. (cf. 59b)
- 
- A'                  A'                  A'                  A

The hypothesis that CD involves A-movement also explains the absence of pronominal binding in CD environments.

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

According to Lasnik (1999) traces of A-movement are not reconstruction sites. For this reason, the copy of the direct object in (61a) cannot be interpreted under the scope of the universal quantifier. In (61b), instead, reconstruction takes place

without difficulty, because it is a configuration of the A'-type, which commonly allows for reconstruction.

### 5. Accusative Clitic Doubling of indefinite DPs

Suñer (1988) was one of the first linguists, at least in the generative tradition, in noticing that in addition to definite DOs, indefinite DOs can also be clitic-doubled, if they bear an animate and specific interpretation.

- (62) Diariamente, la escuchaba a una mujer que  
 daily CL.3.F.SG.ACC listen:PST.3.SG ACC DET.INDEF woman that  
 cantaba tangos.  
 sing:PST.3.SG tangos  
 'Daily, she listened a woman that use to sing tangos.'

[Suñer 1988: 396]

Argentinean Spanish speakers seem to have very clear and consistent judgements with respect to CD with different types of animate definite DOs, but they don't have uniform judgments with respect to sentences like (62) (see Zdrojewski 2008 for a discussion of Suñer's 1988 observation). Notwithstanding this, it is not hard to find examples of accusative CD with indefinite objects in several internet corpora. In what follows, we present some examples with the indefinite determiner *un 'a'*, but it should be clear that the accusative clitic can double other kinds of indefinites (such as numeral and other types of indefinite quantifiers).

- (63) Así lo confirmó el comisario Sergio Soria,  
 in-this-way CL.3.SG.ACC confirm:PST.3.SG DET commissioner Sergio Soria  
 que dos personas encapuchadas el sábado en horas de la mañana  
 that two persons hooded.F.PL DET Saturday in hours of DET morning  
la asaltaron a una mujer sustrayéndole la  
 CL.3.F.SG.ACC assault:PST.3.PL ACC DET.INDEF woman steal:GER=CL.3.SG.DAT DET

cartera donde tenía dinero en efectivo y tarjetas de crédito.  
 bag where have:PST.3.SG money in cash and cards of credit  
 ‘In this way, the commissioner, Sergio Soria, confirmed that on Saturday morning, two hooded persons **assaulted a woman** by stealing her bag where she had cash and credit cards,’

<http://www.acontecercalchaqui.com.ar/tag/novedades/page/5/>

- (64) Sobre el final, el defensor de Juveniles, Esteban Barría, recibió  
 over DET end DET defender of Juveniles Esteban Barria recieve:PST.3SG  
 la doble amonestación y cuando iba al vestuario  
 DET double admonishment and when go:PST.3.SG to.DET locker-room  
**lo escupió a un rival**  
 CL.3.M.SGACC spit:PST.3.SG ACC DET.INDEF rival  
 ‘Over the end of the match, the defender of Juveniles, Esteban Barria, received the double admonishment and when he was goint to the locker room **he spitted the rival**’

<https://laquime.wordpress.com/2012/04/page/6/>

- (65) **La fajaron a una piba de 12** en el colegio.  
 CL.3.F.SG.ACC swathe:PST.3.PL ACC DET.INDEF girl of 12 in DET school  
 ‘They hit a girl of twelve years old in the school’  
<http://www.taringa.net/posts/noticias/18166855/La-fajaron-a-una-piba-de-12-en-el-colegio.html>

We agree with Suñer’s observation with respect to the specific reading of these indefinite objects. However, we must determine now how CD with indefinite DOs patterns regarding the diagnostics that let us tease apart CD from CLRD. Here we have some preliminary results.

**(A) Kayne's Generalización***Animate Objects*

- (66) a. Juan (\*los) vio tres estudiantes.

Juan CL.3.M.PL.ACC see:PST.3.SG three students

- b. Juan (los) vio a tres estudiantes.

Juan CL.3.M.PL.ACC see:PST.3.SG ACC three students

'Juan saw three students.'

*Inanimate Objects*

- (67) \* Lo reconstruyeron (a) un edificio que...

CL.3.M.SG.ACC reconstruct:PST.3.PL ACC DET.INDEF building that

'They reconstructed a building that ...'

**(B) Optional Doubling**

- (68) Juan (los) vio a tres vecinos míos.

Juan CL.3.M.SG.ACC see:PST.3.SG ACC three neighbors mine.M.PL

'Juan saw three neighbors of mine.'

**(C) Information Focus**

- (69) Q: Who did Juan see?

A: (?los) vio a tres vecinos míos.

CL.3.M.SG.ACC see:PST.3.SG ACC three neighbors mine.M.PL

'He saw three neighbors of mine.'

**(D) Contrastive Focus**

- (70) Juan (?la) saludó a una ESTUDIANTE,

Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC greet:PST.3.SG ACC DET.INDEF.F student.SG

no a una PROFESORA.

not ACC DET.INDEF.F professor.F.SG

'Juan greeted a STUDENT, not a PROFESSOR.'



**(E) Association with Focus**

(71) Juan (??los) vio solo a tres vecinos míos.

Juan CL.3.M.SG.ACC see:PST.3.SG only ACC three neighbors mine.M.PL

'Juan saw only three neighbors of mine.'

**(F) Ellipsis (gapping)**

(72) Juan (??lo) saludó a un estudiante y Pedro a

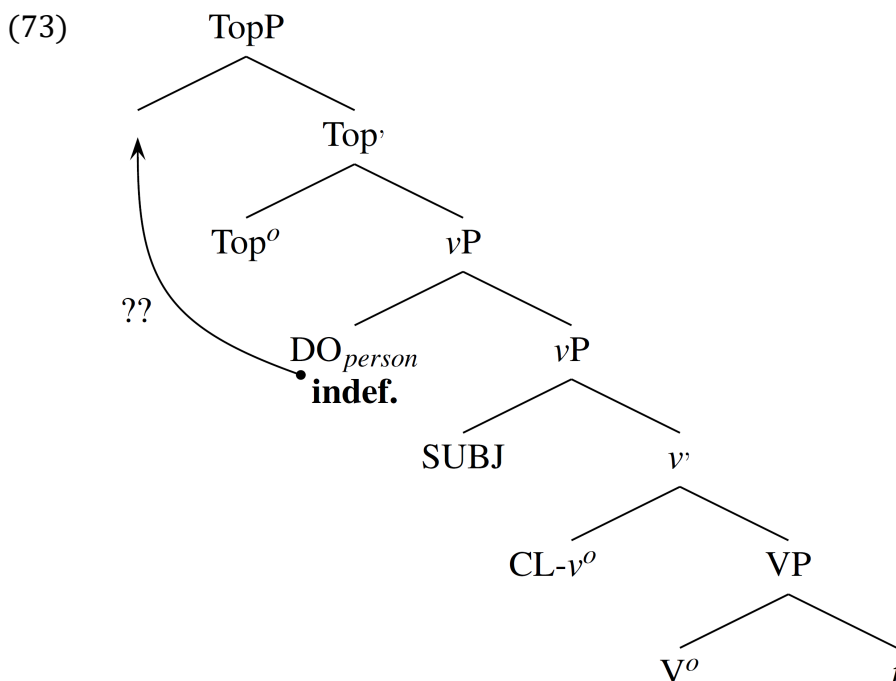
Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC greet:PST.3.SG ACC DET.INDEF student and Pedro ACC

un profesor.

DET.INDEF professor

'Juan greeted a student and Pedro a professor.'

**Conjecture:** Accusative Clitic Doubling of indefinite DPs in Argentinean Spanish behaves, essentially, like accusative Clitic Doubling of definite DPs. The results of focus test are subtle. It seems that specificity plays some fundamental role in this domain, but it is a topic for future research. In any case, if this is correct, accusative clitic doubling of indefinite and definite DPs is triggered by a [person]-feature of the DO. The fact that CD of indefinites present some deviant judgements can be attributed, at least preliminarily, to the *topical* nature of the construction. Maybe, in these cases, A-movement to Spec, $\nu$ P could be the first step for an additional A'-movement to a topic position of the 'middle field' of the sentence (Belletti 2009):



*Possible counterexamples?*

- (74) a. A un vecino, lo<sub>i</sub> denunció su<sub>i</sub> madre.  
 ACC DET.INDEF neighbor CL.3.M.SG.ACC report:PST.3.SG POSS.3.SG mother
- b. \* Su<sub>i</sub> madre (lo) denunció [a un vecino]<sub>i</sub>.  
 POSS.3.SG mother CL.3.M.SG.ACC report:PST.3.SG ACC DET.INDEF neighbor  
 'His mother reported a neighbor.'

Truly dislocated DOs in the left periphery of the sentence (but not in the middle field) allow for a bound variable reading of the clitic and, consequently, of the possessive pronoun. This is not the case in (74b). In principle, exploring the different positions that the DOs can occupy in each case can help to resolve this dilemma. Again, we will leave this topic for another occasion. At any rate, the analysis in (73) predicts that accusative clitic doubling of indefinite objects should also display cases of unagreement, as in the examples already seen in section 4 (cf. 49). This prediction is borne out.

- (75) a. Nos vieron a varios estudiantes en la marcha.  
 CL.1.PL.ACC see:PST.3.PL ACC many students in DET demonstration  
 ‘They saw many of us students in the demonstration.’
- b. Nos acusaron a tres profesores de extender  
 CL.1.PL.ACC accuse:PST.3.PL ACC three professors of extend:INF  
 el examen más de lo estipulado.  
 DET exam more of DET stipulated  
 ‘They accused us, three professors, of extending the exam beyond of what was stipulated.’
- c. Nos felicitaron a unos vecinos por mantener la  
 CL.1.PL.ACC congratulate:PST.3.PL ACC some neighbors for keep:INF DET  
 cuadra limpia.  
 street clean  
 ‘They congratulated us, some neighbors, for keeping the street clean.’

## 6. Dative Clitic Doubling

### 6.1. Description

The syntactic function Indirect Object is realized by the clitic pronouns *le/les* and a prepositional group headed by the preposition *a* ‘to’. The literature on datives in Spanish focuses on whether this marker *a* is a true preposition or a case marker, as the one that appears with DOs, in DOM environments.

- (76) a. Juan le entregó el libro.  
 Juan CL.3.SG.DAT hand:PST.3.SG DET book  
 ‘Juan handed her/him the book.’
- b. Juan (le) entregó el libro a María.  
 Juan CL.3.SG.DAT hand:PST.3.SG DET book DAT María  
 ‘Juan handed the book to María.’

Regarding dative clitic doubling, *Kayne's Generalization* (already discussed in the previous sections) applies in a trivial and uninteresting way, because the marker *a* is mandatory, whatever its nature turns out to be. As a consequence, there is no possible contrast that can be used in order to test the relevance of its presence or its absence in these cases of clitic doubling.

- (77) a. Juan le sacó la mancha a la alfombra.  
 Juan CL.3.SG.DAT take.out:PST.3.SG DET stain DAT DET carpet  
 'Juan cleaned the stain of the carpet.'
- b. \* Juan le sacó la mancha la alfombra.  
 Juan CL.3.SG.DAT take.out:PST.3.SG DET stain DET carpet  
 'Juan cleaned the stain of the carpet.'

In fact, in certain environments in which an IO and a DOM DO co-occur, some speaker allows for the dropping of the DOM marker that precedes DOs. Instead, in these same environments the case marker of IOs never drops. So, some speakers allow the configuration (78b), in order to avoid the anomalous/deviant configuration (78a). However, no speaker allows the configurations in (78c) or (78d) (cf. Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007).

- (78) a. \* Juan le recomendó a María<sub>DO</sub> a Pedro<sub>IO</sub>.  
 Juan CL.3.SG.DAT recommend:PST.3.SG ACC María DAT Pedro
- b. Juan le recomendó María<sub>DO</sub> a Pedro<sub>IO</sub>.  
 Juan CL.3.SG.DAT recommend:PST.3.SG María DAT Pedro
- c. \* Juan le recomendó a María<sub>DO</sub> Pedro<sub>IO</sub>  
 Juan CL.3.SG.DAT recommend:PST.3.SG ACC María Pedro
- d. \* Juan le recomendó Pedro<sub>IO</sub> a María<sub>DO</sub>.  
 Juan CL.3.SG.DAT recommend:PST.3.SG Pedro ACC María  
 'Juan recommended María to Pedro.'

Now, there is a process of grammaticalization of dative clitic doubling across Spanish dialects. In Argentinean Spanish, this process is extended in such a way that clitic doubling of IOs is almost mandatory in every context. Grammaticalization can be historically traced. For instance, in Medieval Spanish, the duplication of pronominal IO was not obligatory, even with IOs of psych verbs. Notice that these are contexts in which no modern Spanish dialect allows for the absence of the dative clitic.

- (79) a. que paguen a mí o qui yo ovier sabor  
 that pay:PRS.3.PL DAT me or who I have:FUT.SUBJ desire:INF  
 ‘that they pay me or to whom I want.’ (Poema del Mío Cid, verse 2504).
- b. A mí duele el corazón  
 DAT me hurt:PRS.3.SG DET heart  
 ‘My heart hurts.’ (Poema del Mío Cid, verse 3030).
- (80) a. \* Dieron el libro a mí.  
 give:PST.3.PL DET book DAT me  
 ‘They gave the book to me.’
- b. \* A Juan duelen tus palabras.  
 DAT Juan hurt:PRS.3.PL POSS.2.PL words  
 ‘Your words hurted Juan.’

However, in modern Spanish dialects, there is a wider variation with respect other kinds of prepositional constructions. For instance, some varieties don’t require dative clitic doubling with indefinite pronouns or nominal phrases. But in Argentinean Spanish, there is a strong tendency for obligatory dative clitic doubling with exactly those kinds of IOs. Compare, in this respect, the following examples:

- (81) a. Eso no interesa a nadie. [?\*Argentinean Spanish]  
 that not interest:PRS.3.SG DAT anybody  
 ‘That doesn’t interest anybody.’

- b. Eso no le interesa a nadie.  
that not CL.3.SG.DAT interest:PRS.3.SG DAT anybody  
'That doesn't interest anybody'
- c. No daba dinero a nadie. [?\*Argentinean Spanish]  
not give:PST.3.SG money DAT anybody  
'She didn't give money to anybody.'
- d. No le daba dinero a nadie.  
not CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG money DAT anybody  
'She didn't give money to anybody.'
- (82) a. Eso no interesa a Juana. [?\*Argentinean Spanish]  
that not interest:PRS.3.SG DAT Juana  
'That doesn't interest Juana'
- b. Eso no le interesa a Juana.  
that not CL.3.SG.DAT interest:PRS.3.SG DAT Juana  
'That doesn't interest Juana'
- c. No daba dinero a Juana. [?\*Argentinean Spanish]  
not give:PST.3.SG money DAT Juana  
'She didn't give money to Juana.'
- d. No le daba dinero a Juana.  
not CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG money DAT Juana  
'She didn't give money to Juana.'

The NGLE observes that “bare nominal groups are commonly constructed without doubling” (our translation) (83a). Notice, however, that this observation doesn't apply to Argentinean Spanish:

- (83) a. (\*Les) legó su fortuna a organizaciones de caridad.  
CL.3.PL.DAT bequeath:PST.3.SG POSS fortune DAT organizations of charity  
'She/he bequeathed her/his fortune to charity organizations.'
- b. Juan (les) dio las entradas a niños carenciados.

Juan CL.3.PL.DAT give:PST.3.SG DET tickets DAT kids poor  
 'Juan gave the tickets to poor kids.'

In the same sense, Ordóñez (1998), Fernández Soriano (1989) and Jaeggli (1982) agree in that dative clitic doubling is ungrammatical if the IO is generic. Again, it is possible to find a contrast between the dialects spoken by these authors (Catalonia, Madrid, Paraguay, respectively) and Argentinean Spanish. As can be seen in (84), in Argentinean Spanish, CD in this context is not just possible, it is the favored option.

- (84) a. No (\*les) des tus llaves a personas desconocidas.  
 not CL.3.PL.DAT give:PST.SUBJ.2.SG your keys DAT persons unknown  
 'Don't give your keys to people you don't know.'
- b. Luis no (\*les) envía cartas a niños indefensos.  
 Luis not CL.3.PL.DAT give:PST.3.SG letters DAT kids defenseless  
 'Luis doesn't send letters to defenseless kids.' [Ordóñez (1998): ej. 58]  
 (OK with CD in Argentinean Spanish)

The requirement on dative CD seems to be more related to the kind of predicate and the context in which it is used than to the properties of the IO. In this sense, absence of dative CD is frequently the favored option in written and formal discourse contexts.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> With respect to IOs of transference verbs, the NGLE claims: "It has been observed, however, that the absence of doubling in these constructions is more typical of the written language than of the oral one. In the conversational register of many Spanish-speaking countries, the absence doubling feels quite unnatural in sequences such as *Di la noticia a mi marido* [give:PST.1.SG DET news DAT my husband / 'I gave the news to my husband'] ( or *a mi esposo* [DAT my spouse, depending on the country) instead of *Le di la noticia a mi marido* [give:PST.1.SG DET news DAT my husband / 'I gave the news to my husband'], this is because the first alternative is commonly associated with a more formal level of language. The alternative without doubling is abundantly registered in the written language, specially in the literary language *Corrió a dar la noticia a su esposo* [run:PST.3.SG to give:INF DET news DAT her husband / 'She rush in order to give the news to her husband'] (Somers, *Retrato*). (p. 2679). [our translation]

As well as the duplication of accusative objects, CLLD of IOs forces the duplication in all of the Spanish varieties:

- (85) A los niños \*(les) entregaron los premios.  
 DAT DET kids CL.3.PL.DAT give:PST.3.PL DET awards  
 ‘They gave the awards to the kids.’

In sum, 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 Argentinean Spanish.

|    | Pronouns | Human, non-pronominal DPs | Indefinite DPs                         | Non-pronoinal DPs | Bear Nouns | Generics |
|----|----------|---------------------------|--|-------------------|------------|----------|
| DO | Yes      | Yes                       | ± (it depends on the specific reading) | No                | No         | No       |
| IO | Yes      | Yes                       | Yes                                    | Yes               | Yes        | Yes      |

*Distribution of Indirect Object clitic doubling in contrast with Direct Object Clitic Doubling*

## 6.2. Dative Clitic Doubling and A-movement

### (A) Clitic Doubling and Clitic Right Dislocation

Recall:

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

- (86) Juan le dio un libro a María.  
 Juan CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG a book DAT María  
 ‘Juan gave a book to María.’



*Information Focus*

(87) a. What happened?

[Juan le dio un libro a María]<sub>F</sub>

b. What did Juan do?

Juan [le dio un libro a María]<sub>F</sub>

c. Whom did Juan give a book?

Juan le dio un libro [a María]<sub>F</sub>

Juan CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG a book DAT María

(88) Q: What happened with María?

A: a. Juan le dio un libro.

Juan CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG a book

'Juan gave her a book.'

b. # Juan le dio un libro a María.

Juan CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG a book DAT María

'Juan gave a book to María.'

*Contrastive Focus*

(89) Juan le dio un libro A MARÍA, no A PEDRO.

Juan CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG a book DAT María, not DAT Pedro

'Juan gave a book to MARÍA, not to PEDRO.'

*Association with Focus*(90) Juan le dio un libro [a María]<sub>F</sub> *nomás*.

Juan CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG a book DAT María just

Reading 1: Juan gave a book *only* to María.Reading 2: Juan gave a book to María *finally*.*Elipsis (gapping)*

(91) Juan le dio el libro a María y Pedro a Ana.

Juan CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG DET book DAT María and Pedro DAT Ana

'Juan gave a book to María and Pedro to Ana.'

These tests show that these examples display the pattern that we have already seen with accusative clitic doubling. In other words, in all of these examples, the co-occurrence of a clitic and a full NP are instances of Clitic Doubling, and not cases of Clitic Right Dislocation.

Dative CD can be also distinguished from CLLD of IOs. As observed, CLLD is licensed in all Spanish dialects, regardless the kind of predicate or the kind of NP involved. Let's compare, in this sense, the following sentences:

(92) a. A MARÍA le di el libro.

DAT María CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.1.SG DET book

'I gave the book to MARÍA.'

b. A María, le di el libro ayer.

DAT María CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.1.SG DET book yesterday

'María, I gave her a book yesterday.'

*Subject Inversion*

(93) a. A MARÍA (??Juan) le dio (Juan) el libro (Juan).

DAT María Juan CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG Juan DET book Juan

'Juan gave the book to MARÍA.'

b. A María, (Juan) le dio (Juan) el libro (Juan).

DAT María Juan CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG Juan DET book Juan

'María, Juan gave her the book.'

The relevant question is, then, if Dative CD implies that the IO A-moves, as we have already claimed with respect to Accusative CD.

*Weak Crossover Effect (WCO)*

(94) a. ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> le entregó la nota su<sub>i</sub> profesor?

DAT who CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG DET grade POSS professor

'Who did her/his professor give the grade to?'

- b. A MARÍA<sub>i</sub> le entregó la nota su<sub>i</sub> profesor (no a Ana).  
 DAT María CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG DET grade POSS professor not DAT Ana  
 ‘Her professor gave the grade to MARÍA, not to ANA.’

- (95) a. \*? ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> cree su<sub>i</sub> madre que le entregó  
 DAT who believe:PRS.3.SG POSS mother that CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG  
 el libro Juan?  
 DET book Juan

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

- b. ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> cree Juan que su<sub>i</sub> madre le  
 DAT who believe:PRS.3.SG Juan that POSS mother CL.3.SG.DAT  
 entregó el libro?  
 give:PST.3.SG DET book

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

- (96) a. \*? A MARÍA<sub>i</sub> cree su<sub>i</sub> madre que le entregó  
 DAT María believe:PRS.3.SG POSS mother that CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG  
 el libro Juan.  
 DET book Juan

‘Her mother believes that Juan gave the book to MARÍA.’

- b. A MARÍA<sub>i</sub> cree Juan que su<sub>i</sub> madre le  
 DAT María believe:PRS.3.SG Juan that poss mother CL.3.SG.DAT  
 entregó el libro.  
 give:PST.3.SG DET book

‘Juan believes that her mother gave the book to MARÍA.’

It is worth noticing that the absence of a doubling clitic in the syntactic environments in (94)-(96) are ungrammatical, even for the speakers that allows for optional dative clitic doubling. This is shown below:

- (97) a. \* ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> entregó el libro su<sub>i</sub> madre?

DAT who give:PST.3.SG DET book POSS mother

'Whom did her/his mother give the book?'

b. \* ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> cree Juan que su<sub>i</sub> madre entregó el libro?

DAT who believe:PRS.3.SG Juan that POSS mother give:PST.3.SG DET book

'Whom did Juan believe that her/his mother give the book?'

Again, this entire set of contrasts confirms that clitic-doubled objects behave like D-Linked *Wh*-phrases in English.

*Absence of reconstruction effects*

(98) a. \* A su<sub>i</sub> ALUMNO le entregó el examen cada profesor<sub>i</sub>.

DAT POSS student CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG DET exam each professor

b. A su<sub>i</sub> ALUMNO entregó el examen cada profesor<sub>i</sub>.

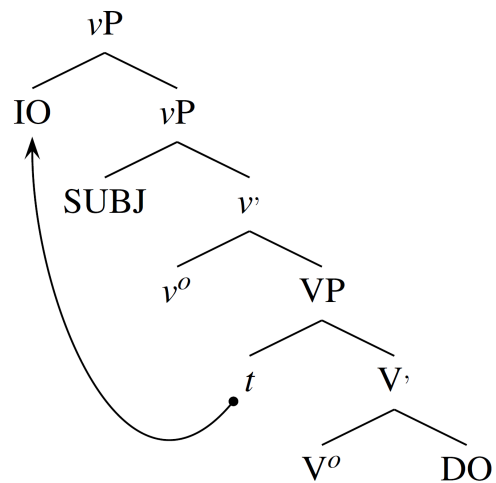
DAT POSS student give:PST.3.SG DET exam each professor

'Each professor gave the exam to her student.'

(only for those speaker that accept non-doubled structures)

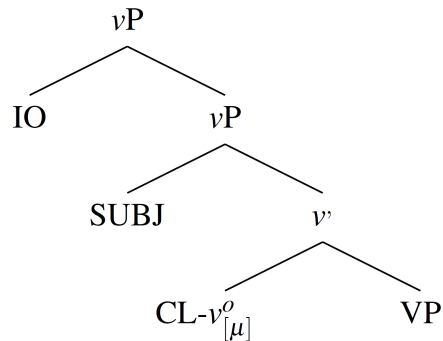
In sum, the data just presented show that IOs A-move, and this movement triggers clitic doubling. Now, given that the duplication of the IO is generalized (or it is in a process of generalizing) to every kind of IO, it is hard think that it is a particular feature of the object that triggers A-movement.

**Conjecture:** A-movement of IOs to the edge of the  $\nu\text{P}$  phase is triggered by a feature of  $\nu^\circ$ .

(99) Obligatory A-movement of IOs <sup>27</sup>

In this syntactic configuration, a dative clitic is inserted at PF (simplified as before):

## (100) Dative Clitic Doubling at PF



We already know what the relevant conditions are:

**General conditions:**

**Condition 1:** Doubled objects do not participate in syntactic Agree relations.

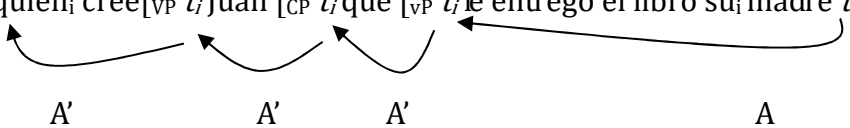
**Condition 2:** Doubled objects (IOs or DOs) A-moves to the  $vP$  edge.

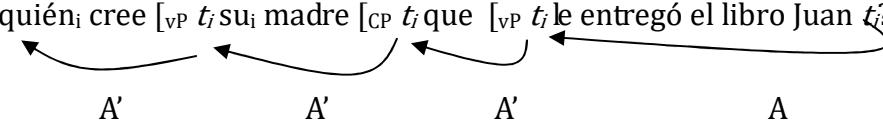
<sup>27</sup> For the reasons discussed in **Handout 1**, section 5.2., we don't want that the trigger of such a movement might be a category feature. For this reason, we call the attractor  $\mu$ , meaning some morphological property that we have still to discover.

The contrasts in (93)-(95) are explained easily if Dative Clitic Doubling involves A-movement. Then, the presence or the absence of WCO effects depends on the position of the possessive pronoun –i.e., the matrix or the embedded clause.

- (101) a. \*? ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> cree su<sub>i</sub> madre que le entregó el libro Juan?  
 DAT who believe:PRS.3.SG POSS mother that CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG DET book Juan  
 ‘Whom did her/his mother believe that Juan gave the book?’
- b. ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> cree Juan que le entregó el libro su<sub>i</sub> madre?  
 DAT who believe:PRS.3.SG Juan that CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG DET book POSS mother  
 ‘Whom did Juan believe that his mother gave the book?’
- (102) a. \*? A MARÍA<sub>i</sub> cree su<sub>i</sub> madre que le entregó el libro Juan.  
 DAT María believe:PRS.3.SG POSS mother that CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG DET book Juan  
 ‘Her mother believes that Juan gave the book to MARÍA.’
- b. A MARÍA<sub>i</sub> cree Juan que le entregó el libro su<sub>i</sub> madre.  
 DAT María believe:PRS.3.SG Juan that CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG DET book poss mother  
 ‘Juan believes that her mother gave the book to MARÍA.’

Grammatical examples in (101) and (102) are explained if the first movement of the IO counts as A-movement:

(103) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> cree<sub>[VP t<sub>j</sub> Juan</sub> [CP t<sub>j</sub> que [VP t<sub>j</sub> le entregó el libro su<sub>i</sub> madre t<sub>j</sub>?  


(104) \* ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> cree [VP t<sub>j</sub> su<sub>i</sub> madre [CP t<sub>j</sub> que [VP t<sub>j</sub> le entregó el libro Juan t<sub>j</sub>?  


### 7. A restriction on A-movement: No Double Doubling

With the exception of Ormazabal & Romero (2007, 2013), the literature on the topic has paid little attention to the interaction between Accusative Clitic Doubling and Dative Clitic Doubling. The contrast in (105) shows that double doubling is banned.

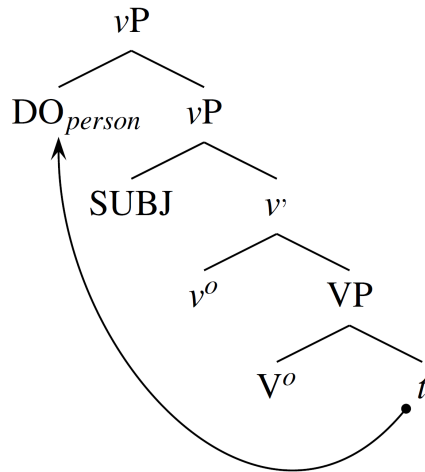
- (105) a. Ayer le presenté (a) María a Juan.  
 yesterday CL.3.SG.DAT introduce:PST.3.SG ACC María DAT Juan.  
 'Yesterday, I introduced María to Juan.'
- b. \* Ayer se=la presenté (a) María  
 yesterday CL.3.SG.DAT= CL.3.F.SG.ACC introduce:PST.3.SG ACC María  
 a Juan.  
 DAT Juan.  
 'Yesterday, I introduced María to Juan.'

As we will see in a moment, the ungrammatical judgement of (105b) is not associated with a distinctiveness effect (Richards 2010). Before providing reasons for this, let's make a proposal explicit:

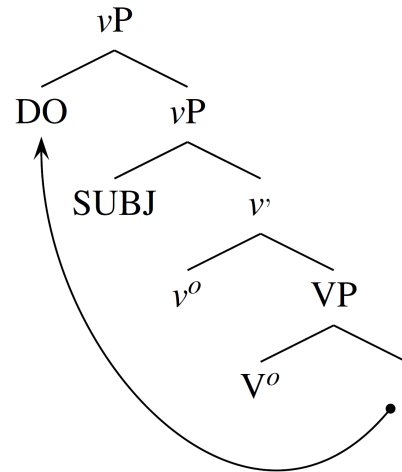
**Proposal:** Ban of double doubling follows from the fact that A-movement of DOs and IOs is in complementary distribution. I.e., they are in competition for exactly the same position at the  $\nu P$  edge.

Let's recall the analysis of accusative and dative clitic doubling. We have seen that DOs can move to the  $\nu P$  edge. If that movement is triggered by a [person]-feature on the DO as in (53a), then it counts as A-movement and triggers doubling at PF. However, if the movement is not associated with a [person]-feature, then it counts as A'-movement, so the copy of the clitic is not triggered (53b).

(53) *A-movement*

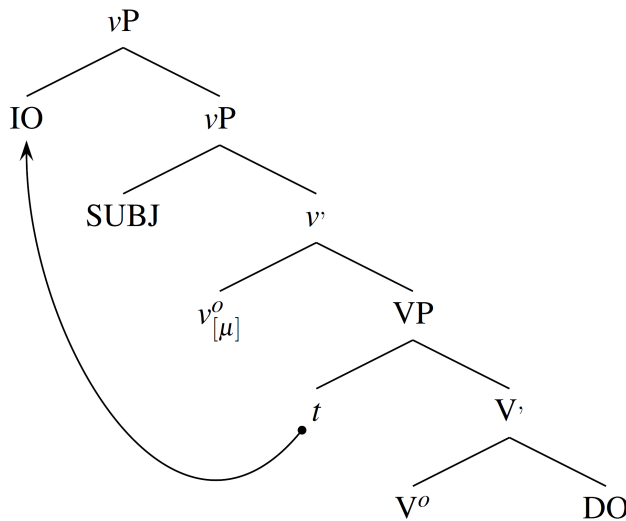


*A'-movement*



Unlike accusative clitic doubling, in which the A-movement of the DO to the  $\nu P$  edge is triggered by features on the object, A-movement of IOs to the  $\nu P$  edge is triggered by a feature on  $\nu$  (called  $\mu$ ):

(106) Obligatory A-movement of the IO





The interaction between these movements directly explains the impossibility of double doubling in the same configuration, as we seen in (105b). Let's see the problem step by step:

- (106) b. \* Ayer se=la presenté a María  
 yesterday CL.3.SG.DAT= CL.3.F.SG.ACC introduce:PST.3.SG ACC María  
 a Juan.  
 DAT Juan.  
 'Yesterday, I introduced María to Juan.'

As a starting point, let's assume the configuration in (107a) in which the DO encodes a person feature. Under this situation, the DO cannot move to the  $\nu\mathcal{P}$  edge before the IO, because the IO is the nearest candidate that can satisfy the  $\phi$ -dependency that  $\nu$  requires (107b). Given this configuration, the only possible alternative is the structure in (107c). If the movement of the DO takes place after the movement of the IO, it only can count as an A'-movement. Then, it can never produce a double clitic doubling pattern.<sup>28</sup>

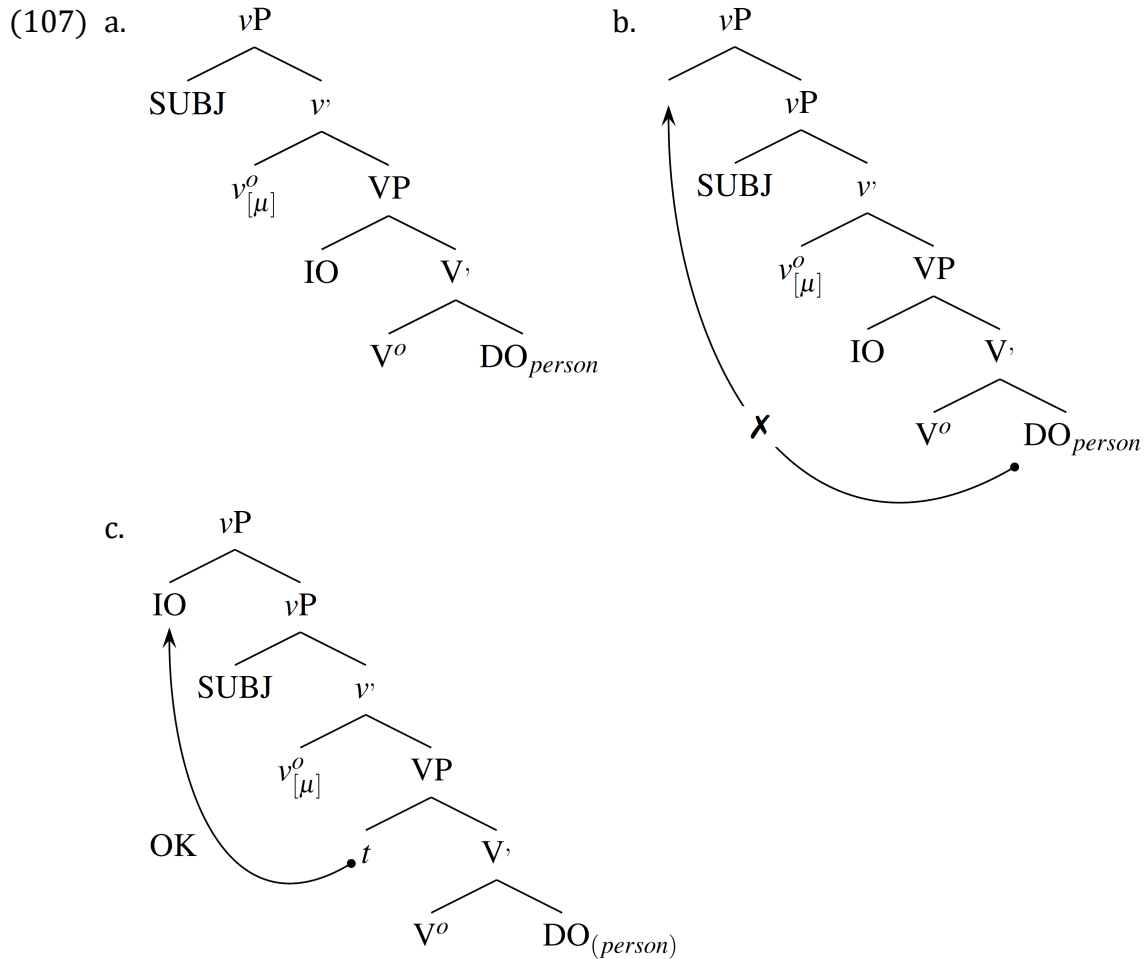
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<sup>28</sup> In a sense, double doubling could be related to some version of the *Strong Person Case Constraint* (see Bonet 1991 for a first formulation). Consider, for instance, the recent formulation in Kalin & van Urk (2015):

- (i) **Strong PCC**: For two arguments in a domain X, the lower argument has to be 3rd person.  
 (Kalin & van Urk 2015: 677)

Stated in this way, Strong PCC does not rule out double doubling since that the configuration in (107a) could legitimately contain a 3<sup>rd</sup> person object. But we can reformulate it in order to obtain the desired result:

- (ii) **Strong PCC (alternative version)**: For two arguments in a domain X, the lower argument cannot have person features.



Notice, finally, that this analysis makes an important prediction with regard to the interaction between duplicated objects.

**Prediction:** In ditransitive configurations, the DO can appear duplicated by a clitic, only if it is dislocated. In other words, the dependency involved in the duplication must be uniformly of the A'-type.

---

Now, only (107c) complies with (ii), as desired. Notice, however, that, formulated in this way, Strong PCC only describes the facts but does not motivate them. Our analysis could be seen then as a plausible explanation of (ii), but of course this requires further investigations.

This prediction is empirically confirmed by the following data. First, Left dislocation of IO with accusative doubling is strongly ungrammatical.

- (108) a. \* A Juan, ayer se=la recomendé  
 DAT Juan yesterday CL.3.SG.DAT=CL.3.F.SG.ACC recommend:PST.1.SG  
 a María.  
 ACC María
- b. A Juan, ayer le recomendé a María.  
 DAT Juan yesterday CL.3.SG.DAT recommend:PST.1.SG ACC María  
 ‘Yesterday, I recommended María to Juan.’

The sentence in (108a) is ungrammatical for the reasons mentioned before. The IO is subject to an obligatory A-movement to the  $\nu$ P edge, then the DO cannot be clitic-doubled, because it cannot A-move to the  $\nu$ P in that context. The grammatical alternative is (108b). Crucially, this allows us to reject an alternative analysis in terms of distinctiveness (Richards 2010), since in (108a) both objects are in different phases.

Consider now (109), where the left dislocated argument is the DO not the IO. Interestingly, the result is perfectly grammatical:

- (109) A María, ayer se=la recomendé a Juan.  
 ACC María yesterday CL.3.SG.DAT=CL.3.F.SG.ACC recommend:PST.1.SG DAT Juan  
 ‘Yesterday, I recommended María to Juan.’

This is so, because the DO *María* is clitic left dislocated and the IO is clitic-doubled. In other words, there is no A-movement involved in the duplication of the DO, but there is an instance of A-movement associated with the doubling of the IO.

Before concluding, we point out that double doubling cannot be ruled out in terms of some version of an animacy restriction (Ormazabal & Romero 2007). Contrasts like those in (110) allow us to reject alternative analyses along these lines:

- (110) a. \*A instituciones prestigiosas, solo se lo  
 to instituciones prestigiosas only CL.DAT.3 CC.ACC.M.3SG  
 recomiendo a Juan.  
 recommend.1sg to J.
- b. \*A instituciones prestigiosas, solo les recomiendo  
 to instituciones prestigiosas only CL.DAT.3PL recommend.1sg  
 a Juan.  
 to J.  
 ‘I recommend only J. to prestigious institutions’

## 8. Conclusion

The topics discussed in this class had the purpose of exploring in depth the pronominal duplication phenomena in Argentinean Spanish, with special attention in accusative and dative clitic doubling, which are two duplication phenomena particularly characteristic of this Spanish variety. We have presented a series of novel diagnostic tools that let us characterize clitic doubling phenomena and tease it apart from other kinds of duplications, such as CLLD and CLRD. We conclude that clitic doubling is phenomenon substantially different from dislocations. Concretely, both accusative and dative clitic doubling should be understood as the byproduct of how the A-system works in Spanish. This system determines Case and Agreement relations and also particular instances of movement. CD is then the result of A-movement to the  $\nu$ P edge.

The interaction between clitic doubling of IOs and clitic doubling of DOs reveals a restriction on A-movement. Concretely, we showed that, in ditransitive

configurations, double doubling is not allowed. This follows without any stipulation from our general proposal.

We would like to conclude wondering how *dramatic* the clitic doubling system in Río de La Plata Spanish is, in the sense discussed by Kayne (2005).

It has occasionally been thought that the term “parameter” itself should only be used when there is such a notable or “dramatic” range of effects. I will not, however, pursue that way of thinking here. In part that is because what seems dramatic depends on expectations that may themselves be somewhat arbitrary.”

[Kayne 2005: 278-279]

Tentatively, we can propose the hypothesis that the change is *dramatic* in the sense that the presence or absence of a formal feature in DOs or in *v* erodes the syntax of transitivity in Spanish in a series of morphological, semantic and pragmatic properties.

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