From free pronouns to probes
A theory for a subset of Spanish clitics

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1. Introduction

As is well-known, one of the most prominent charecteristics of Argentinean is the doubling of full nominal phrases (Jaeggli 1986, Suñer 1988, Zdrojewski 2008, Di Tullio & Zdrojewski 2006, a.o). Consider, in this respect, the contrast between (1) and (2) regarding the doubling of full definite and animate DPs:

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

(3) 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]

In contrast, Rioplatense dative clitic doubling affects the full range of IOs. The most extreme case is 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 les   des   tus   llaves a   personas desconocidas.
       not CL.3.PL.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]

2

Main goal: To make sense of the conditions that license clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish.

Two Theses:

***Thesis 1 (or the synchronic thesis)*:** Doubled objects (IOs or DOs) A-move above VoiceP. Such movement is triggered by the clitic itself, which serves as a probe for A-movement.

***Thesis 2 (or the diachronic conjecture)*:** Doubled clitics were borne as free pronouns. The observed pattern is the result of the erosion of the referential properties of those pronouns.

Today, I will discuss Thesis 1 at large. As we will see, the evidence points out to an analysis of doubling in terms of A-movement to exactly the same position for both types of objects. Moreover, data coming from patterns of agreement, focus and topic movement, WCO, reconstruction and ellipsis point to two robust conclusions:

(C1)   CD involves a step of A-movement of the doubled nominal crossing the base position of subjects.

(C2)   CD cannot be reduced to other clitic duplication phenomena; in particular, clitic left dislocation (CLLD).

As for thesis 2 it has more the form of a conjecture, but I will argue that the type of doublings I will concerned with during this talk comes from constructions involving clitics as a free (or bound) pronouns. Doubling clitics arise whenever those pronouns have lost their referential properties. If this conjecture turns out to be correct, we can make sense of the emergence of the so-called EPP-property. In the terms to be defended here, EPP are mere indexes (LF abstractors) coming from full referential pronouns.

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Section 2: Accusative CD and A-movement

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Section 4: A natural extension: dative CD

Section 5 (if time allows it): A restriction on A-movement: No double doubling

Section 6: Final remarks: The Diachronic Conjecture

2. Accusative CD and A-movement

In this section, I present evidence in favor of Thesis 1:

Thesis 1 (or the synchronic thesis): Doubled objects (IOs or DOs) A-move above VoiceP. Such movement is triggered by the clitic itself, which serves as a probe for A-movement.

To this end, I will make use of a particular type of construction involving focus fronting plus CD (see Di Tullio & Zdrojewski 2006, Saab & Zdrojewski 2012 and Di Tullio *et al* 2019):

(5) A   MARÍA (la)   critiqué.   [CD]
     ACC María   CL.3.F.SG.ACC criticize:PST.1.SG
     'I criticized MARÍA.'

And I will compare this kind of structures with the more familiar CLLD constructions (Cinque 1990):

(6) A   María, la   critiqué   ayer.   [CLLD]
     ACC María CL.3.F.SG.ACC   criticize:PST.1.SG yesterday
     'Mary, I criticized her yesterday.'

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.

2.1. Basic facts: Kayne's Generalization

Obligatory Subject Inversion →

(7) 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 →

(8) 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 →

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)]

(9) 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.'

(10) 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.'

2.2. Rethinking Hurtado's Observation: Weak Crossover effects (WCO)

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

(11)   a. [A   algunos   candidatos]$_i$, creo   que   su$_i$ edad

DOM   some   candidates   believe.I   that   his   age

los$_i$ perjudica.

CL.MASC.3PL.AC   hinders

[CLLD, Hurtado 1984: 224]

b.   Su$_i$ cómplice   ??(lo$_i$)   acusó   a   JUAN$_i$.

his   accomplice   CL.MASC.3PL.AC   accused   DOM   Juan

[CD, Hurtado 1984: 126-127]

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

Hurtado's Observation (HO): Predication clitic chains escape crossover effects.

[Hurtado 1984: 125]

A predicate clitic chain is formed when a sentence is opened by a clitic (and its associated empty positions) and the dislocated element serves as the "subject" of such an open sentence:

(12) Predication clitic chain: $(_{XP})_i (… \text{clitic}_i … e_i …)$

As extensively argued by Hurtado, it has to be the case that in all the relevant cases of WCO obviation (in clitic structures) **the nominal associated with the clitic is in a particular A-bar position**, which he calls "external non-argumental position", probably a type of base-generated, peripheral position. The direct consequence of this approach is that all CD sentences like those in (11b) must have the doubled nominal in the same A-bar position as dislocated topics.

In this section, I argue that **(i)** HO is only partially correct, *i.e.*, there are cases in which a predicate clitic chain cannot obviate WCO, and that, on the basis of this, **(ii)** the doubled nominal of a CD sentence and the dislocated topic of a CLLD construction cannot be conceived of in the same way, specifically: **whereas CD triggers A-movement to the doubled nominal, CLLD corresponds to an uniform A-bar chain.**

As for (i), Di Tullio *et al* (2019) have shown that the position of the possessive is crucial for distinguishing CD from CLLD. Whereas CLLD always repairs WCO, regardless of the position of the possessive, in CD WCO is repaired only when the possessive inside the subject is in the same embedded clause as the clitic.

(13) a. A   Juan$_i$, <u>su$_i$ profesor</u> cree   que   [CLLD]

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

       lo$_i$ criticó   María.

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

       'His professor thinks that María criticized Juan.'

    b. A   Juan$_i$, María cree   que   [CLLD]

       ACC   Juan   María think:PRS.3.SG that

       lo$_i$ criticó   <u>su$_i$ profesor</u>.

       CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG   POSS.3.SG   professor

       'María thinks that his professor criticized Juan.'

(14) a. *? A   JUAN$_i$ cree   <u>su$_i$ profesor</u> que   [CD]

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

        lo$_i$ criticó   María (no a   Pedro).

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

    b. A   JUAN$_i$ cree   María que lo$_i$ criticó   [CD]

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

       <u>su$_i$ profesor</u>   (no a   Pedro).

       POSS.3.SG   professor   not ACC   Pedro

       'María thinks that his professor criticized Juan.'

Therefore, HO cannot capture the ungrammaticality of (14a). In the next section, I will argue that the problem vanishes once we assume that **CD cliticis are probes for A-movement**. For the time being, note that CD focalization behaves as D-linked *wh*-phrases in English (Mahajan 1991, and Ishii 2006):

(15) a.   Which student$_i$ do you think [that his$_i$ teacher scolded t_i in yesterday's geology class]?

    b. *? Which student$_i$ does his$_i$ teacher think [that Mary scolded t_i 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.

(16) a. *? Who$_i$ do you think [that his$_i$ teacher scolded t_i in yesterday's geology class]?

　　 b. *? Who$_i$ does his$_i$ teacher think [that Mary scolded t_i in yesterday's geology class]?　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Ishii 2006: 158]

(17) a. ?* A　JUAN$_i$ cree　　　　　　su$_i$　　　profesor　que criticó　　　　t_i
　　　　　　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$_i$ cree　　　　　　María que criticó　　　　t_i
　　　　　　ACC Juan　believe:PRS.3.SG María that criticize:PST.3.SG
　　　　　　su$_i$　　　profesor　(no　a　Pedro).
　　　　　　POSS.3.SG professor　(not ACC Pedro)
　　　　　　'María believes that his professor criticized Juan, (not Pedro).'

2.3. Absence of reconstruction effects

Furthemore, there are differences between focus movement with and without CD with respect to the possibilities of pronominal binding by a quantifier:

(18) a. * A　su　　　HIJO$_i$ lo　　　　castigó　　　　cada padre$_i$.　[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$_i$ castigó　　　　cada padre$_i$.
　　　　　　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:

(19) * A   su   hijo$_i$, lo   castigó   cada padre$_i$.   [CLLD]
       ACC POSS.3.SG son   CL.3M.SG.ACC punish:PST.3.SG each father
       'Each father punished his son.'

In addition, although data are subtler, it is much easier to suspend Principle-C effects under focus movement and CD, as shown in the following minimal pair:

(20)   a.   *A   ese   compañero de   EDU$_i$ me   dijiste   que
              DOM   that   fellow   of   Edu   me   told2SG   that
              ÉL$_l$ detesta <   a   ese   compañero de   Edu$_i$>
              he   hates   DOM   that   fellow   of   Edu.
        b.   ?A   ese   compañero de   EDU$_i$ me   dijiste   que
              DOM   that   fellow   of   Edu   me   told2SG   that
              ÉL$_l$ lo   detesta.
              he   CL.MASC.3SG.ACC   hates
              'You told me that he hates that EDU's fellow.'

In this respect, CLLD behaves as CD:

(21)   a.   A   ese   compañero de   Edu$_i$ me   dijiste   que
              DOM   that   fellow   of   Edu   me   told.2SG   that
              ÉL$_l$ lo   detesta.
              he   CL.MASC.3SG.ACC   hates

2.4. EPP-suspension under ellipsis

As is well-known, Merchant (2001) has presented compelling evidence in favor of the idea that derived position in English are EPP-driven. Let us explain the idea with some detail:

(22) a. *Which Marx brother did she say that [a biography of __], she refused to read.

b. *Which Marx brother did she say that [a biography of __] {is going to be published/will appear} this year?

c. *Which Marx brother did she say that [a biographer of __] {interviewed her / worked for her}?

[Merchant 2001]

(23) a.   A: A biography of one of the Marx brothers, she refused to read.
               B: Which one?

b. A biography of one of the Marx brothers {is going to be published / will appear} this year? ---- Guess which!

c. A biographer of one of the Marx brothers {interviewed her / worked for her}, but I don't remember which.   [Merchant 2001]

Merchant's analysis: **extraction takes place from postverbal positions, which, as is well-known, cancel island effects**:

(24) A: A biography of one of the Marx Brothers, she refused to read.

a. B: Which one ~~[she refused to read a biography of t]~~

b. B: *Which one ~~[a biography of t, she refused to read]~~

[Merchant 2001]

This is allowed **only if the EPP requirement on T is canceled under ellipsis**, which, on some assumptions, amounts to saying that the EPP is a PF requirement (see van Craenonbroeck and den Dikken (2006) for further evidence).

(25)   ...which [~~IP — is going to be published [a biography of t]~~]

[Merchant 2001]

In this section, I discuss some previous evidence presented in Saab & Zdrojewski (2012) regarding the behavior of CD under ellipsis. They first note that only the doubled version of a focus fronting configuration improves extraction from some islands. One case is the sentential subject condition:

(26)   a. *   A   MARÍA   creo   que [desaprobar t]
                  ACC   María   believe:PRS;1SG   that fail:INF
                  va   a   causar   un   escándalo.
                  go:PRS;3SG   to   cause:INF   DET   scandal
           b.   A   MARÍA   creo   que [desaprobar=la]
                  ACC   María   believe:PRS;1SG   that fail:INF=her;acc
                  va   a   causar   un   escándalo.
                  go:PRS;3SG   to cause:INF   DET   scandal
                  'I believe that failing MARÍA is going to cause a scandal.'

Secondly, they also observe that this repair effect vanishes in contexts of ellipsis, specifically, with fragment answers, a kind of TP-ellipsis construction according to Merchant (2004) and much subsequent work. In this respect, see the response in (27B):

(27)   A: ¿Creés   que   [desaprobar=(la) a   MARÍA]
                  believe:PRS;2;SG   that   fail:inf=(her;ACC) ACC María
                  va   a   causar   un   escándalo?

go:PRS;3SG   to cause:INF   DET   scandal

'Do you believe that failing María is going to cause a scandal?'

B: * No,   a   ANA.

no   ACC   Ana

Whatever the right explanation of why this type of reasumption improves island effects, the Spanish facts make sense if CD is an EPP-related phenomenon, which, like in English, is suspended under ellipsis.

Related to this, one additional prediction involves Weak Cross Over effects (WCO). Recall first that CLLD does not trigger WCO, but regular focus movement does, unless CD applies:

(28)   A   María$_i$, su$_i$ padre la$_i$ criticó.
           ACC   María   POSS;3SG   father her;ACC   criticize:PST;3SG
           'María, her father criticized her.'

(29)   A   MARÍA$_i$??(la)   criticó   su$_i$ padre.
           ACC   María   her   criticize:PST;3SG   POSS;3SG   father
               'Her father criticized MARÍA.'

Saab & Zdrojewski show that the absence of WCO effects in (28) and (29) has different behaviors under ellipsis. WCO amelioration in CLLD also shows up when the TP is elided:

(30)   A   María$_j$ su$_j$ padre la$_j$
           ACC María POSS;3SG   father her;ACC
           criticó   y   a   Ana$_i$ también   ~~su$_i$~~
           criticize:PST;3SG   and   ACC   Ana   also   POSS;3SG
           ~~padre~~   ~~la$_i$~~   ~~criticó~~.
           father   her;ACC   criticize:PST;3SG

'María, her father criticized her and Ana too, her father criticized her.'

In contradistinction, WCO effects reappear under ellipsis in CD contexts. To see this, consider a fragment answer like the one in (31B), in which there is no sloppy reading available. This follows if the underlying structure of the elliptical site is not a doubling structure, as indicated in (31B).

(31) A: ¿Su_i   madre la_i   ama   a
            POSS;3SG   mother her;ACC love:PRS;3SG   ACC
            MARÍA_i?
            María
            'Does her mother love MARÍA?'
      B: * No, a   ANA_i ~~ama~~   ~~su_i~~   ~~madre~~
            not ACC Ana love:PRS;3SG   POSS;3SG   mother
                #'No, her*i* mother loves ANA*i*.'

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

(32) A: ¿Su_i   madre la_i   ama   a   MARÍA_i?
            POSS;3SG   mother her;ACC love:PRS;3SG   ACC   María
            'Does her mother love MARÍA?'
      B: No,   a   ANA_i la_i   ama   su_i   madre.
            not   ACC   Ana   her;ACC   love:PRS;3SG   POSS;3SG   mother
            'No, her mother loves ANA.'

Saab and Zdrojewski leave this particular behavior of WCO effects under ellipsis unresolved. This is so because on their theory, CD is a purely PF phenomenon, which makes the WCO effects particularly hard to handle. They suggest, however, that these facts could be an indication of different syntactic derivations for CD and non-CD constructions. On my theory, this difference follows from the fact that doubled object

A-moves to some position above the subject (see also Di Tullio *et al* 2019). If A-movement is EPP-driven, then we expect EPP-suspension whenever the head containing the EPP feature is elided. **Since no A-movement occurs in the E-site in (31B), the remerging of WCO effects is predicted.**

2.5. Interim Summary

	(Focus+)CD	Focus	CLLD
Associated DP is part of the focus set	Yes	Yes	No
Agreement dependecy	Yes	No	Yes
Obligatory subject inversion	Yes	Yes	No
DOM dependent	Yes	No	No
Reconstructs	No	Yes	No
WCO effects	No	Yes	No
Suspended under ellipsis	Yes	--	No

3. Implementing *Thesis 1*

3.1. CD Clitics as abstractors over individuals

I will adopt the main idea behind my previous account of *se* constructions, according to which certain clitics became formal probes through a process of diachronic impoverishment (see Saab 2020):

(33) $D^{min/max}$: [$u\phi$: unvalued, EPP]

CD clitics contrast with full nominals, which bear interpretable ϕ, a θ-role, and a more extended functional structure:

(34) K^{max}: [$i\phi$: valued, Case: unvalued, θ]

The relation between clitics that have the content in (33) and doubled full nominals in (34) is that of a *Probe-Goal* dependecy

(35)   CLP   *A-movement + Syntactic Agree*

K^{max} CL

[$i\phi$: valued, Case: **valued, θ**]

CL   VoiceP

[$u\phi$: **valued**, <EPP>]

…<K^{max}>…
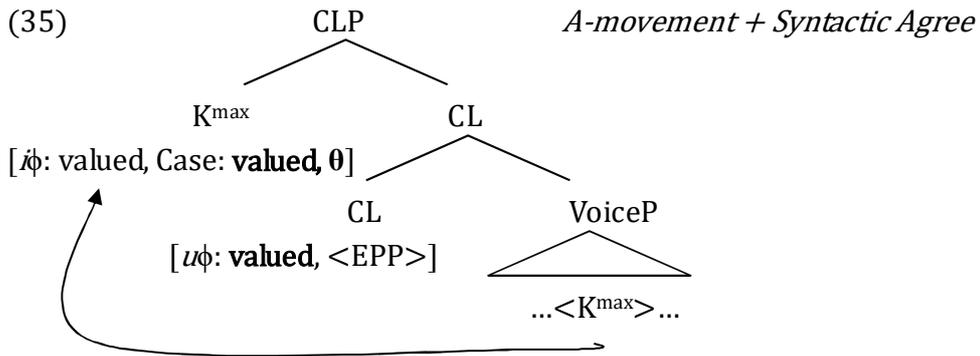
At LF, clitics are read off as mere indexes, whose referential value was obtained through syntactic *Agree* in the syntax. Then, the object that LF receives feeds predicate abstraction over an individual variable:

(36)   **Predicate abstraction:** Let α be a branching node with daughters β and γ, where β dominates only a numeric index i. Then, for any variable assignment g, $[\![\alpha]\!]g = \lambda x.[\![\gamma]\!]^{g[i \to x]}$.

[Heim & Kratzer 1998: 186]

(37) $[\![CLP]\!] = \lambda x. [\ldots x \ldots]([\![XP]\!])$ *LF interpetration*

XP $[\![CL]\!]^{g'} = \lambda x_e. \ldots x \ldots$

Index$_e$ $[\![VoiceP]\!]^g$

… <XP$_i$> …

16
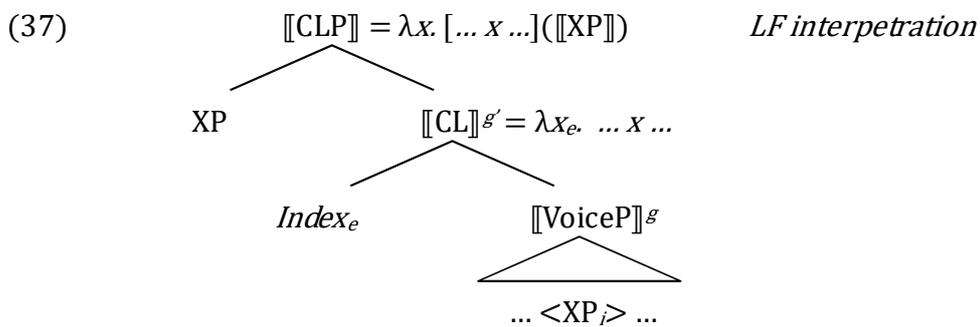
Some important ingredients of the analysis:

A. The probe-goal relation in CD configuration results in morphological agreement at PF.

B. At LF, the *Agree* relation feeds predicate abstraction, *i.e.*, as I said, the clitic is a mere LF abstractor over individual variables. On this theory, we do not need to stipulate a particular rule of λ*x*-adjunction like that in (38) (see also Heim & Kratzer 1998); **the clitic itself is the *e*-type abstractor.**

(38)   Interpretation rule for A-chains:

In a movement structure formed by *Agree* for ϕ-features, adjoin a node λx to the probing head.

[van Urk 2015: 41]

More technically, we should interpret assignment functions as ranging over ordered pairs of numbers and semantic types, in such a way that, in principle, nothing prevents to have assignment functions for any semantic type:

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

[adapted from Heim & Kratzer 1998: 292]

Thus the LF makeup of CD clitics always results in an ordered pair with the index determined by the goal of the *Agree* relation:

Clitic as Probes:
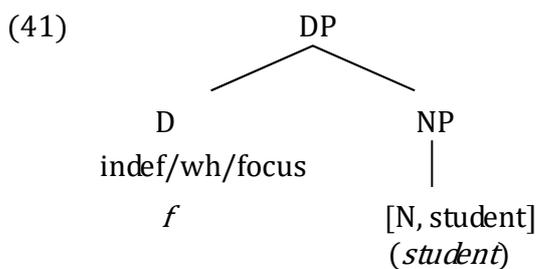
(40)   LF: $CL_{Probes}<n, e>$

3.2. Deriving WCO and Reconstruction effects

3.2.1. CLLD, CD and WCO

The theory explains all the WCO facts in a similar way to the so called **scope theories of WCO** (among others, Sauerland 1998, Ruys 2000, and van Urk 2015).

The account in a nutshell: Given that A-movement triggered by *Agree* reasons always results in abstraction over individuals, the possessive pronoun, an *e*-denoting expression, can be properly bound by the abstractor. Wh/Focus movement, as other types of A'-movements, instead, abstracts over choice function variables and, consequently, can never bind a variable of the *e*-type.

Let's consider the idea that focused constituents range over choice function variables in more detail. I follow essentially the theory presented in Reich (2004). For many technical and important details, I refer the reader to that work. The basic idea is that focused constituents project, like *wh*-phrases and indefinites, a functional head, whose denotation consist of a choice function, *i..e*, a function that takes a set as argument and returns a member of that set as value:

(41)

```
                    DP
                   /    \
              D            NP
        indef/wh/focus       |
             f          [N, student]
                         (student)
```

(42)   choice(f) = 1 iff $\emptyset \notin$ Dom(f) & $\forall X \in$ Dom(f): $f(X) \in X$

[Reich 2004: 10]

Let's consider a simple case of focus *in situ*:

(43) a.　　Ana　criticó　　a　　JUAN.
　　　　　　Ana　criticized　DOM　JUAN
　　　　　'Ana critiziced JUAN.'
　　b. Ana criticó *f*(alt(JUAN)).

In words, the choice function choses the individual Juan from the set of alternatives *alt*(Juan). That is, the result of applying *f* to *alt*(Juan) is the individual Juan - *f*(alt JUAN) = juan. Avoiding some particular complexities, I conclude that focus movement involves abstraction over choice functions. This implies two different semantic derivations for our minimal pair in (44):

(44)　A　MARÍA$_i$　??(la)　criticó　　　　su$_i$　　padre.
　　　ACC　María　her　criticize:PST;3SG　POSS;3SG　father
　　　　　　'Her father criticized MARÍA.'

Simplyfing (see van Urk 2015 for detailed discussion):

(45)　CD+Focus: A MARÍA$_i$ *la* criticó su$_i$ padre.

(46)   Focus: *?A MARÍA$_i$ criticó su$_i$ padre.

WCO
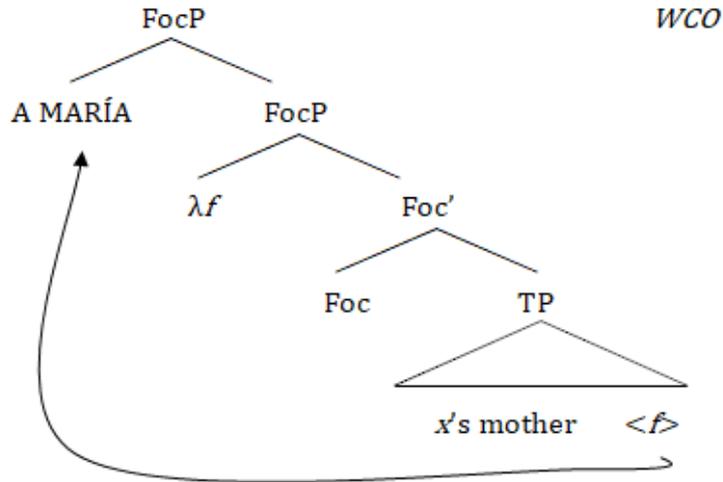
Now, recall that the position of the possesive is crucial when it comes to calculating WCO in focus + CD sentences. Concretely, only when the first step of movement is of the A-type, WCO is repaired:
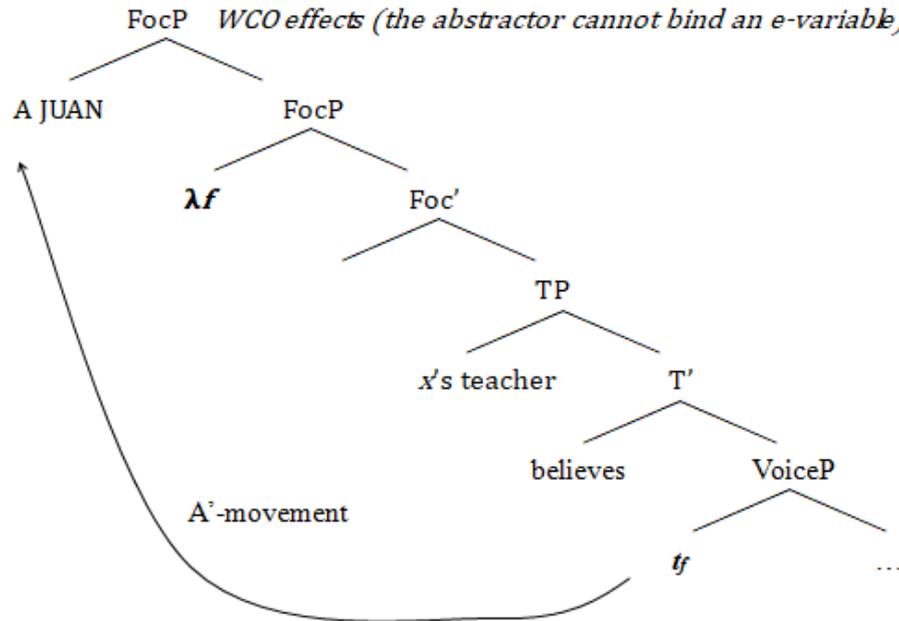
(47) a. ?* A JUAN$_i$ cree [$_{vP}$ *t* su$_i$ profesor [$_{CP}$ *t* que [$_{vP}$ *t* lo$_i$ criticó María *t*   (cf. 14a)

            A′   *A′*   *A′*   *A*
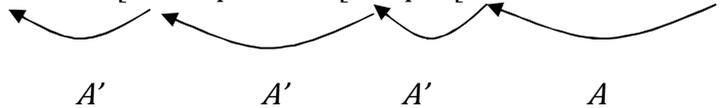
       b.   A JUAN$_i$ cree [$_{vP}$ *t* María [$_{CP}$ *t* que [$_{vP}$ *t* lo$_i$ criticó su$_i$ profesor *t*   (cf. 14b)

            A′   *A′*   *A′*   *A*
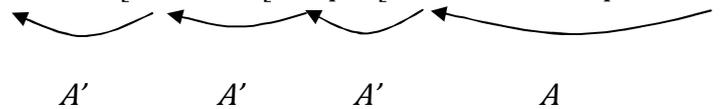
(48)   Focus: *?A JUAN$_i$ cree su$_i$ professor que lo$_i$ criticó María.

                  FocP   *WCO effects (the abstractor cannot bind an e-variable)*

Recall also that CLLD is always immune to WCO effects, a crucial difference when compared with CD.

(49) a. A   Juan$_i$,   su$_i$ profesor cree   que   [CLLD]

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

       lo$_i$ criticó   María.

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

       'His professor thinks that María criticized Juan.'

   b. A   Juan$_i$, María cree   que   [CLLD]

       ACC   Juan   María think:PRS.3.SG   that

       lo$_i$ criticó   su$_i$ profesor.

       CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG   POSS.3.SG   professor

       'María thinks that his professor criticized Juan.'

As already observed, this minimal constrat shows that Hurtado's assimilation of CD to CLLD in terms the same type of A'-chain cannot be on the right track. In a nutshell, CD cannot be the result of an A-bar dependency.

> On my analysis, the WCO facts regarding CD are the byproduct of EPP-induced movement. If clitics are mere probes triggering A-movement, the WCO facts receive a satisfactory explanation; **no A-bar chain is involved in CD. What about CLLD?** I claim that A-bar is involved there and that the relation between the dislocated topic and the clitic is one of pronominal binding. This means that, unlike CD, the clitic in CLLD configuration is an argument with Case and θ-role: a K-clitic in my own terms (see Saab 2020):

(50)   K-clitic^{max}: [$i\phi$: valued(?), Case: unvalued, θ]

Semantically, these K are *e*-denoting expressions. Syntactically, they project a big nominal including the associated topic:

(51)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
KP_2 \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
KP_1 \qquad\qquad K' \\
[Ana_i, Criterial\text{-}F] \qquad | \\
[K, Clitic_i]
\end{array}
$$
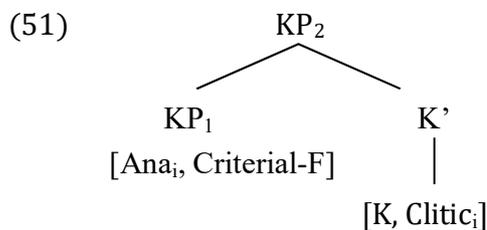
In this type of big nominal (Uriagereka 1995), KP_1 has a criterial feature that needs to establish a proper matchng relation with a functional head in the left periphery of the clause. This movement (cyclic, perhaps) always abstracts over individuals (*contra* van Urk 2015, for whom all A-bar movements abstract over *f*). I will further assume that the associated KP never reconstructs into its base position mainly because the referential relation with the clitic (they both share the same referential index) is

enough for ensuring a licit LF interpretation. Economy considerations then prevent reconstruction of the associated nominal in CLLD.

But more importantly for our purposes here, the analysis has two general consequences:

(C1)   Uniform abstraction over individuals results in uniform immunity to WCO.

(C2)   Ellipsis cannot suspend the syntactic and semantic effects created by movement of the left dislocated constituent. This is so, because it is not an EPP-induced movement triggered by ϕ-reasons.

---

(52)   A   María$_j$ su$_j$ padre la$_j$
             ACC   María POSS;3SG   father her;ACC

             criticó   y   a   Ana$_i$ también   ~~su$_i$~~
             criticize:PST;3SG and   ACC   Ana also   POSS;3SG

             ~~padre la$_i$~~   ~~criticó~~.
             father her;ACC   criticize:PST;3SG

             'María, her father criticized her and Ana too, her father criticized her.'

(53)   A: ¿Su$_i$ madre la$_i$ ama   a
             POSS;3SG   mother her;ACC   love:PRS;3SG   ACC

             MARÍA$_i$?
             María

             "Does her mother love MARÍA?"

       B: * No, a   ANA$_i$ ~~ama~~   ~~su$_i$~~   ~~madre~~
             not ACC   Ana love:PRS;3SG   POSS;3SG   mother

             'No, her mother loves ANA.'

3.2.2. CD, CLLD and Reconstruction

As already discusses, our basic reconstruction facts with CD behave as expected by the vast literature on the issue: CD does not allow reconstruction, blocking for instance pronominal binding in cases like (54a):

(54) a. * A   su   HIJO$_i$ lo   castigó   cada padre$_i$.   [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$_i$ castigó   cada padre$_i$.
          ACC POSS.3.SG son   punish:PST.3.SG   each father
          'Each father punished his son.'

As noted by Arregi (2003) and others, CLLD behaves the same (but see below):

(55) * A   su   hijo$_i$, lo   castigó   cada padre$_i$.   [CLLD]
       ACC POSS.3.SG son   CL.3M.SG.ACC punish:PST.3.SG   each father
       'Each father punished his son.'

Let's focus only on these cases, putting aside the Principle-C effects in (20) and (21), which at first sight, and *modulo* some subtle controversies with the data, would receive the same account. I will assume Arregi's (2003) account based in turn on Lechner (1998). Lechner's idea is that reconstruction in the semantics is allowed only for certain intermediate traces denoting in higher types (GQ, types, for instance). This is the case, I assume, for (54b) in which no clitic is involved but the focused element denotes a higher type (if a regular choice function: $<<e,t>, e>$ or in $<e, <<e,t>, e>>$ on Reich's proposal). **The case (54a) is different since the first step of movement is A-movement above the subject**, and then no semantic reconstruction below the subject is possible. The next step of movement is A-bar, but this is innocuous given that semantic reconstruction would apply above the subject.

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The prediction is that in long-distance focus movement, reconstruction should reappear if the possessive is above the first step of A-movement. This is correct:

(56)   A   SU$_i$ HIJO   dijo   cada   madre$_i$

       DOM   his   son   told   each   mother

       que   ese   profesor   lo   maltrata.

       that   that   professor   CL.3M.SG.ACC   mistreats

       'Every mother told that that professor mistreats HER SON.'

       Simplified representations:

(57)   a. A SU$_i$ HIJO dijo cada madre$_i$ [$_{CP}$ $\underline{t_f}$ que ese profesor lo maltrata t_e]

       b. A SU$_i$ HIJO dijo cada madre$_i$ [$_{CP}$ <A SU$_i$ HIJO> que ese profesor lo maltrata t_e]

Now, following the Arregi-Lechner's approach, I will assume that **(i)** clitics in CLLD are individual bound variables and **(ii)** movement of the left dislocated constituent, being of the *e*-type, never reconstructs.

(58)   *Left Dislocation and Clitics*

       In left dislocation, the clitic is interpreted as an individual variable.

                                                                   [Arregi 2003: 10]

The net prediction is that the position of the putative bound variable is irrelevant, simply because there is no higher type variable left by topic movement. Again, this prediction is borne out:

(59)   *A   su$_i$ hijo,   cada   madre$_i$ dijo

       DOM   his   son   each   mother   told

       que   ese   profesor   lo   maltrata.

       that   that   professor   CL.3M.SG.ACC   mistreats

'His son, every mother told that that professor mistreats him.'

In summary,

A. Clitics in CD are formal EPP-probes in the syntax and mere λx_e-abstractor in the semantics.

B. Clitics in CLLD instead are full arguments in the syntax (*i.e.*, KP), interpreted as bound individual variables in the semantics.

Similarities and differences between both types regarding WCO, Reconstruction and ellipsis reduce to the formal make-up and the semantic content of each type of clitic.

4. A natural extension: Dative Clitic Doubling

4.1. 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 prepositon or a case marker, as the one that appears with DOs, in DOM environments.

(60)   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.

(61) 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

In fact, in certain environments in which an IO and a DOM DO co-occur, some speakers allow for the dropping of the DOM marker that precedes DOs. Instead, in these same enviroments the case maker of IOs never drops. So, some speakers allow the configuration (62b), in order to avoid the anomalous/deviant configuration (62a). However, no speaker allows the configurations in (62c) or (62d) (cf. Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007).

(62) a. * Juan le   recomendó   a   María$_{DO}$ a   Pedro$_{IO}$.
          Juan CL.3.SG.DAT recommend:PST.3.SG ACC María   DAT Pedro
      b.   Juan le   recomendó   María$_{DO}$ a   Pedro$_{IO}$.
          Juan CL.3.SG.DAT recommend:PST.3.SG   María   DAT Pedro
      c. * Juan le   recomendó   a   María$_{DO}$ Pedro$_{IO}$
          Juan CL.3.SG.DAT recommend:PST.3.SG ACC María   Pedro
      d. * Juan le   recomendó   Pedro$_{IO}$ a   María$_{DO}$.
          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, duplication of pronominal IO

was not obligatory, even with IOs of psych verbs. Note that these are contexts in which no modern Spanish dialect allows for the absence of the dative clitic.

(63) 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).

(64) 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 hurt 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:

(65) 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]

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           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.'

(66)   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) (67a). However, this observation doesn't apply to Argentinean Spanish:

(67)   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 (68), in Argentinean Spanish, CD in this context is not just possible, it is the favored option.

(68)   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.'   [Ordónez (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.[1]

   Turning now attention to CLLD of IOs, like with dislocation of DOs, it forces the duplication in all of the Spanish varieties:

---

[1] 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 husand / '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 husand/ '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 husand / 'She rush in order to give the news to her husband'] (Somers, *Retrato*)". (p. 2679). [my translation]

(69) 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	Bare 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

4.2. Dative Clitic Doubling and A-movement

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

(70) 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 →

(71) 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 relevante question is whether dative CD, like in accusative CD, also implies A-movement of the IO. The answer is a **big YES**:

Weak Crossover Effect (WCO) →

(72) a. ¿A quién$_i$ le   entregó   la   nota su$_i$ 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$_i$ le   entregó   la   nota su$_i$ 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.'

(73) a. *? ¿A quién$_i$ cree   su$_i$ 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$_i$ cree   Juan que su$_i$ 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?

(74) a. *? A   MARÍA_i cree   su_i   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_i cree   Juan que su_i   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 (72)-(74) are ungrammatical, even for the speakers that allows for optional dative clitic doubling. This is shown below:

(75) a. * ¿A quién_i entregó   el   libro su_i   madre?
DAT who   give:PST.3.SG DET book POSS mother

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

    b. * ¿A quién_i cree   Juan que su_i 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?'

Absence of reconstruction effects →

(76) a. * A   su_i   ALUMNO le   entregó   el   examen cada profesor_i.
DAT POSS student CL.3.SG.DAT give:PST.3.SG DET exam   each professor

    b.   A   su_i   ALUMNO entregó   el   examen cada profesor_i.
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)

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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.**

Generalization on the trigger of A-movement in CD:

A. A-movement of DOs occurs when DOs bear [person] features (Di Tullio *et al* 2019).[2]

B. A-movement of IOs to the clitic position is triggered by pure category features (i.e., plain EPP, Pujalte and Saab 2018).

---

5. A restriction on A-movement: No Double Doubling

With the exception of Ormazabal & Romero (2007, 2013), the literature on the topic has payed little attention to the interaction between Accusative Clitic Doubling and Dative Clitic Doubling. The contrast in (77) shows that double doubling is banned.

(77) 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.'

---

[2] See Fong (2020) for an interesting argument to the effect of showing that such an hypothesis helps to adjudicate among recent theories on the A/A' distinction (in particular, van Urk 2015 *vs*. Safir 2019).

As we will see in a moment, the ungrammatical judgment of (77b) is not associated to a distinctiveness effect (Richards 2010). Before providing reasons for this, let's make a proposal explicit:

"Only one clitic probe *per* sentence": 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 ClP.

---

(79)   CLP   *A-movement + Syntactic Agree*

K^{max} CL

[*i*ϕ: valued, Case: **valued, θ**]

              CL   VoiceP

           [*u*ϕ: **valued**, <EPP>]

                      ...<K^{max}>...

This directly explains the impossibility of double doubling in the same configuration, as we seen in (77b). Let's see the problem step by step:

(77)   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.'

To begin with, I asume the configuration in (78). Following the basic insigths in Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), DOM objects and IOs vacate their base position to the edge of VoiceP, above the external argument. Rodríguez Mondoñedo calls this type of movement "blind movement", a non-EPP-induced movement (see also Bošković 2007).

(80)   ClP   (Blind movement of DOM + Merging CL)

CL   VoiceP

a-DPs   VoiceP

SUBJ   Voice'

Voice   VP

… t_{DOM} …
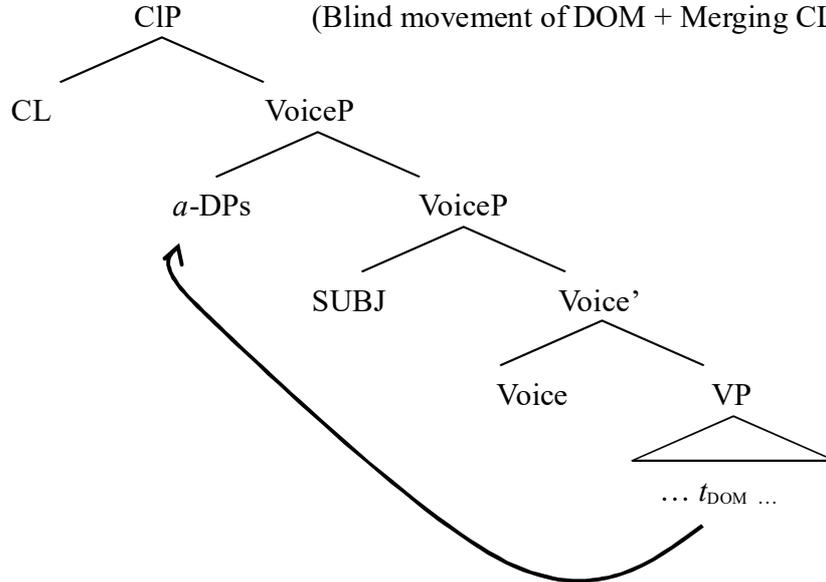
Next, assume, as it is standard, that in double object constructions IOs c-command DOs:

(81)   VoiceP

SUBJ   Voice'

Voice   VP

IO < DO
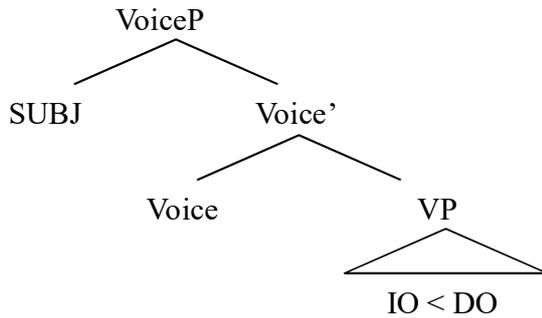
Under this situation, the DO cannot move to the external VoiceP position before the IO, because the IO is the nearest candidate that can reach such a position. If a clitic-probe is inserted then the IO satisfies the ɸ-dependency that CL requires (80).

(82)
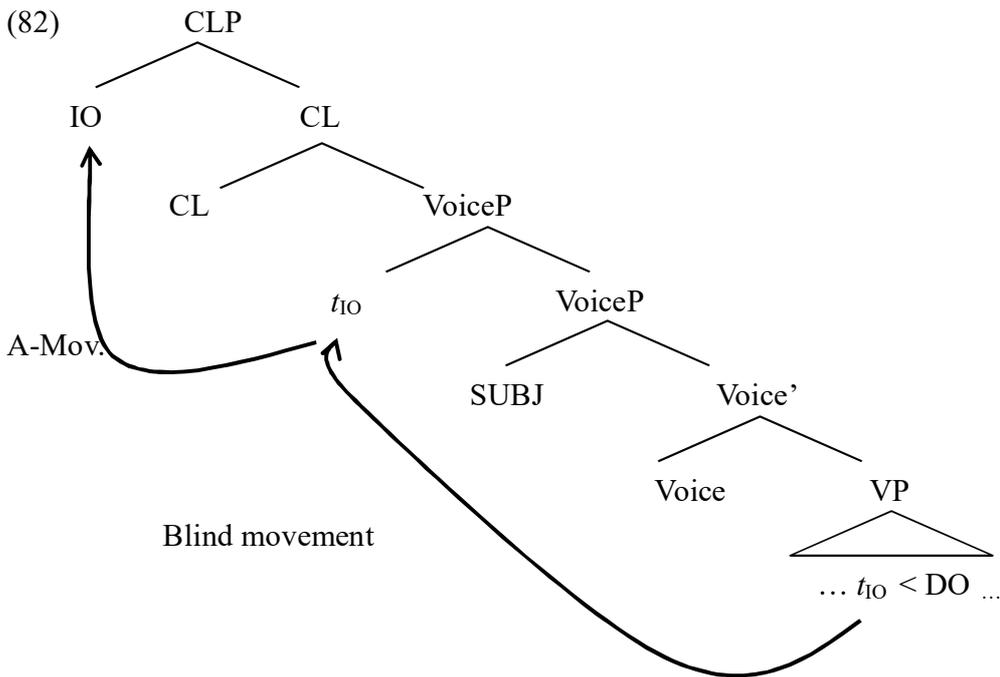
Given this configuration, the unique alternative is the structure in (82). If the movement of the DO takes place after the movement of the IO, it only can count as A'-movement. Then, it can never produce a double clitic doubling pattern.[3]

Note, finally, that this analysis makes of an important prediction regarding the interaction between duplicated objects.

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[3] 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)

Note, however, that, formulated this way, Strong PCC only describes the facts but does not motivate them. Our analysis could be seen then as a plausible explanation of (i), but of course this requires further investigations.

> <u>Prediction</u>: 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.

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

(83) 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 (83a) is ungrammatical for the reasons mentioned before. The IO is subject to an obligatory A-movement to the CL position, and then the DO cannot be clitic-doubled, because of minimality. The grammatical alternative is (83b). Crucially, this leads us to reject an alternative analysis in terms of distinctiveness (Richards 2010), since in (83a) both objects are in different phases.

Consider now (84), where the left dislocated argument is the DO not the IO. Interstingly, the result is perfectly grammatical:

(84)   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 a unique instance of A-movement associated with the doubling of the IO.

6. Final remarks: The Diachronic Conjecture

In conclusion, I think that is safe to claim that, through this talk, Thesis 1 has been conclusively demonstrated, even if many technical details have still to be worked out:

Thesis 1 (or the synchronic thesis): Doubled objects (IOs or DOs) A-move above VoiceP. Such movement is triggered by the clitic itself, which serves as a probe for A-movement.

I have proposed that CD has a distinguished syntax, where the clitic itself is a mere abstractor over individuals: the variable bound by this λ-operator is created by A-movement of the associated nominal:

D-clitics:

(85)   a. CD Syntax: $[_{CLP}$ KP CL$_{probe}$ $[_{VoiceP}$ ... t_K ... $]$ $]$
        b. CD LF: $⟦CLP⟧ = λx [... (t_K = x) ...](KP)$

In contradistinction, in CLLD, the clitic itself serves as an individual variable bound by topic movement of the associated left dislocated nominal:

K-clitics:

(86)   a. CLLD Syntax: $[_{TopP}$ KP $[_{VoiceP}$ ... $[t_K$ CL$]$ ... $]$ $]$
        b. CLLD LF: $⟦TopP⟧ = λx[... (CL = x)...](KP)$

This difference in the formal and semantic makeup of clitics is enough to explain the intricate set of facts discussed here. Importantly, the theory deployed for this subset of clitic doubling constructions nicely fits with the growing literature on the A/A'

distinction in many languages (see Fong 2020). Fortunately, once the working of A-movement is assumed as a crucial ingredient underlying CD derivations, *Rioplatense* CD behaves as expected, without any particular extravagance.

Now, another nice feature of this particular domain is that it makes visible many of the elements stipulated in other theories. These elements are called EPP-features, λ-adjuncts, and so on. Rioplatense Spanish shows that those stipulations make sense empirically, i.e., they have some reality. Clitics, as conceived of here, are the visible reflex of those abstract syntactic and semantic objects.

Now, undoubtedly, CD clitics diacrhonically derive from pronouns. The important empirical observation is that:

> All Spanish varieties have clitics but not all Spanish varieties have CD of the rioplatense type. For instance, most dialects, if not all, have CLLD.

And it seems that diachronically non-doubling configurations precede doubling ones. A recent case study in Saab (2020) shows that this is correct with respect to reflexive doubling in Spanish compared, for instance, to Italian, a language in which *si* does not allow for reflexive doubling. Absence of reflexive doubling is expected if Italian *si* is still a variable in argument position:

(87)   a.   Gianni difende   se stesso.
               Gianni defends   himself
       b.   Gianni si difende.
               Gianni si defends
               'Gianni defends himself.'
       c. *   Gianni si   difende   se stesso.
               Gianni si   defends   himself
(88)   Ana   se   critica   (a   sí misma).

Ana   se   criticizes   DOM   herself

Beyond *se* constructions, it seems then that Rioplatense Spanish is in a further step of grammaticalization of accusative and dative clitics, as stated in the diachronic conjecture:

Thesis 2 (or the diachronic conjecture): Doubled clitics were borne as free pronouns. The observed pattern is the result of the erosion of the referential properties of those pronouns.

In this sense, on top of the many clitic constructions that this Spanish variety shares with most dialects (CLLD and CLRD, for instance), the language also has at its disposal a subset of impoverished clitics serving as probes for A-movement.

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, I conjecture that the change is *dramatic* in the sense that the erosion of the referential properties of clitics in my variety provoked a deep change in the syntax and semantics of Spanish objetcs. Beyond Spanish, if the story I told during this talk is at least partially correct, then the particular phenomenon of Spanish CD might shed light on the question of how natural languages happened to have formal probes.

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